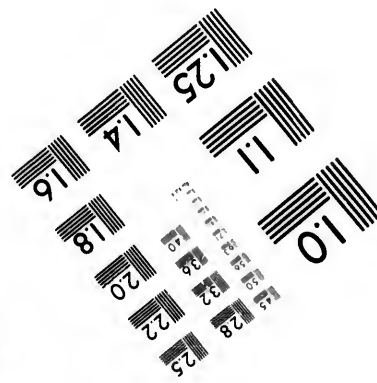
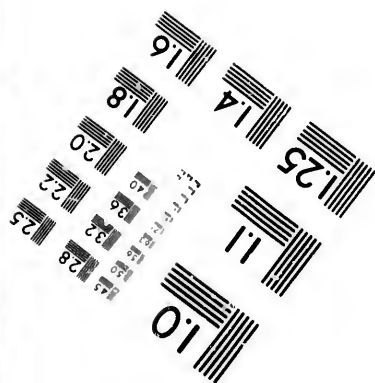
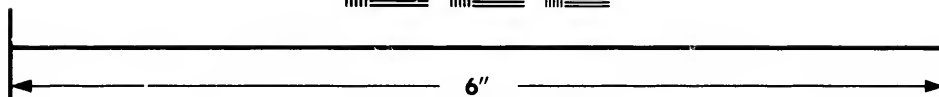
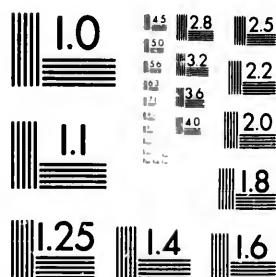


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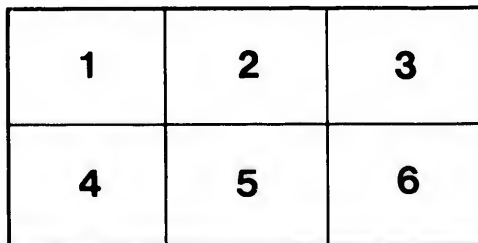
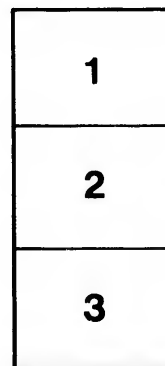
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# THE OLD MEDUCTIC FORT

AND THE

## INDIAN CHAPEL.

OF

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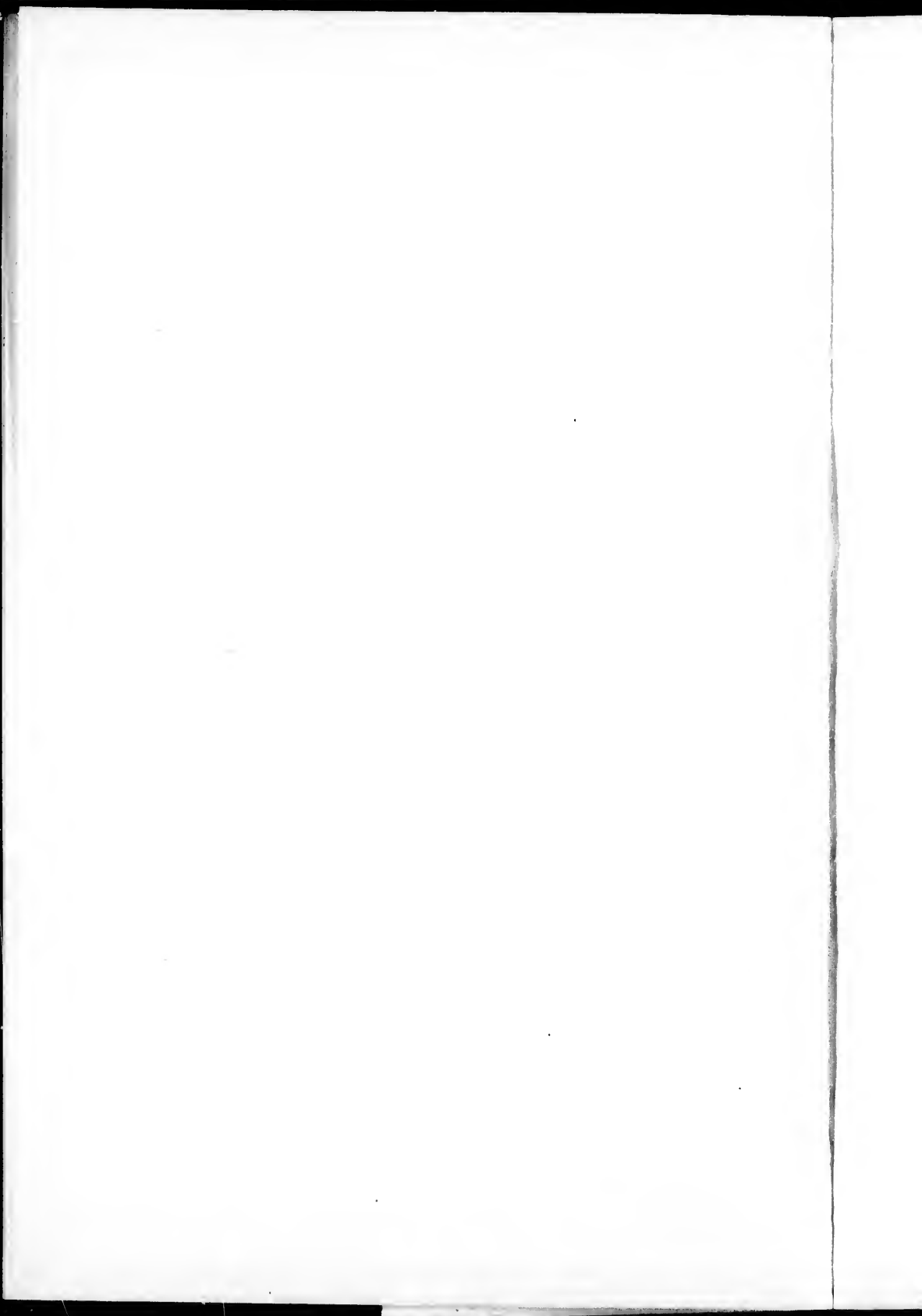
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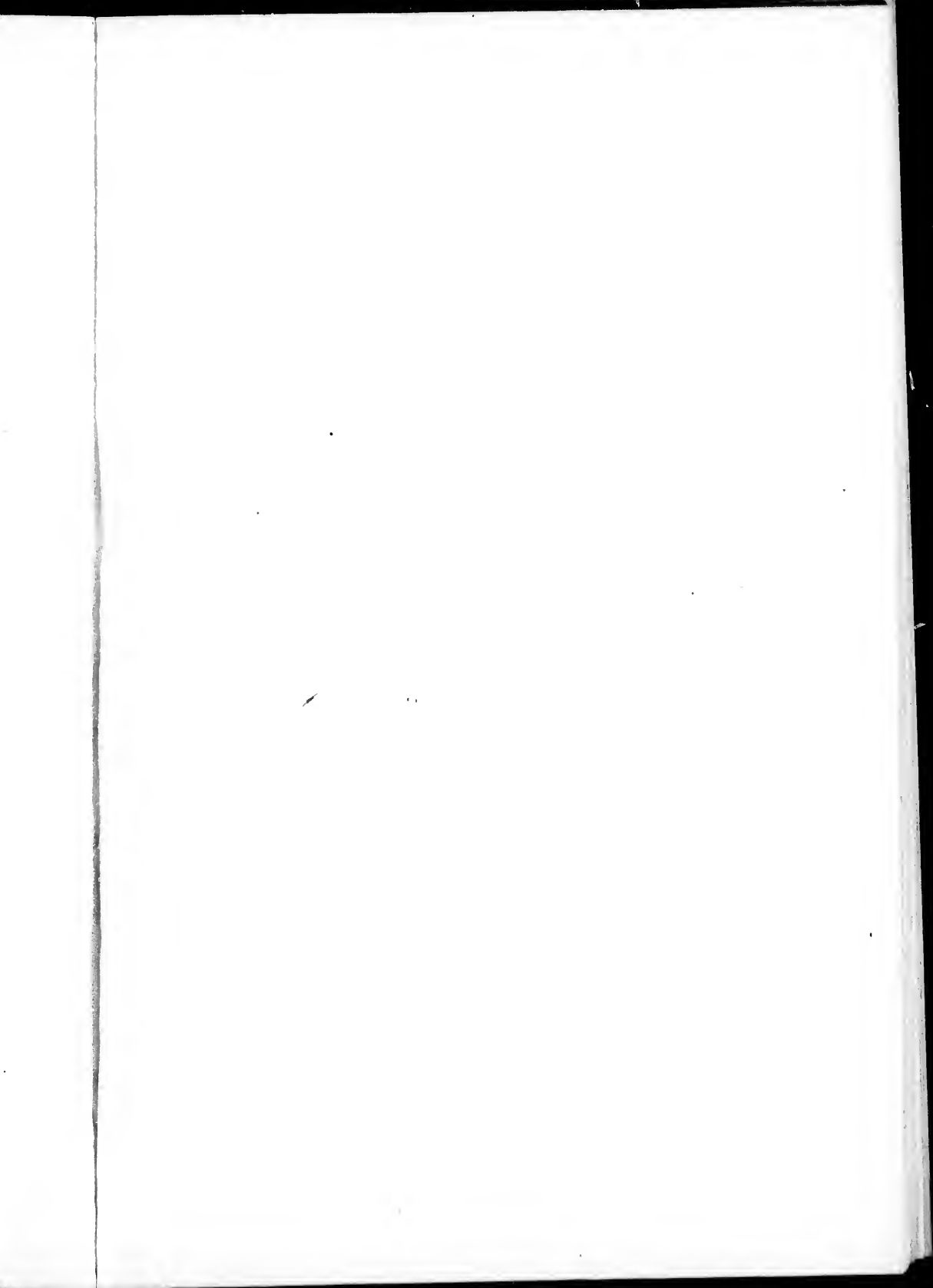
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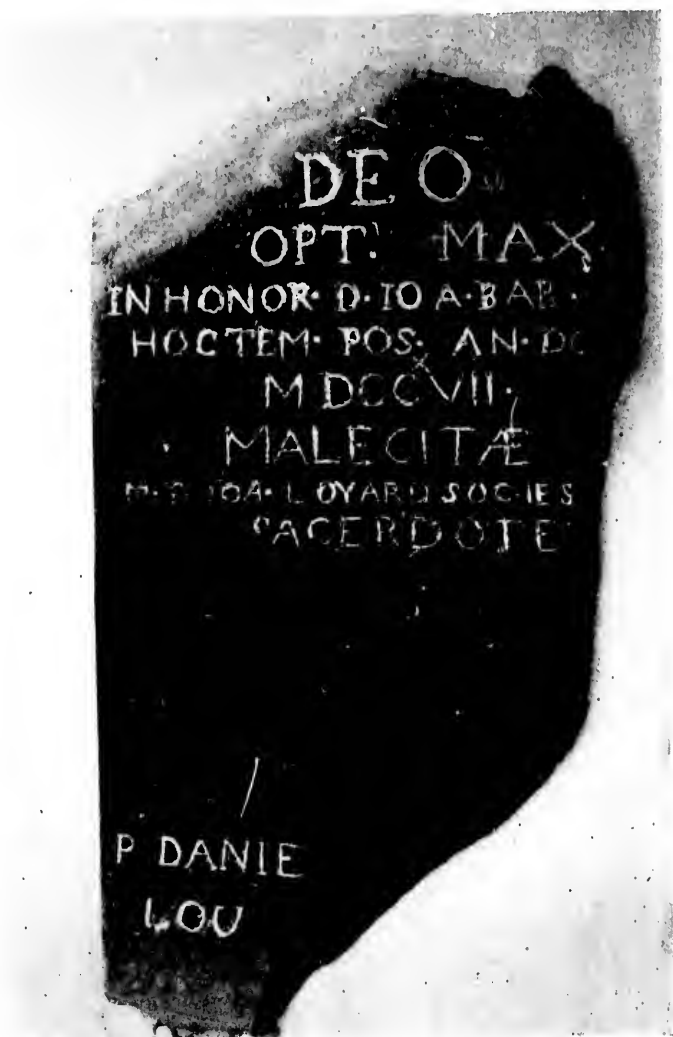
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*(From a Photograph by B. R. Watson, Woodstock, N. B.)*

#### MEMORIAL TABLET.

DISCOVERED AT MEDUCTIC, IN JUNE, 1890.

A relic of the Indian Chapel of Saint Jean Baptiste.

## THE OLD MEDUCTIC FORT.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE NEW BRUNSWICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY REV. W. O. RAYMOND, M. A.

Twelve miles below the town of Woodstock, N. B., there enters the river St. John, from the westward, a good sized tributary, known as Eel river. It is a very variable stream, flowing in the upper reaches with feeble current, over sandy shallows, with here and there deep pools, and at certain seasons almost lake like expansions over the adjoining swamps. The sluggish current and muddy bottom render the upper part of the river a congenial resort for pickerel,\* and large numbers of these fish are taken there from time to time by sportsmen. In the last twelve miles of its course Eel river is transformed into a turbulent stream, broken with rapids and falls, to such an extent that only at the freshest season is it possible to descend in canoes. About six miles above the mouth of the river there is a well-known water fall, about fifteen feet in height, at the foot of which Salmon were formerly taken in large quantities. More than two centuries ago the Indians of the Meductic village used to resort thither at the proper season for the purpose of fishing.† The place is only about six miles, in a direct course from the Meductic fort.

Geographically, Eel river is of some local importance, as it forms the boundary between the adjoining counties of York and Carleton. Historically, it is more notable than any other tributary of the upper St.

\* Pickerel were unknown in Eel river until recently. About twenty years ago a Mr. Deakin of Benton, placed about a half dozen of these fish in the stream, and in a very short time they multiplied so amazingly as to take almost entire possession, exterminating trout and other fish. From Eel river they have found their way into the river St. John, where they are frequently caught.

† This is in all probability the spot to which John Gyles (who, as a boy, was a captive at the Meductic village A. D. 1689-1695), refers in his narrative:—"Once, as we were fishing for Salmon at a fall of about fifteen feet of water, I came near being drowned in a deep hole at the foot of the fall. The Indians went into the water to wash themselves and asked me to go with them. I told them I could not swim, but they insisted, and so I went in. They ordered me to dive across the deepest place, and if I fell short of the other side they said they would help me. But instead of diving across the narrowest part I was crawling on the bottom into the deepest place. They, not seeing me rise, and knowing where about I was by the bubbling of the water, a young girl dived down and brought me up by the hair, otherwise I had perished in the water." Gyles adds, that "Though the Indians, both male and female, go into the water together, they have each of them such a covering on that not the least indecency can be observed, and neither chastity nor modesty is violated."

John. On old French maps it is called *Medoctec*, and under that name is mentioned by several writers more than two hundred years ago. The Maliseets, however, from very early times have called it *Madawamkeetook*, signifying "rocky at its mouth," and it is possible that the name *Medoctec* was given by the French and was suggested by the proximity of the village Medoctec. Modern Indians often call the river *Gota-wee-seebook*, meaning "Eel's stream," but this is obviously only a translation of the English name.

A glance at the map will suffice to show that Medoctec, or Eel river, formed a very important link in the natural chain of inland communication supplied by the rivers of eastern Maine and New Brunswick.

The Indians of the Maliseet and Micmac tribes were always a race of nomads, wandering about from one camping ground to another, as necessity or caprice impelled them. During the prolonged struggle between England and France for supremacy in Acadia, war parties of the savages were almost constantly traversing the waters of the Medoctec; at one time directing their way westward to devastate the settlements of New England, at another proceeding from the Penobscot and Kennebec regions to the aid of their French allies at Louisbourg and Beausejour. In the course of the stirring events of that period war parties travelled so frequently hither and thither that the mutual acquaintance of the savages was extended throughout the whole of ancient Acadia. Colonel John Allan, who, prior to the Revolution, was an Indian trader at the head of the Bay of Fundy, says, that at the close of the "old French war" in 1763, there was scarcely a single Indian warrior who was not individually known in all their villages and encampments, from Kennebec to Miramichi.

The extensive use of the old routes of travel is strikingly shown by the fact noted some fifty years ago by Dr. Gesner, in the report of his topographical and geological survey of the province, namely that along the aboriginal trail, "the solid rocks have been furrowed by the moccasins of the native tribes." Various reputable authorities assert that the coarse granite rocks are worn in places to a depth of two or three inches, by the constant use of the old Indian trail; and one writer\* declares that we have in this circumstance the most ancient evidence of the existence of mankind in this part of America.

There is only a short portage from the Eel river lakes to North lake, one of the sources of the St. Croix, and the latter river supplies communi-

\* Frederick Kidder. See "Military Operations in eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution," p. 89.

ation with the Passamaquoddy region, and also (by way of Schoodic lakes and Machias river) with Machias port. Another portage formerly much used by the Indians and their French allies, was that from the larger Cheputnaticook lake to the river Mattawamkeng, an eastern branch of the Penobscot. From the Penobscot waters there is but a short portage to an eastern branch of the Kennebec. It will thus be seen that the rivers of ancient Acadia were nature's own highway for the aboriginal inhabitants.

The Indians inhabiting the region from the river St. John to the Kennebec are all Maliseets, and although there exist some local peculiarities of dialect, they readily understand each other, and are practically one people. The word Maliseet is derived from *Mal-i-see-jik*, which means "he speaks badly." The name is said to have been applied to the St. John river Indians, and those to the westward by the Micmacs. The writer of this paper was informed not long since by the Chief of the Indians at Folly Point, on the Petitcodiac, that to the ordinary Micmac of today, the Maliseet dialect is quite unintelligible. Among the St. John river Indians there is a tradition that the Micmacs and Maliseets were originally one people; the latter, to quote the words of one of their tribe, "went off by themselves and picked up their own language," which the Micmacs regarded as "broken language," and so gave to them the name of Maliseet.

In early times the three principal villages of the Maliseets of Acadia were Narantsonak, on the Kennebec; Panagamsdô, on the Penobscot, and Medoctec, on the St. John. It was not until after the establishment of the French at St. Anne's point (now Fredericton), that the Indian village of Aukpaque became of equal importance with that of Medoctec.

The site of Fort Medoctec was not at the mouth of Medoctec or Eel river, but at a point on the west bank of the St. John, four miles above. It guarded the eastern extremity of the famous portage, some five miles in length, by which canoes were carried in order to avoid the rapids that obstruct the lower twelve miles of Eel river. The village here was a natural rendezvous whenever anything of a warlike nature was afoot on the St. John. It formed a midway station between the great French stronghold at Quebec, and the Acadian settlements at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and it occupied a similar position as regards the Madawaska Indian village on the upper St. John, and Villebon's fort at the Nashwaak. Westward, as we have just shown, there was ready means of communication with Penobscot and Kennebec, Machias and Passamaquoddy. But Medoctec in early days possessed many local

advantages. The hunting in the vicinity was excellent; the rivers abounded with salmon, sturgeon, bass, trout and other fish, and the intervals and islands were admirably adapted to the growth of Indian corn.

The Medoctec village is referred to by several of the early French writers; for example, Cadillac, in 1693, says, "The Maliseets are well shaped and tolerably warlike; they attend to the cultivation of the soil and grow the most beautiful Indian corn; their fort is at Medoctek."

Champlain's narrative suffices to show that corn was cultivated three centuries ago in very much the same manner as now. We quote his description:—

"In the place of ploughs they use an instrument of very hard wood shaped like a spade. We saw their Indian corn which they raise in gardens. Planting three or four kernels in one place, they then heap up a quantity of earth, then three feet distant they plant as much more and thus in succession. With this they put in each hill three or four Brazilian beans; when they grow up they interlace with the corn which reaches to the height of from five to six feet, and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We saw many squashes, pumpkins and tobacco which they likewise cultivate. They plant their corn in May and gather it in September.

The squashes, pumpkins and tobacco, it need scarcely be said were like the corn, indigenous to America, although brought from more southern latitudes. There is a curious Indian tradition that the crow brought them a grain of corn in one ear and in the other an Indian bean from the field of their god *Kautantowit*, in the south west land. The Indian tobacco was a smaller and more hardy species than the *Nicotiana tabacum* that has since become so popular with their white brothers; Jacques Cartier describes it as early as 1535, and we give his description in the quaint language of Hakluyt's translation:—

"There groweth also a certain kind of herbe, whereof in sommer they make a greate provision for all the yeere. First they cause it to be dried in the sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beast's skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe or coronet. Then when they please they make poulder of it and then put it in one of the ends of the said coronet or pipe and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other end sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils even as out of the Tonnel of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they never goe without some of it about them."

The fertile intervals at the Meductic village were doubtless cleared of trees and cultivated at a very early period. When Champlain visited

the shores of Acadia he found that Indian axes and other implements were all of stone, and he speaks of the immense labor and difficulty they encountered in felling trees with such rude implements. Nevertheless they managed to hack down trees with their stone axes, and after burning the branches and trunk, planted their corn among the stumps, and in the course of time took out the roots. The corn they raised they either dried in the milk in the manner described by John Gyles in his narrative,\* or allowed it to ripen, when they shelled it from the ear and pounded it in wooden or stone mortars, and reduced it to meal. Out of this meal they made thin broad cakes which they cooked before the fire. Speaking of this fact in one of his lectures on early New Brunswick history, the late Moses Perley remarked: "and here, ladies and gentlemen, we have the origin of that very good thing to all true 'blue noses,' an Indian Johnny Cake!"

Parkman in one of his works speaks of the Algonquins as a people who paid no attention to the cultivation of the soil. This statement is manifestly a mistake in the case of the Maliseets who are a tribe of the Algonquin race.

The site of old Fort Medoctec lies on the west bank of the St. John river about eight miles below the town of Woodstock on land now owned by A. R. Hay. The reader will gain a better idea of the position of the fort and its surroundings by an examination of the plan on the next page.†

Unfortunately for the historical student the site has been so well cultivated by thrifty farmers that there now remains little to indicate the outlines of the fortifications. It is impossible to determine with absolute certainty the exact position of the stockade, or of the large wigwam‡ or Council Chamber and other features commonly found in Indian towns of that period. The only place where the old breast-work is now visible is along the south and east sides of the burial ground, where it is about two feet high, but Mr. Wilmot Hay says that when his father purchased the property there was an embankment four or five

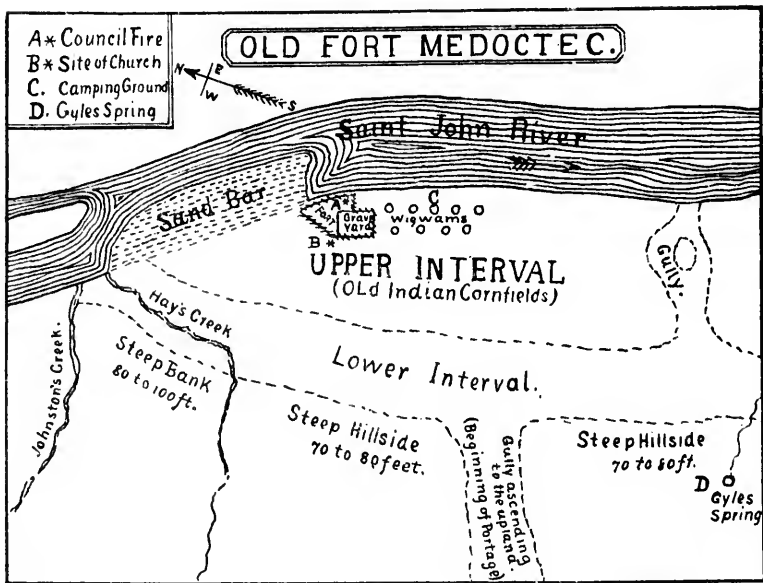
\* "To dry corn when in the milk, they gather it in large kettles and boil it on the ears till it is pretty hard, then shell it from the cob with clam shells, and dry it on bark in the sun. When it is thoroughly dry, a kernel is no bigger than a pea and would keep years, and when it is boiled again it swells as large as when on the ear and tastes incomparably sweeter than other corn. When we had gathered our corn and dried it in the way already described, we put some of it into Indian barns, that is into holes in the ground, lined and covered with bark and then with earth. The rest we carried up the river upon our next winter's hunting."—*Gyles' Narrative*.

† This plan is based upon a careful personal inspection of the place made in company with the brothers Messrs. A. R. and Wilmot Hay. Notes and sketches kindly placed at the writer's disposal by Dr. W. F. Ganong, who made a careful examination of the site some years ago, have also been taken into account. The observations and traditions of the older settlers of the vicinity have received due consideration, and the oldest plans in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton have been consulted.

‡ John Gyles mentions this large wigwam in his narrative as the scene of the severest torture he endured during his captivity.

feet high running diagonally, as marked in the plan, from the north-west corner of the old grave yard towards the river bank. This was levelled by the help of a team of horses and a scraper, but with some difficulty, as the Indians had employed stones as well as earth in its construction.

At the site of the fort and village there is a fine plateau extending back about fifty rods from the river's bank, which is here about twenty-five feet in height, then descending to a lower interval about twenty rods wide and rising thence abruptly sixty or seventy feet to the upland. At the back of the lower interval is a curious gully, something like a broad natural roadway, which affords an easy ascent to the upland. Here, no doubt, was the commencement of the historic portage by which bands of savages bedecked in their war paint and accompanied by their French allies in ancient days took their departure westward to devastate the New England settlements.



At the time of the spring freshet the lower interval is overflowed and the elevated plateau converted into an island.

Moses H. Perley, in his first report on the St. John river Indians, submitted to the provincial legislature in 1841, describes the encampment at Meductic Point, and quotes a tradition that the Indians built here in

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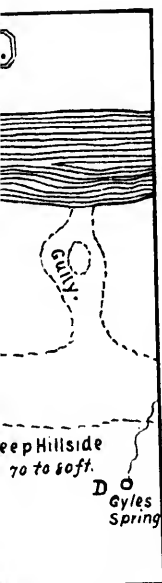
early times a very strong fort to repel the French. It is, however, almost certain that the fort was in existence before the arrival of the French on the upper St. John, and was intended primarily for the protection of the Indians against the attacks of hostile savages. In construction the fort was probably very similar to those of the Hurons and other Indians of Canada, which are described at length by Parkman in his book, "The Jesuits in North America." It must have been a very laborious task to construct the palisade in the first instance, and nothing but stern necessity is likely to have driven so naturally indolent and improvident a people to undertake it. The stout stakes were cut, pointed, and firmly planted with no better implements than the clumsy stone axe and like tools of pre-historic times. Between the stakes saplings were interwoven, so as to form a well-nigh impenetrable wall, which was braced as firmly as possible.

According to tradition several sanguinary battles were fought in the vicinity of Fort Medoctee, and the bodies of many of the slain were buried in the old grave yard, others at a place on the opposite side of the river, where many skeletons have been brought to light. In these legendary Indian fights it is the Mohawks who, for the most part, figure as the antagonists of the Maliseets. Until very recently the very name of Mohawk sufficed to startle a St. John river Indian. The late Mr. Edward Jack once asked an Indian child "What is a Mohawk?" and received for reply, "A Mohawk is a bad Indian who kills people and eats them."

In the narrative of his captivity John Gyles tells an amusing story of an incident at Fort Medoctee, which serves to illustrate the superstitious dread the Maliseets entertained with regard to the Mohawks. We give the story from the original narrative in his own words:

"One very hot season a great number gathered together at the village; and, being a very droughty people, they kept James\* and myself night and day fetching water from a cold spring, that ran out of a rocky hill about three quarters of a mile from the fort. In going thither we crossed a large interval cornfield, and then a descent to a lower interval before we ascended the hill to the spring. James, being almost dead, as well as I, with this continual fatigue, contrived to fright the Indians. He told me of it, but conjured me to secrecy, yet said he knew that I could keep counsel. The next dark night James, going for water, set his kettle on the descent to the lowest interval, and ran back to the fort pulling and blowing as in the utmost surprise, and told his master that he saw something

\* The reference is to James Alexander, a Jersey man, who was captured at the taking of Falmouth, Maine, by a band of about 300 Indians, many of them belonging to the river St. John, on the 29th May, 1690. More than 100 prisoners were taken, and the number of killed was very large.



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near the spring, which looked like Mohawks (which he said were only stumps — aside), his master, being a most courageous warrior, went with James to make discovery, and when they came to the brow of the hill, James pointed to the stumps, and withal touched his kettle with his toe, which gave it motion down hill, and at every turn of the kettle the bail clattered, upon which James and his master could see a Mohawk in every stump in motion, and turned tail too, and it was the best man who could run the fastest. This alarmed all the Indians in the village. They, though about thirty or forty in number, packed off, bag and baggage, some up the river and others down, and did not return under fifteen days, and, the heat of the weather being finally over, our hard service abated finally for this season. I never heard that the Indians understood the occasion of the fright, but James and I had many a private laugh about it."

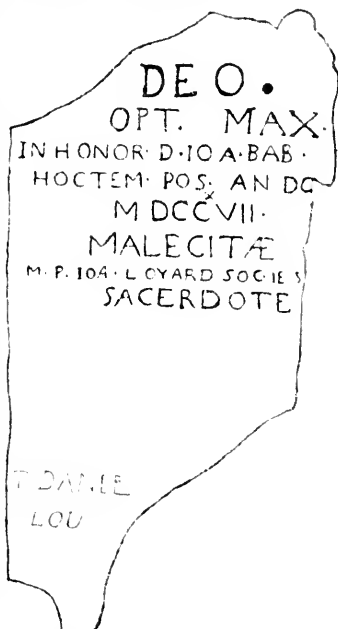
In explanation of the panic of the Indians on this occasion, we may recall Parkman's description of the Mohawks, as the fiercest, the boldest, yet the most politic savages to whom the American forest ever gave birth and nurture. They were early supplied with fire arms by the Dutch settlers, and the possession of these, added to their natural courage and ferocity, gave them an advantage over the neighboring tribes they fully understood. They boasted that they would wipe the Hurons, the Algonquins and the French from the face of the earth. "As soon as a canoe could float they were on the war path, and with the cry of the returning wild fowl mingled the yell of these human tigers. They did not always wait for the breaking ice, but set forth on foot, and when they came to open water made canoes and embarked. They burned, hacked, and devoured: exterminated whole villages at once." One of the French missionaries says: "They ate men with as much appetite and more pleasure than hunters eat a boar or a stag." This is substantiated by a story Parkman relates of a Mohawk war party that once captured an Algonquin hunting party, in which there were three squaws, who had each a child of a few weeks or months old. At the first halt the captors took the infants, tied them to wooden spits, roasted them alive before a fire and feasted on them before the eyes of the agonized mothers, whose shrieks, supplications and frantic efforts to break the cords that bound them, were met with mockery and laughter. "They are not men, they are wolves!" sobbed one of the wretched women as she told what had befallen her to the pitying Jesuit.

The Maliscets were a tribe of the Algonquin nation, and shared with their Canadian kinsmen the bitter enmity of the Mohawk nation.

The position of the spring mentioned by Gyles as the scene of the Mohawk scare, is given in the lower right-hand corner of the plan, (see page 6). Its distance from the old fort is about half a mile, and the situation and surroundings correspond so exactly with Gyles description

that there is not the slightest doubt as to the identity of the spring. The water that flows from it never fails and is very pure and cool.

At the north west corner of the burial ground, at the place marked B<sup>#</sup> in the plan, Mr. A. R. Hay found, in June, 1890, a small slate-stone tablet. It was lying quite near the surface, hidden merely by the fallen leaves: the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. The tablet is of black slate, similar to the slate found in the neighborhood, in length fourteen inches by seven in width, and about one inch in thickness. Dr. W. F. Ganong, of Smith College, Northampton, Mass., who was the first to make a critical study of the stone,\* declares it to be, as regards this province, the most interesting relic of the French period that is extant. The annexed cut shows the outline of the tablet, with the inscription reduced to about one fourth its actual dimensions.



Without abbreviation the inscription reads:

DEO

Optimo Maximo

In honorem Divi Ioannis Baptistæ

Hoc Templum posuerunt Anno Domini

MDCCVII.

MALECITÆ

Missionis Procurator Ioanne Loyard Societatis Iesu

SACERDOTE.

The translation reads:—"To God, most excellent, most high, in honor of Saint John Baptist, the Maliseets erected this church A. D. 1717, while Jean Loyard, a priest of the Society of Jesus, was procurator [or superintendent] of the mission." †

\* See Dr. Ganong's article on "A relic of the French occupation of New Brunswick," printed in the *Educational Review* in 1893.

† The authorities for the restoration in full of the Latin inscription and for the English translation are Bishop Howley, of Newfoundland, and Rev. Father Jones, of St. Mary's College, Montreal. I desire, in this connection, to express my obligation to Dr. W. F. Ganong who, having been at some pains in securing information on this point, generously supplied it to me. W. O. R.

The inscription is clearly and neatly wrought, but not with sufficient skill to suggest the hand of a practised stone engraver. It was, in all probability, cut by Father Loyard himself with a pocket knife. The name P. Danielou, Loyard's successor, who came upon the river about 1730, faintly scratched on the lower left-hand corner, is evidently a later addition; its presence there, however, is of historic interest and will be again referred to.

French missionaries labored at a very early period for the conversion of the St. John river Indians. The first at the Meductie village, of whom we have any definite knowledge, was Father Simon, one of the Recollet priests of the Franciscan order. He is frequently mentioned by John Gyles in his narrative, and always in the most favorable terms. Indeed, had it not been for Father Simon's kindly interest the English captive would, on more than one occasion, have fallen a victim to the malice of his captors. In speaking of the barbarities practised by the savages upon their unfortunate prisoners, Gyles remarks:

"The priest of the river was of the order of St. Francis, a gentleman of a humane, generous disposition. In his sermons he severely reprehended the Indians for their barbarities to captives. He would often tell them that, excepting their errors in religion, the English were a better people than themselves."

There are several contemporary references to Father Simon. Charlevoix mentions him, as also does Villebon in his journal. Monsieur Tibierge in a memoir on Acadia, written at Fort Nashwaak,\* October 1, 1695, says:

"There are here two Recollets, Father Simon who, in reality, (*actuellement*) is with the savages of Medoktek, and Father Elizee, the chaplain at Fort Nashwaak. Father Simon ought to spend this autumn at Quebec to tender his submission (*obéissance*) to his Superior; he is a very conscientious man, who only concerns himself with the affairs of his mission. Father Elizee is a man so retiring that he does not seem to me to have meddled with aught but his ministerial functions."

Monsieur Champigny, the Intendant at Quebec, about the same time, October, 1695, wrote to the French minister that he had forwarded the census of the inhabitants on the river St. John, which had been made by Father Simon, the Recollet who was missionary on the river, and which might be relied on, he being a very honest man.

Such testimony as the above corroborates that of John Gyles, and shows Father Simon's devotion to the peaceable duties of his office. Yet

\* The site of this fort was just above the Nashwaak, on the bank of the St. John river, opposite Fredericton.

he could play the part of the warrior when called upon, as we learn from Governor Villebon's account of the defence of Fort Nashwaak in October, 1696, against the attack of the New England expedition, led by Colonels Hathorne and Church. See the following extract from Villebon's journal :

"I had written, on the 11th inst (*i. e.* October) to the Recollet, Father Simon, missionary to the savages of this region, to come quickly, and I signified him to engage all the savages to come down who were willing to fight with the English. He lost not a moment, and having sent out word on all sides, the savages being at the time dispersed upon the river, he arrived three hours after midday on the 14th, bringing thirty-six savages, and assured me of his earnest desire to remain at the fort, as the chaplain was then absent."

Nearly all our local historians have assumed that Father Simon brought his band of savages, or *neophytes* as they are termed by Charlevoix, from Aukpaque, but it is quite clear that Medoctee was Father Simon's headquarters, and many of the Indians, no doubt, came with him from that village or its neighborhood. We have the direct testimony of John Gyles that Medoctee was the chief village of the river. Gyles' release from the Indians was purchased in 1695 by Louis d'Amour, who then resided at the Jemseg, at the instance of Father Simon, and Gyles, after describing the transaction, goes on to say :— "On the day following Father Simon and my Indian master went up the river six and thirty leagues to their *chief village*."

It was while Father Simon was in charge at Medoctee that Bishop St. Valier, of Quebec, visited his mission. He came via the St. Francis to the river St. John, which he descended in a canoe, in order to visit the French settlements of Acadia. He slept at the Medoctee fort one night on his way down the river. An account of his tour is given in a book printed in Paris, in the year 1688, entitled "*Estat present de L'Eglise et de la Colonie Francaise dans la Nouvelle France, par M. L'Eveque de Quebec*." The Bishop's reference to his visit at Medoctee is as follows :

"The 18th [May, 1686] we slept at Medogtek, the first fort in Acadia, where I greatly cheered a hundred savages during my visit ; I told them I came on purpose to establish a mission in the place for their benefit. It is to be wished that the French who have their abode along the route were so steady in their habits as, by their example, to draw these poor people to Christianity ; but we must hope that with time the reformation of the one will conduce to the conversion of the other."

After the death or removal of Father Simon, the Jesuits seem to

have assumed the direction of spiritual affairs amongst the Indians. The first of their missionaries of whom we have any record is Jean Baptiste Loyard, whose name appears on the tablet before referred to. He was born in the Province of Aquitaine, October 18, 1678, and entered the Jesuit Society August 30, 1693. He came to America in 1708, and a few years later his name appears in the catalogue as one of the missionaries in Acadia, in all probability a missionary to the Indians of the river St. John, although it is not until the year 1716 that the name of his mission is specified: in the catalogue of that year it is given as "Medektek." It is evident that the French government was at this time very anxious to cement, in every possible way, their alliance with the native tribes of Acadia.\* On June 15, 1716, the French minister wrote:—

"It has seemed good to his majesty, in order to attach to us afresh the Abenaki savages settled in Acadia, to allow them the construction of the two churches that they have desired in the missions of the river St. John and Narantsouak [Kennebec], and his majesty has been pleased to place to their account a sum of 1200 livres, agreeably to the proposal of the Sieur Begon. The Sieurs de Vaudreil and Begon will take care that it is expended to advantage, and it is desirable that this sum, with that which the savages themselves can raise, should suffice to build the two churches."

In reply the Marquis de Vaudreil wrote that he had promised to have the churches built; they would cost little and would be the means of attaching the Indians more firmly than ever to the French. A year later, October 14, 1716, Vaudreil and Begon, in their joint note to the French minister, say:—

"The savages of the missions of the river St. John and of Narantsouak will furnish a quantity of beaver as a contribution towards the cost of building the two churches for which the king has granted this year 1200 livres."

The date on the memorial tablet (A. D. 1717) shows that the walls of the church were raised and the building enclosed the next year. A year later the king of France made a further grant of 1200 livres toward the churches at Medoctec and Narantsouak, and in 1720 a third grant of a like sum which the governor and intendant were desired to have expended with a view to the completion of the work by the aid of such assistance as the Indians themselves could afford. In the autumn

\* This policy had been followed, however, from the first. Amongst the presents sent out by the French government in the year 1683, by the frigate *La Suzanne*, for the savages in Acadia were the following articles for the Malecites:—Bayonets; 575 lbs good powder; muskets, 5 excellent and 30 ordinary; shirts, 10 at 50s. and 60 at 25s., 1 pair of stockings, 1 gold laced hat, 1 Rouen blanket, 500 lbs of lead in bullets, 100 lbs of lead in bars.

of the same year, October 26, 1720, the Marquis de Vaudreil had the satisfaction of reporting:

"The churches of Narantsonak and Medoctek are finished; they are well built and will prove an inducement to attach the savages to those missions."\*

Reference is made to the erection of the church at Medoctek in the obituary letter received by the French missionaries of the Society of Jesus, on the occasion of the death of Father Loyard in 1731, in which there occurs the following passage:

"After the example of the prophet he (Loyard) loved the beauty of the house of the Lord; he omitted nothing for the beautifying of His altars and, although in the profound depths of the forest, he knew how to construct a beautiful church (*belle église*), properly adorned, and to furnish it abundantly with holy vessels and ornaments sufficiently rich."

Here we have, in brief, the documentary evidence respecting the first church built upon the river St. John—very probably the first church built within the limits of this province. The church may have been dedicated to St. John Baptist, as the saint in whose honor the river itself had been named by Champlain. Father Loyard is mentioned in the catalogue of 1727 as "Miss. St. J. Bapt.," the name, perhaps, referring to the church, but more probably to the river. †

Among the royal gift to the Chapel was a bell, the same which now hangs in the Chapel at the French village above Fredericton. Its clear, sweet tones heard amongst the depths of the forest upon the banks of the river St. John, as they rang out the call to prayer, must have proved a novel sound in the savage ears 180 years ago.

In 1722 Father Loyard went to France to plead the cause of his mission. He bore letters of recommendation from the Marquis de Vaudreil, who says that he had been a long time the missionary of the St. John river. Vaudreil's correspondence shows that Loyard was intrusted with civic as well as with ecclesiastical functions within the limits of his mission. For example, the Acadians who removed to the river St. John in 1718 were informed that they would receive tracts of land on application to Father Loyard, who had been empowered to grant

\* These extracts are taken from the four volumes of documents relative to Nouvelle France published by the Quebec government, and will be found under their respective dates.

† Bishop St. Valier, in the account of his visit to the river in 1686 uses the name St. Jean Baptiste in describing the Grand Falls: "The following day, 17th of May, we saw the place which is called the great fall of St. John Baptist (le grand Sault Saint Jean Baptiste) where the river St. John, falling over a very high rock, as a terrible cataract into an abyss makes a mist which hides the water from view, and makes a roar that warns from afar the navigators descending in their canoes."

them. All the French missionaries of Acadia were at this time exhorted to use their influence in maintaining a firm alliance between the Indians and French, and to that end annual presents, supplied by the king of France, were sent to the priests in charge of the missions for distribution among their people. The appropriation for this purpose amounted to about 4,000 livres per annum, and the governor and intendant of New France were charged to exercise due care that the presents were disposed of to the best advantage. That the Indians were shrewd enough to discern the motives of the French court is evident from the statement of the Marquis de Vaudreil that it would be necessary to continue the bestowal of presents annually, because the savages complained that they were provided for only when their services were wanted; the French must continue their attention in time of peace if they expected their help against the English in time of war.

After a short absence Father Loyard again returned to his mission, where he laboured until his death, which occurred on the night of the 24th or 25th June, 1731. The obituary letter\* in which the other missionaries were informed of the decease of

*Jean Loyard*

[Fac simile in 1708]

Father Loyard, contains a glowing eulogy of his life and character. He is described as a man of great talents and rare virtues, esteemed and beloved by all classes, and in his death universally lamented both by the French and the Indians. He had devoted nearly twenty-four years of his life to the conversion and improvement of the savages, and had filled all the requirements of a perfect missionary. Called to Quebec for the benefit of his health, which had become seriously impaired, he had hardly recovered from the fatigue of the journey before he requested leave to return to his ancient mission of Medoctec, where his presence appeared necessary. It was in the faithful discharge of his duties among the sick that he contracted the disease, of which he died, in the midst of his flock, over which, as a good pastor, he had watched incessantly, with the satisfaction of seeing abundantly the fruit of his care and toil. The memory of so excellent a missionary would serve for a long time as a benediction upon his people.

His successor was Jean Pierre Danielou, whose presence at Medoctec has already been indicated by the occurrence of his name on the memorial tablet. He seems to have been a scholarly man, and was

\* For much of the information respecting the Jesuit missionary Jean Baptiste Loyard, and his successor, Jean Pierre Danielou, and also for the fac simile of the autograph of the former, I am indebted to Rev. Father Jones, of St. Mary's College, Montreal. The obituary letter written on the occasion of Loyard's death will be found in the appendix.

employed for some years as a teacher in the college at Quebec. He entered the Society of the Jesuits in 1713, but did not make his solemn profession of the four vows till 1730. He took holy orders some time prior to 1726. We first hear of him on the river St. John in connection with the census made by him in the year 1730, which shows that there were then but 22 Acadian families on the river, most of them settled at St. Anne's point. The proximity of this little French colony undoubtedly enhanced the importance of the Indian encampment at Aukpaque, which now, for the first time, comes to be commonly spoken of by name in French and English documents. The presence of Father Danielou on the river St. John was not regarded with complacency by the English authorities, who charged him with encouraging in the Indians a spirit hostile to their interests. He died May 23, 1744. His successor Father Charles Germain, also of the Society of Jesus, was still less a *persona grata* to the English governor and his council at Halifax. For twenty years he was the authorized agent of the French, and in conjunction with the Abbé le Loutre, he exerted himself in the endeavor to keep the Indians in a state of active hostility to the English, even when the crowned heads of the two great nations, that so long had contended for the sovereignty of Acadia, were ostensibly at peace.\* The Bishop of Quebec seems by no means to have approved of the conduct of Abbé le Loutre and Father Germain. To the former he wrote several letters of remonstrance, in one of which he says: "I reminded you a long time ago that a priest ought not to meddle with temporal affairs."

The Maliseets at this time desired to remain quiet, and the French governor of Quebec, in April, 1752, complained "that it was very difficult to keep them from making peace with the English, though Father Germain was doing his best to keep them on the war path." Germain's efforts were not fruitless, however, for war parties from the river St. John proceeded to Beausejour and there participated in various forays, in which many harmless English settlers around the head of the Bay of Fundy were killed. The names of at least two of the chiefs who took part in the expeditions to this quarter have been preserved in old documents. One of these, "Pierre, chief of Medoctek," appends his signature to a receipt for supplies valued at 486 livres, consisting of cattle, bread, flour and other provisions furnished by the French of

\* There is ample documentary evidence to show that le Loutre and Germain were acting under the instigation of the Governor of Quebec. For example, on the 9th October, 1749, the Governor wrote the French Minister: "It will be the missionaries who will manage all the negotiations and direct the movements of the savages, who are in excellent hands, as the Reverend Father Germain and Monsieur l'Abbé le Loutre are very capable of making the most of them and using them to the greatest advantage to our interests."



Mirus, for the subsistence of a Maliseet war party from the river St. John. Subsequent to this the Abbé le Loutre mentions in one of his letters the presence at Beausejour of "Toubick, chief of the Medocteck savages of the river St. John."

Although from the earliest known time the Maliseets had a favorite camping place at Medoctec, their residence at that village was by no means constant. There were camping places at the mouths of the Meduxnakie, Becaguinec, Tobique and other streams to which they frequently resorted. At the time of the terrible pestilence, mentioned by John Gyles, in 1694, they forsook Medoctec altogether. They returned, however, a few years later, and the place would seem to have been again the chief village of the river when the chapel of Saint Jean Baptiste was built by Father Loyard. After the French had established themselves at St. Anne's point and below the Keswick, where there was also a small French settlement in early times, the village at Aukpaque acquired greater prominence than before, and in 1745, if we may judge from Capt. Wm. Pote's journal,\* it was about on an equality with Medoctec. About that time, or perhaps a little later, a chapel was built at Aukpaque. After the close of the old French war in 1763 Medoctec continued to decline until in the year 1767 Father Charles Francois Baillie enters in his register: "The last Indian at Medoctec having died, I caused the bell and other articles to be transported to Ekpahaugh."† Presumably the bell and other articles were removed from the chapel at Medoctec to that at Aukpaque and if so the chapel of St. Jean Baptiste appears to have been standing in 1767, and as it is described in the Loyard obituary letter as "a fine church" (*une belle église*) and stated by the Marquis de Vandreil to have been "well built," it is just possible that it may have been the identical church which Captain Munro mentions as still standing at the time of his visit in 1783.

The account of the late M. H. Perley of the ravaging of the St. John river in 1760 by a party of rangers that marched through from Quebec on snowshoes under Capt Rogers does not appear to be sustained by any documentary evidence. It is improbable that Capt. Rogers was ever at Medoctec. There was a Rogers with Col. Monckton on the St. John in 1758, when he went up and mercilessly burned and destroyed everything he could lay hands on as far as a few miles above Jemseg. In March 1759 a company of rangers under Capt. McCurdy and Lieut. Moses Hazen went up the river and demolished the French settlements and

\* See appendix.

† That is to Aukpaque. The Rev. Wm. O'Leary, P. P. at the French Village above Fredericton, says that the bell still hangs in the chapel at French Village. It has upon it the French *fleur de lis*.

burned the chapel at St. Anne's. They committed acts of cruelty and wantonness, of which General Amherst expressed his abhorrence and said that the killing of women and helpless children sullied the merit of the whole enterprise in his eyes.

After the downfall of Quebec Father Germain tendered his submission to the British authorities, but they evidently mistrusted him, for he was soon afterwards removed to Quebec, where he died in 1779. After his removal until the close of the revolutionary war the churches on the St. John were served at intervals by M. Baillie and M. Bourg, who were in turn appointed missionaries to the Indians. When the loyalists arrived, in 1783, an Indian chapel was standing in a good state of preservation in the vicinity of the old Meductic fort.\* That this was the chapel of St. John Baptist, built by Loyard in 1717, is rather doubtful. A building constructed of such perishable materials, could hardly be expected to be standing and in good repair after the lapse of more than sixty years. It is very probable that the first Indian chapel stood at the spot where the tablet was discovered by Mr. A. R. Hay, and which is marked in the plan. The illustration of this tablet which appears as a frontispiece is taken from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr. Hay.

The position of the old grave yard is shown in the plan of the Meductic Fort and its surroundings, which appears at page 6. The ground here has never been disturbed with the plough, the owners showing a proper regard for the spot as the resting place of the dead. Many holes are found, however, that have been dug from time to time by relic hunters and seekers of buried treasure, some of them since filled with stones carried from the bench. The relics brought to light here and on the site of the old camping ground below include such things as spear heads, flint arrow heads, stone pipes, large stones hollowed out as if for grinding corn, stone corn-crushers, celts, French coins (copper), knives, hatchets, flint-locks, beads, flints, clay pipes (about half the size of the modern), silver rings and buttons. Probably many more such articles may some day be found beneath the roots of some good-sized trees that have grown up in several places. The whole grave-yard is so thickly overgrown with hawthorns as to be a perfect jungle, difficult even to penetrate. On the site of the old camping ground, just below the grave yard, Mr. A. R. Hay has found the remains of wigwam fire places, sometimes in a very perfect state of preservation. There is usually a

\* The site of this chapel may, however, have been at the mouth of the Meduxnakié. See reference in connection with Capt. Munro's letter farther on.

circle of stones about two feet in diameter, discolored and broken by the heat, and scattered around them cinders, bones, broken clay pipes, beads, etc. It is not unlikely that many of these remains are of comparatively recent origin. There are indications of a double row of huts, or wigwams, one about fifty feet from the bank of the river, and another about the same distance in rear of the first. A considerable portion of the bank in front of the old fort has been washed away by the spring freshets. Some years ago, when a part of the bank in front of the old grave-yard broke away, a number of Indian relics were brought to light, showing that a part of the old camping ground has disappeared. In the oldest plans in the Crown Lands Office, at Fredericton, the site of the fort is called Meductic Point. The point was undoubtedly once a more prominent feature than it is now. Very probably when the Maliseets first planted their wigwams there the gravel beach, or sand bar, shown in the plan, was covered with soil and forest, and below it was a little cove that served admirably as a landing place for canoes. The old fort stood about the centre of the fine bit of interval land that here extends for about three quarters of a mile along the riverside. The island just above was called Meductic Island; it is mentioned in connection with a grant made in October, 1784, of the lands bordering the river in the present parish of Woodstock to the disbanded officers and soldiers of DeLancey's brigade. The small creek which enters the river at the foot of the island, known as Hay's Creek, is noted for the beautiful water fall about a mile from its mouth. Although the volume of water is not large, the height of the fall, 95 feet perpendicular, is remarkable, surpassing, by at least ten feet, the Grand Falls of the river St. John.\* Hay's Creek is called "Meductic river" in some of the early maps and land grants, but this name was, in all probability, borrowed from the adjoining village. This circumstance, however, has rendered the phraseology of certain documents dated about the time of the coming of the English settlers very misleading, for the reader naturally associates the name of Meductic with the old French *Medoëtec*, or Eel river. This point will again be referred to in its proper place.

Turning again to the plan of the fort and its surroundings the reader will notice a spot marked A\* near the north-east corner of the old Indian burial ground. Here there is an extensive mass of ashes and cinders, with numberless bones scattered about. It is, in all probability, the site of the old council fire. Standing at the spot the visitor seems almost in

\* Mr. John C. Miles, one of the members of the N. B. Historical Society, made a sketch of this fall a few years since and called it "Moss Glen Cascade," but in the neighborhood it is known by the more prosaic name of Hay's Falls.

touch with scenes there enacted centuries ago. 'Here it was that the *Sieur de Clignancourt* and others of the *couvreurs de bois* bargained with the savages, giving them in exchange for their furs and peltry an indifferent compensation in French goods, trinkets, rum and brandy. Here Villebon harangued his dusky allies, and wampum belts were exchanged in token of eternal friendship between the Frenchman and the Maliseet; here the horrible dog feast was celebrated and the hatchet brandished by the warriors on the eve of their departure to deluge in blood the homes of the settlers of New England; here, at the stake, the luckless captive yielded up his life and chaunted his death-song; here good Father Simon taught as best he might the elements of the Christian faith and tamed the fierceness of their manners; here, too, when weary of fighting, the hatchet was buried and the council fire glowed its brightest as the rival chiefs together smoked the calumet of peace.

Some have supposed the old Meductic Fort to have been quite an elaborate structure, with bastions, etc.; but it was probably only a rude Indian fortification, ditch and parapet, surmounted by a stockade, within which was a strongly built cabin, in size about thirty by forty feet.

We gain some knowledge of the condition of Medoctec and its inhabitants upwards of two hundred years ago, from the narrative of John Gyles,\* an English lad, who was captured at Pennaquid, west of Penob-

scot, on the coast of Maine, in the year 1689, and brought by his Indian master to Medoctec, where he lived nearly six years a captive. The war in which Gyles was taken captive is known in history as King William's war,

after the English monarch in whose reign it occurred. Later Indian wars are known as Queen Anne's war, Lovewell or Dummer's war, and King George's war. Medoctec furnished its quota of warriors in all these wars, as appears from the writings of Charlevoix, Villebon and others. King William's war broke out in 1688 and lasted, with little intermission, for ten years. It was the most dreadful war recorded in Acadian annals. Every English settlement in Maine, save Wells, York,

\*John Gyles lived at Roxbury, Mass., in his latter days. He published, at Boston, in 1736, his narrative, above referred to, under the title, "Memoirs of the odd adventures, strange deliverances, etc., in the captivity of John Gyles, Esq., commander of the garrison on St. George's River." This book is now of great rarity; a copy is in Harvard College library. S. G. Drake reprinted the narrative in his "Wilderness Tragedies," published at Boston in 1846, but made slight alterations in the text throughout. Wm. Dodge, of Chelmsford, in 1869, and James Hannay, of St. John, N. B., in 1875 reprinted Gyles' Narrative, but in both instances Drake's disordered text has been followed. The extracts inserted in this paper have, for the most part, been taken from the original edition in the Harvard College library, and I am indebted to Mr. M. Chamberlain for the same. W. O. R.

*John Gyles*

Kittery, and the Isle of Shoals, was overrun and probably a thousand white people killed or taken prisoners.

The following is John Gyles' account of his journey from Penobscot to Medoctee :—

My Indian master carried me up Penobscot River to a village called *Matawamkeag*, which stands on a point of land between the main river and a branch which leads to the east of it.

At home I had ever seen strangers treated with the utmost civility, and, being a stranger, expected some kind treatment here; but soon found myself deceived, for I presently saw a number of squaws got together in a circle, dancing and yelling. An old grimace squaw took me by the hand and leading me into the ring, some seized me by my hair and others by my feet, like so many furies; but, my master laying down a pledge, they released me. A captive among the Indians is exposed to all manner of abuses and to the extremest tortures, unless their master or some of their master's relatives lay down a ransom, such as a bag of corn, a blanket, or the like, which redeems them from their cruelty for that dance, so that he shall not be touched by any.

The next day we went up that eastern branch of Penobscot [Mattawamkeag] many leagues; carried over land to a large pond [Grand Lake] and from one pond to another [North Lake to Eel Lake], till, in a few days, we went down a river\* which vents itself into St. John's river. But, before we came to the mouth of this river, we carried over a long carrying place to *Medoctock* Fort, which stands on a bank of St. John's river. My Indian master went before and left me with an old Indian and three squaws. The old man often said (which was all the English he could speak): "By and by come to a great town and fort." So that I comforted myself in thinking how finely I should be refreshed when I came to this great town.

After some miles travel we came in sight of a large corn-field, and soon after of the fort, to my great surprise; for two or three squaws met us, took off my pack and led me to a large hut or wigwam, where thirty or forty Indians were dancing and yelling round five or six poor captives, who had been taken some months before from *Quochecha*† at the time Major Waldron was so barbarously butchered by them. \* \* \* \* \*

I was whirled in among this circle of Indians, and we prisoners looked on each other with sorrowful countenance. Presently one of them was seized by each hand and foot by four Indians, who, swinging him up, let his back fall on the ground with full force till they danced, as they called it, round the whole wigwam, which was thirty or forty feet in length. But when they torture a boy they take him up between two. This is one of the customs of torturing captives. Another is to take up a person by the middle, with his head downwards, and jolt him round until one would think his bowels would shake out of his mouth. Sometimes they will take a captive by the hair of the head and, stooping him forward, strike him

\* *Medoctock River*. [Foot note in the original narrative].

† Now Dover, New Hampshire, on the river Cochecho. The reader will find it of interest to compare the description given by John Gyles of the cruelty of the Malisets to their captives with the corresponding account of Captain William Pote. (See appendix to this paper.) The Indian women seem to have been even more cruel in their treatment of captives than were the men. It was, perhaps, for this reason that Indian female captives were not always spared in time of war.

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on the back and shoulders till the blood gushes out of his mouth and nose. Sometimes an old shrivelled squaw will take up a shovel of hot coals and throw them into a captive's bosom. If he cry out the Indians will laugh and shout and say "What a brave action our old grandmother has done." Sometimes they torture them with whips, &c.

The Indians looked on me with a fierce countenance, as much as to say it will be your turn next. They champed cornstalks, which they threw into my hat as I held it in my hand. I smiled on them though my heart ached. I looked on one and another, but could not perceive that any eye pitied me. Presently came a squaw and a little girl and laid down a bag of corn in the ring. The little girl took me by the hand, making signs for me to come out of the circle with them. Not knowing their custom, I supposed they designed to kill me, and refused to go. Then a grave Indian came and gave me a pipe and said, in English, "Smoke it;" then he took me by the hand and led me out. My heart ached, thinking myself near my end. But he carried me to a French hut about a mile from the Indian fort. The Frenchman was not at home, but his wife, who was a squaw, had some discourse with my Indian friend, which I did not understand. We tarried about two hours, then returned to the Indian village, where they gave me some victuals. Not long after I saw one of my fellow-captives, who gave me a melancholy account of their sufferings after I left them.

After some weeks had passed we left the village and went up St. John's River about ten miles to a branch called *Medockscenecasis*, where there was one wigwam. At our arrival an old squaw saluted me with a yell, taking me by the hair and one hand, but I was so rude as to break her hold and quit myself—she gave me a filthy grin, and the Indians set up a laugh—so it passed over. Here we lived on fish, wild grapes, roots, &c., which was hard living for me.

The place where Gyles found one wigwam at the time of his visit in the autumn of 1689, is now the site of Woodstock, a town of some 4,000 inhabitants. There was an old camping ground\* at the mouth of the Meduxnakie—or, as Gyles calls it, the Medockscenecasis river. On the islands and intervals at Woodstock the writer of this paper, when a boy, often gathered wild grapes, butternuts and cherries, which grew there in abundance, and many another boy has done the same, without a thought of John Gyles that first of white boys who, a lonely little exile, over whose head but ten summers had passed, trod these intervals more than two hundred years ago.

In order to afford a better idea of the habits and manner of life of the Indians at Medoctec at this period we shall follow the narrative of Gyles a little farther:—

\* The site of this Indian camping ground at the time of Gyles' visit was no doubt either on the flat just below the mouth of the Meduxnakie or possibly on the head of the island just opposite. It is apparent to the most casual observer that the channel between this island and the mainland has been formed by the action of the water during spring freshets. An old Indian, who died at Woodstock a few years ago, at the age of nearly one hundred years, commonly known as Doctor Tomah, a grandson of the old chieftain, Pierre Tomah (who figured in the French war and also in the Revolutionary war), used to say his father could remember when the island joined the mainland. When the St. John river is low the Meduxnakie still follows its old channel around the head of the island. The fishing at the mouth of the stream, before the erection of saw mills, was excellent.

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When the winter came on we went up the river, till the ice came down running thick in the river, when, according to the Indian custom, we laid up our canoes till spring. Then we travelled, sometimes on the ice and sometimes on land, till we came to a river that was open, but not fordable, where we made a raft and passed over bag and baggage. I met with no abuse from them in this winter's hunting, though I was put to great hardships in carrying burdens and for want of food. But they underwent the same difficulty, and would often encourage me by saying, in broken English, "By and by great deal moose." Yet they could not answer any question I asked them; and, knowing very little of their customs and ways of life, I thought it tedious to be constantly moving from place to place, yet it might be in some respects an advantage, for it ran still in my mind that we were travelling to some settlement; and when my burden was over heavy, and the Indians left me behind, and the still evening came on, I fancied I could see thro' the bushes and hear the people of some great town; which hope might be some support to me in the day, though I found not the town at night.

As Mr. Hannay observes, there is something inexpressibly pathetic in this part of Gyles' narrative. The reader will remember he was but a child of ten years of age, illfed and scantily clad when he had thus to bear his burthen through the forest after his Indian master. The narrative continues: —

Thus were we hunting three hundred miles from the sea, and knew no man within fifty or sixty miles of us. We were eight or ten in number, and had but two guns on which we wholly depended for food. If any disaster had happened we must all have perished. Sometimes we had no manner of sustenance for three or four days; but God wonderfully provides for all creatures. \* \* \*

We moved still further up the country after the moose, when our store gave out; so that by the spring we had got to the northward of the Lady Mountains.\* When the spring came and the rivers broke up we moved back to the head of St. John's river and there made canoes of moose hides, sewing three or four together and pitching the seams with balsam, mixed with charcoal. Then we went down the river to a place called *Madawescok*. There an old man lived and kept a sort of trading house, where we tarried several days; then we went further down the river till we came to the greatest falls in these parts, called *Checan-ekpeag*,† where we carried our canoes a little way over land, and putting off our canoes we went down stream still, and, as we passed the mouths of any large branches, we saw Indians, but when any dance was proposed I was bought off. At length we arrived at the place where we left our birch canoes in the fall, and, putting our baggage into them, went down to the fort.

There we planted corn, and, after planting, went a fishing, and to look for and dig roots till the corn was fit to weed. After weeding we took a second tour on foot on the same errand, then returned to hill up our corn. After hilling we went some distance from the fort and field, up the river, to take salmon and other

\* The mountains of Notre Dame, near the river St. Lawrence.

† The Grand Falls, still called by the St. John river Indians *Chik-seen-eag-i-beg*, which, according to Dr. W. F. Ganong, means "a destroying giant."

fish, which we dried for food, where we continued till the corn was filled with milk ; some of it we dried then, the other as it ripened.

The narrative of Gyles shows that the Indians at this period regularly planted corn at Medoctec. When the second spring of his captivity arrived Gyles' Indian master and his wife paid a visit to Canada before returning from their winter's hunting, but sent their young captive down to Medoctec to assist in planting corn. The welfare of captives seems to have been fairly well looked after by their Indian masters, probably as much from motives of self-interest as humanity. In the absence of his master Gyles met with a most lamentable experience on his return to the fort at the hands of a party of Cape Sable Indians, who, having lost some friends, killed by a number of English fishermen, came some hundreds of miles to revenge themselves upon such unfortunate English captives as they might find at Medoctec. On his arrival they rushed upon Gyles, as he says, like bears bereaved of their whelps, saying "Shall we, who have lost relations by the English, suffer an English man to be heard among us?" He and another white prisoner, James Alexander, were treated in the most brutal fashion ; their tortures being such as caused "tears to run down plentifully on the cheeks of a Frenchman, who sat behind." Finally the luckless captives were thrown out of the wigwam by the Indians, and in such a bruised and battered condition that they crawled away on their hands and feet, and were scarcely able to walk for several days. Gyles' experience was mild compared to that of his brother, taken at Pemaquid at the same time as himself, who, with another captive, was horribly tortured and then burned at the stake at Penobscot fort for attempting to desert.

The Indians, although cruel to their enemies, were not without a certain sense of justice, as appears from the following incident related by Gyles, which occurred after he had been several years a captive :

While at the Indian village I had been cutting wood and binding it up with an Indian rope in order to carry it to the wigwam. A stout illnatured young fellow, about twenty years of age, threw me backward, set on my breast, pulled out his knife, and said he would kill me, for he had never yet killed one of the English. I told him he might go to war, and that would be more manly than to kill a poor captive, who was doing their drudgery for them. Notwithstanding all I could say he began to cut and stab me on my breast. I seized him by the hair and, tumbling him off of me, followed him with my fists and knee with such application that he soon cried "enough." But when I saw the blood run from my bosom and felt the smart of the wounds he had given me, I hit him again, and bid him get up, and not lie there like a dog ; told him of his former abuses offered to me and other poor captives, and that if ever he offered the like to me again I would pay him double.



I sent him before me, and, taking up my burden of wood, came to the Indians, and told them the whole truth, and they commended me. And I do not remember that ever he offered me the least abuse afterwards, though he was big enough to have dispatched two of me.

The narrative of John Gyles supplies the most accurate description we possess of the habits and customs of the Maliseets at this period ; many particulars gleaned from it will be found in Hannay's *Acadia*, pp. 46-55. The limits of necessity assigned to this paper will not admit of further quotation on these points. It is greatly to be desired that a good reprint of the original edition of the Gyles narrative should be issued at an early day.

In 1693 and 1694, while John Gyles was still at Medoctec, there swept over eastern Maine and New Brunswick a pestilence that proved very fatal to the Indians. Governor Villebon mentions it in his journal.\* Many of the warriors, including the chief of the St. John river, died. The Indians were a very superstitious people, and they believed the dire calamity that befell their tribe was preceded by a distinct warning ; it would almost appear from his narrative that Gyles shared in their opinion. He says :

In the latter part of summer, or the beginning of autumn, the Indians were frequently frightened by the appearance of strange Indians passing up and down this river in canoes, and about that time the next year died more than one hundred persons, old and young ; all or most of those who saw these strange Indians. The priest said it was a sort of plague. A person, seeming in perfect health, would bleed at the mouth and nose, turn blue in spots and die in two or three hours. The Indians all scattered, it being at the worst as winter came on, and the blow was so great to them that they did not settle or plant at their village while I was on the river, and I know not whether they have to this day. Before they thus deserted the village, when they came in from hunting, they would be drunk and fight for several days and nights together, till they had spent most of their skins in wine and brandy, which was brought to the village by a Frenchman called Monsieur Sigentionoor.

The proper name of the person here referred to by Gyles was René d'Amour, Sieur de Clignancourt. He was one of four brothers who came to Acadia a few years previously, sons of Mathieu d'Amour, formerly of Bretagne, but at this time a member of the council at Quebec. As was frequently the case with the old French families of that time, each son appears to have taken a title from some part of the ancient family domain ; the brothers d'Amour accordingly figure in Acadian history as Louis d'Amour, Sieur de Chauffour ; Mathieu d'Amour, Sieur de

\* See Murdoch's *History N. S.*, Vol. I., p. 213, under date 17 September, 1694.

Freneuse; René d'Amour, Sieur de Clignancourt; and Bernard d'Amour, Sieur de Plenne. All of the brothers possessed extensive seigniories on the river St. John; that of Bernard lay at the mouth of the Kennebecasis; that of Louis at the mouth of the Jemseg; that of Mathieu at the Oromocto, including a tract on both sides the St. John river. The location of the seignior of René d'Amour, Sieur de Clignancourt, is a matter concerning which there has been some difference of opinion. The title of the original concession or grant is as follows:

"Concession de M. de la Barre, gouverneur du Canada, et M. de Meulle, intendant de la Nouvelle France, à René d'Amour, Sieur de Clignancourt, de terres à la rivière Saint Jean, près de Medoctek, le 20 Septembre, 1684."

In the concession the bounds of the seignior are described as follows:

"De terres non-concédées le long de la rivière Saint Jean, depuis le lieu de Medoctek, icelui compris jusqu'à un long saut qui se trouve en remontant la dite rivière Saint Jean."

From this description it appears that the seignior of Clignancourt comprised all the lands between Medoctek and the "long falls" two leagues in depth on each side of the river St. John, with the islands in the river. The late Moses H. Perley and others have expressed the opinion that the "long falls" are the Meductic rapids twelve miles below the fort. Dr. Ganong thinks the "long falls" are the Grand Falls, which are distant nearly eighty miles above. Reference to the original documents at Quebec may suffice to settle the point in dispute.

The conditions upon which the ancient seignior held his lands are very well described by Parkman in his "Old Regime in Canada." The seignior received his concession gratuitously from the crown of France. He was bound to bear faith and homage (foi et homage) to the French monarch at the Chateau de St. Louis, Quebec, at stated periods. Provision was also made in the concession for the reservation of oaks for the royal navy and of all mines and minerals, also of land required for roadways or fortifications. The seignior was obliged to place on his land a certain number of tenants, and to clear and improve a certain portion within a stated time.

René d'Amour made little or no attempt to fulfil these conditions, but contented himself with carrying on an extensive trade with the Indians, securing their furs and peltry and giving them in return French

goods, trinkets, rum and brandy.\* For about sixteen years he was thus engaged, his operations extending from Aukpaque to the Grand Falls. The Frenchmen incidentally mentioned by Gyles as living about the Meductic Fort may have been in his employ. Whilst the Sieur de Clignancourt spent part of his time at Medoctec, in prosecution of his Indian trade, it is not improbable that his residence — if such a ranger of the woods could be said to have a fixed residence, was at the Island of Cleoncore,† below the mouth of the Keswick. The intimate acquaintance of René d'Amour and the Indians was no doubt the reason why he was placed, by Villebon, as a leader of the savage warriors who assisted in the defence of Fort Nashwaak when attacked by the English in October 1696. After the English had retired Villebon stirred up the Indians to make a grand raid upon the New England settlements. René d'Amour and Father Simon accompanied the expedition, which, although one of the largest gatherings of savages ever assembled in Acadia, did not, after all, accomplish very much.

The French abandoned the St. John river about the year 1700 and did not return until thirty years later. We find occasional references in old documents to the Sieur de Clignancourt. Upon the abandonment of the St. John river he retired to Annapolis and subsequently to Quebec. His claims to his immense seigniory were forfeited when he left the country.

It is impossible, in such a paper as this, to trace in detail the part played by the Indians of Medoctec in the prolonged struggle between England and France down to the treaty of Paris in 1763. The reader will find a good deal of information concerning the leading episodes of the war that prevailed in the reign of William and Mary, in Charlevoix's *Histoire Nouvelle France* and in Villebon's *Journal*.‡ Among modern

\* Grave complaints were made against the *coureurs de bois* at this period.

† The Marquis de Denonville, governor of Canada, in a letter to the French minister, dated at Quebec, Nov. 10, 1686, mentions the return of the Bishop of Quebec from his Acadian tour and adds: — "Il vous rendra compte de la grande quantité de désordres qui se font dans le bois par les malheureux libertins qui sont comme des sauvages depuis longtemps, sans avoir rien fait du tout pour le culture des terres."

‡ The brothers d'Amour were charged by Villebon with being "wholly spoiled by prolonged lawlessness and the manners they had acquired among the Indians." Elsewhere he says: "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." However, as Mr. Hannay observes, Acadia was so full of cabals that even these positive statements of Villebon must be taken with allowance. Three of the brothers, Bernard, Mathieu and Louis, had not only goods and cattle, but wives also, as is shown by the census of 1685, and by the narrative of John Gyles. We have also the statement of M. de La Rivière, M. Champigny, in 1695, that: "The sons of the Sieur d'Amour, Councillor at Quebec, who are settled on the river St. John apply themselves chiefly to the cultivation of their land, and raising of cattle. It is very unfortunate, my lord, that anyone should have informed you that they live a life of lawlessness with the savages, since I have reliable testimony that their conduct is very good."

§ This name is found in many of the old plans in the Crown Land office at Fredericton. It is probable, as suggested by the late Mr. Edward Jack, that Cleoncore is a corruption of Clignancourt. An early census gives Ekopag (Aukpaque) as René d'Amour's residence; the island Cleoncore is in the immediate vicinity of Aukpaque.

¶ There are some valuable manuscripts, including a portion of Villebon's *Journal*, in the Boston Public Library. The period to which they relate is the close of the 17th century, and there is frequent mention of Medoctec and other places on the St. John river.

writers Parkman, Murdoch, Hannay, Justin Winsor and others have dealt more or less fully both with King William's and later Indian wars. A study of the records that have been preserved will suffice to show that the Maliseets of Medoctec took their full share in the fighting. While Villebon was governor of Acadia he conducted affairs with marked ability, but seems to have done little to mitigate the barbarity of his savage allies. In his journal he records the capture of "an English savage" on the lower St. John, and adds: "I gave him to our savages to be burned, which they did the next day. One could add nothing to the torments which they made him suffer." A candid study of the history of the period will show, however, that whilst the Indians were guilty of acts of barbarity and treachery, the English themselves were not free from blame in this respect, and more than once the savages had reason to complain of acts of treachery and barbarity on the part of their more civilized enemy. Bounties were, on several occasions, offered for Indian scalps by the authorities of Massachusetts and Nova Scotia.

Dummer's treaty,\* made at Boston in 1726, afforded a breathing spell to the tribes of Acadia. Three chiefs and about twenty-six warriors from Medoctec went to Annapolis Royal, in May 1728, to ratify this treaty and make their submission to the British government. Governor Armstrong made them presents, entertained them several days and sent them away apparently well satisfied.

After a short interval hostilities recommenced, but in 1749 a deputation of Indians from the St. John river, including the chief of Medoctec, went to Halifax and renewed the treaty. Before long another rupture ensued, which lasted until the taking of Quebec by Gen. Wolfe in 1759. The year after this great event several of the Indian chiefs went to Halifax once more to renew the treaty of 1726, and at their conference with the Governor in Council a tariff of prices was settled which the Indians were to be allowed for furs and skins and to pay for supplies. The unit of value was one pound of the fur of the spring beaver, commonly known as "one beaver," equivalent in value to five shillings. The following articles were to be sold to the Indians at the following prices:—Large blanket, 2 "beavers;" 2 yards stroud, 3 ditto; 14lbs pork, 1 ditto; 30lbs flour, 1 ditto; 2½ gallons molasses, 1 ditto; 2 gallons of rum, 1 ditto, and other articles in proportion. Furs and skins were valued by the same standard. Otter skin equal to 1 "beaver;" 3 sable or martin skins, 1 "beaver;" fisher skin, 1 do.; 6 mink skins, 1 do.;

\* So called after its chief promoter, Lieut. Gov. William Dummer, of Massachusetts. A facsimile of this treaty is contained in the volume of Nova Scotia Archives, edited by Thos. B. Atkins, and published at Halifax in 1869.

bear skin (large and in good season),  $1\frac{1}{2}$  do.; red fox,  $\frac{1}{2}$  do.; black fox, 2 do.; silver fox,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  do.; 10 musquash skins, 1 do.; large moose skin,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  do.; large luciffee, 2 do.; 5lbs deer skin, 1 do.; 10 ermine skins, 1 do.; 6lbs feathers, 1 do.

Compared with modern prices the values attached to some of the furs in this table seem ludicrously small. Imagine, for example, any furrier securing, to-day, a silver fox skin for two and a half "beavers," or \$2.50.

About the year 1764 Messrs. Simonds and White established a truck house at or near the site of the City of Fredericton, where they carried on a trade with the Indians up the river St. John, probably on the basis of the prices agreed to at Halifax in 1760. James White seems to have been the principal agent in dealing with the Indians, who called him *Wabeet*, or "Beaver." He gained a large measure of their confidence and his influence with them was of material service to the English during the revolutionary war. At that time the Maliseets were inclined to side with the Americans, whose emissaries appear to have been most active in the field. The influence of the Acadians, too, helped to render the savages hostile to Great Britain.

When Col. Jonathan Eddy, the American partizan, proceeded to attack Fort Cumberland, in 1776, he was accompanied by some of the Medoctec Indians. In the course of the following summer a party from Machias invaded the river St. John, led by Col. John Allen, whose art enabled him to gain such influence over the simple minded natives that, on being driven off the river by a British force, most of the savages accompanied him in his flight to Machias. The chiefs of the river, Pierre Tomah and Ambroise St. Aubin, held diverse sentiments; the former, although vacillating, seems in general to have inclined to the English, whilst the latter was an out and out sympathizer with the Americans. On the approach of the British troops Allan, accompanied by many of the Indians, fled up the river to Medoctec. Here he found himself in a sorry plight, and wrote to the government of Massachusetts: "I am at present destitute of everything. I am forced to put up with the fare the Indians can provide. \* \* \* I must implore some help for the Indians; I am still suspicious if I leave them they will turn."

As the British continued their pursuit Allan was obliged to leave Medoctec and proceed to Machias by the inland waters, a route which the savages were well accustomed to travel. The following entry in Allan's Journal is of interest in this connection:—

Sunday, July 13, [1777]—At a stream\* of St. John's river; removed across the carrying place from Meductick toward the head of Passamaquoddy river† about

\* Eel River. † The River St. Croix.

five miles. It is incredible what difficulties the Indians undergo in this troublesome time, when so many families are obliged to fly with precipitation rather than become friends to the Tyrant of Britain; some backing their aged parents, others their maimed and decrepid brethren, the old women leading the young children, mothers carrying their infants together with great loads of baggage. As to the canoes, the men make it a play to convey them across.\*

The Indians soon after arrived at Machias. From this time till the end of the war Col. Allan and John Preble for the Americans and Col. Michael Francklin and James White for the English exercised their respective powers of persuasion. The Indians now began to manifest their diplomacy, and the result was that they practically lived at the expense of one or other of the contending parties until the close of the war. Before the peace, however, many of them had returned to the river St. John. Michael Francklin, who proved himself a very efficient Superintendent of Indian affairs, on the 22nd November, 1781, wrote to Lord Germaine, the English Secretary of State, an account of a very satisfactory interview with 383 Indians who had gathered to meet him at Burton on the river St. John. He says that the Indians were eager to go to the defence of the Oromocto block house† on the occasion of a recent alarm, they were grateful for the appointment of Father Bourg to be their priest, and had resolved to again plant corn on the river. At the time of his writing they had quietly dispersed for their winter's hunting.

From this to the close of the Revolutionary War the Indians were peaceable. They were influenced, no doubt, by a visit paid them by deputies sent from the Hurons, Algonquins and other Canadian Indians requiring them to withdraw from the Americans and remain quiet as the Indians of Canada had declared war against the Americans, and would treat all Indians found with them as enemies. At the close of the Revolutionary War the population of the St. John river valley, hitherto but a few hundreds of people, was augmented by the arrival of the loyalist regiments from New York and by large numbers of other loyal refugees. Upwards of 10,000 people settled upon the river St. John and the crown reserves were laid out for their accommodation as far north as Woodstock.

The Indians, alarmed and distressed at the unexpected arrival of such a number of white settlers were compelled to abandon their old hunting grounds and look for situations more remote. Naturally they felt much

\* Kidder's Revolutionary operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia, p. 117.

† There was a small garrison stationed at this post under command of Lieut. Constant Colnor of the Royal Fencible Americans. The block house was called Fort Hughes.

bitterness at being driven from localities to which they were attached, and as their old hunting grounds were cleared and cultivated by the whites, their game began to fail and they were reduced to distress.

A general idea of the state of the St. John river region at the time of the coming of the loyalists may be gathered from the very interesting report made in the autumn of the year 1783 by Capt. John Munro\* of his recent exploration of the river. In this report he gives the name and situation of the principal tributaries. Eel river is called, not by its old French name Medoctec, but by the Indian name *Madawamkectook*, or as Munro writes it Meduankato. He applies the name "Medoctick River" to Hay's creek, just below the mouth of which stood the old fort and Indian village. He says:

"This stream has excellent Falls and fine Timber for boards, here is a fine piece of Interval in which two or three Indian families live; about the centre of this Interval are the remains of an old Breast work, sufficient to contain 200 men, the next river on the west side [of the St. John] is Madochenquick,† here the Indians lived formerly, their church is still standing and kept in good repair. On both sides this river is good land, and some of the Islands opposite are very good. \* \*

When I came through in October the most part of the Indians were moving off to the eastward for fear of the number of provincial troops and settlers coming upon the River."

If Captain Munro in the foregoing extract means to say that there was, at the time of his visit, an Indian chapel at the mouth of the Meduxnakie his statement is puzzling, as it has always been supposed the Indian chapel was at the Meductic village. There is no tradition, so far as the writer of this paper (himself a native of Woodstock) is aware, of the existence of an Indian chapel at the mouth of the Meduxnakie when the first settlers arrived there. Possibly a careful study of the original manuscript in the British Museum may throw some light upon the subject. Capt. Munro's style is involved, and as printed in the Canadian Archives is sometimes difficult to follow. His report also contains some inaccuracies. Whether, therefore, we are to conclude that the original Chapel of St. Jean Baptiste, or its successor, was standing at the Medoctec Village and in good repair in 1783, or that in more recent years an Indian village overshadowing Medoctec had grown up at the mouth of the Meduxnakie and a chapel had been there erected, is a problem that is not absolutely to be determined at the moment of writing.

\* Captain John Munro served in Sir John Johnson's Royal New York regiment in the revolutionary war. The report of his exploration of the St. John river, etc., is printed in the Canadian Archives for 1891.

† The stream on which has been built the town of Woodstock.

Captain Munro's admiration of the falls near the Meductic fort clearly proceeded from a thoroughly utilitarian standpoint. The practical result of it was that when in Halifax he procured (through the influence of his patron General Haldimand, no doubt) a grant of 4,000 acres "at the mouth of the river or creek Maductick." The grant was issued September 6, 1784; it had a frontage of a little over one mile along the St. John river and a depth of nearly six miles. It included in its bounds the Meductic fort and Indian camping ground, also Meductic Island and another Island above it, but its chief charm in Munro's eyes was the excellent falls for a mill. Strange to say no attention is paid to this grant in the one made less than six weeks later (Oct. 15, 1784) to the men of DeLancey's brigade. The latter grant began two miles below Meductic Island and extended up the river a distance of twelve miles to the upper line of the present parish of Woodstock, comprising 24,150 acres and including Munro's grant within its boundaries. The old fort and village were situate on lot No. 5, drawn by Sergeant Isaac Kipp, Coporal Enoch Maxwell and Private James Craig. The only possible explanation of the granting of lands to white settlers to which the Indians had so strong a claim by virtue of their possession from time immemorial is to be found in the fact that the Crown land office at Halifax was overwhelmed with work consequent upon the settlement of such a multitude of loyalists as had lately arrived in the country from the old colonies. The authorities must have failed to notice that the grant to DeLancey's brigade included that to Capt. John Munro, and they were perhaps equally unaware that either trespassed upon what manifestly should have been reserved for the Indians until some other provision had been made for them. The two grants are duly recorded at Fredericton, but none of the grantees at Medoctec appear to have made any attempt to take possession of their land. They doubtless acted prudently as the Indians would have resented any encroachment upon what they considered their inalienable rights.

Somewhere about the year 1800, commissioners were sent by government to arrange for the location of white settlers at Medoctec. Speaking of their visit the late John Bedell, Esq., in a lecture that he delivered before the Woodstock Mechanics' Institute said:—

They were poled up the river by two men from Fredericton. Approaching the Meductic at night fall, they became alarmed at the huge fires burning near the fort and the unearthly yelling of the semi-nude Indians dancing around them. Passing quietly by on the opposite side of the river they proceeded to the house of my father, J. Bedell, Esq., a few miles farther on, where they were entertained for



the night. On the following day I was permitted to accompany my father and the commissioners to the fort. Arrived at the entrance the commissioners made known the object of their visit. Presently a number of stalwart men presented themselves dressed in gorgeous attire. After salutations, the commissioners asked, "By what right or title do you hold these lands?" A tall, powerful chief stood erect, and, with the air of a plumed knight, pointing within the walls of the fort replied: "There are the graves of our grandfathers! There are the graves of our fathers! There are the graves of our children!"

To this simple native eloquence the commissioners felt they had no suitable reply, and for the time being the Maliseets remained undisturbed.

When the loyalists settled on the river St. John in 1783 the Indians of Medoctee seem to have retired to Madawaska. Bishop Plessis, of Quebec, who visited Madawaska in 1812 writes in his journal that there was formerly a village of savages, Maréchites or Malécites, at the confluence of the St. John and Madawaska rivers of which there only remained one or two cabins at the time of his visit. He also adds that the late M. Adrien Leclerc, curé of Isle Verte, was sent to these savages about 1786 or 1787. A few years later the savages retired, at first to the river "Tobie"\* and soon after to the mouth of the river "Midotee" where they were visited annually by the curé of Saint-Basile.

Some of the Indians, however, had returned to their old encampment at Medoctee as early as 1787, for when Frederick Dibblee was sent in the autumn of this year by the commissioners of the New England Company† to open an Indian school he found quite a little colony there.

The circumstances that led to the establishment of the Indian school at Woodstock can only be very briefly stated. The New England Company decided, in the year 1785 —

That the part of America which is next adjacent to the Massachusetts State and is a part of ancient New England is the King's Colony of New Brunswick:

*Resolved therefore,* that the Commissioners we may hereafter employ, be appointed out of the inhabitants of that colony, who are the King's loyal subjects and living in the King's dominion, and who are many of them gentlemen of known integrity and fidelity, and every way qualified to execute the trusts of our charter.

\* Tobique the modern form of the name of this river is suggestive of French origin, but the word was never so written until very recently. The Abbe le Loutre in 1754 writes the name "Tobick," Capt. Munro in 1783 writes "Tobit," an old document written in 1791 has the form "Tobee," and Bishop Plessis, as above, writes "Tobie." The early settlers always place the accent on the first syllable.

† The name in full of the "New England Company," as found in its charter, is "The company for the propagation of the gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America." It was incorporated by an ordinance passed by the "long parliament" in the days of Oliver Cromwell, A. D. 1649. For a century or more the society labored to educate and christianize the Indians of New England, but with no very great success, and for some years before the American Revolution the sums supplied by the company in New England were appropriated to general purposes by the overseers and corporation of Harvard College at Cambridge. The chief promoter of the society or company was the Hon. Robert Boyle, of England, who, at his decease, left a large bequest to its funds.

In accordance with this resolution the company appointed as its agents or commissioners in New Brunswick, His Excellency Thomas Carleton, lieutenant governor; the honorable George Duncan Ludlow, chief justice; the honorable Isaac Allen, judge of the supreme court; Jonathan Odell, provincial secretary; Jonathan Bliss, Esq., William Paine, doctor of physick; and John Coffin, Esq. These commissioners were empowered to engage and pay suitable teachers "for civilizing, teaching and instructing the heathen natives and their children, not only in the principles of the English tongue, and in other liberal arts and sciences, but for the educating and placing them and their children in some trade, mystery or lawful calling."

In the year 1788, or thereabout, schools were established by James Fraser at Miramichi, by Oliver Arnold at Sussex, by Gervais Say at Sheffield, and by Frederick Dibblee at Meductic. After the expiration of six years it was decided to centralize the operation of the New England Company at Sussex, where an Indian College was built and the schools at the other places closed\*. About the year 1835 the New England Company discontinued its operations in this province, having expended in the half century something like \$150,000, of which sum probably one quarter was disbursed in salaries to officials who had little part in the work of instruction. While, as a whole, the results attained by the company were disappointing, and the general administration of its affairs marked by extravagance, it is certain that the work accomplished by Frederick Dibblee† at Meductic was attended with very considerable advantage, though not perhaps in exactly the way contemplated by the founders of the society. As Col. Edward Winslow remarks in a letter written by him in 1804:—

"The legacy which had been formerly left by Mr. Boyle, for the christian purpose of civilizing the aborigines, on being applied in this country, was considered by the Indians—who did not comprehend the meaning of it—as a strong proof of national protection and kindness, and it had undoubtedly a tendency to reconcile them more effectually to government."

The writer of this paper has in his possession an old document in Frederick Dibblee's handwriting headed "An account of the Distribution

\* A very interesting account of the Indian College at Sussex will be found in a pamphlet entitled "The Rev. Oliver Arnold, first Rector of Sussex, N. B., with some account of his life, his parish, and his successors, and the old Indian College, by Leonard Allison, B. A.," printed at St. John, in 1892.

The Indians still call Sussex by the name of *S'college*.

† Frederick Dibblee was a native of Stamford, Connecticut. He completed his education at Kings (now Columbia) College, N. Y. He was a staunch loyalist and at the revolution the "select men" of Stamford ordered him and his family to depart that town forthwith and never return. He came to St. John in May, 1783, and, after a few years residence at Kingston, moved to Woodstock where he spent the rest of his life.

of the Necessaries Received by Order of the Honorable Board of Commissioners for the Native Indians settled at Mallectuc at Different Times from the 24th June, 1788 till the 15th Nov., 1789.\* In this old document we have the names of the heads of families with the number of women and children in each, showing that there were then at Meductic 98 men, 74 women and 165 children, 337 in all, and as the white settlers at Woodstock only numbered about 20 families the Indians might have rendered their situation very uncomfortable had they been so disposed. Mr. Dibblee, during the years he was employed as missionary-teacher to the Indians, succeeded in gaining their confidence by his personal kindness and efforts to promote their welfare, combined with a judicious distribution of the "necessaries" furnished by the New England Company. The old account just mentioned shows that he distributed within a period of less than seventeen months the following articles, namely, 146 bushels corn, 14½ do. beans, 23½ do. potatoes, 592 lbs. pork, 82 quarts salt, 322 lbs. powder, 790 lbs. lead, 365 flints, 152 blankets, 124 yards linen, 175 do. blue stroud, 12 beaver hats, 12 books. An inspection of these items will show that the sum expended for purely educational purposes was not extravagant! However, the supply of provisions, etc., served to secure the confidence and good will of the Indians and paved the way for the establishment of a school. A school house was built soon after as is shown by the following memorandum sent to the Board of commissioners by Mr. Dibblee.

An Account of Expences in Building the School House, etc.:

1788.		£	s	d	
Sept'r 15th :	Cash paid for Diging & Logging Seller and getting Logs, . . . . .	4	5	0	
	For raising and covering House, . . . . .	6	5	0	
	For 3,000 Shingles, 30s, is £4.10, for 500 Do @ 20s, . . . . .	5	0	0	
	For 9 Sashes, @ 5s, £2.5, & for 2 Do @ 1s 8d, . . . . .	2	8	4	
	For 4500 feet of Boards @ 60s, . . . . .	13	10	0	
			£	s	d
			31	8	4
1789.		£	s	d	
June 13th :	Paid carpenters, . . . . .	8	0	0	
	Paid mason & attending mason, . . . . .	2	9	6	
	Paid carpenters, . . . . .	3	15	0	
	125 wt. Nails @ 8d, is £4 3s 4d, 9 H hinges, 20s . . . . .	5	3	4	
			19	7	10
	Carried forward, . . . . .	£50	16	2	

\* See appendix where this document is printed in full.

	£	s	d
<i>Brought forward</i> , .....	50	16	2
9½ Doz. Window Glass, at 5s is £2 7s 6d, 1			
King lock, 7s, .....	2	14	6
3 Thumb latches, @ 1s 3d is 3s 9d; 10lb Nails			
9d, is 7s 6d, .....	0	11	3
		54	1 11
10lbs Putty @ 9d is 7s 6d, 15lbs Nails @ 9d is 11s 3d, ...			11 9
1790.			
Sept'r 22d: Paid carpenter, .....	16	11	6
Errors excepted, .....	£71	5	2
Woodstock 27th Jan'y, 1791.			

A further sum of £16 was spent in finishing the school house, the cost of which was equivalent to about \$350 in all. The circumstances under which the school was commenced are detailed by Mr. Dibblee in the following interesting letter to Col. Isaac Allen :

WOODSTOCK, 4th Jan., 1790.

SIR,—I have received a Letter from the Secretary of the Hon. Board of Commissioners, dated the 7th of Nov'r, '89, inclosing an Extract of their Proceedings the 14th of Octob'r, which I did not receive till 20 December, and will attend the Board as therein Directed with my accounts. I have succeeded in opening a School with the Indians, and have now Twenty Two Schollars. Eighteen of them have been to School from the 20th of Nov'r. There are Eight Families (the Heads of three of them are Widows), who have made their Wigwams close by me on the School Lot. My Schollars consist of Five Married Indians, Two married Squas, Five young Squas & Two Boys.

They require Cloathing & Provitions, which I have complied with. They receive for Five Persons one Bushel of Corn & one Piece of Pork pr week, and there are forty-seven Individuals. They often want Beans and Potatoes & then they are deducted out of the Corn; half a bushel of Beans & Two of Potatoes equal to one of Corn, which is the Difference when they Purchase them. They have received 2½ yards of Blue Cloath for Coats & Stockings, & 2½ Do. Linnen for Shirts, & Thread each; Hats & Books what I had rec'd. They are Constant in their Attendance and exceeding quick in receiving Instruction, five of them in Particular are amazingly so, having made great Improvement both in Spelling and Writing.

They are continually making application to be received & there are now Thirteen who are making their Wigwams with the Idea of becoming Schollars & receiving Provitions & Cloathing. I believe there is no Doubt but there will be a Constant School, for their Prejudices are removed and they appear to be ambitious of Learning, and the whole of them will become Schollars if they can receive Provitions & Cloathing. I am at a Loss how to act, for I have just rec'd Intelligence that there are Six Families coming down the River who expect to be treated in the same Manner; must beg of Col. Allen to give me Instructions, for I am

uneasy for fear I may not be justified in what I have done, and how far I am to proceede to answer the intention of the Board.

There are a Number of Families (about Thirty) who have been very Industrious last fall in Clearing Land to Plant in the Spring, which I have encouraged all in my power, some at Backa-Gimock & others on an Island four miles above me, and there are Three Families who intend to plant on the Indian Lot. Wish to know if they will be allowed Axes or Howes [hoes], as they often apply to me and I have promised to write for Information.

I have built a good Log House on the Indian Lot, 26 feet by 22, and have Materials prepared for an addition in the Spring, the Expence of which I will lay before the Board. Should be happy if Col. Allen would please to send a line as soon as Convenient with his sentiments on what I have done & how to act, for their wants are Innumerable & I wish to have their Confidence, & obtain your approbation. I should have wrote Sooner but the Difficulty of Travelling prevented conveyance.

I am Sir with all Respect, Your most obedient  
Humble Servant,

HON. COL. ALLEN.

FRED'K DIBBLEE.

During the first three years he was employed as the agent of the New England Company, Frederick Dibblee expended upwards of \$2,000 for the benefit of the Indians at Meductic, of which by far the larger portion was for provisions and supplies. After the school was fairly established the indiscriminate distribution of provisions ceased, and only such families as furnished scholars were entitled to the bounty of the New England Company. Among Mr. Dibblee's papers is one indorsed, "An account of Necessaries and Cloathing Delivered to the Indians at School & their Families from the 17th November, 1789, to the 1st February, 1790." The Indians referred to were eleven families, comprising 73 individuals, of whom 35 were his scholars, and the cost of "victualling and clothing" for the three months was about \$450. Little wonder was it that the school speedily became a popular institution. Doubtless some of the Indians felt an interest in their studies, and Mr. Dibblee states that they made good progress, but their interest was not long sustained and it did not suffice to overcome that natural indolence of disposition which has always been the bane of the aborigines of this continent.

At the solicitation of the white settlers of Woodstock, Frederick Dibblee entered the ministry of the Church of England, and was ordained at Halifax by the Right Rev. Charles Inglis, first Bishop of Nova Scotia, on the 23rd October, 1791.\* He continued to instruct the young

\* Previous to this the Society for the propagation of the Gospel had it in contemplation to provide the inhabitants with a resident minister as appears from their annual report of 1789 which states "The Province of New Brunswick is daily increasing, and there are several places where Ministers may soon be wanted, about Pedicodiac, Sussex Vale, Oromocto, and Meductic, where the inhabitants begin to be numerous."

Indians, however, for some time longer.\* After his ordination he was taken on the roll of missionaries of the society for the propagation of the Gospel and received an annual grant of £50 sterling as "missionary at Woodstock, Northampton, Prince William and Queensboro' Towns, and Superintendent of the Indian school at Woodstock." In the year 1792, Bishop Inglis in his report to the S. P. G., makes the following statement concerning the Indians in Mr. Dibblee's neighborhood:—

That they are numerous and that 150 families reside near him, and about 100 families more occasionally visit those parts. That most of them have been instructed by Popish missionaries, but their prejudices wear off; many of them regularly attend our services and behave decently, and Mr. Dibblee thinks that as he is now in Priest's orders, they will bring their children to be baptized and put themselves under his care, for hitherto they had only considered him as Half a Priest. Mr. Dibblee is much beloved by the Indians and respected by the Whites, and has made some progress in the Indian language so as to be able to converse on common subjects, and is pursuing the study of it. As he has been already very diligent in his profession, and may be very useful in those parts the Society have furnished him with a quantity of Indian Prayer-books by the late excellent Col. Claus, and have granted him a gratuity of £20 pounds for his services with an intention, as soon as the preliminaries for a Mission is fixed, to take him into their service.

The simplicity of the society in sending out to the Maliseets a quantity of prayer books printed in the dialect of their hereditary enemies the Mohawks, is quite delightful.

Bishop Inglis goes on to say:

But the most remarkable occurrence with regard to the Indians is that they begin to think seriously of cultivating land and relinquishing their present wandering mode of life. The cause of this extraordinary revolution in their sentiments is a failure of their game in hunting, which has reduced them to the utmost distress; and as the failure is occasioned by an increase of our population, which goes on rapidly, their distress must also proportionably increase, and of this they seem sensible. Their sufferings point out to them the necessity of cultivating land for a subsistence, which they see it constantly affords to white people. \* \* The Indians in Mr. Dibblee's neighborhood have cleared and planted a considerable tract.

It appears from Mr. Dibblee's letter to Col. Isaac Allen that land was cultivated by the Indians at this time at the old Meductic fort, and on the Island opposite the town of Woodstock and also at the mouth of

\* There is in possession of Francis E. Winslow, Esq., of Chatham, a memorandum in Mr. Dibblee's writing dated Aug. 6th, 1793, which contains the names of eight Indian pupils ranging from 9 to 17 years of age, and the remark is appended, "These attend me at my house, having been Disappointed in the English school, and improve in their Pronunciation." This is the latest existing record, so far as I am aware, of the Indian school at Woodstock.

W. O. R.

the river Becaguimec, where the enterprising little town of Hartland now stands. The articles supplied to the Indians by Mr. Dibblee in 1790 included a quantity of corn, beans and potatoes for planting, 23 axes and 30 hoes. No doubt the axes and hoes would appear but rude implements to our thrifty modern farmers, but the Indians found them a vast deal better than the stone implements of their grandsires. Mr. Dibblee paid 8 shillings each for axes and 4 shillings for hoes.

In the various reports transmitted to the commissioners of the New England Company, Mr. Dibblee gives the names of about 120 Indian families. Some of these are purely Indian names, as Franwagemic, Pemmyhawick, Aquahartis, Pellacola, Ellazonpa, Sernacola, Earsong; others show the influence of the French, as for example, Augustin, Bazil, Pierre, Sabatis, Nuel, Nicolas, Francis Xavier, Meductic. More recent intercourse with the English appears responsible for such names as, Peter, Joe, Grand John, Joseph Wilmot, Little Joe, Molly Bisket, Joseph Murray, Joe Murray and Joe Murray-sis. A queer intermixture of nationalities appears in such names as Pierre Peter, Francois Peter, John Tobec, Sabatis Tobec, Michel Meductick, Nuel Priest, Joseph Lurgorstai. By comparing the list of names given in the appendix with the list in Kidder's Revolutionary operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia, p. 284, it will be noticed that some of the Indians living at Woodstock, in 1788, were with Col. John Allan at Machias in 1780. In some cases there is a considerable difference in the spelling of the same name; for example the Indian known to Col. Allan as Tomma Esquatapan, is manifestly the same called by Mr. Dibblee, Thomas Quodpan. The Governor Tomah, of Mr. Dibblee's papers, was probably a son of the renowned old chieftain Pierre Tomah, who died and was buried at Saint Andrews prior to the year 1784.

As a rule the Indian families were small, not averaging more than three children. One Indian at Meductic had a family of nine, but the instances in which there were more than five children were exceedingly few. Modern Indian families are rather larger, a fact due in all probability to an admixture of French blood.

Although the labors of Frederick Dibblee were not successful as regards making permanent converts of the Indians of Meductic, yet his services in promoting their welfare and establishing kindly relations between them and the English settlers at a critical period, should never be passed over in any faithful account of the settlement of the upper St. John region.

As years passed on the condition of the old historic village of Medoctec failed to improve. The white man's "fire water" accomplished its deadly work, and the native virtues of the Indian were supplanted by demoralizing vices gleaned from civilization.

The late Moses H. Perley in his first report as Indian Commissioner, dated August 12, 1841, says, that having visited Meductic Point in the month of July he found only 29 souls encamped there. His report continues :—

The point occupied by the Indians is beautifully situated, but shamefully neglected and almost a public common. It was stated to me that they had at first 113 rods front on the river, and that their land ran back three miles continuing the same breadth; that they had a writing stating the boundaries signed by Governor Carleton, which some years ago was left at the Crown Land Office, and they have not seen it since; that latterly one Peter Watson has taken possession of a considerable portion of their land by virtue of a grant or license, as he alleges, and they have now scarcely a half of the lot assigned them by Governor Carleton, the boundaries of which were set up and marked during his administration by John Bedell, a Crown Surveyor.

The Meductic Point is not mentioned among the lands reserved for the Indians in the return made by the Surveyor General to his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, but I beg to state that both by history and tradition it would seem to be one of the most ancient Indian settlements on the St. John. While there the remains of an old Indian Fort were pointed out to me within which the bones of several hundred men repose apparently in one common grave.

Mr. Perley is mistaken in the idea that the Indian remains at Meductic are buried in one common grave. Graves there have frequently been opened, and Mr. A. R. Hay, the present owner of the place,\* says that in no case that he has ever heard of have the remains of more than one Indian been dug from the same grave. He says there is a tradition that the Meductic Fort was once taken by the English, who placed a party in ambush on the east side of the river, opposite the Fort, whilst the remainder advanced upon it from the west, with shouting and firing of guns. The terrified savages jumped into their canoes and paddled over to the opposite side of the river, only to fall into the hands of those lying in ambush, by whom they were shot down without mercy as they were landing. Many skeletons have been brought to light on that side of the river, and they are said to represent the victims who were slain at this fight and are supposed to be buried in a common grave, but Mr. Hay says he has no personal knowledge as to the way in which these remains are interred.

\* To the kindness of Mr. A. R. Hay and his brother, Mr. Wilnot Hay, I am much indebted for valuable assistance rendered in the preparation of this paper. Both these gentlemen have shown much interest in the historical investigations regarding old Medoctec, and have given valuable suggestions of which I have made full use. Mr. A. R. Hay kindly supplied the photograph from which he cut of the memorial tablet formerly in the chapel of Saint Jean Baptiste has been made. W. O. R.



At the time Mr. Perley visited Meductie Point, in July 1841, he found there but five men, six women, nine boys and nine girls; he adds: "I regret that I have to state that, with one or two exceptions, the men are drunkards and the women debauched, while the children are naked and starving; I respectfully recommend that the valuable land they occupy should be leased for the benefit of the Tribe and the settlement broken up."

Such was the lamentable state of our historic Indian village fifty years ago. The provincial government eventually granted the lands to white settlers, and purchased of Peter Fraser, Esq., the Indian lot which adjoins the parish church, three miles below the town of Woodstock, where a few of the descendants of the Meductie Indians still reside; among them the widow of Noel Paul, who, in her younger days, ornamented with Indian bead work the coat that Moses H. Perley wore when he visited England in 1840 and was presented to Queen Victoria as Chief Sachem of the Maliseet tribe. In commemoration of this visit Mr. Perley was presented with a silver medal, three inches in diameter, dated 1840, and having on the edge this inscription: "From Her most Gracious Majesty to M. H. Perley, Chief Sachem of the Malicetes, and Wunjeet Sagamore of the Miemac nation." The medal is now in possession of Henry F. Perley, Esq., of Ottawa.

We have now traced the history of Medoctec down to modern days, and here for the present we must leave it. The writer has a very pleasant recollection of a visit paid a few months ago to the site of the old fort. It was a lovely summer afternoon and no fairer prospect could be desired than that which presented itself. The sun, sinking toward the west, flooded the old Indian cornfields with golden light; the blue waters of the St. John flowed quietly between the meadow lands on either hand, except where here and there some gravel bed caused the ripples to dance and play in the sunlight; wild roses grew along the banks, the sweet smell of the clover filled the air, the drowsy hum of bees was heard around. Back from the river beneath the refreshing shade of the steep hillside there prattled the little streamlet that flows from Gyles' spring among the rocks above. Not far away a busy party of men were working at a neighbor's barn-raising. The occasion was marked by all the zest and spirit commonly called forth by such an event. The ringing blows of the axes, intermingled with shouting and laughter, were in startling contrast to the elsewhere quiet scene. Soon the busy workers were summoned to a bounteous repast prepared by the hands of their wives and daughters.

Under the shade of the hillside the men bathed their heated faces in

the streamlet and drank of its refreshing waters. They talked of the commonplace news of the day with their casual visitors, and tendered their hospitality with hearty good will. Seated at their hospitable board we talked of the historic associations of the place and gleaned from the older members of the party what each could tell of its local traditions. All around us the homes of these honest neighbors seemed to speak of comfort and content. But what of those who once possessed their lands and claimed them as their birthright; those whose mortal bodies sleep in the little square enclosure by the river side?

"Alas for them! — their day is o'er,  
 Their fires are out on hill and shore;  
 No more for them the wild deer bounds,  
 The plough is on their hunting grounds,  
 The pale man's axe rings through their woods,  
 The pale man's sail skims o'er their floods."

To us who lazily reclined beneath the shadow of the rocky hillside that lovely summer afternoon, the little rivulet that descended from Gyles' spring and babbled at our feet seemed to say with Tennyson's brook —

"I chatter, chatter, as I flow  
 To join the brimming river,  
 For men may come and men may go,  
 But I go on for ever."

Yes, men may come and go, and these are gone.\*

Yes gone, all gone! And still, my brothers of the New Brunswick Historical Society, to-night there seems to rise before us out of the mists of the shadowy past, the figure of the old Indian chief. We see him as with the air of a plumed knight he stands and answers for his tribe the question put by the English commissioners, "By what right or title do you hold these lands?" We see him as he points to the little enclosure by the river side and gives his answer, "There are the graves of our grandsires; there are the graves of our fathers; there are the graves of our children."

Over that grave-yard today the tangled hawthorn has grown in lawless profusion akin to the wild lawlessness of those whose bones lie buried there; the hawthorn guards their resting place full well; and when on some fair May morning the fresh breeze shakes the hawthorn and the white blossoms fall like drifting snow upon the quiet graves beneath, may the thought suggested to us be — even so may the mantle of Christian charity fall over the frailties of those who, with all their faults, have been perhaps more sinned against than sinning.

"The graves of our grandsires; the graves of our fathers; the graves of our children!" *Vale Malecites!*

## APPENDIX.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM POTE, JR.,  
DURING HIS CAPTIVITY IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN  
WARS, 1745-1747.

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The Pote Journal was discovered in 1890 by Bishop John F. Hurst, of Washington, at Geneva, in Switzerland, and has just been printed by Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York, price \$15 and \$25 per volume. Through the kindness of Dr. W. F. Ganong I have been provided with a copy of that part which relates to New Brunswick, from which the extract that follows is taken.

William Pote belonged to Portland, Maine, then called Falmouth. At the time he was taken prisoner by the Indians he was engaged under the chief engineer of Nova Scotia, John Henry Bastide, in carrying artificers and supplies for the repair and defence of the fort at Annapolis Royal. He was in command of the Schooner *Montague* when that vessel was surprised and captured by a party of Indians and French. Pote was carried to Quebec by way of the river St. John. The Indians with their prisoners arrived at the Indian village of Aukpaque, which Pote calls *Apog*, on Saturday, July 6, 1745. With this date our extract from the Journal shall begin: W. O. R.

"Saturday ye 6th. This Day In ye Morning our Indians had much Difficulty, to prevail with ye Spaniard\* to Sell ym his Connaw. This Day we passed by several french houses, and some we stoped at for provisions, but they was exceeding poor and Could not supply us with any, this Night we arrived to an Indian Village, called apoge,† where we found ye Schooner Montague was arrived with ye other prisoners. Some Days before us, at this place ye Squaws came down to ye Edge of ye River, Dancing and Behaving themselves, in ye most Brutish and Indecent manner yt is possible for humain kind, and taking us prisoners by ye arms, one Squaw on Each Side of a prisoner, they Led us up to their Village and placed themselves In a Large Circle Round us, after they had Gat all prepared for tl air Dance, they made us set down In a Small Circle, about 18 Inches ass mder and began their frolick, Dancing

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\* He lived at the Jemseg probably.    † Of course Aukpaque.

Round us and Striking of us in ye face with English Scalps, yt caused ye Blood to Issue from our mouths and Noses, In a Very Great and plentiful manner, and Tangled their hands in our hair, and knocked our heads Together with all their Strength and Vehemence, and when they was tired of this Exercise, they would take us by [the] hair and some by ye Ears, and Standing behind us, oblige us to keep our Necks Strong so as to bear their weight, then Raise themselves, their feet off ye Ground and their weight hanging by our hair and Ears, In this manner, they thumped us In ye Back and Sides, with their knees and feet, and Twitchd our hair and Ears to such a Degree, that I am Incapable to Express it, and ye others that was Dancing Round if they saw any man falter, and did not hold up his Neck, they Dached ye Scalps In our faces with such Violence, yt every man endeavoured to bear them hanging by their hair in this manner, Rather then to have a Double Punishment ; after they had finished their frolick, that Lasted about two hours and an half, we was carried to one of their Camps, where we Saw Some of ye Prisoners that Came in ye montague,\* at this place we Incamped yt Night with hungrey Belleys 40 L from ye entrance W.N.W. by our Computation.

Sunday ye 7th This Day we was Informed, and found we had Suficient Reason to Confide In ye Information, That they held a counsell amongst ym weather they Should put us to Death, and ye Saint Johns Indians almost Gained ye point for they Insisted it was but Justice, as they Sd there had been Several of their Tribe, murdered by Capt. John Gorham at anapolis. our masters being Verey Desireous to Save us alive, Used all ye arguments In their power for that purpose but could not prevail, for they Insisted on Satisfaction, howsoever our masters prevailed So far with ym, as to take Some Considerable quantity of their most Valuable Goods, and Spare our Lives, this Day they Gave us Some Boilld Salmon which we Eat with a Verey Good Appetite, without Either Salt or Bread, we Incamped this Night at this afforsaid Indian Village Apog.

Monday ye 8th This Day In ye Morning ye heronst<sup>†</sup> began to Make preparation for their Departure up ye River of Saint Johns, at about Ten In ye morning we Imbarqued and Left those yt Came In ye Schooner montague at Apog making Birtch Connews &c this Day we meet with much falling water &c, one of our Indians Called Jacob a prisoner yt formerly Belongd to Capt John Gorhams Company and was

\* Pote's schooner taken at Annapolis, and which had been sent up the river St. John.

† Meaning the Huron Indians by whom Pote and his companions were taken captive.

taken on Goat Island, was exceedingly out of order and could not assist ye Indians to paddle against ye Strong Current, Yt Ran against us ye Greater part of ye Day, his head was So Exceedingly Swelled, with ye Squaws beating of him, yt he Could Scarcely See out of his Eyes. I had ye Good fortune to be almost well in Comparison to what he was, although it was he and I was Companions, and Sat Next to Each other, In ye Time of their Dance, and him they alwas took for my partner to knock our heads Together ye Indians asked me In what Manner ye Squaws treated us, that his head was So Exceedingly Swelled I Gave them an account, at which they feigned themselves much Disgusted, and protested they was Intierly Ignorant of ye affair, and Said they thought ye Squaws Designd Nothing Else, but only to Dance round us for a Little Diversion, without molling or hurting of us In any manner, this Night we encamped by ye Side of ye River Saint Johns, our Indians Showd me a Root, yt they Said they often made Use of for Substainance when they had no provisions, this Night we all slept with Verrey hungrey belleys.

Tuesday ye 9th. This Day we had also much falling water and Rippings\* to pass. Somtimes we was abliged to Land, and Carrey our Bagage over clefts of Rocks, and trees &c, that was in our way. This day ye Indians told me we Should arrive Near to another Indian Village, I asked them if they Supposed they would Use us in ye manner we had been, at ye other Village they made me no answer, but Said Something In Indian, yt Caused all ye Connews to Gather Round ye Connew yt I was in, & Discoursed in Indian what they Said I could not tell But I observed they Looked with a Verrey Serious Countenance on me, when I Saw a Convenient oppertunity I spoke to this affect, Gentlemen You are all Verrey Sensible, of ye Ill Usage we met with at ye other Village, which I have Reason to believe, was Intierly Contrary to any of Your Inclinations or permission, and as you Call your Selves Christians, and men of honor, I hope you'll Use your prisoners accordingly, But I think it is Verrey Contrary to ye Nature of a Christian, to abuse men In ye manner we was at ye other Village, and I am Verrey Sensible there is no Christian Nation yt Suffers their prisoners to be abused after they have Given them quarters, In ye manner we have been, the Indians Looked verrey Serious, and approved of what I said, and Talked amongst themselves in Indian, and my master told me when we arrived to ye Indian Village I must mind to keep Clost by him. This Night we

\* Probably the Meduetic Falls are here referred to.

Incamped on an Island In ye River Saint Johns, this Night we had a Small piece of Boilled Salmon, yt was Given to ye Indians by an Indian yt Lived on ye Island This was Divided amongst our Company, yt Consisted of twenty three persons.

Whensday ye 10th. This Day we Took our Departure Early in ye morning, ye Indians told me we should arrive to ye Indian Village\* before Noon, this morning we passed by Several Small Spots of Cleard Land, where ye Indians had Improved and planted Corn and beans &c, we arrived to ye Indian village about Noon, as soon as Squaws, saw us Coming In Sight of their Village, and heard ye Cohoops, which Signified ye Number of Prisoners, all ye Squaws In their Village, prepared themselves with Large Rods of Briars, and Nettles &c., and met us at their Landing, Singing and Dancing and Yelling, and making such a hellish Noise, yt I Expected we Should meet with a worse Reception at this place that we had at ye other. I was Verrey Carefull to observe my masters Instructions, yt he had Given me ye Day before, and warned ye Rest to do Likewise, our Indians Seemed Verrey Indifferent In Landing, and passed Some Small Distance above ye Landing place. Ye first Connew yt Landed, was ye Capt of ye herons he had but one prisoner in his Connew, which was an Indian, yt had formerly Belonged to Capt John Gorhams Company as Soon as he Landed he was not Carfull to keep By his master, and ye Squaws Gatherd themselves Round him, and Caught him by ye hair, as many as could hold of him, and halled him down to ye Ground, and pound his head against ye Ground, ye Rest with their Rods dancing Round him, and wipted him over ye head and Legs, to Such a degree, that I thought they would have killed him In ye Spot, or halled him in ye watter and Drowned him, they was So Eager to have a Stroak at him Each of them, that they halld him Some one way and Some another, Some times Down towards ye water by ye hair of ye head, as fast as they could Run, then ye other party would have ye Better and Run with him another way, my master spoke to ye other Indians, and told ym to take ye fellow out of their hands, for he believed they would Certainly murther him, In a Verrey Short time. I Seeing ye Squaws Coming towards me, Eudeavoured to hall on my Stockings as Soon as possible, for I Dreaded my Legs more than any thing Else, that was at that time So Sore, In Sitting in ye Connew in ye Sun yt I Could Scarsely Stand upon them, as Soon as ye Squaws approached Near me, my master spoke Something In Indian, In a Verrey harsh manner, yt Caused ym to Stop in their persuit, and Returned to ye Rest and Led

\* i. e. Meductie Village.

ye Indian, they Got hold of first up to their Village, and we was Conducted to ye Capts Camp with me and all ye rest of ye Prisoners, Except ye poor Indian that was In ye hand of ye Squaws, our Indians as Soon as they had Set Down, Intreated of ye Capt of ye Village, to Relieve this poor Indian out of ye hands of ye Squaws and Told him, how we had Been abused at ye other Village ye Capt Verey Readly Granted their Request, and Brought ye poor fellow to us half Dead : at this place Lived a Soldier yt was taken on Board ye Schooner montague, who gave me an account, how they abused him at his arrival, at this place we Incamped that night, with Verey hungry Belleys 18 L. G. C. N. W.\* Medocitike.

Thursday ye 11th This Day we Remained In ye Indian Village called Medocitike, I observed ye Squaws could no[t] by any means Content themselves without having their Dance. they Continued Teasing my master to Such a Degree, to have ye Liberty to Dance Round me, that he Consented they might if they would Promis to not abuse me, they Desired none of ye Rest. but me was all they aimed at for what Reason I cannot Tell. When my masters had Given ym Liberty, which was Done *Unbeknown to me and †* In my abstinence, there Came Into ye Camp, two Large Strong Squaws, and as I was Setting by one of my masters, they Caught hold of my armes with all their Strength, and Said Something in Indian, yt I Supposed was to tell me to Come out of ye Camp, and halld me of my Seat. I Strugled with ym and cleard my Self of their hold, and Set down by my master. they Came upon me again Verey Vigorously, and as I was Striving with them, my master ordered me to Go, and told me they would not hurt me. at this I was obliged to Surrender and went with ym, they Led me out of ye Camp, Dancing and Singing after their manner, and Carried me to one of their Camps where there was a Company of them Gathered for their frolick, they made me Set down on a Bears Skin in ye Middle of one of their Camps, and Gave me a pipe and Tobaceo, and Danced Round me till the Sweat Trickled Down their faces, Verey plentyfully, I Seeing one Squaw that was Verey Big with Child, Dancing and foaming at ye mouth and Sweating, to Such a degree yt I Could not forbear Smiling, which one of ye old Squaws Saw, and Gave me two or three twiches by ye hair, otherwise I Escaped without any Punishment from them at the time, This Day I was sent for by one of ye heads of their Tribe, To Read a Contract between their Tribe and ye Governour of Annapolis.

\* That is 18 leagues from Annapolis : general course North-west.

† Words italicized are partially erased in the original manuscript.

that had been made about 14 years,\* I Told ye Indians they had acted Contrary to their agreement, which obliged them to Live in Peace, and without any molhstation on Either Side. I told him also he must Confess their Nation had been ye first agressors, he told me they had not, and Related to me Something Concerning ye Ill Usage of prisoners at anapolis Some time past, But he was So Imperfect In ye french Tongue, yt I Cou<sup>d</sup> not Understand ye true meaning of his Discours, This Day arrived this Village one Bonus Castine from Pernobsquett, who Examined me Verely Strictly what our Cargo Consisted In &c, and wrote what I Said to him Concerning it, he told me he had Latly been on board the Countrey Sloop, Capt Sanders at Gerorges, and yt ye Prenobsquett Indians was Still at peace with ye English, and he believed would Continue So Some considerable time. I thought It was not prudence to Contradiet him, although I was Sensible there was Several Pernobsquett Indians, In ye army that we was Taken by, this night my master advised me to keep in ye Camp, and by no means Go out, and protested to me that this Bonus Castine, although he Pretended to be my friend, had Desired him to put me to Death, this Night ye Indians was Dancing and Singing, ye Greater part of ye Night.

Friday ye 12th This Day In ye morning began to make preparation for our departure, at about Eight of ye clock took our Departure from Menocetike, for Canedy, This Day we paddled against Ripplings and a Strong Current against us. This Night we Incampd By ye Side of ye River Saint Johns, Verely hungrey and Little or Nothing to Eat N N W 6 L.

Saturday ye 13th This Day Paddled up ye River of Saint Johns about 9 Leagus Ditto we was Exceeding Seant of Provisions, and Could not by any means Catch any fish nor kill any fowl, This Night we Incampd by ye Side of ye River, and ye Indians had ye Good fortune to Catch a Couple of Salmon, that was Verely Exceptable to us at that time.

14 Sunday This Day as we was paddling up ye River we pased by a Small Cove, and perceived at ye head of it, there was Salmon playing in ye Cool water at ye head of ye Cove, we Landed verely Carefully, and Cut Bushes and Brought them down to ye Entrance of ye Cove, and wile Some of us was Employed, with perches and our paddles &c thrashing in ye water, to hinder ye fish from Coming out of ye Cove, ye others built a ware across ye Entrance of ye Cove, with Bushes and our Blanketts &c and we Caught in this Cove fifty four Salmo[n] which

\* The actual date was no doubt 1728; see p. 247, *ante*.



was So Exceptable to us at that time that I Shall never forget ye Joy I was filled with, this Day we passed by a River yt Ran Into Saint Johns, that ye Indians told me Led Almost to pernobsquet, this Day we Came about 5 L and Incamped by ye Side of ye River Saint Johns."

Here our extract from Capt. Pote's journal must end. The spelling and punctuation of the original have been preserved throughout. It may interest the reader to learn that the Indians went from Grand Falls to "Little Falls," thence up the Madawaska river to lake Temiscouata and thence by the Tuladi to the St. Lawrence. Captain William Pote remained for three years a captive at Quebec. His Journal, from which the foregoing extract is taken, escaped confiscation through being concealed by one of the female prisoners, who, after the release of the party, restored it to its owner.

## OBITUARY LETTER

ON THE DEATH OF FATHER JEAN BAPTISTE LOYARD, S. J.

(Translation).

REVEREND FATHER, P. C.:

On the night of June 24-25, [1731], we lost our worthy missionary, Father Jean Baptiste Loyard, a man honored and beloved at home and abroad, and generally lamented by both French and Indians.

From the day that Father Loyard reached Quebec he gave much edification there, and time served only to cause his great abilities and rare virtues to be more widely known and admired. Occupied nearly twenty-four years in the conversion and edification of the savages, he fulfilled all the duties of an ideal missionary. To untiring zeal he joined exemplary modesty, great sweetness of disposition, never failing charity, and an evenness of temper which made him superior to circumstances. As his disposition had nothing of sternness, so was he equally loved and respected by the savages, and the fear of displeasing him spared him, in a measure, the pain of threatening them.

Having been ordered to Quebec to re-establish his health, he had hardly begun to recover from the effects of his prolonged labors when, realizing the necessities of his old mission where his presence seemed indispensable, he asked to be allowed to return thither, and it was while cultivating that part of the Lord's vineyard that, worn out by hardship and actually in the exercise of the most active benevolence among the sick, he contracted the disease of which he died—in the midst of his flock,

over whom, as a good shepherd, he kept incessant watch, and whom he led so wisely, with the sweet consolation of gathering abundant fruit from his cares and toils. You can readily judge from all this, reverend father, that all his flock cannot but be greatly moved by the death of such a pastor, and that the memory of this excellent missionary will be blessed in his mission for a long time to come.

Among the virtues which shone brightly in Father Loyard, besides those of which I have spoken already, we noticed in him tender devotion and rare piety. The never failing homage he paid to our Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist could not but be edifying in a religious house, and his devout recollectedness of mind when in the churches testified sufficiently to the liveliness of his faith. Busy as he was, he gave all the prescribed time to his own spiritual exercises, and he had the art of economizing the moments. He was prompt and exact in his obedience, was fitted for everything and ready for everything, and his superiors could dispose of him as they would.

Whenever, on account of the needs of his mission, he returned to Quebec he was conspicuous for prompt performance of all duties, and he made it very evident that however incompatible certain occupations may appear to others they need not be so if they are pursued with perfect regularity.

What might I not say here of the purity of his conduct and the innocency of his life? Several times I have had occasion to admire them, and I do not fear that those from whom this father had nothing hidden, those to whom he laid bare his conscience, will refuse to subscribe to the most favorable testimony that I feel compelled to bestow.

After the example of the prophet he loved the beauty of the house of the Lord, he omitted nothing for the beautifying of His altars, and although in the profound depths of the forest he managed to build a beautiful church, to fitly adorn it and to furnish it abundantly with holy vessels and suitable ornaments.

However great may be the loss that we have met in the death of a missionary so remarkable for his virtue and goodness, and however keenly we may feel it, we are consoling ourselves, nevertheless, with the hope of finding in him a protector in heaven, where he enjoys already, we dare to assure ourselves, the happiness of the blessed. None the less I ask for him of your Reverence the customary prayers of the Society.

I have the honor to be, with deep respect, reverend Father,

Your Reverence's very humble and obedient Servant,

(Signed)

J. B. DU PARC, S. J.

## MEMORANDUM.

An Account of the Distribution of the Necessaries Rec'd by Order of the Hon. Board of Commissioners for the Native Indians settled at Maduetic at Different Times from the 24th June, 1788, till the 15th Nov'r, 1789 :—

NAMES.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Corn.	Powder.	Lead.	Flints.	Pork.	Salt.	Blankets.	Stroud.	Linen.	Hats.
Augustin, . . . . .	1				1	4				1			
Francis Joseph, . . . . .	1	1	6		2	2	2			4			
Barzil (sick, since dead), . . . . .	1	1		12	2	2	2		5	2			
Pellacola, . . . . .	1	1	3		2		3			3			
Thomas, . . . . .	1	1	2		4					2			
Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	1		3	4				2			
Gov'r Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	4	1	3	4			6	2			
Peter Joe, . . . . .	1				4	4				2			
Ellazonpa (widow), . . . . .		1	2							2			
Francis Regis, . . . . .	1	1	3							3			
Joseph Murray, . . . . .	1	1	3		3	12	9			5			
Joe Murray, . . . . .	1	1	3		3	8	2			3			
Joe Murray Sis, . . . . .	1				5	10	4			1			
Joseph Murray (old), . . . . .	1	1	6		5	12	6			4			
Joseph Lugorstat (dead), . . . . .	1	1	2	2	5	12	9	5½		4		4	
Bartis, . . . . .	1	1	2							2			
Pemmyhawick, . . . . .	1	1	5	3	3	12	12	4	6	9	6	2½	1
Pemmacola, . . . . .	1	1	3		2	8	8			4			
Joseph Martiu (sick), . . . . .	1	1	1	1½	3	8	10	10	1	4	2		
Tobec (widow), . . . . .		1		½						1			
John Tobec, . . . . .	1	1			1	4				4			
Grand John, . . . . .	1	1	4		2	8	23			2			
Pierre Peter, . . . . .	1	1	1		5	12				2			
John Manduelmet, . . . . .	1	1	9	1	6	22	8	4		5			
Pierre, . . . . .	1				2	4	5			1			
Pelip, . . . . .	1	1	1		2	4	6			1			
Manduane (widow), . . . . .		1	3	½	5	20	8		2	1	8		
Nuel Priest, . . . . .	1	1	4	1	3	16	5		2	2			
Burtis Rahis, . . . . .	1				2	4	4						
Joseph Persis, . . . . .	1				2		4						
Joseph Lna, . . . . .	1	1	1	1	9	8	9			2			
Madalencis (widow), . . . . .		1		1½						1	2		
Pierre Missel, . . . . .	1				2		3						
Sabatis, . . . . .	1	1	3	1	5	12	5			4			
Joseph, . . . . .	1		1		2	4	3			2			
Joseph Pierdeny, . . . . .	1	1	5		3	4	4			2			
Pierdeney, . . . . .	1				3		3						
Nuil, . . . . .	1				2								
Rola, . . . . .	1	1	2		5	16	4		2	2			
Piel Sack, . . . . .	1	1	1		4	4	3		1	2			
Joe Jack, . . . . .	1	1	3		5	12	5			4			
Nicolas, . . . . .	1	1	2		4	4	4			2			
Molly (widow), . . . . .		1	2	1	2	4	4	5		1			
Missel, . . . . .	1				2	4				1			

NAMES.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Corn.	Powder.	Lead.	Flints.	Pork.	Salt.	Blankets.	Stroud.	Linens.	Hats.
<i>Continued.</i>													
Lua, . . . . .	1				7	18	3			1			
Francen, . . . . .	1				4	12	5			1			
Francis, . . . . .	1				6	16	3						
Thomas Quodpan, . . . . .	1	1	5	3½	7	16	4		1	2			
Xnellis, . . . . .	1				3								
Andrew Major, . . . . .	1	1	4		7	20	18			3			
Nicola Nephon, . . . . .	1	1	2		2	8	6			2			
Nuel, . . . . .	1				2	8	2		2	1			
Nuel Benar, . . . . .	1	1	5		1	4				2			
Sunum Benar, . . . . .	1				1	4				1			
Molly Geary, . . . . .		1	2							2			
Sernacola, . . . . .	1	1	1		1	4				2			
Nuel Sernacola, . . . . .	1				1	4				1			
Sabatis Tobec, . . . . .	1	1	2		1	4				2			
Joseph Wilmot, . . . . .	1	1	4		1	4				2			
Pierre Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	3		4	18							
Little Joe, . . . . .	1				6	18							
Succatur, . . . . .	1	1			2	8							
Joe Jopsis, . . . . .	1	1	3		3	12	6						
Joseph Barselote, . . . . .	1	1		4½	5	17	3	4	5	2	5½	5	
Sallo, . . . . .	1				2	4							
Lobilis, . . . . .	1				2	4							
Pier Joseph, . . . . .	1	1	1		3	7				1			
Lua Zontes, . . . . .	1	1	5	3	6	12	9		4	3			
Ohluis, . . . . .	1				2								
Farsong, . . . . .	1				2								
Joseph Sabatis, . . . . .	1				2								
Swatson, . . . . .	1	1	2		4	12	5			2			
Asselma, . . . . .	1				5	8	2			1			
Piel Alcomai, . . . . .	1				2								
Mitchel Lua, . . . . .	1	1			4	8	6						
Louai, . . . . .	1	1	2		3	8	3		2	2			
Pennel, . . . . .	1	1			3								
Joseph Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	1		7	8	3						
Piel Sack Gomar, . . . . .	1				2								
Joseph Obruiss, . . . . .	1	1	2	1	3	14	6			2			
Joseph (sick, since dead), . . . . .	1			1	1	4	4		1	1			
Molly Missy, . . . . .		1	3							1	2½		
Peter Tear, . . . . .	1				2		2				2½		
Ethon, . . . . .	1				2		2						
Lua Nequin, . . . . .	1				2		2						
Sisuly, . . . . .		1								1			
Mary (widow), . . . . .		1		1					1		2		
Molly Derlis, . . . . .		1	2		3	6					2		4
Sabatis Sano, . . . . .	1				2	12	5						
Molly Bisket (widow), . . . . .		1	1		1	4					2		
Sciottin (widow), . . . . .		1									2		
Lannet (widow), . . . . .		1									2		
Molly Gatlin (widow), . . . . .		1									2		

NAMES.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Corn.	Powder.	Lead.	Flints.	Pork.	Salt.	Blankets.	Stroud.	Linen.	Hats.
<i>Continued.</i>													
Atwin, .....	1	..	..	..	2	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Atanis, .....	1	..	..	..	4	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Franwaton, .....	1	1	12	..	4	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pelip, .....	1	..	..	..	3	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Francis Joseph, .....	1	..	..	..	4	16	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rola (widow), .....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..
Franwagemie, .....	1	..	..	..	3	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Monopos, .....	1	1	..	..	12	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Francis Joe, .....	1	1	..	..	4	12	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Francis Xavier, .....	1	1	5	12	4	16	6	..	..	33	12	12	..
Nicola, .....	1	1	1	..	3	8	6	..	..	12	12	..	..
Jack, .....	1	1	1	..	4	8	6	..	..	12	12	..	..
Tomah, .....	1	..	..	..	1	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Andrew, .....	1	1	1	..	12	8	3	..	..	12	12	..	..
Nepthon, .....	1	1	..	..	12	8	6	..	..	12	12	..	..
Mitchel, .....	..	1	3	..	12	8	6	..	..	12	12	..	..
Joseph Pemmyhawit, .....	1	1	4	..	6	24	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pierre Pool, .....	1	..	..	..	12	8	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mitchel M, .....	1	1	4	..	6	24	18	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alosel, .....	1	1	4	..	12	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total, .....	98	74	165	..	322	790	365	..	..	152	..	..	..

The foregoing account is found amongst other papers sent by Frederick Dibblee to the commissioners of the New England Company. It bears the following indorsement in his hand writing, "Accounts of Necessaries for the Native Indians at Maductic." He sums up the statement given above as follows:

Men 98, Women 74, Children 165.

Total Delivered to the Indians; corn 146 bushels, powder 322 lbs., Lead 790 lbs., Flints 365, Pork 592 lbs., Salt 82 quarts, Blankets 152, Stroud 175 yards, Linen 124 yards, Hats 12, Books 10, Beans 14½ bushels, Potatoes 23½ bushels.

Thomas Quodpan, two axes & two hoes.

Pemmyhawick, two axes & two hoes.

Lua Sentes, two axes & two hoes.

The spelling of Indian names, etc., has been preserved as in the original.

W. O. R.

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