CONTENTS.

Vol. VIII. No. 4. October, 1908.

COMMUNION CUPS.
Greenock Church, St. Andrews, N. B.

ACADIENSIS.

VOL. VIII. OCTOBER, 1908. No. 4

DAVID RUSSELL JACK . . . HONORARY EDITOR.
ST. JOHN, N. B., CANADA.

Adieu.

Must we part?
Well, if—we must—we must—
The less is said the better.—*Sheridan.*

WITH this issue, which completes the eighth volume, the publication of ACADIENSIS will cease.

From the commencement, the work has not been a financial success, the receipts from all sources being insufficient to meet the actual cost of printing and postage, all literary contributions as well as editorial and clerical work, in connection with the undertaking, having been gratuitous. Notwithstanding this lack of substantial encouragement, the magazine was carried on, year by year, in the hope that public recognition of the value of the material which was being gathered up would stimulate a greater demand for the publication, and thus place it upon a self-supporting basis.

Experience has not justified this hope, and at the end of the eighth volume, the list of subscribers is found to be even smaller than at the close of the fifth volume. Consequently, it is determined that for the present, at least, the work must cease. During the term mentioned, the deficit has been from $200.00 to $300.00 per annum, and the writer feels that in personally bearing this burthen for so long a time, as well as in giving freely of the time usually devoted by others to the accumulation of wealth of the material sort, or to social recreation, he has done all that could be reasonably expected of one of moderate means who was also required to meet the cares of an arduous business life.

To all those who have aided in the work, the knowledge that they produced the best in its line, that Canada has yet seen, as well as the longest-lived literary periodical yet published in the Acadian Provinces, must be a comfort and a consolation.

To the many who have supported the work, whether by literary or pecuniary aid, the writer feels that he is under a lasting obligation, and will always appreciatively remember their kindness.

If special thanks are due to any one individual for active aid and encouragement, such thanks, it is almost needless to say, have been justly earned by Professor William F. Ganong, of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, a native of Charlotte County, New Brunswick, and the school-mate of the writer. When the idea of a literary magazine to be devoted to the interests of the Maritime Provinces of Canada was first mooted, Professor Ganong gave the scheme his unqualified approval and support. Realizing the thoroughness of the work to be done by him, and its consequent permanent value, it was stipulated at the outset that he would contribute at least one article

to each number of the magazine, which might be issued. How well he has discharged that obligation, an examination of the work will fully reveal.

Probably one of the hardest things that is required of us mortals is to say good-bye, to old friends, to old scenes, to old associations. The realization of the fact that in many cases the separation is not temporary, but final, does not render the task any the less difficult.

Between the cradle and the grave, there are for most of us many such experiences. At the last earthly parting, the sting of death is softened, in many cases we hope, by the sense of duty done and the sure and certain hope of something better beyond.

Similarly, in the present instance, the bitterness of disappointment is somewhat softened by the hope that the discontinuance of the present work may arouse in the public mind a realization of the value of what has already been accomplished in the past eight years, and excite a desire for something better, possibly along somewhat different lines, and under different management.

That he may live to see this hope fulfilled, and a thoroughly literary spirit aroused in this his native Province, where now, alas! it appears to be so dormant, is the sincere wish of the writer.

D. R. JACK.

The Advantages of the Union of the Maritime Provinces.

IN the last five years, the subject of the union of the three Maritime Provinces — Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island — has been so frequently mentioned that it looks as if it had come to stay. Probably the beginning was the discussion of the question by the Maritime Board of Trade in Charlottetown in August, 1903. No action, however, was taken, and the subject was deferred for future consideration.

Probably the next discussion took place at Yarmouth in August, 1905, when the Maritime Board of Trade unanimously passed a resolution to the effect that the time had arrived for the union of the three provinces. This resolution was re-affirmed and the subject again discussed at the Amherst meeting of the Board in August, 1906.

Then followed the publication in ACADIENSIS, in July and October, 1906, of a somewhat lengthy article on the subject, which was re-published in November, 1906, by the Halifax *Herald* and other papers, producing some editorial comment and commendation.

Maritime Union has been more than once the question for debate in our leading educational institutions. The advantages of such a union of the provinces have been urged by numerous speakers before the Canadian Clubs in these Provinces, notably by Dr, Falconer, President of Toronto University, Dr. Peterson, Principal of McGill University, and Mr. J. S. Ewart, K. C., Ottawa, and it is needless to say all these refer-

ences have produced editorial comment and further commendation.

One of the most recent references to the subject was that of the Premier of New Brunswick. Speaking at Halifax on August 19th last at the recent celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Representative Government in Nova Scotia, the Hon. J. Douglas Hazen, said:

"In the march of progress the Maritime Provinces must not stand still. Nearly a century and a quarter have passed since New Brunswick parted company from Nova Scotia and set up housekeeping for itself. It has advanced as Nova Scotia has, but would not the advance in both provinces be more rapid and the progress greater if, in the Councils of the Dominion, the Lower Provinces could speak as one province and with one united voice.

"With the rapidly increasing population of the western provinces, the representation of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island in the federal parliament will be reduced to an extent that we cannot at present estimate and we will not be worthy of those who have gone before us, and who have laid broad and deep foundations of Canada's greatness unless we sink all our political differences and demand with one voice that a limit shall be fixed beyond which there shall be no further decrease in our representation. Would not that demand be more powerful and attract more attention if made by a United Act."

Now in the writer's humble opinion, beyond a shadow of doubt, Premier Hazen is right; if these three Provinces were one province, we should advance more rapidly and make greater progress, and we should speak with one united voice in the Councils of the Dominion.

The three Maritime Provinces would make a respectable province, and even then would be the small-

est province of Canada—only two-thirds of the area of Manitoba (before extension of its boundaries in 1908), and one-fifth the area of Alberta or Saskatchewan, the next two provinces in area. Its population would be only half that of Quebec, and one-third that of Ontario. The different legislatures of the Maritime Provinces are liliputian, and it is absurd that there should be three distinct governing bodies. To quote the report of Dr. Silas Alward's speech: "It is a travesty on legislation that Prince Edward Island, with an area of 2,184 square miles, about the size of one of the large counties of New Brunswick, and with less than 100,000 people, should have a Governor with all the legislative expenses attendant. The same statement is applicable, in a somewhat larger degree, to the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick."

Thrifty people are beginning to ask why this costly apparatus has to be paid for three times when once would serve. A solid east would offset the growing importance of the west. Western Canada's growth will side-track the east, and force upon the east the necessity for union. Consolidation would unify the national spirit. It would give one large province of varied resources instead of three with limited means.

Our interests, it is unnecessary to say, are identical. We have no diversity of nationality. No marked peculiarities or differences in our institutions and laws. No recognition of particular religious institutions. All are homogeneous. The laws of all and the institutions of all are English, and very similar; our interests lie in our Maritime commerce, our manufacturing and our fisheries.

I believe the apparent difficulties are not insurmountable, and will disappear before the honest efforts of honest statesmen. I believe that union is more accomplishable than Confederation proved to

be, or the union of the heterogeneous German States. I believe that the time is opportune. I believe that the question will not solve itself by letting it alone. Matters are not good enough as they are; they should be made better. I believe that the advantages of union more than outweigh any supposed disadvantages. Let us leave until later the consideration of the latter, and let us look at the most evident and obvious advantages which would undoubtedly result from a consolidation of the political governments of the Maritime Provinces.

Let us assume, for the purposes of argument, that a union just to all concerned has been effected and that a new province has come into being. It will be conceded at once, and without question, that the financial credit of the new province is greater than the credit of any one of the old provinces. The possibilities of undertaking greater tasks are enlarged thereby. The strength, financially, of the united province is undoubtedly greater than the sum total strength of the three provinces standing each alone. Possibly the revenues of one of the provinces is alone insufficient to forward any great work of importance. Union does not make matters worse. The public revenues go further and do more than formerly, and public works of importance can be undertaken. Take that one item of Dominion subsidies as a concrete example. Nova Scotia receives $432,806.00 annually; New Brunswick receives $491,361.00; and Prince Edward Island comes in for $211,933.00; a total of $1,136,000.00. That tidy little sum, supplemented by the revenues derived from Crown lands, timber and mineral resources, succession duties and other fees and revenues, could be spent wisely and well; and I see no reason why, in time, we should not, as a province, have cash on deposit to our credit in the Bank. It can be done; they do it in Ontario.

Undoubtedly one of the strongest arguments in favor of a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces is the saving that undoubtedly would result from such a union. Take the office of Lieutenant-Governor. To the Governor of Nova Scotia is paid a salary of $9,000; to the Governor of Prince Edward Island is paid $7,000; and to the Governor of New Brunswick is paid $9,000; a total of $25,000. If instead of the three governors for the three provinces there were substituted one governor, with a salary of $10,000 (the salary paid the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario), then $15,000 would be saved to people's pockets.

Again, in all departments of government there would be substituted one executive official in the stead of three. There would be one commissioner of Crown lands instead of three; one provincial secretary instead of three; one attorney-general instead of three; one commissioner for public works instead of three, and so on. I do not mean to suggest that the one should do the work of three, he would have sufficient deputies and clerks to assist him if necessary; but notwithstanding this, an enormous annual saving to the people's pockets would result from the change in this respect.

The cost of the maintenance of one Legislative Assembly, instead of three, would also be an item in the expense account of the new province considerably smaller than the sum total of the three items in the existing provincial public accounts. Take the cost of maintenance of the Provincial Legislature of Nova Scotia, which is about $65,000 annually; add the cost of the New Brunswick Parliament, $40,000, and the Prince Edward Island House, $10,000; total, $115,000. Now abolish all three legislatures and establish one Legislative Assembly in their place, grinding out law at a cost of, say, $75,000 a year (which is liberal), and the resulting saving will be $40,000 annually—an argument in itself.

That the financial economy resulting from the consolidation of the administrations of the three provinces will be of very substantial benefit, may be gathered from an examination of the annual financial reports of the three provinces. I have examined these with considerable care, endeavoring to estimate in each case the average annual cost of the operation of the mere machinery of administration, and I find that in Nova Scotia the salaries paid the Lieutenant-Governor, the chief ministers and their deputies, the annual session indemnities of members (including recent increases), legislative expenses, and the expenses of running the various departmental offices of the administration (including clerks' salaries and incidental expenses)—in other words, the average annual costs of operation of the machinery—amount to about $200,000; in New Brunswick the average is about $145,000, and in Prince Edward Island it is about $55,000, or, roughly, $400,000 for the three provinces.

Now assuming a union effected, the expenses would undoubtedly be less; and if you investigate this matter carefully and compare your estimates with the same items for other provinces, such as Manitoba and Ontario, you will feel safe in agreeing with me that $250,000 is a fair estimate for the cost of running the machinery of the new province. Deducting this amount from $400,000, we find that the average annual saving in the operation of the legislative machinery would be $150,000, and it could be made larger, I am sure. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars is sufficient to subsidize a necessary line of steamers or help build a much-needed railway.

Space, however, does not permit further enumeration of the details. Enough has probably been said, I am sure, to show, to some extent, that the people of the provinces would benefit substantially by a union

of administrations, considered merely from the point of view of dollars and cents.

A benefit of inestimable value resulting from union would be the uniformity of the departmental administration and system. It does not need a second thought to realize the advantages to these provinces of such uniformity. Each provincial government now has its own methods and regulations with regard to Crown lands, and timber lands, mines, law courts, agriculture, education, railways, taxation, subsidies to public works, and so on. If instead of this heterogeneous divergence of methods and confusion and lack of system one administrative code were substituted, the people of the Maritime Provinces would gain thereby.

Take legislation in the provinces. In New Brunswick we have a governor, executive council and elective legislative assembly. In Nova Scotia we have these, and a legislative council as well. In Prince Edward Island the legislature now consists of governor, an executive council and a legislative council, and an assembly elected on different qualifications, but sitting together.

In the three provinces we now have, excluding lieutenant-governors and government officials, 135 paid legislators for a population of 894,000. If the Dominion Government were consfituted on the same basis, there would be 1,000 members. Surely we are over-governed. Let us abolish all these anomalous institutions, reform matters and begin again with a lieutenant-governor, an executive council and a legislative assembly.

Take the matter of practice in the law courts. In Prince Edward Island they still have the common law procedure Act, a system abolished in England as far back as 1875. In Nova Scotia the practice is regulated under a Judicature Act, and rules similar to the acts and rules in England, Ontario,Manitoba and else-

where. In New Brunswick a similar Act has recently been brought into force, but the practice is not uniform with that of Nova Scotia. Why should it be different? Why should Prince Edward Island not have a Judicature Act? How much better it would be if there were one Judicature Act for the three provinces.

Take taxation as an instance. Each province has a bewildering multiplicity of expedients and ideas as to principles of taxation. Some legislation has no principle behind it. Let us sift matters, let us get at principles, facts, ideas, reason, uniformity, system in our taxation. Let all three provinces be under one system, and that system the best.

Take the professions—take that of the law or medicine. Why should there be one set of regulations with reference to the additions to and the practice of law or medicine in Prince Edward Island and another set of rules in New Brunswick, and still another set in Nova Scotia?

Take company law as another case. In New Brunswick the laws with reference to the incorporation, regulation and taxation of corporations are as unlike those of Prince Edward Island as those of the latter province are unlike those of Nova Scotia. Why?

Take education. Union would bring about a most desirable uniformity in the educational administration, and would render possible better teachers, higher standards, effective technical schools, better education.

Take—but why go on, world without end? The question is, is uniformity, such as indicated of any advantage to the people of the Maritime Provinces? If, benefits, not inconsiderable benefits, some think would result from systematizing matters in the three provinces, let us then throw in the weight of other arguments and have consolidation.

And there is the argument to be derived from the system of party government existing to-day in these provinces. No one will honestly support the theory that a government should have no opposition. The best legislature is that which has been subjected to the criticism of a strong opposition. Where the opposition is weak, the government does as it pleases. This is true whether the party in power be Liberal or Conservative, or socialist, or radical or nationalist. Now it is a matter of history that once or twice the government of one or two of the provinces has had little or no opposition, and it is just at this point of the argument that one sees the advantage of a larger election field. Make that field the three provinces, and there will always be some opposition worth considering. The legislature will then have the wisdom and experience of the legislators of three provinces instead of only one. The opposition will be a better opposition ; the government will be a better government ; the legislative results will be better for the people.

Enlargement of the field of politics would force the thoughts of our public men to expand. The electorate would consider more than mere local interests; they would consider the interests of a large Maritime Province. Union and consolidation would produce a few of the old-time statesmen instead of mere "ward-heelers" and "parochial politicians." "The political atmosphere will be much healthier when it is generally felt that the whole is worthy of more consideration than any of its parts." The undue preponderance obtained by cliques, syndicates, family compacts, individuals, and interests locally strong, would be made more remote. Is this not a reason why everyone should support any effort towards union?

With union would come the obliteration of local or sectional jealousies, the elimination of petty discords

in smaller governments, and the harmony of all communities. These irritating influences would, to a certain extent, cease to act, because their power to control legislative action would be materially weakened.

I believe that one result of union would be the development of the resources of the three provinces. We need development, and need it badly. We need development of our fields, forests and mines; agriculture, manufactures, industries, commerce. A *united* effort would stimulate development. We cannot do it while separated. We are ignored by the Dominion Government; the West gets whatever it asks for; we get no portion whatever of the immense immigration into Canada. A considerable percentage of the revenue we contribute is expended to bonus and advertise the western end of the Dominion, which constantly drains us of many of our very best people; thus with the expenditure of our own money the younger generation, on whom the development of these provinces must depend, is induced to follow the immigrants westward. Applying a normal fifteen per cent. decennial increase to the census figures of 1881, for the three provinces, and subtracting the figures for 1901, you will find that in the twenty years the three provinces have lost over 250,000 of their very own people —I might almost say, their young people— and that is two and a half times the whole population of Prince Edward Island, the most thickly-populated province in the Dominion. That loss occurred before the "lure of the Western wheat-fields" took away our young people; what losses will be evident when the next census figures are obtainable, is not to be foreseen.

Now this may be digression. I hope not. The point I wish to make is that there should be sufficient progress and development in these Maritime Provinces to induce our people to remain here and not emigrate,

or, if they have emigrated elsewhere, to return to their native province.

I believe that political union would greatly stimulate the development of our resources. I believe that thereby our commercial status would be elevated. Being more prosperous as a community, we would attract more settlers and retain our population. We would become of more importance in the eyes of the nations; we would not be ignored; our resources would be investigated and developed, and that is what we need.

Union, I believe, would bring this about. It certainly could not result in anything else but good, and that little good is of sufficient weight to argue for consolidation and a united effort towards greater development.

Union would give each province an interest in the resources, development and prosperity of the others. Prince Edward Island would benefit by its joint interest, with the other two provinces, in the mineral wealth of Nova Scotia and the forest wealth of New Brunswick. Similarly the agricultural possibilities and development of Prince Edward Island would be shared by the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the mutual advantage and benefit of all. The development of export shipping, or ship-building, or fisheries or other maritime industries by any section of the three provinces would undoubtedly benefit other sections of the provinces. And so, with immigration, manufacturing and other matters. We should be one for all, and all for one.

Turning from the arguments in favor of union from the standpoint of internal affairs to that of external relations, the chief argument which will occur to the reader is the larger influence which we should exercise in federal affairs as a result of consolidation. The influence of Eastern Canada would be promoted

and its position elevated. Our position would be felt because we would be united. We should exert a larger influence upon national life. We should be of more bulk and importance, able to vie with our inland sister provinces.

Looking at this from the point of view of the man from Eastern Canada, this would counterbalance, to some extent, the preponderant increasing influence of other provinces.

Then there is to be considered the practical result of such a change. I mean the strengthening of the present bond of feeling and interest between Eastern Canada and the rest of the provinces. A great and powerful community, self-reliant, independent, progressive, established in this part of the Dominion, would be a means of strengthening and perpetuating bonds of national interest. There would be a fuller national life, a widening of national thought, a reciprocity of rights and obligations, a feeling of increased national strength.

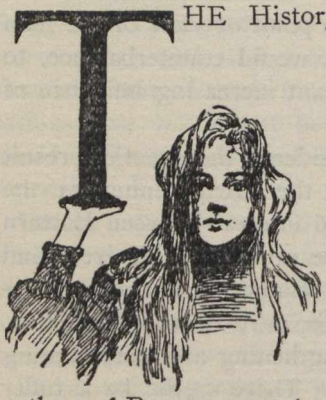
In conclusion, I ask: Why should we remain separated? Is this policy of separation in the best interest of these provinces? We have problems of our own, and we need not look for counsel or assistance in solving them to our inland sister provinces. We must solve them ourselves, and we can do that best *united.* Its time to forget all our sectional jealousies and petty discords; get into line; "let us unite and work."

REGINALD V. HARRIS.

Halifax, N. S., September 17, 1908.

Early Journalism in New Brunswick.

Read before the N. S. Press Association at Sydney, C. B., Sept. 16th, 1908.



THE History of the Press of New Brunswick, unlike that of the sister province of Nova Scotia, commences with the Loyalist immigration of 1783. Remarkable as has been the mushroom growth of towns and cities in our newer west, it is not any more phenomenal than the founding of the city of Saint John, or, rather, of Parr-town, as it was then called. Here were established a regular newspaper within a period of seven months from the date on which the first settler set foot on that rocky peninsula. In the accounts of the development of the far west, we read of men there striking into some wilderness section, founding a town consisting principally of a saloon or two, around which cluster a number of shacks which could scarcely be dignified with the name of dwellings, and of some enterprising newspaper man taking a small press in sections into the camp and starting a weekly paper, or rather a paper published at irregular intervals, when any important news was obtainable, and we wonder at the enterprise by which such men are prompted .

In these days of steam or electric transportation on land and water, or through the air, the traveller sending or receiving messages, meanwhile, we regard the accomplishments of the age in which we live as marvellous. If we consider the difficulties

by which our Loyalist forefathers were surrounded, the lack of rapid communication, or of even a regular mail communication; the sudden inthrust into a wilderness country of some thousands of persons, most of them absolutely penniless, and dependent upon a benevolent government for their daily bread as well as for clothing with which to cover their nakedness, and a covering to shield them from the storm; of their proceeding energetically to work with the aid of skilled engineers to lay out streets, providing for public squares, schools, market places, churches and other public utilities, and within the period of seven months of their establishing a regular newspaper, we cannot but be filled with admiration at their energy, pluck and bravery. Yet history tells us that it was in this manner that the foundations of the city of St. John were laid. So well was their work done that it has not since required to be undone. The story of this Loyalist movement is familiar to all of us, and need not be enlarged upon at this juncture.

In the revolting thirteen colonies, and even in the older province of Nova Scotia, the newspaper was, prior to 1783, a well-established power in the community. With the Loyalist movement, at the close of the Revolution, when the best blood of the country—to the extent of about 100,000 souls—was obliged, owing to the fact that the conditions of life had been made intolerable for them by the victors, to seek a home elsewhere, is it surprising that among such a motley gathering there should be a number of printers and journalists? Is it surprising, either, that with the establishment of new homes, these same men should take up anew the avocation to which they had been trained?

To mention at present only two of their number who settled in the then province of Nova Scotia, Christopher Sower, of Pennsylvania, and John Howe,

of Boston, were destined to play a prominent part in the affairs of the young colony.

As the province of New Brunswick was set off from Nova Scotia in 1784, it is with Sower rather than with his more widely known contemporary that we have to do.

On the 10th of May, 1783, the first Loyalist fleet, with 3,000 souls, dropped anchor at the mouth of the St. John River; on Sunday, the 18th of the same month, the first of their number landed; on the 4th of October following the fall fleet, with 1,200 more Loyalists, arrived; on November 25th, long known as Evacuation Day, the last of the British troops left New York; and on the 18th of December, in the same year, the first regular paper ever issued in New Brunswick made its appearance.

Among the Loyalist arrivals at Parr-town, now a portion of the city of St. John, were William Lewis and John Ryan, and to them belongs the honor of having printed the first New Brunswick newspaper. This was *The Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer.*

This publication was a three-column weekly, 8 x 13 inches in size, and, compared with the large illustrated editions now put out by the larger dailies in our principal cities, was small indeed. It contained but little, if any, local news, and its columns were filled chiefly with European news, frequently months old. The advertisements then, as now, were quite a feature, and a copy of an early paper is to the student of biography a regular mine of information.

Unfortunately, the succession of great fires, culminating in that of 1877, by which St. John has been swept, has obliterated much in the way of material suitable for a sketch such as the present; but the writer has succeeded in gathering up quite a number of odd copies of old papers which, when placed together, form quite a chain connecting the remote past with the

work of more recent years. In the Free Public Library of St. John is also to be found a fair collection of old newspapers, which are of value to the student of local history.

If we could produce before us the press upon which Lewis and Ryan printed the first New Brunswick newspaper, we should probably see something not unlike the press used at the present day for striking proofs in any small country job office. No doubt a turn screw was used in the place of the more quick acting spring, but in general principles the two machines were probably not dissimilar, except that the greater portion of the older press was made of wood rather than of iron.

In the Yarmouth *Herald* of the 31st of December, 1900, we find an excellent description of just such a press as probably graced the log-cabin pressroom, editorial sanctum and dwelling combined of Lewis and Ryan at Parr-town in December, 1783. Here we learn that the method of working was as follows: the bed to roll in and out on a track, propelled by a pulley and belt turned by a handle; the "sheet" was "pinned" on the tympan, and a "frisket" worked above the tympan kept the sheet clean and in place; the forms were rolled by hand, and the impression was made by pulling over a long handle, working a lever, which forced the "platen" down on the forms. By this process not over 200 papers could be printed in an hour, and these only on one side.

Lack of space will not permit an extended reference to Lewis and Ryan, but we cannot pass them by without a very brief mention.

Of William Lewis the writer can find no mention, except that he was a grantee of Parr-town in 1783. At the incorporation of the city of St. John in 1785 he was among those who took out his papers as a Freeman, as we find by consulting the official list.

J. W. Lawrence, in his work on the early Judges of New Brunswick, while mentioning the earlier papers of St. John, does not mention him, except as a partner with Ryan in establishing the first newspaper. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that, like many others, he became discouraged by the difficulties which he was called upon to face, and when the benevolence of the British government in supplying the necessaries of life to the Loyalists had ceased and the animus of the citizens of the new republic had somewhat diminished, Lewis, like many others, quietly took his departure from the little community at the mouth of the St. John river, with which he had so bravely, at the commencement, cast in his lot, and returned to the United States.

John Ryan was born at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 7th of October, 1761. When Boston was evacuated in 1776, among those who left and went to Newport, then held by the British, was John Howe, printer, before alluded to. Ryan, then a lad of fifteen, entered his office as an apprentice, and on the evacuation of Newport in 1780, they left for New York. While still an apprentice, Ryan* married Amelia, daughter of John Mott, of Long Island, New York. The Motts were also associated with early journalism in New Brunswick, as will be shown later. The evacuation of New York took place in the autumn of 1783, and John Ryan, after accompanying John Howe to Halifax, decided to push on to Parr-town, as offering a newer, and, possibly, for this reason, a more enticing field. Here he joined William Lewis, and together they drew lot No. 59 on the east side of Prince William Street, and on this spot, on the date before mentioned, they issued the first number of their paper.

* Married June 25th, 1780, by Rev. John Sayre, afterwards first clergyman of the Church of England at Maugerville.

On the organization of the province of New Brunswick, Lewis and Ryan changed the name of their paper to *The Royal New Brunswick Gazette and General Advertiser.*†

On the 18th of May, 1785, Parr-town and Carleton were incorporated as the City of St. John by Royal Charter. Thus St. John is the oldest city in Canada, next in seniority being Toronto, jocularly known as "Muddy Little York," which received its incorporation in 1834. Quebec and Montreal received their incorporation in 1832, but four years later their charters were suspended until 1840.‡

In the autumn of 1785, Christopher Sower was appointed King's Printer, and Lewis and Ryan then changed the title of their publication to *The St. John Gazette and General Advertiser.*

Christopher Sower, named after his father Christopher, was born at Germantown, Philadelphia, on the 22nd of January, 1754. Between the years 1778 and 1784, he spent much of his time in New York and London, and was fairly successful in having his claims for compensation for his losses in consequence of the war recognized by the British government. He was granted a pension for life, was made postmaster of the province of New Brunswick, and printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

In the autumn of 1785 he was in St. John, and we learn that on Tuesday, October 11th, 1785, the first issue of his paper, entitled *The Royal Gazette and the New Brunswick Advertiser,* appeared. The following note is included in the heading: "St. John. Printed by Christopher Sower, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, at his Printing Office, Dock Street." Here also the post office was located. Some

† Judges of New Brunswick, by J. W. Lawrence, published as supplement to Acadiensis, p. 411.

‡ See City Government in Canada, Wickett, p. 5.

time later both printing and post offices appear to have been removed to King Street; for we learn that in May, 1787, they were located in the first building above the Mallard House, now the Royal Hotel, one of St. John's noted inns of early days, where the first riot in St. John took place, and in which the first two sessions of the New Brunswick Legislature assembled, prior to the removal of the seat of the provincial government from St. John to Fredericton.

One of the earliest, if not the very first work issued from a New Brunswick press, aside from the regular weekly paper, was referred to in the *Gazette* of January 9th, 1787, as follows:

> Now in the press and will be published on Saturday next, "The Pleasures and Advantages of a Brotherly Unity: A sermon preached before the Right Worshipful Master, Wardens and Brethren of the 54th Regimental Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, in the Parish Church of St. John, on December 26th, 1786, by George Bisset, A. M.. Rector of St. John and Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

Bunting's Freemasonry in New Brunswick does not contain any reference either to this sermon, or to the preacher, from which we may fairly assume that he was not an active member of the craft in St. John, even if he had ever been made a Mason.

Later, in 1811, the title of the paper was changed to *The City Gazette,* remaining under the same management as formerly, except that the firm name was changed to William Durant & Co. Thus it continued until the 31st of January, 1815, when a dissolution of partnership took place, Mr. Durant becoming the sole proprietor.

Among the Loyalists who came to Parr-town in 1783 was Jacob S. Mott, just referred to, then a lad of about eleven years of age, in company with his father, John Mott, who had previously been a resident of Long Island, New York. The Mott family passed through many interesting vicissitudes while

connected with the New Brunswick press. The passage from youth to manhood of Jacob, his apprenticeship, marriage, business career, terminated by his death in 1814, would supply ample material for an interesting paper in itself, and cannot be more than merely alluded to at the present time.

Upon the demise of Jacob S. Mott, his widow, Ann Mott, nominally took up the management of *The Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser,* changing the title to *The Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* in consequence of the loss of the position of King's Printer. Henry Chubb, however, was really the manager of the paper, acting on behalf of Mrs. Mott.

Most of the newspapers published in New Brunswick prior to 1811 were, as regards the news which they contained, merely compilations from the English papers, brought by sailing vessels at irregular intervals from the mother country. In 1811 there entered the arena of newspaper life in New Brunswick a man who was destined to play a very important part in the affairs of the community, and who was probably the first man in the field to display any real journalistic ability.

Henry Chubb, who was born at St. John in 1787, served his time with Jacob S. Mott, and commenced, on the 2nd of May, 1811, the publication of the *New Brunswick Courier,* a paper, the fyles of which to-day form an invaluable encyclopedia of material for the local historian. Its first issue, however, contained nothing of local importance, not even a death or marriage notice, or a local of any sort, so we can watch with interest its evolution from an old-time sheet, compiled with paste and scissors, to something approaching a modern journal.

Fortunately, in 1877, when the great fire wiped out the greater portion of the City of St. John, a portion of the fyles of the *Courier* were saved, and are now the property of the New Brunswick Historical Society.

Journalism in New Brunswick under the able and well-directed efforts of Henry Chubb took on a distinctively new garb, and local news items, extensive obituary notices of persons of prominence in the community, the affairs of government, and a thousand and one other items, which even to-day are of more than passing interest, made their appearance in its columns.

The office of Chubb & Co. was a sort of kindergarten from which, in time, graduated many young men who were destined later to take an active part in the literary life of this continent. Among these may be mentioned Smith and Anderson, who founded the present *New York Herald,* and Robert Sears, who went to New York and became famous as the first publisher of illustrated Bibles in America. The portrait in oils of Mr. Sears, painted by N. R. Hicks, an American artist of no mean ability, is now the property of the New Brunswick Loyalists' Society, and adorns the walls of the Free Public Library in his native City of St. John.

In the year 1815, on the 10th of March, *The New Brunswick Royal Gazette* made its appearance in Fredericton under the management of George Kilman Lugrin. The name of Lugrin has been more or less associated with the press of New Brunswick for nearly a century. In 1822 Mr. George K. Lugrin retired from the press and the office of King's Printer, being succeeded in the latter office by Mr. John Simpson.

George K. Lugrin was the son of Peter Lugrin, a Loyalist, who, in turn, was the father-in-law of Henry Chubb of the *Courier.* Thus do these early newspaper worthies appear to have been connected by ties of relationship or marriage, as well as by a community of interests.

Following the New Brunswick *Royal Gazette* came the *Star and Commercial Intelligencr,* published by William Reynolds and George Younghusband for

the first time on the 19th of May, 1818. The *Star* was contemporaneous with the *City Gazette* and the *Courier*. It was a small four-page, four-column paper, ten and a half by seventeen inches in size, and was published from the office of William Reynolds & Co., on the corner of Church and Prince William Streets.

In May, 1790, Christopher Sower bought at French Village, Hammond River, in the County of King's, a large tract of land, which he named Brookville, and on which he built a large double two-story log house, having a cellar beneath it. To this place he and his family removed in 1792, and here he carried on his printing office, and also published the *Royal Gazette*, the Journals of the House of Assembly, and the Acts of the New Brunswick Legislature down to 1799. He was the first New Brunswick printer to occupy a seat in the legislature, having been elected at the third general election, which was held in 1795.

On the 3rd of July, 1799, Christopher Sower died of apoplexy at Baltimore, Maryland, whither he had gone on business. He left a son, Brook Watson Sower, then a lad of fifteen years of age, who had accompanied him as far as Philadelphia. This son learned his trade as a printer at Baltimore, afterwards engaging there in the printing and publishing business. The firm of B. W. Sower & Co. published the first diamond edition of the Bible, a feat which astonished their confreres in the city of London, Eng.

About the year 1797, John Ryan appears to have drawn upon himself the censure of the New Brunswick Legislature, for in the records of the House of Assembly, under date 17th February, 1797, we find that—

A complaint having been made to this House that John Ryan, printer of a public newspaper in St. John called the *St. John Gazette*, had in his newspaper sent to divers places presumed to intermeddle with proceedings of this House—one of which papers, dated 10th of February, instant, contain-

ing copies of sundry letters on the fyle of this House, addressed to a committee of the House, by William Knoxley, agent of the Province in London;

Ordered, That no printer do in their newspaper that they may disperse, presume to intermeddle with the proceedings of this House, or print or publish any letter or paper belonging to the same;

Ordered, That Mr. Jonathan Bliss, Mr. William Pagan, Mr. Younghusband and Mr. Symonds be a committee to examine the said John Ryan relative to the complaint aforesaid; and the manner in which the said papers were procured, and to report to this House at the next session.

This committee, the members of which are known to us by reputation as fair-minded and amicably disposed men of business, did not appear to view the *lese majesty* of Mr. Ryan as a very serious matter, for we find it recorded in the Journals of the 3rd of January, 1798, that—

The House went into consideration of the report of the committee appointed to examine John Ryan, printer, respecting the publication of certain letters; and, upon the facts in said report, do not find that the said John Ryan published the same with any evil intention, and therefore acquit him of any censure

On the death of Christopher Sower, in 1799, John Ryan was appointed King's Printer. This caused him to again change the name of his paper to *The Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser.*

Probably the first native born New Brunswicker to be connected with the press in this province was Michael, eldest son of John Ryan, who was born at Parr, as it was written in the old Masonic records, on the 23rd of June, 1783. He served his time, so we learn, in his father's office, and before he reached the age of twenty-one years he published at St. John, in 1804, *The New Brunswick Chronicle,* the first issue of which was dated the 7th of January in that year. This periodical was not very long lived, the field being limited. Contemporaneously with the *Chronicle* were published at St. John the *Royal Gazette,* by John Ryan,

father of Michael, and the *General Advertiser* by Jacob S. Mott, his uncle. Accordingly, the *Chronicle* having been discontinued, Michael Ryan removed to Fredericton with his printing outfit, and opened a job office, shortly afterwards, on the 3rd of May, 1806, issuing *The Fredericton Journal.*

On the 9th of August, 1806, the first issue of *The Fredericton Telegraph* made its appearance, being published from the office near the church on Front Street. Young Ryan was not successful in his efforts to establish a newspaper at Fredericton, and, accordingly, both father and son removed to St. John's, Newfoundland, where, on the 27th of August, 1807, they published the first newspaper ever issued in that colony, namely, *The Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser.*

As an evidence of the primitive condition of affairs in the sister colony of Newfoundland at this period, the following extract from the History of Newfoundland, by D. W. Prowse, Q. C., LL. D., Judge of the Central District Court of Newfoundland, is brief, but pointed. He writes:

> From this period onwards the colony began steadily to improve; a primitive post office was instituted in 1805 under Simon Solomon (father of our first postmaster-general, William Solomon); a newspaper, the *Royal Gazette,* which still flourishes, was instituted by Mr. John Ryan, an American Loyalist, in 1806; it was published as a possible evil thing under the most severe restrictions; security in two hundred pounds sterling had to be given, and the magistrates were to have perusal of the contents of the paper before publication. I am thankful that duty is not incumbent on us now, especially during the elections, when each party organ is full of audacity, mendacity and scurrilous personal abuse.

Thus we observe that the newspaper established by a New Brunswicker at Newfoundland in 1807 has completed its century of existence, a record which is probably unique in the history of the press in British North America. What the trials and difficulties of

the Messrs. Ryan were under the espionage of the magistrates of Newfoundland, Judge Prowse does not inform us. Fancy conducting a modern newspaper under similar conditions!

Prior to leaving St. John, John Ryan arranged with William Durant, who had served his time in Ryan's office, that the New Brunswick portion of the business should be in Durant's charge. The name of the paper was changed to *The Times or True Briton.* The first issue was published on Thursday, January 7th, 1808, the subscription price being twelve shillings and sixpence per annum, single copies selling for five pence. The office of the King's Printer was, by arrangement, given to Jacob S. Mott.

With the advent into the sphere of New Brunswick journalism of the *Star,* there appeared, presumably for the first time, the first symptom of acrimony between the brethren of the quill in this community, of which the writer has been able to find any trace. Possibly the ties of kindred before alluded to were a factor hitherto in preventing professional jealousy and kindred evils.

The following brief, but pointed, reference will be found in the second issue of the *Star:*

> The two late papers brought by the *Comet* were handed us, but owing to the fertile seond-hand zeal of our brother Typo, they were again withdrawn previous to our making any extract We beg this liberty may never again be repeated under the assumed name of gentleman.

We now come to the St. Andrew's *Herald,* which was the property of a company, the first issue appearing ——— —, 1819. Its editor, Mr. John Cochren, early retired, as we are informed by Mr. Lawrence, and was succeeded by David Howe, brother of Hon. Joseph Howe. The *Herald* continued until about 1831, at which date it was the property of Mr. Peter Stubbs, who was from 1820 to 1827 one of the members of the House of Assembly for Charlotte. For

many years the importance of St. Andrews as a shipping port rivalled, if indeed it did not equal in importance, St. John. The writer's grandfather, David William Jack, at one time Collector of Customs at the port, used to relate that he had seen one hundred square rigged vessels leave the port of St. Andrews at one tide. These were, of course, under convoy, and an occurrence such as that alluded to was not to be witnessed every day.

Following the St. Andrew's *Herald* there appeared the following papers, of which more than a mere mention is not possible at the present time:

Year.	Name of Publication.	Proprietor.
1825....	The Miramichi Gleaner, afterwards the Mercury..	James A. Pierce.
1827....	The British Colonist....	John Hooper.
1830....	The St. Andrews Courant..	Colin Campbell.
1833....	The Fredericton Watchman..	George K. Lugrin.
1833....	The St. Andrews Standard.....	George N. Smith.

This very short and incomplete paper will conclude with a reference to *The Commercial News and General Advertiser*, the first tri-weekly penny newspaper published in the British colonies. The first issue was published at St. John on the 16th of September, 1839, by George E. Fenety, for many years Queen's Printer of New Brunswick, who was a native of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Mr. Fenety, the only one of the several persons alluded to in the course of this paper who was personally known to the writer, was one of the few men in the field of journalism in New Brunswick who were able to acquire more than a very modest competency. He was a man of great energy, public spirit, good taste and generosity. His home at Fredericton, where he spent the latter years of his life, was, in the summer season, a veritable bower. In addition to his newspaper work, he published the first volume of a work entitled "Political Notes." The limited sale of

this volume had such a discouraging effect upon its author that the work was never carried on to completion. Possibly had it been issued in complete form the result might have been otherwise.

Upon his removal from St. John to Fredericton, Mr. Fenety took with him the fyles of the *Morning News* down to the time at which his connection with that journal ceased. When the writer, then a lad of seventeen, was preparing for competition his essay upon the History of the City and County of St. John, he sought and obtained from Mr. Fenety permission to examine the fyles of the *News,* and to make notes therefrom. The only condition attached to the desired permission was that none of the papers were to be removed from the owner's office. Accordingly, for a fortnight—in the month of August—in a little attic room, located just over the steam boiler, the room piled high with old newspapers and other flotsam and jetsam of a newspaper office, lighted by one window that would not open more than about six inches, and amid the dust of ages, the writer toiled. The knowledge thus acquired, at the expense of much personal discomfort, doubtless contributed largely to the success which ultimately greeted this effort.

The very flattering request to prepare this paper to be read before this representative body of the literary men of the Acadian Provinces of Canada has awakened in the writer's mind a determination to prepare a History of the Press in these three provinces. To properly carry out this work will be a matter, possibly, of several years. There could not be a more fitting opportunity than the present to announce contemplation of such a work, and to request assistance and co-operation in locating and obtaining access to old fyles of papers,, in acquiring fair and accurate biographical notes concerning the newspaper men of former generations, and in other ways preparing the ground for the proposed task.

If the press throughout the Maritime Provinces would make known to the general public the nature of the proposed undertaking, with a request for practical assistance as just outlined, the labor attached to such an important work would be greatly lightened.

The Press Association of Nova Scotia needs no assurance of the writer's appreciation of the high honor conferrd upon him, in requesting, upon the present occasion, a paper upon Early Journalism in New Brunswick. In preparing this sketch in the very limited time at his disposal, the writer has made the best use possible of his limited opportunities, and hopes that his efforts will be received with a due allowance for deficiencies in matter and style, which cannot be otherwise than observable to the practised eye of the professional writer in the work of an amateur.

DAVID RUSSELL JACK.

NOTE.—After the greater portion of the foregoing article had been printed, the writer, who happened to mention the subject to Mr. Clarence Ward, President of the New Brunswick Historical Society, was favored by that gentleman, with some additional information. Mr Ward states that the item in the second issue of the *Star*, see page 259 of this article, had reference to Mr. Chubb of the Courier, and that a full explanation of the circumstance, amply exonerating Mr. Chubb from any suspicition of professional jealousy or unfriendliness, will be found in the columns of the *Courier*. It appears that the papers referred to were delivered, through an error on the part of the postmaster, to the *Star*, but upon the error being discovered they were claimed by, and naturally returned to their rightful owner.

D. R. J.

In the Graveyard at Fort Monckton, N. B.

GRAVES MARKED 1755 AND 1756.

This lonely garden more than half-way round
Hath a sea-wall; and then a Time-filled moat—
The Fort's sole remnant now—doth else denote
How 'tis marked off from all the common ground;
And here and there in knee-deep grass are found
Prone slabs that speak of prowess in the past,
O'er which unheeding feet do trample fast—
Deaf to the message of each mould'ring mound!

I sit, and varied voices make me start:
Glad lovers listening to the lapping tide;
The team-song of the swain on yonder lea;
Children at play who are their parents' pride;
And that sweet bell—echoes of Liberty—
From out these graves in this old garden's heart!

A. L. FRASER.

Great Village, N. S.

The fort alluded to is that one-half mile from Port Elgin, Westmorland Co., N. B., and about two miles from Baie Verte. I spent two years as a Presbyterian minister in Port Elgin, and knew the ground well. The graves are dated 1755 and '56. They are fast becoming unrecognizable. This is a poor tribute to a very dear spot. As hinted in the sonnet, it is more than half way surrounded by the water, and behind is the old *moat,* nearly filled in by time. The last part of the sonnet reflects modern civilization—lovers, husbandry, domestic life, religion—what we enjoy, but due to those who fought and bled.—A. L. F.

THE HISTORY

OF

Miscou, Tracadie, Pokemouche, Caraquet, Tabusintac, Neguac and Burnt Church.

Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick.

By W. F. GANONG.

Reprinted from ACADIENSIS, a quarterly magazine published at St. John, N. B.
D. RUSSELL JACK, Honorary Editor

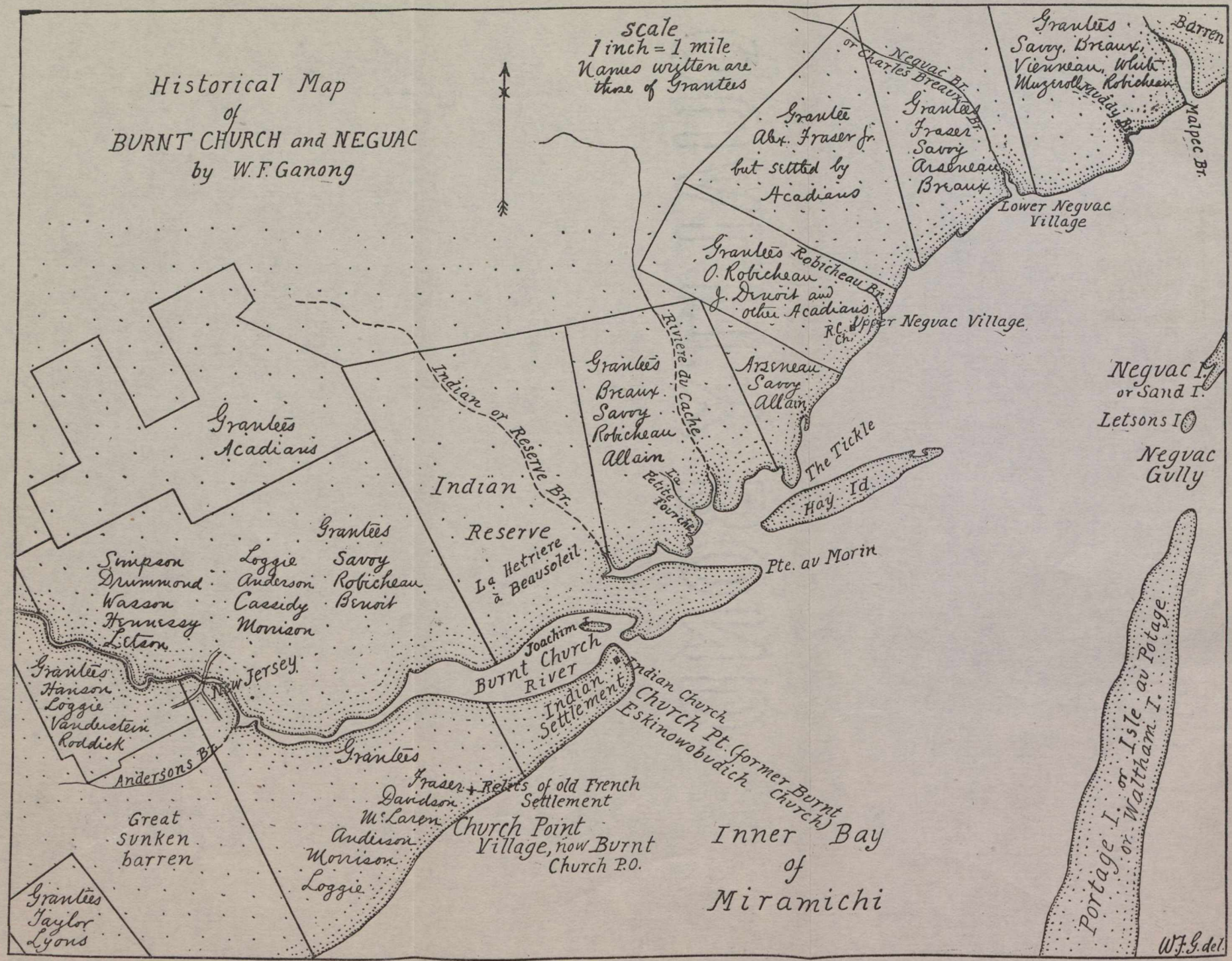
NOTE

The suspension of ACADIENSIS, announced with this number, necessarily brings this series to a conclusion. I am sure all readers of this magazine will share my regret not only in its suspension, but also in the fact that there is not sufficient interest in historical studies in New Brunswick to support such a publication. As to the present series in particular, I wish to say that it is only through the public-spirited and generous co-operation of the editor, that it has been possible to publish the articles in their tasteful and well-illustrated form, and to distribute separate copies of them to those interested in these subjects.

W. F. GANONG.

The articles appeared in ACADIENSIS at the following times

MISCOU,	Vol. VI.	No. 2.	pp. 79-94.	April, 1906.
TRACADIE,	Vol. VI.	No. 3.	pp. 185-200.	July, 1906.
POKEMOUCHE,	Vol. VII.	No. 1.	pp. 9-26.	Jan. 1907.
CARAQUET,	Vol. VII.	No. 2.	pp. 91-114.	April 1907.
TABUSINTAC,	Vol. VII.	No. 4.	pp. 314-332.	Oct. 1907.
SHIPPEGAN,	Vol. VIII.	No. 2.	pp. 138-161.	April, 1908.
NEGUAC and BURNT CHURCH.	Vol. VIII.	No. 4.	pp.	Oct. 1908.


Historical Map
of
BURNT CHURCH and NEGUAC
by W.F.Ganong
Scale
1 inch = 1 mile
Names written are those of Grantees
Grantees Acadians
Indian Reserve
Indian or Reserve Br.
Riviere du Cache
La Petite Fourche
La Hetriere
a Beausoleil
Grantees Savoy Robicheau Benoit
Grantees Savoy Breaux Robicheau Allain
Simpson Drummond Wasson Hennessy Letson
Loggie Anderson Cassidy Morrison
New Jersey
Grantees Hanson Loggie Vandersteen Roddick
Andersons Br.
Great sunken barren
Grantees Taylor Lyons
Grantees Fraser + Relics of old French Settlement
Davidson McLaren Anderson Morrison Loggie
Church Point Village, now Burnt Church P.O.
Joachim
Burnt Church River
Indian Settlement
Indian Church
Church Pt. (former Burnt Church)
Eskinowobudich
Inner Bay of Miramichi
Pte. au Morin
Hay Id
The Tickle
Arseneau Savoy Allain
Grantee Abr. Fraser Jr. but settled by Acadians
Grantees Robicheau Br. O. Robicheau J. Benoit and other Acadians
R.C. Ch.
Upper Negvac Village
Negvac Br. or Charles Breaux Br.
Grantees Fraser Savoy Arseneau Breaux
Lower Negvac Village
Grantees Savoy Breaux Vienneau Whitt Muzzerolle Roddy Robicheau
Barren
Malpec Br.
Negvac I. or Sand I.
Letsons I.
Negvac Gully
Portage I. or Isle au Potage
or Waltham I.
W.F.G. del.

History of Neguac and Burnt Church.

THIS article, with its six predecessors dealing with Miscou, Tracadie, Pokemouche, Caraquet, Tabusintac and Shippegan, completes the outline of the history of the North-eastern angle of New Brunswick from the Miramichi to Bay Chaleur. Later I hope to contribute similar accounts of other North Shore settlements. For all I have the same aim,— to outline their history from the earliest times down to the present, to describe especially the founding of the modern settlement, and to give references to all published material relating to them.

The eastern coast of New Brunswick, as everybody knows, has the form of a great inbowed curve; and this is cut, north of its middle part, by a wide open gash which we call the Bay of Miramichi. Along the northern shore of this Bay, close out to the angle it makes with the coast, lie the twin villages of Neguac (including Riviére du Cache) and Burnt Church,— the theme of our present study. All this part of New Brunswick rolls very gently down to the sea, which it meets with a shore sometimes of peat or of marsh, sometimes of gravel or of sand, sometimes of low rocky cliffs cut from soft sandstones by the ever-encroaching waves of the sea. It is upon a low swell of the upland, with great moors of peat both on the southwest and the northeast, that the two villages are built. The coast stands highest at the Indian Village, where the cliffs rise ten or twelve feet vertically from the beach, making this, relatively speaking, a

very commanding and attractive situation, while the shores in either direction, with their upland rolling gently from the water's edge, form suitable and pleasing sites for settlement. This upland is cut by several small streams, but notably by the Burnt Church River and the combined estuaries of Reserve Brook and Riviére du Cache, which lie inside of a low marsh-bordered extension of upland forming Hay Island; and the tidal estuaries of these streams form excellent havens for canoes and small boats. The waters in front of the villages are part of a great lagoon, sheltered from the open sea by the low sandy islands Neguac and Portage, but carrying depth enough to admit small fishing vessels and even small steamers to the long wharves of both villages. The coast waters abound in many kinds of fish, including the lordly salmon, which in spring follow the outer coasts of the sand islands on their way to the rivers, and are caught by nets and shipped on ice to the United States; and the natural port for this valuable fishery is Burnt Church. Lobsters also abound on the coast, and are canned for export, while the marshes and ponds of the low places are the resort of great numbers of valuable waterfowl in their season. These are the resources, and the reason for being, of the two places. They are farming settlements first of all, then fishing ports, and finally distributing centres for a considerable back country. Some day they will have an added source of prosperity in the great peat beds of the Blacklands and of the country towards Grand Dune, for in time all these stores of peat will become valuable sources of fuel.

Such is the geography of this part of our Province at the present day. But the studies of scientific men, directed reverently towards discovering the stages in the creation of the world, have shown that this region has had a curious past. Countless ages ago,

A VIEW OF BURNT CHURCH VILLAGE AND RIVER IN THE YEAR 1758.

long before man had received the gift of life, all of these sandstone rocks, first made at a time when the coal beds were forming in other places, stood high above the sea, whose coast then lay far off to the eastward. And across them, from far interior New Brunswick, there flowed, parallel with the present Miramichi, several great rivers, relics of which are found in the curious directions of some of the present valleys. In time these old valleys became broken up, new ones were formed across them, and the coast sank deeply beneath the sea allowing the waves to form the sand islands and beat them in upon the shores, as they are doing to this day. But it is not the object of this article to describe these phenomena, interesting though they be, and I must content myself with mentioning where the reader may find them all discussed in full. This is in the *Bulletin of The Natural History Society of New Brunswick,* (published at Saint John), Volume V., page 423, and Volume VI., pages 17 and 22. The latter articles contain also a full description of Portage Island, of its strange mode of formation, of its ever-progressing changes, and of its curious relations to the Blacklands, those remarkable beds of peat which the tide is ever cutting away in miniature cliffs.

We turn now to the history proper of Neguac and Burnt Church, and ask first, what manner of men have made their homes here. The first residents were, of course, the Micmac Indians; and there is every evidence that it has been a favorite resort of theirs from the earliest times. The locality is exceptionally rich in all those fishes (and formerly in oysters) which the Indians most valued, and in their favorite waterfowl; it was at the junction of important lines of coast and of river travel; and it offers, especially on Burnt Church Point, a situation combining all the advantages of the best camp-grounds,— an elevated and prominent

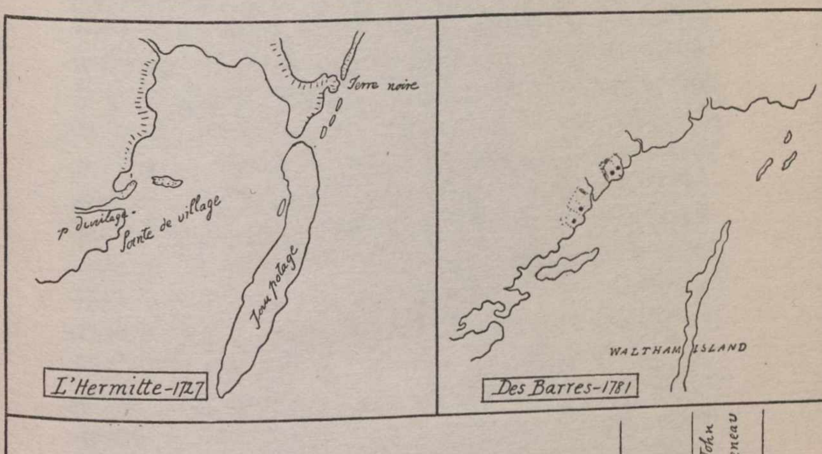
situation, with good dry wigwam sites and sheltered convenient landing beaches. It is likely that there was an Indian village on the present site at the mouth of Burnt Church River from the very earliest times, and it is altogether probable that the Indian Village at Burnt Church is the oldest in New Brunswick in continuous occupation. In some of my own writings I have expressed the view that a Recollect Mission established on the Miramichi in 1686 was at Burnt Church, basing my belief upon the resemblance between the name of the place where the Mission was, viz., *Skinouboudiche*, and the Micmac name of Burnt Church, viz., *Eskinowobudich*. But new evidence, presented in a recent paper mentioned below, seems to prove that the Mission of 1686 was at Nelson. The Burnt Church site, however, must have been occupied by the Micmacs soon after if not long before, because a map by Sieur l'Hermitte, given with this paper, shows there was a village here in 1727. Of course it was because Burnt Church was such a favorite resort of theirs that it was included in one of the very earliest Indian reserves set aside by New Brunswick; it was established March 5, 1805, with 2,058 acres. A very interesting account of the condition of the Indians here in 1842 is given by M. H. Perley, in the *Journol of The House of Assembly for* 1842, *Appendix XCIX.*, It is still a favorite Micmac settlement, and much the largest in all New Brunswick; it has a good church, a school, some fair farms, and other evidences of progress and prosperity.

Where the Indians have long resorted, and have still their homes, there we should expect to find some of their place names in use. This is the case with two, — *Neguac* and *Malpec*, and perhaps a third, *Cache*. *Neguac* is our abbreviation of *A-ne-kay-way-ok*, the name by which the Indians still call it. The Indians of Burnt Church disagree as to its meaning, and the

great Micmac scholar, Dr. Silas Rand, does not help us much, for, in his *First Reading Book in the Micmac language*, (*Halifax, N. S.*, 1875), after giving Negowack and Negwac as if two separate places, he assigns to the former the unsatisfying meaning "improperly situated." There is no doubt that the name applied originally to the arm of the sea behind Hay Island, and describes some distinctive peculiarity thereof; and it was extended to the settlement by the French. The word has been spelled very diversely, but usage now favors *Neguac*, which is pronounced in three syllables, strongly accented upon the first with the u sounded like oo; but it is often corrupted to Nig-a-wack and even Niggerwhack. A second Micmac name in common use is *Malpec*, said by the Indians to mean "low water." There is no doubt that the termination pec, or pac means, as in many other place names (Mispec, Cascumpec, etc.), a body of standing water, and in all probability it applied not to the present brook but to the whole bay north of Hay Island. It cannot be the same word as Malpec in Prince Edward Island, (if Rand is right in giving the latter as equal to Makpak, meaning Big Bay,) but it is probably related to Maltempec on Pokemouche. The name *Cache*, in Riviere du Cache, seems at first sight to be pure French, meaning River of the Hiding Place, and tradition asserts that this is its origin. Its Micmac name, however, is Pes-kej, meaning "a small branch," and the resemblance between *kej* and *Cache* is so striking as to suggest a connection, which is confirmed to some extent by the fact that some old maps apply the name *Amion caichi* to Grand Dune Brook, which the Micmacs call *Abeau-kej*. Whatever may be the origin of the name, however, the preferable form, as agreeing best with its probable origin, and also as having the virtue of greatest simplicity, would be *Riviere du Cache* rather than *Reviere des Caches*, which appears to have

come lately into use. The interested reader may find this name discussed fully in a note in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Volume V*, 1899, *ii*, 293 while the evidence as to the old Indian settlements and routes of travel, (one of which was the old trail said to have extended from Neguac Brook to Tabusintac), is considered in the same *Transactions, Volume XII*, 1906, *ii*, 95, and in the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, Volume* III, *page* 30. Originating with the Indians in another way is the name of *Joachim* Island, for Joachim is given as the name of one of the Indians of Burnt Church in a document of about 1820 preserved by M. Gaudet.

The pre-historic period, the golden age of the Indian, came to an end in this part of America in 1534, when Jacques Cartier first explored the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. That great navigator had but a distant glimpse of this coast as he passed northward and history does not tell us what European, whether fisherman, trader, missionary or other, first visited Neguac and Burnt Church. There is evidence that Governor Nicolas Denys had a trading establishment on the Miramichi in 1648, but it was probably near Beaubear's Island where, as we now know, his son Richard Denys, Sieur de Fronsac, had an important trading post in 1686. I mention this matter with some emphasis for the reason that I formerly thought, and stated erroneously in my writings, that this establishment of Richard Denys was at Burnt Church, on the north side of the river. The new evidence is all given in an account of the life of Richard Denys recently published in the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society Volume II, page* 1. But although Richard Denys' post was not at Burnt Church, it is possible that a Frenchman lived there at that time; for Denys himself tells us that one La Fleur with his Indian wife lived at the mouth of the Miramichi, and



L'Hermitte-1727
Terre noire
Pointe de village
Des Barres-1781
WALTHAM ISLAND
An early plan
John Arceneau
Lower Niguac
Upper Niguac
Otho Robicheau
John Savoy

the most probable residence would have been at, or near, Burnt Church, with his wife's Indian relatives. It is possible that there is some connection between the residence of La Fleur and the Indian name of Hay Island (Wunjoomunigo), which means French Island, implying some early occupation by French people. It is altogether probable also that Richard Denys had an establishment on Portage Island for the Sea-cow, or Walrus, fishery, which establishment is wrongly attributed to Enaud in the tradition as given by Cooney in his *History of Northern New Brunswick and Gaspé* page 30. It was perhaps at this time the name Portage Island was given, though tradition is not agreed as to its origin. Some assert that once the island was connected with Fox Island (or perhaps with the mainland on the north) by a narrow neck across which canoes were portaged, while others say, and some old maps support them, that the word was originally *Potage,* and was derived from the fact that hunters and voyagers along the coast used to land there to cook their noon *potage.* One of the early maps using the form Potage is that made by Sieur l'Hermitte, in 1727, and given herewith. It was made, as is shown by l'Hermitte's very interesting report still unpublished in the Paris Archives, from his personal observation during a canoe voyage in that year.

Such are the scanty glimpses which history allows us of Neguac and Burnt Church during the long period of our history,—the period of the missionaries, the fisherman, and the traders—from 1534 to about 1750. Then followed a time of great trouble in Acadia, culminating in 1755 when the English feeling their hold upon the country threatened by the presence of the great numbers of Acadians, who, though nominally British subjects, were really loyal to France, thought it necessary as a millitary measure to remove all this

people from the country, and attempted to do it. Many of the Acadians, however, escaped the deportation, and, retiring to remote places at Miramichi, Restigouche and elsewhere, lived in active hostility to the English, and, as privateers, attacked British vessels in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Hence, the British Government, in 1758, determined to drive them from the country, and it was in this connection that there occurred one of the most striking, but most mis-understood incidents in the early history of this region,— the burning of the Indian church, giving origin to the name Burnt Church. The best known account of this event and that often quoted, is given by Cooney in his *History of Northern New Brunswick and Gaspe* (page 35), where it is said that the church was burnt by the captain of the vessel carrying the remains of General Wolfe to England, in reprisal for the murder of some of his men by the Indians. Cooney's book, however, while it contains a great deal of very valuable and accurate information, also contains, unfortunately, a great amount of error, especially in its parts derived from tradition; and in the present case I think it is certain that he is much in error. For historical records exist which show that in 1758 General Wolfe despatched General Murray from Gaspé to destroy the French settlements at Miramichi, and there is actually in existence a picture showing the principal French settlement, including a church, at Miramichi, with the soldiers landing to destroy it. I have the good fortune to possess a copy of this very rare old engraving, and it is reproduced with this paper. At first sight one doubts whether this picture represents the Burnt Church River and Village there, but one fact makes this certain, namely,— of all the many known sites of old French settlements around the Miramichi, every one of which I have myself seen and studied, there is not one except Burnt Church

which has low rocky cliffs between it and the water, and these do occur at Burnt Church as the engraving represents them. Furthermore, allowing for the liberty which all early artists took with the scenery for artistic effect, the picture conforms well to the actual topography of the Burnt Church River, including the low point opposite the village and the basin above it. In this picture, therefore, I believe we have a representation of the very church which was burnt by the English. It did not, by the way, occupy exactly the site of the present structure but was somewhat nearer the river. The evidence for this is found partly in an old letter written by M. H. Perley, later mentioned, where he tells of looking out from the priest's house over the foundations of the old church which the English had burnt, and partly from the fact that the old burial ground, containing early head stones, near which the church no doubt stood, is immediately on the river bank. That the French lived at this place with the Indians, using the same church, is not only wholly in accord with early custom, but is confirmed by a reference in the work of Smethurst later mentioned, which work also, by the way, shows that the name Miramichi applied to the settlements in this vicinity.

The burning of the church marks the transition from an earlier period, of which our knowledge is vague and scant, to a later time on which we have definite information. For it is only three years later that historical records begin. In 1761 an English trader named Gamaliel Smethurst was abandoned by the cowardly captain of his own vessel at Nepisiguit, and had to make his way by the aid of French and Indians along shore to Fort Cumberland. Happily his very interesting narrative of his voyage has been preserved, and, although a very rare and costly book, t is now accessible in a fully annotated new edition

published at Saint John in the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, Volume II, page* 358. Smethurst tells us that after a stormy passage by canoe he reached "Merrimichi," which his narrative shows was Neguac, on November 18, and lodged in a Frenchman's hut. Later he speaks of a village at this place, showing there was a considerable settlement at Neguac even as early as 1761, and that here was a part of that French population of 35 families and 194 souls which, we now know from documents preserved in the Paris archives, was on the Miramichi in 1760. The next day he met one Brusar, called Beausoleil, who treated him with the greatest possible kindness. There were two Brossards at that time prominent in Acadia, Alexandre and Joseph, and we do not know which of the two was Smethurst's friend. Both however, had suffered severely by the expulsion, and the kindness shown this Englishman at this time was a generous and high-spirited act, which shows that in those days, as now, Frenchmen could rise to noble forgiveness of their enemies. Brossard aided Smethurst to continue his journey, and the next day he reached a river which his description shows was the Burnt Church. Here he found four boats containing several families of Acadians who were intending to winter here, an incident of interest as showing the method by which the Acadians began to settle this north shore. He passed the night upon the south side of the river, obviously at the village burnt three years before, with Amand Bugeaux (a name now commonly spelled Bugold also Bujeau and Bijeau), and the family of Nicholas Gautier, both of them Acadians whom our great authority upon the Acadian families, M. Gaudet, has recognized as former residents of North-East River in Prince Edward Island, and later residents (the latter at least) of Bay Chaleur. Here he remained for some days, having frequent conferences with the

Indians who were present in large numbers, and he visited an island, apparently Portage Island, to view the wreck of an English vessel loaded with merchandise for Quebec. On November 30 he resumed his journey in company with Nicolas Gautier and Joseph Richar (obviously Richard), and after many trying experiences reached Fort Cumberland in safety. His narrative is of the greatest interest, not only as a record of adventure but also as throwing light upon events and customs of the time. But I must leave the reader to make further acquaintance with it for himself.

The French settlement at Neguac finds place in at least one other record of this time,. About the year 1777 this coast was surveyed carefully for the British government under the direction of the great hydrographer Des Barres, and the part of his chart of 1781 showing Neguac, marking certain houses and farms, is reproduced with this paper. I find that the original MS. map of this survey, preserved in the Public Record Office in London, gives the name *Serpent Cape* to Burnt Church Point, and he also gave to Portage Island the name Waltham which persisted for a time. It is possible that at this time also there were French settlers at Church Point Village, for relics of early French occupation (cooking utensils, etc.), have been found on the Logie farm, east of the wharf at that place.

But I have already devoted too much of my space to the earlier times, whose very uncertainties are an incentive to their discussion; and I must come to the much more important subject of the origin of the present settlement. Here I have had to depend upon others who know Neguac and Burnt Church far better than I possibly can do from the two brief visits I have been able to make to those places. First of all, as in others of this series, I am deeply indebted to the man who knows the Acadians best, M. Gaudet; he has, as always, generously laid open to me his rich stores of

Acadian knowledge. Then M. Romain Savoy, of Riviére du Cache, widely known as a local authority upon all matters pertaining to this region, has given me much of the valued information contained in these pages. For the English settlement I am chiefly indebted to the late Miss Kate Logie, of Church Point Village, who gave much time and trouble to a search for the origin of the English settlers. For the facts in these later pages I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to these kind friends,— my own part has been little more than directing their inquiries and collating their results.

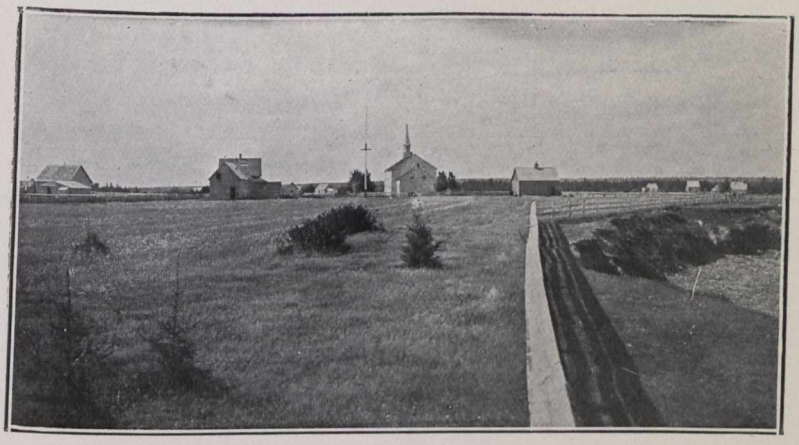
As in the case of most other settlements of this region, the permanent settlement of Neguac and Burnt Church was preceded by a transitional time when various settlers, doubtless rather hunters and traders than farmers, settled here for an interval and then removed to some of the older settlements elsewhere. This was apparently the case with most of the families mentioned by Smethurst, for of the various persons he names, only one, Beausoleil, is remembered by tradition as an early settler. North of the Burnt Church River, as shown by the map, is a hardwood ridge still known to old residents at *La Hetriere a Beausoleil* that is, the Bausoleil Sugary, or Hardwood Ridge; and as old cellars are known upon this shore above Joachim Island, it is altogether probable that here was Beausoleil's residence. But later he vanished, leaving no descendants. Another temporary resident well-known by tradition was one Morin who lived on Point au Morin, a name wrongly given in some plans as Moreau. Two other prominent temporary residents are known not only to tradition but also to historical records. One of these was Pierre Loubert (or Loubére) a native of Gascony, who in 1762 had married Euphrosine Landry at Ste. Foye, Quebec. In 1781 he was living at Neguac, and in that year sold his improve-

ments to Otho Robichaud, after which he removed to the north side of Bay Chaleur. Jean Baptiste Desnoyer was a Canadian from near Montreal, and had lived on Prince Edward Island, where, in 1755 he married Anne Gautrot at Port La Joye. He was one of the first grantees of Neguac, as shown by the accompanying plan, on which he is named Denoit. He sold his grant to Otho Robichaud, and removed to the Saint John River, where he is recorded as a resident in 1783 in the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, Volume I. page* 113. It is quite possible also that the Francis Maurin of the same list is the Morin mentioned above. And there were no doubt others whose names have escaped preservation.

These settlers were, however, but temporary residents. The first permanent resident of whom we have record, and certainly much the most prominent of them, was Otho Robichaud. The time of his settlement here is fixed by a document which has been preserved and is printed by M. Gaudet with a number of others relating to Neguac in the *Report on Canadian Archives for* 1905, *Volume II, Acadian Genealogy, page* 205. It shows that in that year Robichaud purchased the improvements, including a lot of land, a house, storehouse, barn and bakehouse, from Pierre Loubert. The site of these buildings, which Robichaud occupied, is well known locally; it was at Upper Neguac, (or *Nigawoueke,* as the deed has it), as shown by the accompanying plan, though the exact site is said now to be washed away by the sea. Otho Robichaud, as M. Gaudet's documents show, was born at Port Royal in 1742 and was taken to Boston in 1755 with his parents, five brothers and four sisters. They lived at Salem, Mass., for some years, and documents relating to them are preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives* (*Vol. XXIII*-528 *and XXIV*-463. In 1775, along with other Acadians from Massachusetts, he removed via

Quebec to Oak Point, Miramichi, where he lived until his removal to Neguac in 1781. In 1789 he married Marie Louise Thibodeau of Bay du Vin, and died in 1824, leaving many descendants who are still among the leading residents of Neguac and vicinity. Otho Robichaud was during his life the most prominent French resident of Miramichi. He was a man of unusual capacity and influence, was known as Sieur, according to some documents, and was on terms of friendship, with such men as Edward Winslow of Fredericton, and James Fraser of Miramichi. A number of the letters from these men to Robichaud have been preserved, and they are printed in part in the *Report on Canadian Archives* already mentioned, pages 197-209, while some of them are in *Acadiensis, Volume VI, page 146 of the Supplement.*

While Otho Robichaud thus stands out prominently among the first prominent settlers of Neguac, he was apparently not the very first; for the document above cited, the deed of his purchase of land from Loubert, speaks of the land of Jean Savoie (or Savoy) implying that the latter was already settled there. This is confirmed by tradition which places Jean Savoy among the very first settlers, along with several of his near relatives. Jean Savoy was born about 1747, married Marie Arseneau, and died 1815; the others were Pierre (born about 1740, m. Marie Bujeau, d. 1806), Joseph (m. Marguerite Bujeau) and Francois (m. —— Breau). All of these Savoys were originally from Shepody, and some of them were among those who dug their way out from Fort Cumberland in 1755 as shown by papers in M. Gaudet's work above cited (page 30), and were subsequently in refuge at Bay Chaleur. With them came another prominent early settler, Michel Allaine from Petitcodiac (born about 1753, m. Marie Joseph Savoie, d. 1827), who is said to have lived for a time, as did some of the Savoys at Buctouche. Others of



INDIAN VILLAGE AT BURNT CHURCH, LOOKING EASTWARD FROM THE POINT
Photo by W. F. Ganong, Aug. 1904

THE MOUTH OF BURNT CHURCH RIVER WHICH SWINGS TO THE LEFT BEYOND THE BRIDGE. *Photo by W. F. Ganong, Aug.* 1904.

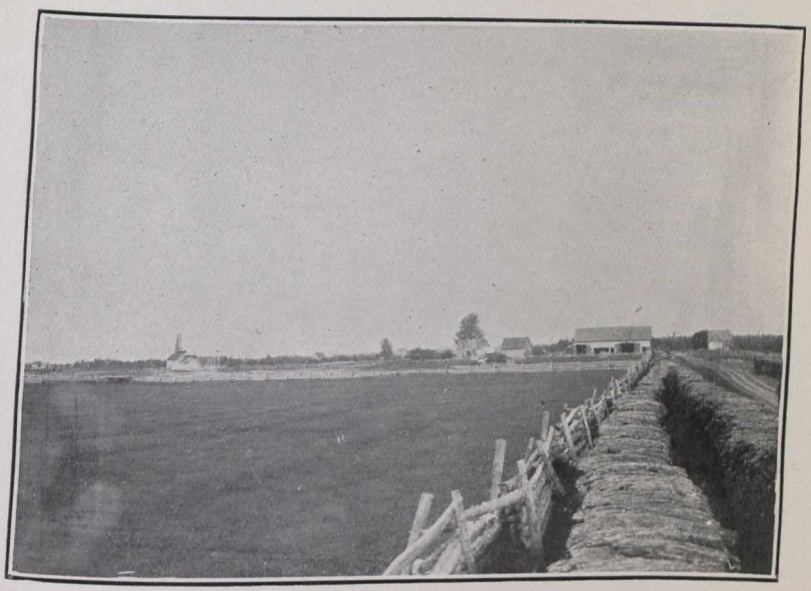
the same group, who came, however, somewhat later, were the two brothers Breaux, Anselme (b. about 1753, m. Anastasie Arseneau, d. 1797) and Victor (m. Marie Arseneau), They were sons of Ambroise Breau and Marie Michel of Shepody, and were the first settlers of Lower Neguac, (Petit Neguac, or Neguac Inferieur), the others before mentioned having all settled at the upper village, (Neguac proper). With them settled, as one of the accompanying plans will show, Jean Arseneau, no doubt their brother-in-law. A sister of theirs married Amand Savoie of Oak Point, and it is known that some, perhaps several of these early settlers of Neguac lived for a time at Oak Point, though the French have now totally disappeared from that place. One other early settler, the Ann L'Andree of one of the accompanying plans, seems to have vanished without leaving descendants or tradition.

Riviére du Cache was founded, as tradition affirms, as an expansion from Neguac, Bonaventure Savoy, (son of Joseph, ancestor of Romain Savoy), and Frederick Robichaud, (son of Otho) being the first residents, later joined by others. In the meantime, the descendants of the original Neguac settlers were also expanding in the other direction, and were forming the settlement at French Cove, Tabusintac, as already related in my paper upon that place. And in recent times they have expanded also back to the Tabusintac, to Fair Isle, Robichaud and other neighboring places. Meantime also the block between the two Neguac Villages was being occupied. This had been granted to Alexander Fraser, one of that prominent family of the Miramichi, but was sold by him to Jean Magloire Savoy, and his brother Simon, and among their descendants it is now sub-divided. Thus it will be seen that all of the Neguac Settlements were settled by a group of closely related Acadians from Shepody and Petitcodiac, and their descendants constitute the

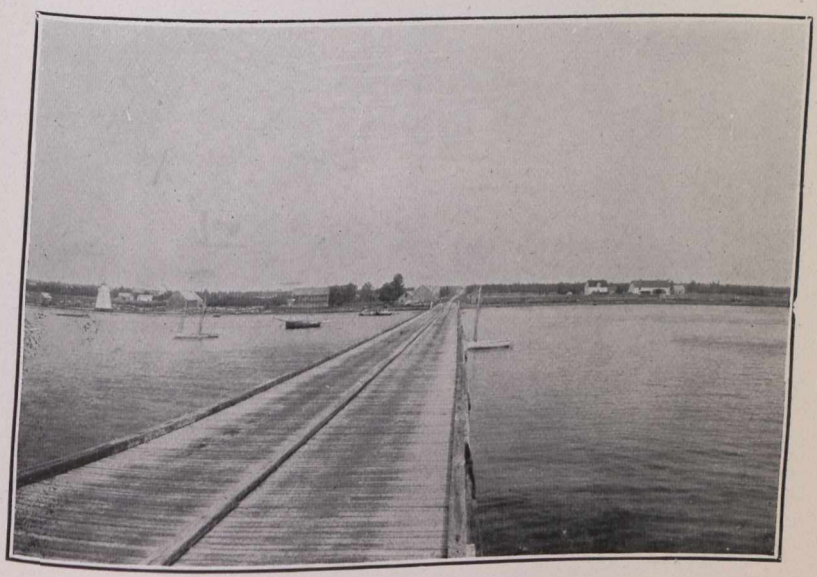
great majority of the Neguac settlers of the present day. Few of our North Shore settlements have had so homogenous an origin.

It is always the case in these early settlements that a nucleus of a certain race once established tends to attract others of the same race to settle there. Thus other Acadian families gradually came to Neguac. There were Whites from Oak Point, children of that Edward White (originally Le Blanc) whose parents had been taken from Acadia to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and who in 1775 returned and settled at Oak Point. He is buried at Bartibog, and his headstone records that he returned from Cambridge at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, and died in 1840, aged 79. His descendants are intermarried with the earlier settlers of Neguac, the wife of Romain Savoy being a descendant of his. Others were Muzerolle from Bay du Vin, Vienneau from the River Saint John, and some others from various parts of New Brunswick. It is possible also that some other settlers from the lower Saint John settled at Neguac.

While the French settlement of Neguac and vicinity was thus steadily growing, an English colony was originating west of the Indian village, at the place called sometimes Church Point, and sometimes (now officially) Burnt Church. The first settler, according to tradition was John Davidson, a Scotchman, not related to the John Davidson who earlier settled on the Miramichi, and he was established here prior to 1790. He was followed by James Anderson, native of Dreany, near Lossiemouth, Scotland, who had settled first near Beaubears Island. It is said that he exchanged his lot there for one owned by a blacksmith (name unknown) at Burnt Church, and lived here alone for some years. One autumn he was returning from Halifax, where he had gone to sell his summer's catch of fish, and was wrecked on Prince Edward



PART OF UPPER NEGUAC VILLAGE, SHOWING THE CHURCH.
Photo by W. F. Ganong, Aug. 1906.



PART OF LOWER NEGUAC VILLAGE.
Photo by W. F. Ganong, Aug. 1906.

Island. Here he had to spend the winter, during which he became acquainted with a family named Murray, who were Loyalists from Albany, N. Y., and when he returned to Burnt Church in the spring he brought Mary Murray with him as his bride, and her sister Ellen, as a guest. It is related that Mrs. Davidson, who had been for years the only white woman in the place, wept tears of joy when she greeted the newly-arrived woman. A brother of theirs later became a settler of Tabusintac. Soon after Anderson came Alexander and William Logie, who were sons (or brothers) of Robert Logie (or Loggie), native of Banff, Scotland, who had settled at Black's Brook on the Miramichi, and founded the thriving village of Loggieville. Alexander Loggie married Ellen Murray, mentioned above, (and Mr. Thos. G. Loggie, Deputy Surveyor General, is their grandson), while William married a daughter of Rev. Wm. Urquhart, another of whose daughters had married James Hierlihy, as related in my paper on Tabusintac. Their descendants are now prominent residents of Miramichi. The next settler was Peter Morrison, a native of Kilin, Perthshire, Scotland, with his wife, Mary Campbell. These families settled on lands located approximately by their names on the accompanying map, and they are universally recognized by tradition as the founders of the English-speaking part of Burnt Church. They were, obviously, an expansion of the Scotch settlers of Miramichi from the older settlements on that river. The original grantees included also two of the name of Fraser, and one McLaren, of whom nothing further is known. Another prominent early settler, not a grantee, was John Sewell, a native of Cumberland, England, who established here a large trading, lumbering and fishing business. He died in 1826, and his nephew, Joseph, then in his employ, removed to Pokemouche, and became a leading resident of that

place as I have related in my paper upon Pokemouche. And later, some other English-speaking residents have located here, coming from various sources. An interesting fact about the English founders of Burnt Church, one differentiating this settlement from most of the others of this region, is the absence of any Loyalists or Revolutionary soldiers.

But the English settlers did not confine themselves to Church Point, and some of them, attracted by the possibilities of business at Neguac settled there, all near the wharf. Thus one John McKnight, a Scotchman, was the first arrival (about 1825), and later, George Letson, of Chatham, established here a large general business. Afterwards others carried on business there,—J. J. Leighton, David Petrie, Goodfellow, McIntosh, (some of whose descendants still live here,) Anthony Adams, while James Beggs from Miramichi, had a sawmill on Charles Breau's brook. Mr. Simon Simpson, from New Jersey (near Church Point), now carries on business at the wharf, while families named Morrison from Burnt Church, Stewart from Tabusintac, and Williston from Bay du Vin, also live at Lower Neguac.

Just as Neguac expanded as it grew, so has Church Point, and this had resulted in the settlement of New Jersey back upon the Burnt Church River. The first settlers took up land here, apparently, not long before the Miramichi Fire in 1825. The first were William Drummond, native of Ballyshannon, Donegal, Ireland, with his step-son, Walter Bell (Scotch, from Dumfries), who came here, it is said, about 1817, and he took up land cleared by an earlier, but temporary settler, Ruddick. Joseph J. Simpson was Scotch, father of the Simon Simpson, who now lives at Neguac; he came here with Drummond. James H. Wasson came from Belfast, Ireland— in 1818, and settled here the year of the fire. Cassidy was son of an Irish-

PART OF BURNT CHURCH — ENGLISH VILLAGE.
Photo by W. F. Ganong, Aug. 1906

THE LOGGIE FISHING ESTABLISHMENT AT BURNT CHURCH VILLAGE
Showing the Huge Dug-out Canoes.
Photo by W. F. Ganong, Aug. 1906.

man who worked for a Laird in Scotland and eloped to America with his daughter, as it is said. Of the others who obtained grants here, Hanson was of English descent, while Vandestine (or Van Idestine) was from Prince Edward Island, Hennesy was of French-Scotch origin. Francis McKnight was from Annan, Dumfries, Scotland; he came to Napan about 1820 and to New Jersey in 1854. The other names of grantees of New Jersey may all be recognized as those of descendants of the settlers of Burnt Church or of Neguac, of which this place is simply an expansion.

Such is the origin of Neguac and Burnt Church. In brief the origin is triple.—in part the settling down of a group of the Micmac Indians, in part a singularly homogeneous group of Acadians dispossessed from Shepody, Petitcodiac and perhaps the Lower Saint John, and in part an expansion of the Scotch settlers of the Miramichi.

The later history of these places has been uneventful, and marked only by a steady, even though slow growth in population and prosperity. As nearly everywhere else upon the North Shore of the Province, the French are increasing much faster than the English. The first church at Neguac, after the Mission Church for the Indians, was a little chapel, which stood near the shore at Neguac on a site now washed away by the sea. It is described and many particulars about Neguac and the Indian Village are given in the very valuable Journal of Bishop Plessis of 1812, (published in *Le Foyer Canadien in* 1865 *page* 169). In this article Bishop Plessis speaks in high terms of his host, Michael Allain, and gives many interesting comments upon the Indians. It was sometime about 1843 that the present church, dedicated to Saint Bernard, was built; it serves for the people of both Neguacs, French Cove and Riviére du Cache. The only other church in

the locality is the Presbyterian Church at Burnt Church.

The fisheries have always been important both at Neguac and Burnt Church, but especially the former, which is the natural centre for the Portage Island fisheries. One of the characteristic sights of Burnt Church is the presence along the banks of the great dug-out canoes (well-shown in one of the accompanying photographs), which are still used in preference to any other craft for the salmon fishery.

A description of the fisheries of the region was given by M. H. Perley, in the middle of the last century in his *Report on the Sea and River Fisheries of New Brunswick* (*Fredericton*, 1852), and the same versatile writer has left a letter, dated Oct. 4, 1845, in which he describes enthusiastically the abundance of game and fish at Burnt Church, (printed in *The New Brunswicker* and *The Gleaner* at that time, and reprinted in sporting works later). The history of these fisheries since then has been outlined for me by a valued correspondent, Mr. Dan Lewis, of Escuminac. He tells me that up to about 1848 the salmon were salted for the English market; that about that time G. E. Letson and W. J. Frazer established a canning factory at Fox Island Gully, while later Letson established himself at Portage Island and at Neguac as already related, while one Londoun, from Scotland, also established a factory at the Island. About 1870, however, it was found more profitable to ship the salmon on ice to the American market, and this trade continues down to the present day. Aside from the history of its fisheries, and an occasional shipwreck, Portage Island has no recent history.

The final development in the history of Burnt Church has to do with its increasing popularity as a summer resort. With its charming situation, its excellent beaches, its ideal summer climate, and its convenient,

but not too easy, steamboat connection with Chatham and Newcastle, it is becoming increasingly popular as a summer resort to the people of those two towns, and the cheery presence of the vacation resident is enlivening the place.

Such are Neguac and Burnt Church as I know them. I like them much and I wish them well.

W. F. GANONG.

Revolutionary War Pensions of New Brunswick.

JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, FEB. 24, 1846.

(Compiled by Clarence Ward).

Rebecca Trecartin, widow of an old soldier of the Revolutionary war in America, the sum of £10, to relieve her in her present distressed circumstances.

Ann Fowler, widow of the late Caleb Fowler, who served as an Ensign in the Revolutionary War, the sum of £10, etc.

———Burden, widow of Thomas Burden, lieutenant of the corps of Loyal Associated Refugees, the sum of £10, etc.

Jacob Kollock, an old and meritorious soldier of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £15, etc.

Jane McCurdy, widow of an old meritorious officer of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £10, ect.

Sarah Cypher, widow of an officer of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £10, etc.

Mary Whelpley, widow of the late Jonathan Whelpley, an old soldier of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £10, etc.

Keziah Austin, unpaid pension, due her as the widow of the late Martin Austin, an old soldier of the Revolutionary War, up to October, 1845, the sum of £20.

William Cox, unpaid pension, due him as an old soldier of the Revolutionary War, to October, 1845, the sum of £10, etc.

Elinor Lounder, widow of Thomas Lounder, an old soldier of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £——

Sabra Lyon, widow of Hezekiah Lyon, an old soldier of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £10, etc.

Dorothy Groom, widow of Enoch Groom, an old soldier of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £10, etc.

Leah Wannamaker, widow of an old soldier of the Revolutionary War, the sum of £10, etc.

Folk-Lore About Old Fort Beau-se-jeur.

By the Late Charles E. Knapp, Barrister, Dorchester.

(Concluded.)

THE final subjugation of the French was decided in the spring of 1775, and troops were embarked at Boston under the command of Colonel Moncton. Moncton had under him 2,999 picked men, the most of them New England volunteers, well trained to Indian warfare. The vessels called at Annapolis, and took on board a regiment of regulars, and a train of artillery. On the second of June the troops, favored by fair wind, were disembarked at Fort Lawrence, and proceeded at once to occupy and repair the fort. After Lawrence's retreat this fort had been occupied by the French, and for some unexplained reason they had left it. As soon as it was known that Moncton was at Fort Lawrence, the French from all around the country fled to Beau-se-jour. Now for the first time the hostile French and Indians were shut out of Nova Scotia, and confined to Cape Breton, and what is now New Brunswick. I have here to add an unwritten page in the history of the war between the English and French, and then leave you to judge why it has heretofore been suppressed. The French had a thriving settlement at Minudie, with a road leading from it over the highlands to the Basin of Minas. The inhabitants of this settlement were what was then called neutrals, and there is nothing to show that they had been engaged in any of the wars against the English. Here they had dyked in large portions of the marsh. Moncton sent Lieutenant Dickson, with a

company of New England volunteers, to Minudie. What evidences Dickson may have found of treachery on the part of the French, I do not know. In the night he posted his men in the rear of the settlement, and when morning came opened fire upon it. The French, cut off from all retreat by land, sought the places where the river was easily fordable at low water; but it unfortunately happened that the tide was in. Death by drowning was preferable to death by English bullets; but these poor creatures met it from both. They took to the river, and the English soldiers, in wanton cruelty, shot them as they swam towards the opposite side. As each shot told, the exultant cry went up, "See how I turned his forked end up!" The victims, when shot through the body, went down head first.

Captain Edward Howe had been sent with the English troops on account of the knowledge he had of the country, and of the Indians and their language. An Indian dressed like a French officer was sent from Fort Beau-se-jour to the western side of the Missiquash with a flag of truce, and it being supposed that he had been sent by Verger, who was then in command of the fort, Howe was sent out to meet him, and was shot down by a party of Indians who had lain in ambush behind the dyke. The shooting of Howe is, by all the historians, attributed to the instigation of the Jesuit priest, La Loutre. No one can doubt that La Loutre hated the English with undying hatred, and that it was through his ascendancy over the French and Indians that the war had been continued long after the cause of the French had become hopeless. But it is not clear that he planned the murder of Howe. Howe spent a large part of his life with the Indians, and his acquaintance with their language, customs and haunts made his presence in the English camp a source of uneasiness to the French. If he could gain access to the Micmacs, now filled with doubts as to the result

of the war, and wavering in their attachment to the French, he might be able to detach them from the latter and array them on his side. Nothing could secure safety from this but Howe's removal, and that perhaps is the real secret of the dastardly use made of the flag of truce. In June, 1755, Moncton, having made all necessary preparations, marched his men up the Fort Lawrence ridge, until they arrived just opposite the French blockhouse on the Point de Butte side. This blockhouse was surrounded by high palisades. The New England volunteers, men trained to Indian warfare, and who would rather fight than eat, were placed in the front rank, and marched directly before the blockhouse to take it by storm. The French cannon and muskets from every loop-hole looked them straight in the face, and, as they advanced, belched forth cannon and musket balls. The muzzles of the cannon and muskets, for some unexplained reason, perhaps it was because the New Englanders were too quick in their movements, were not depressed sufficiently, and the shots passed harmlessly over the heads of the volunteers. One of them flinched. The jeers that assailed him on every side stimulated him to the wildest daring. Darting out of the ranks, with catlike agility, he scaled the palisades, only in time, however, to see the backs of the Frenchmen as they made their exit by a sally-port at the rear of the blockhouse. The French and their Indian allies disappeared in the woods. Soldiers then seldom followed the French and Indians into the woods. They knew that that would be a dangerous experiment. A Frenchman or an Indian behind a tree was a dead shot; while the tree was sufficient protection for him, it formed an excellent rest for his musket when picking off his enemy. The French and Indians skulked to the woods, and in due time entered the fort. The English remained within the palisades at the blockhouse and formed plans

for the future. When night approached they were formed into two divisions, the right under Batt and the left under Dickson. Scouts were sent out, and on their return reported that all was clear, and the advance towards the fort was commenced. Batt, with his division, crossed over the Aul Auc side of the ridge, while Dickson, with his, proceeded along the Missiquash side. Both divisions, without any mishap, about midnight met in the rear of the fort, and commenced to throw up breastworks, which can be seen until this day, and will instruct a careful observer how an army can approach a fortification, and be quite safe from musketry and cannon, but not so safe from the destructive bomb-shell in its curving flight. The morning of the twelfth of June saw the English pretty safely entrenched, with their mortars mounted. For some reason, perhaps because they would be of no use, they did not place a single cannon in position. The day before the English reached the fort a British officer by the name of Hay had been captured by the French. By a strange irony of fate he was one of the first victims of the bombardment. Running along under the western bastion of the fort, and completely screened by it, was a long, low room. This was entered by winding stairways at each end. It was protected by thick walls of stone meeting in an arch overhead, and was called bomb-proof. When the first shell was fired from the English mortar, some of the French officers, and their captive, Hay, were quietly taking their breakfast in this bomb-proof. The waiter had just entered with the coffee, and left the door opened behind him; then the bomb-shell fell on the winding stairway rolling down and into the door, and under the table, where it exploded, sending Hay and three of the French officers into eternity.

Verger, the commandant, feeling that his case was hopeless, and having received word from Louisburg,

the only source from which he could hope for succor, that that fortress was also beleaguered, made up his mind to surrender. Father La Loutre had arrived at a different conclusion and used all his power to prevent the capitulation. After La Valliere, La Loutre had become not only the spiritual, but also the principal adviser of the French in their secular affairs. It was under his direction that they were building the dykes and abideaux. It is said that he had just received money from France to carry on the work, and some think that that money lies buried in an iron chest somewhere near the old fort. Amusing stories might be told, if I had space, about the efforts made to find the exact spot where this iron chest filled with five franc pieces is buried, but as yet it has not, as far as we English know, had a resurrection. The better counsels prevailed over those of La Loutre, and he and other malcontents fled, and found a place of concealement in the autumn forest. Verger surrendered the fort on honorable terms, and, with his soldiers, was allowed to retire. The more peaceable inhabitants settled down in other parts of Cumberland, while Capt. Le Bert, who hereafter will play an important part in the history of Fort Cumberland, accompanied by La Loutre, the last of the bush rangers, made his way into the northern wilderness. La Loutre, after a long and weary journey, reached Quebec. There new trials awaited him. He was treated with coldness and contempt, and learned the bitter lesson that want of success is a crime, while success, even when achieved by the most questionable means, is too often applauded. Disheartened by his cold reception at Quebec, he embarked for France, was taken by a British cruiser and lodged in a prison on the Isle of Jersey, where he remained until the close of the war. The short space that I have devoted to the history of this remarkable man does not do him justice. Quebec and Louisburg

shared the fate of Port Royal and Fort Beau-se-jour, and the French surrendered Acadia to England.

To this day, as far as I know, no reliable history of Acadia has been written. All the descendants of the men who took an active part in the war between the English and the French on the Chignecto Isthmus claim that the histories now used are largely suppressions of the truth; that while they do not record the names or doings of some of the most remarkable actors, they place others in positions they never occupied. All who received the traditions of the old French and Indian wars from the actual actors in it are now numbered with the silent majority; and those traditions are becoming, year after year, more and more indistinct in the minds of those to whom the latter communicated them. Fort Beau-se-jour, after its surrender, was named in honor of the then Duke of Cumberland; Fort Cumberland, and its ruins now retain that name.

After the fall of the old fort, the famous Captain Le Bert and his rangers made their homes in the northern wilderness, from which they occasionally issued, carrying terror and devastation into the English settlements. In the fall of 1755, Leiutenant Dickson, with a company of volunteers, was dispatched from Fort Cumberland to track Le Bert to his wilderness retreat, and if possible bring him to terms, or send him and his men where they would be less dangerous. Day after day Dickson followed the trail of the retreating Frenchmen without success.

Le Bert was like the Irishman's flea. When Paddy got his finger on the flea, it was not there. When Dickson arrived at the island next morning, Le Bert was not there. The wily Frenchman had the night before left his camp fires burning brightly, and he, "like the Arab, folded his tent and silently stole away." The Indian summer was over, and the weather

became intensely cold. Dickson felt that further pursuit might lead to the most disastrous consequences, and commenced his homeward march. The game, which before was plenty, seemed suddenly to have forsaken its usual haunts, and not so much as a squirrel was left to make a toothsome morsel. Provisions gave out, and long before the Memramcook was reached all were on the shortest of short allowance. At the head of the river he found a deserted French house. It served a good purpose, as it afforded a cover from the cold; and although its larder contained no choice viands, its cellar contained a green hide. Whether it was that of a bull, ox or cow, tradition does not disclose, and it is probable the hungry men did not care. The hide they may have cooked; I never heard how it was prepared for the sumptuous repast, suffice to say it was divided and eaten, and stayed their stomachs until they reached Westcook, just opposite the fort. Two men were sent out to carry the news to the fort that Dickson was near by, and wanted conveyances, as the men's frost-bitten feet refused to bear them further. One of the men perished on the way, the other reached his destination. Ox sleds were sent, and on them the men were brought in and laid up for repairs.

During the long winter that followed, all within the fort went merry as a wedding bell. The long nights were shortened by balls and parties, wine and wassail, to which may be added Jamaica rum, which at that time held a prominent place in the feasts and carousals that white eye now does. One of the beauties of Jamaica rum was that when you got drunk on it you settled down into a perfect state of quiescence, from which you never knew, with any certainty, when you would recover. The spring of 1758 was an unusually early one. One Sunday a company of soldiers and their wives left the fort, unconscious of coming ills,

to gather cranberries and Mayflowers on the plains and in the woods near by. When they reached the plains, a quarrel among the men sent some of them and the women back to the fort. Five of the men wandered on until they reached what was called the Portage, just at the head of Point de Butte and the lower part of the Jolicure. Stopping to quench their thirst at a brook that runs babbling across their way, they were, before they had time to rise, greeted with the terrible war-whoop, and four of them never gained their feet. While rising they were riddled with musket balls. The fifth, more fortunate, gained his feet, and fled with the swiftness pursuing death alone could give, followed by tomahawks whizzing all too near his head. He outstripped his pursuers and gained the cover of the fort to tell the sad fate of his companions. A detachment of soldiers were sent out, and the four bodies were found under the bridge. The bridge retains the name of "bloody bridge" until this day. I have seen and talked with the man who drove the ox-team that conveyed the dead bodies back to the fort. Shortly after Sergeant McKay and nine soldiers were cutting wood in the forest near Fort Gaspereaux, where they were stationed. A murderous volley from French and Indians concealed among the trees near by sent them into eternity. Their bodies now lie buried on the shores of the Gaspereaux, and a monument erected to their memories stands in the churchyard at Port Elgin. This massacre made it evident that La Bert and his French and Indians were lurking somewhere between Fort Cumberland and Baie Verte. Lieutenant Dickson, with twenty volunteers and a French guide, was sent out on a scouting expedition. They passed up Point de Butte ridge, then over to Jolicure, and then crossed the marsh to Magic. Here they found what had been an encampment, but on examination they concluded that the fires had been out for some time.

In the meantime the tide had filled the Aul Aux, and, being on the Magic side, had to wait until the tide was low enough for them to cross to Jolicure. The time at my disposal will not admit of a description of the country, but it must suffice to say that Le Bert and his men concealed in the woods must have carefully watched Dickson. A creek in Dickson's rear cut-off retreat, while one in front made an advance upon the enemy impossible. The first intimation that the English had of the dangerous proximity of the French and Indians was the report of muskets. Screened, as the French and Indians were, by the trees and underwood, in vain did the English return the fire. One after another of Dickson's men fell, until he and the French guide alone remained. The tide had now fallen, and the French and Indians crossed the creek. The tomahawks of the Indians made short work with the French guide, and Dickson, with a musket ball in his thigh, was left the sole survivor of the party. The man who had faced the fire in the breach when the Morro Castle in Havana was taken, who had traversed the woods of New England and Acadia in the search of skulking Indians and who perhaps had sent the leaden messenger of fate to do its work on many a Frenchman, and many an Indian, must have concluded that his time was up, his warfare ended. Dickson was a staunch Presbyterian, and often, when in old age, he told the story of the massacre, over the wine cup at the close of a military feast, when interrogated by the British officers as to how he felt, his answer was: "He felt he could not die until his time came." Without a doubt, Le Bert well knew Dickson. A single word from him stayed the upraised tomahawks. Dickson did not understand a word of French, but he knew that his life was to be spared. Was it the ransom that Le Bert expected for an English officer, or was it the admiration for a dead man, that averted the toma-

hawk and scalping knife? The French scouts now came in, bringing the news that the firing had been heard at the fort, and the English soldiers were marching towards Jolicure. Le Bert with his men, crossed to Magic, carrying their captive with them. From there they travelled by the Indian trail through Aboushagan, to the Shediac, and from there to Quebec. A journey to Quebec was not made then as now, in palace cars by day and Pulman cars by night. No restaurants tempted the traveller to die, I had almost said, of indigestion. The journey was made on foot, the rivers were crossed in canoes, or bridges made of trees felled from the banks. The provisions were any beast or bird that could be brought down by a musket ball, and the cooking was done over the coals of the camp fire. The soldiers sent out returned to the fort bearing the dead, but Dickson was not among them. This was not strange, as his body might have been thrown into the creek and carried away by the tide. He was entered and returned as dead on the army list. Wounded by a musket ball in his shoulder, and by another in the fleshy part of his thigh, he bravely stood the long wilderness march to Quebec. Then the French doctors there dressed his wounds, and removed the proud flesh. They asked him why he did not flinch. His answer was: "A Frenchman cannot make an Englishman flinch." Dickson was an Irishman. When Quebec fell, Dickson was liberated, and sent back to Cumberland by the way of Boston. His place in his regiment had been filled by another man, and, as a reward for his services, he was promoted, and shortly afterwards retired on half pay. His fighting days, however, were not yet over.

I have as yet, as nearly as I could, confined myself to the traditions of Chignecto and the Isthmus, but must now ask your permission to step out of the ordinary confines of my article. I wish naught to

extenuate or aught set down in malice. I have carefully read our histories hoping that I might somewhere find a sufficient reason for the expulsion of the French from Acadia. Some years since I entered a bookstore in Halifax, and the title of a book on the counter attracted my attention. I was not personally acquainted with the author, Sir Adams Archibald, but his name was, as I thought, a sufficient guarantee, and I purchased the book, hoping that its contents might relieve my mind of the disagreeable impression all other historians of the expatriation of the French had left. I read the book carefully and laid it down. As a mass of special pleading, it spoke well for the ability of the writer as a lawyer, but the attempt of a cunning lawyer, having wit at will to make a bad cause good, or a good cause ill, failed. After the termination of the old French war, many of the soldiers were disbanded and remained at Fort Cumberland. Immigrants found their way to the fort from the New England States, and some from Virginia and the Carolinas, and in a very short time quite a populous settlement clustered around it, and it became one of the most important places in Nova Scotia. The population was afterwards increased by immigrants direct from England. The farmers entered upon farms already cleared for their use, and appropriated the broad acres of marsh dyked by the French, to which their only right was British might. The traders commenced a profitable trade with the Indians for furs. The currency they used was largely rum and tobacco; these articles they also supplied in plentiful abundance to the farmers, and many a fortune was dissipated and many a farm wasted away under their thawing influence.

We will now pass on to the commencement of the American Revolution, as our brethren on the other side of the "line" call it, but which our forefathers gave the less dignified name of "The Rebellion of the

Thirteen Colonies." We now have at Fort Cumberland, and in its immediate vicinity, disbanded officers and soldiers, immigrants from New England, the Carolinas, commonly called refugees, the immigrants from New England, and on the more remote outskirts a few French and some Indians. We must not omit the negroes, as the refugees brought their slaves with them.

Fort Cumberland was to be again a battle ground. This time the French and the Indians were to be absent. Loyalty is a word of very doubtful signification, and generally means the sentiment that thrives best when offices are plenty and honors easy. Just before 1776 the government of Nova Scotia bestowed very many of the best offices in Cumberland on the Yorkshire immigrants. This did not go down with many of the older settlers. Some of the disbanded soldiers forgot that they had fought under the Union Jack. Some of the refugees gave the lie to the story that had been told, that seeing the nearing approach of the American rebellion, they had left their homes and properties and sought Nova Scotia, so that they could live and die under the British flag. Others became rebels just from the love of mischief. Captain Eddy, the prime mover, soon gathered together a formidable army. The old Queen Anne muskets, that had done duty against the French and Indians, and which had been sold or given to the militia, were the arms. The rebels encamped at Mount Whatley, and cut off Goreham, who was then commander at the fort, from all intercourse with the Commander-in-chief at Halifax. Things looked bad for Goreham and auspicious for Eddy.

It would not do to mention the names of Eddy's rebels, as those names now include some of the most loyal subjects of Queen Victoria. Goreham, with a few regulars and some volunteers, was shut up in the

fort; while Eddy and his men had the range of the whole country, supplying their needs from the flocks of farmers, and the larder of the farmers' wives; one thing the farm did not supply, and that was the Jamaica rum, and the principal depot for that was Weatherhead's Hotel. As the hotel was within easy range of the cannon, mounted on the bastions on the south-east side of the fort, the hotel was not a safe place for the rebels to visit by day, so they made it their place of resort by night. Goreham discovered this, and bargained with Weatherhead, that when the house was pretty full of rebels, he was to place a candle on a certain window, and then with his family steal out, and from the guns in the fort trained on the house, the rebels were to be treated with grape shot and cannister, that perhaps would not be as much to their taste as the old Jamaica, though in the end no more dangerous. One night a negro woman, a slave of Weatherhead's, not knowing about the arrangement made with her master, set her candle in the window. The consequences were she heard her death sentence in the report of the cannon, the ball that passed her frightening her into premature labor, which ended in her death, and the same ball cut Weatherhead in two while asleep in his bed in the adjoining room. At that time Brooks Watson, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, was a poor apprentice boy carrying the officers and soldiers their rations of ale and beer from Huestons's brewery near the fort, displayed some of that rare courage that afterwards arrayed him in the robes of the chief civic officer of the largest city in the world. The rebels had cast longing eyes on Heuston's cattle pasturing on the marsh, and a detachment was sent by Eddy to drive them within the rebel lines. Brooks saw them coming, and, notwithstanding that he was under a disadvantage, one of his legs being a wooden one, he got between the rebels and the cattle,

and drove the cattle within the range of the guns of the fort. Whether or not the rebels went to bed that night without their usual supper of good beefsteak or not, I do not know.

Goreham's situation became more and more embarrassing. A council of war was called, and it was determined to send to Halifax for reinforcements. Our old acquaintance, Major Dickson, volunteered to go. Eddy having cut off all communication by land, nothing remained but to go by water. Dickson embarked with six men in a row boat at what is now called Cumberland Creek. They rowed down the bay, across the Basin of Minas, up the Windsor River, up St. Croix, and then marched to Halifax. The exigency of the case was fully appreciated. The necessary men were embarked in schooners, and sent to Chignecto. When the transports entered the Joggins, the country at Cumberland was lit up with flames. Eddy had attempted to take the fort by storm, but, failing in his attempt, had burnt all the houses on the line of his retreat. The transports were anchored below the Joggins, where they could not be seen by the rebels, and, as soon as the shades of night crept over the landscape, some of the soldiers were sent in small boats to ascertain if the fort had fallen. They returned with the news that the fort was all right. As soon as it was dark the next night the transports weighed anchor, and shortly after reinforcements were landed. No time was to be lost. Instructed by Goreham, Dickson at once marched to cut off the rebels. He took the road that skirts the marsh on the Aul Aux side of the ridge, crossed over where the Willie Trueman mill-pond now flows, and before daylight was in the rear of the rebels. In military parlance Eddy was out-flanked. With the early dawn the sleep of the rebels was broken by the rattle of musketry. The negro drummer rose from his earthen

bed and beat to arms. Nine bullet-holes, it is said, let the music out of his drum, and demoralized it as a war-inspiring instrument. One of the rebels, and only one, kissed the dust. A man named Furlong, who sleeps his last sleep in his narrow bed on the old John Trueman farm, in arising from his bed in the tent, was riddled with musket balls. All the rebels but two surrendered. Among them Parson Eggleson, of whom we have heard. As he was the only divine in that part of the country, Eddy had one advantage, that is, if the prayers of a regular successor of the apostles were of any use. Only two of the rebels escaped, General Eddy and Captain John Allan; Eddy, by the way ever since called the Eddy Road leading from Mount Whatley to Amherst, and Allan in the opposite direction. Allan found a boat at Aulac, and in it reached a creek just below Wood Point. The creek is called Allan's Creek to this day. In due time both Allan and Eddy crossed the lines, where they received commissions in the rebel army, and afterwards saw more service, thus proving the truth of the old adage, "He who fights and runs away may live to fight some other day." I will venture to mention another of the rebels, Uniacke, a young and frolicksome Irishman. He afterwards married Catherine Delesdernier at Fort Lawrence, a maiden fair, who, within a year, presented him with robust twin boys. The twins afterwards were the progenitors of all the Uniackes of Nova Scotia, so noted for their devotion to the British crown. Dickson, having bagged the rebels, marched them into the fort, and afterwards, by command of the Governor-General, to Halifax, where on their marrow bones they took the oath of allegiance, and ever afterwards remained His Majesty's most loyal subjects. To keep them out of mischief in the future, many of them were placed in good offices, and the rest placated by handsome grants of land. To-day Her

Majesty the Queen has no more loyal subjects than the descendants of the Eddy rebels; and as long as the official pastures remain good, they will keep so.

A. D. 1783 brought to Fort Cumberland a number of Loyalists, and the next year that great political misfortune, the division of Nova Scotia into two provinces, was consummated. Similar reasons to those that afterwards led to the Confederation caused the division of Nova Scotia into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, thus proving that forces that in some cases disunite, in other cases unite. Then, as now, there were men who believed that offices under government should be the object, end and aim of all politicians. The offices in the gift of the government of Nova Scotia were not numerous enough to go all around among those who believed that they were born to loaf their living out of the general revenue, or out of the people. Those in office are not willing to step out and make room for those who were not. The rule, that to the victors belong the spoils, would not work, as governments could not be turned out by force, chicanery or fraud, as in our days, or by the voice of the people. The scions of the old family compacts were increasing, and if the offices could not be found for them, they would be driven to work or beg. Making a new province would meet the emergency by creating more offices. The experiment was tried, and as the offices did not afford places for all the aspirants, the new province, almost as soon as it was ushered into existence, was on the dangerous edge of rebellion. Things looked stormy, and another Eddy rebellion was barely averted by creating new offices. These were filled by the more noisy, who at once became good and loyal citizens. Others, not quite so boisterous, were quieted by large grants of the best land from the public domain. Nature, it is said, never produces more pigs than tilts. Politicians have im-

proved on the methods of nature, and when the pigs become too numerous, provide a remedy by fastening on to the body politic more tilts. This is done by using the creative powers of the legislature, and has been repeated time and again in our day, and from appearances the end is not yet, and in the near future we may have still more pigs and more tilts.

THE END.

Old-Time Obituaries.

D. R. JACK, ESQ.

Sir,—I enclose you the old-time obituaries I spoke to you about. They are interesting from the fixing of dates, etc., and, in addition, I think the memories of these old worthies ought to be rescued from oblivion. By the way, you will notice that James Wilmot might have been the original of the character of "Pooh Bah."

Yours truly,

C. WARD.

Sept. 10th, 1908.

"4 June, 1797.—At New Edinburgh, County of Annapolis, now in Digby County, Mr. Michael Weaver, Senr., one of the brave United Empire Loyalists, who founded that town, on Western banks of Sissiboo River, at its outlet into St. Mary's Bay, January 21, 1783. He died peacefully of 'old age,' leaving a disconsolate widow and one son, named in his honor, to mourn their irreparable loss."

"24 September, 1801.—In Digby, Nova Scotia, Christian Tobias, Esq., M. D., in a fit, one of the Loyalists who founded that town in 1783, leaving a disconsolate family and very many other friends to lament his sudden and permature removal from a field of great public usefulness," James Wilmot, Esq., Registrar of Wills, whose demise is recorded below, and Dr. Christian Tobias, above named, were the two Church Wardens of Trinity Episcopal Parish, Digby, elected at its first vestry meeting, held September 29, 1785.

"4 December, 1804.—In Digby, N. S., of old age, James Wilmot, Esq., aged 77 years, five months and ten days. Mr. Wilmot was one of the revered Loyalists who sacrificed their possessions and worldly conforts in luxuriant Colonial homes for principle and honour, becoming one of the founders of the town of Digby, Nova Scotia in 1783, where he was emphatically a *leader* among *leaders,* discharging most efficiently every proffered trust, including collector of H. M. Customs, from November 17, 1784, when the town was opened officially to trade as a sea-port attached to Shelburne to his resignation from age and infirmity in 1790; Vestry Clerk of Trinity Parish from September 29, 1785, to Michaelmas of 1787, when he was relieved by James Foreman, Esq.; Schoolmaster of the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;' Registrar of Deeds and Wills for the 'Western District of the County of Annapolis,' comprising Townships of Clements, Digby and Clare, from its establishment on 16th March, 1785, to the year 1802, when failing health and severe bodily infirmities necessitated his resignation. Besides being the General Draughtsman of Memorials and Accountant of the Church of England in his adopted Parish. Much and deservedly lamented by the entire circle of his widespread influence, leaving vacancies difficult to supply, as the deceased filled them."

The Societe Jersiase.

The Societe Jersiase (the Historical Society of Jersey, Channel Islands) would be glad to receive historical and geneological information from Jerseymen or the descendants of Jerseymen now residing away from Jersey.

The names of emigrants, places, and dates of and reasons for emigration, the subsequent history of the family, and especially notes as regards persons who have taken part in public affairs or become distinguished in any sphere of life, and copies of family letters or papers, would be welcomed.

Information may be sent to the Honorary Secretary of the Society, E. Toulmin Nicolle, 21 Hill Street, St. Helier.

The Mowat Family.

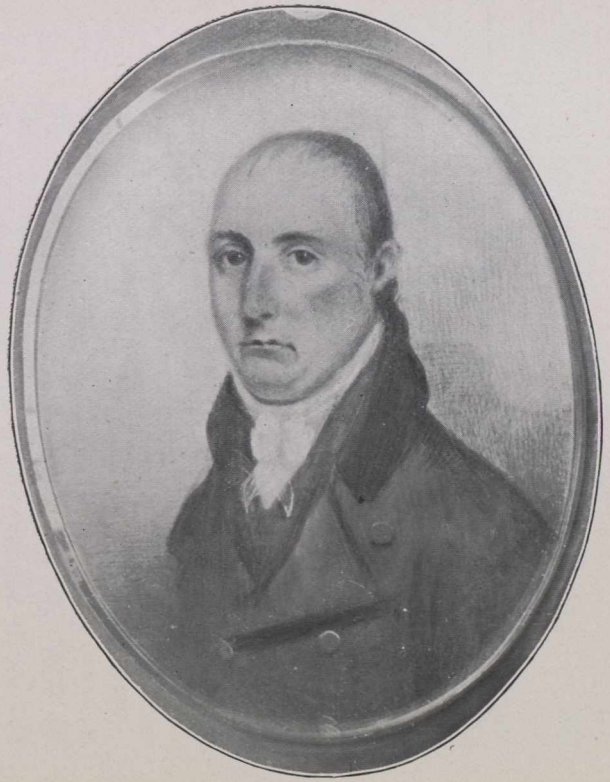
N the hall-way of the residence of Mr. George Mowat, at Beech Hill, near St. Andrews, hangs a small frame containing the family coat-of-arms. This is reproduced for the information of the reader, the crest being an oak-tree growing out of a mount, ppr. The motto, Monte Alto. The crest is shewn in Fairbairn's Crests of Great Britain and Ireland, Plate 48, crest 4, and corresponds exactly with the example as emblazoned in the Mowat hall-way.

Near the old coat-of-arms stands a venerable clock, approximately two hundred years old, and the house contains many other charming examples of pre-Loyalist furniture. The dining table of mahogany, inlaid with lighter wood, is most delicate in outline and finish and differs materially from any other specimen that the writer has ever examined. A few examples of the furnishings are shown with this sketch, and give some idea of the style and value of many other objects which this old farm-house contains.

The silver tankard, which comes down from the Campbell side of the house, has already appeared in a previous article on old silver.

The family is Scotch as far as can be traced, but, judging from the name, the founder of the family may have come in among the Norman races which, after the conquest, settled down in Scotland. Alexander Nisbet says in his "System of Heraldry" page 294, published in 1722 in Edinburgh: "The name

THE MOWAT ARMS.



CAPTAIN DAVID MOWAT, U. E. L.
Died at St. Andrews, N. B., Sept, 1810. (From a Miniature in the Possession of Mr. George Mowat, of St. Andrews, N. B.)

Mowat was written in the olden times de Monte Alto. I have seen a document by Michael de Monte Alto and Philip Malgedrum in 1252 at that time Justitiædi Scotiæ. There were several families of the name, as Mowat of Balquhollie, whose arms were a black lion rampant with a red tongue, in a silver shield. From this branch was descended Sir Alexander Mowat, of Ingliston, Baronet, whose arms were a black lion rampant with a red tongue, in a silver shield, the shield surrounded by a red border. The crest an oak tree growing out of a rock. Motto, Monte Alto."

A knight, William de Monte Alto, appears in King David the Second's time, 1567. In 1577 King Robert the Second restored to Richard de Monte Alto Cancellaris Ecclesiæ Brechenensis, both of the Baronies Ferne in Forfarshire, and Kynblachmond which had belonged to his forefathers, but which he himself had presented to the Crown. When he and his bastard died, the estate fell to their kinsman, Robert de Monte Alto, son of the deceased knight, Robert de Monte Alto.

The Geographical and Historical Notes on the Orkneys, by P. A. Muncks, from which the foregoing notes are taken, gives quite a lengthy notice of the origin of the Mowat family and of the name, but no mention is therein made of the tradition, which is the locally accepted theory of the family, that their origin is Spanish, the progenitor in the Orkneys, a Spanish nobleman, having escaped from the wreck of the Spanish Armada, about 1590, making his home, through force of circumstances, where he was cast away. The writer has observed strong traces of Spanish blood in some of the people of the City of Cork, Ireland, attributable to the same origin. The occurrence of the name at a much earlier date would appear to refute this theory as to the Spanish origin of the Mowat family.

A few words concerning the earlier members of the family may not be out of place, before taking up that branch which has for the past century resided at Beech Hill, near St. Andrews, New Brunswick.

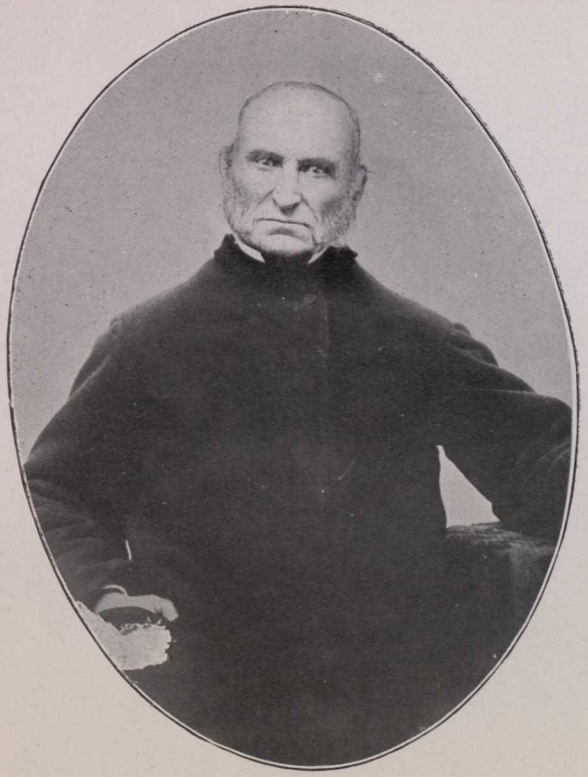
For much of the information which appears in this article the writer is indebted to Mr. James Vroom, whose articles which appeared in the St. Croix Courier upon the Early History of Charlotte County are invaluable.*

The Mowats belonged to an old Scottish family. The name is said to be derived from Monte Alto the name of a nobleman who escaped from the wreck of the Spanish Armada and made his home in the North of Scotland. The Orkney Islands are regarded as the home of the Mowats.

Capt. Henry Mowat, who was commander of the armed vessels that warded off the attack on Penobscot in 1779, was afterwards, as commander of H. M. S. Assistance, in 1796, senior officer in command of the fleet on the North American station. According to family tradition he was a cousin of Captain David Mowat, a grantee of St. Andrews, and Lieut. John Mowat, R. N., ancestor of the Mowats at Bay Side. He seems to have left no descendants in this country; nevertheless from his connection with the event above mentioned, a brief account of his life and services may not be inappropriate.

Henry Mowat was born in Scotland in 1734. He was a son of Captain Patrick Mowat, of His Majesty's ship Dolphin. After an experience at sea of six years he was commissioned as lieutenant of the ship Baltimore in 1756. The certificate of his "passing" by the Admiralty records sets forth "He produceth records kept by himself in the Chesterfield and Ramles (as midshipman), and certificates from Captains Ogle and Hobbs of the Dilligence, etc.; he can splice, knot,

* ACADIENSIS, Vol. III, p. 261.



DAVID JOHN MOWAT

MIRIAM PAGAN (WYER) MOWAT
Wife of David John Mowat.

reef a sail, etc., and is qualified to do the duty of an able Seaman and Midshipman." In 1762 he was promoted to be a commander and served as such on the Canceaux for twelve years. At the time of the destruction of Falmouth he was forty-one years old. His next vessel, the sloop Albany, was the flag-ship of the squadron at Penobscot. After a service of thirty years on our coast, he died of apoplexy, April 14, 1798, aged sixty-four, on board his ship the Assistance, near Cape Henry. His remains were interred at Hampton, Virginia. He had three brothers in the navy, of whom two were killed in action on the London, off St. Domingo, and the other, Alexander, died in command of the Rattlesnake, in the West Indies in 1793. He left a son, John Alexander, who entered the navy in 1804 and who is probably the one placed under the educational charge of Rev. Jacob Bailey, the Episcopal missionary at Pownalboro.

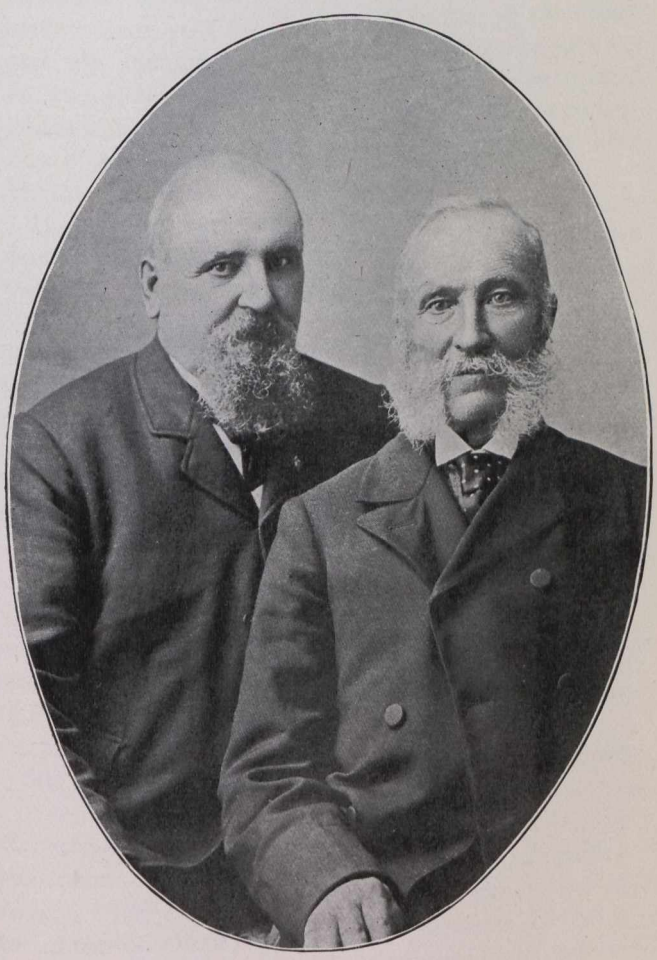
Captain Mowat left no will, and no letters of administration on his estate appear on record in England. A short time before his death he wrote "A Relation of the Services in which I was engaged in America, from 1759, to the close of the American War in 1783." Probably it was never printed. An exhaustive research for it at the British Museum and in the principal libraries of the United Kingdom has been without success. Advertisements in the "London Times" and in "Notes and Queries," offering a liberal reward for information of its existence have proved equally unavailing. The last trace of its title is found in "Rodd's Catalogue of Books and MSS.", published in London, in 1843, where it is described as a folio, and placed at eighteen shillings. Its discovery would shed such light upon our Revolutionary history. We should learn from it particulars of the dismantling of Fort Pownal soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, and should also be informed of the reasons which

induced the occupation of Penobscot. We should also learn whether the author instigated the destruction of Falmouth, or acted under the strict orders of his superior officer; and whether the denunciations which have visited him for that act with as much warmth as if he merely gratified his private antipathies, are or are not deserved. It is to be feared, however, that the lost manuscript has shared the fate of the Gorges papers, which Dr. Palfrey, the historian, says, "It is not extravagant to suppose, may, undreamed of by their possessor, be now feeding the moth in the garret of some manor house in Somerset or Devon, or in some crypt in London, which vast city has always been the receptacle, often the final hiding-place of such treasures,"

Although little is known of Captain Mowat's private character, several incidents concerning him which have been preserved place it in a favorable light, His kindness to so many suffering families on the Penobscot is not forgotten; while the letter that accompanied the committal of his son to Mr. Bailey contains sentiments of affection, kindness and respect, and as the biography of the latter suggests, is not the production of a brutal or ignorant man.

John Mowat, (or Mowatt as the name is spelled in the grant), was Lieutenant John Mowat, R. N., a cousin of David Mowat of the Penobscot Association, and of Captain Henry Mowat, of Penobscot fame.

Lieutenant Mowat entered the service in 1778, on board the Robust, Captain Hood, in the Channel fleet commanded by Admiral Keppel. He served as a midshipman on the Robust after she was transferred to the North American fleet, in 1781, and later in the Serapis and Diadem, of the Channel fleet. In 1797 he was appointed lieutenant of the Asia, on the North American station; and in 1799 became master and commander of the armed brig Princess Amelia. The



DAVID WYER MOWAT AND GEORGE MOWAT.

latter appointment was made by H. R. H. Edward, Duke of Kent, then stationed at Halifax as commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in British North America. Being recalled to England, Lieut. Mowat served for a year on H. M. S. Bonetta, at the Nore, and was invalided in 1804. On leaving the service, he was presented by the Duke of Kent with several pieces of cabin furniture, which are now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. John Mowat, of Bay Side, St. Croix.

In Admiral Arbuthnot's action with the French fleet in 1780, Mowat received two wounds, one in the knee and the other near his temple. He was a man of high character and steadfast principle, and as an officer was remarked for skill, courage and decision. While on duty at Halifax, where he remained for two years, he possessed the confidence and approbation of the Duke of Kent and other officers, and the respect of all to whom he was otherwise known. He died at St. Andrews in 1821, at the age of 65.

Many sea-faring men have bestowed upon them nick-names, more or less appropriate. Among his contemporaries of the navy Lieut. Mowat was known as "Hurricane Jack" Mowat, possibly from his tempestuous manner in action. He was always regarded, as indeed were the others of this name who were in the navy, as "a good fighter."

The Cape Ann Association, as it was called, received a tract of land sometimes called the Wentworth Plantation which included Tower Hill and Lever Settlement in the Parish of St. David, Charlotte county. The names of the associates are given in the grant of October 1, 1784. The name of John Mowat is included among those of the associates at the head of which was a Mr. Norwood from Cape Ann.

The writer regrets that lack of space prevents a more complete genealogy of the New Brunswick

branch of the Mowat family, but trusts that upon some future occasion he may be able to enter more fully into this most interesting family history.

Captain David Mowat (U. E. L.) was a master mariner and a ship owner. He was one of the original 430 grantees of St. Andrews*. He was a prominent figure in the early history of St. Andrews, being a charter member of the Friendly Society of St. Andrews. and a member of the Legislative Assembly for Charlotte County.†

Singularly, Sabine in his extensive work makes no allusion to this important family, although at least two members were distinguished naval officers in the Royal side during the revolutionary struggle. To them allusion has already been made in this article. Concerning the history of David Mowat prior to the Revolution the writer has been able to find but little mention. He appears to have formed a warm attachment at an early age, for Mehitable, daughter of Dr. John Caleff, of whose family a fairly full account has been given by the writer in a former article.

Dr. Caleff took an active part in the effort which was made to have the Penobscot River made the northern boundary of the United States and made the voyage to England, no slight task in those days, in order to urge upon the British ministry the desirableness of upholding the position which he, among others, strongly advocated. While absent in England upon this important mission a large price was set upon Dr. Caleff's head by the "rebels," and young David Mowat having grave fears for his safety should he fall into their hands, chartered a small schooner, and after cruising off the coast of New England for

* ACADIENSIS, Vol. VII, p. 216.

† ACADIENSIS, Vol. VII, p. 189.

‡ Canadian Biographical Dictionary, p. 692.

†† ACADIENSIS, Vol. VII, pps. 261-273.

‡‡ ACADIENSIS, Vol. VII, pps. 269-270.

WILLIAM HENRY.

ANN SARAH.

DAVID JOHN

ROBERT SAMUEL.

GEORGE.

JOHN CALEF.

PETER.

HORATIO NELSON.

CHILDREN OF CAPTAIN DAVID AND MEHITABLE (CALEF) MOWAT.
(Excepting eldest son who died in infancy and the youngest two who were infants when portraits were taken.)

some time, intercepted the vessel in which Dr. Caleff was returning, and took him ashore, leaving the vessel to continue her passage to her port of destination. Landing from the schooner somewhere on the coast of Maine and disguising themselves as Indians, the two men, after swimming the rivers and enduring many hardships, finally reached British territory.

On the 14th of November, 1786, David Mowat and Mehitable Caleff were married by Rev. William Bissett, first rector of Trinity Church, St. John. Unfortunately the Church records for the first fifty years of its existence were destroyed when the residence of the rector, Dr. Gray, situate on Wellington Row, was burned. The family Bible, which gives this and many other dates, in the family history, and is the chief source of information for much of the data contained in this article, does not mention the actual place at which the ceremony was performed. As Dr. Caleff was attached to the garrison at St. John for several years after the settlement of that place by the Loyalists, and as the first two children born to David and Mehitable Mowat are buried in the old Loyalist graveyard on Sydney Street in the same city, it would appear not improbable that David Mowat, being a ship-master, his young wife made her home during her husband's voyages beneath her father's roof. Subsequently, Dr. Caleff, as well as the Mowats, removed permanently to St. Andrews.

Children of Captain David and Mehitable (Caleff) Mowat:

i. John Spence[2], b. Sunday, Sept. 2, 1787; d. May 14. 1792.

ii. George Ryder, b. Monday, June 22, 1789; died young.

iii. Ann Sarah, b. Tuesday, May 10, 1791; christened Sept. 4, 1791, by Rev. Samuel Andrews, m. July 19, 1812, to Dr. Samuel Frye, at St. Andrews. They had a large family.

iv. William Henry, b. Wednesday, April 10, 1793; christened May 26, 1793, by Rev. Samuel Andrews; m. to Mehetable Mowat, a cousin, and daughter of "Hurricane Jack" Mowat, a brother of Captain David Mowat. They had no issue.

v. David John, b. Thursday, Oct. 2, 1795; christened Dec. 21, 1795, by Rev. Samuel Andrews; m. Oct. 25, 1821, to Miriam Pagan Wyer, daughter of Hon. Thomas Wyer; d. Nov. 16, 1887. The writer remembers him well as a man of large stature, commanding presence and grave but genial disposition. He was the parent of ten children, namely:

(1) Annie[3], m. John Covert, no issue.

(2) Myra, m. Wm. J. Gilbert.

(3) Agnes, m. Bradford Perez Gilbert, no issue.

(4) George, b. Feb. 22, 1834; m. Isabella Campbell, by whom he had one daughter, Grace Helen. All are now living at Beech Hill, St. Andrews, N. B.

(5) Elizabeth, m. Sydney MacMaster, of St. Andrews, no issue.

(6) David Wyer, m. Jessie Isabella Campbell, by whom he had seven children, all dead; he m. 2nd, Harriet ———, resided at Ashland, Wis., where he died, October, 1892.

(7) Charles, m. Helen Forbes Jack, dr. of W. Brydone Jack, for many years President of the University of New Brunswick, , by whom he had three children, Brydon, Miriam, Cuthbert.

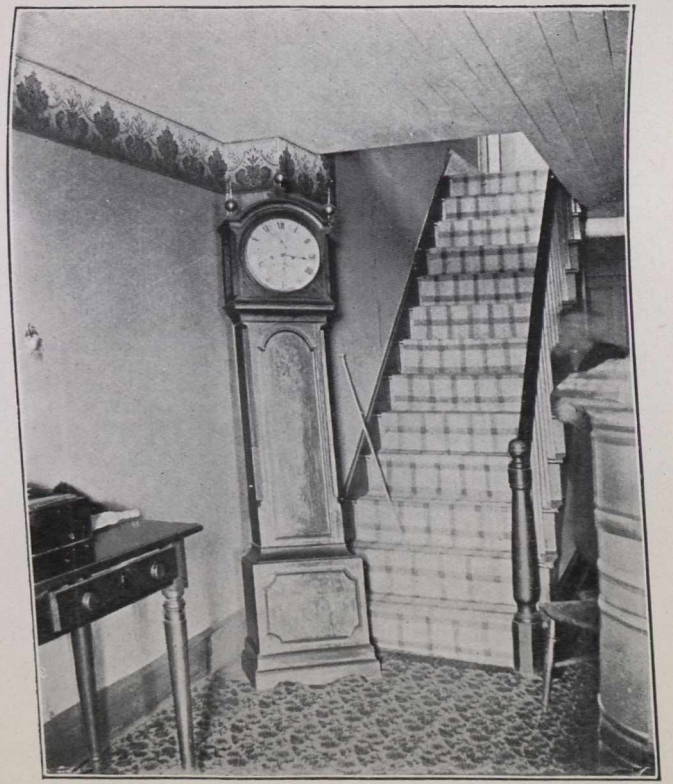
(8) Susan, living at St. Andrews, unmarried.

(9) Helen. } Twins, died young.

(10) Edward. }

vi. Robert Samuel, b. Friday, Jan. 6, 1797, ch. 28 May, 1797, by Rev. Samuel Andrews; m. to Maria Watson, of St. Stephen, N. B., sister of Robert Watson, first president of the St. Stephen Bank. Robert Samuel Mowat was a lawyer, practicing at St. Stephen. His only son died in California, U. S. A.

OLD LOYALIST FURNITURE.
Mowat House, St. Andrews, N B.



HALL-WAY, SHOWING OLD CLOCK.
Mowat House, St. Andrews, N. B.

vii. Horatio Nelson, b. Tuesday, Sept. 25, 1798; ch. Dec. 23, 1798, by Rev. Samuel Andrews. Died at sea, unmarried.

viii. John Caleff, b. Sunday, Aug. 24, 1800; m. a dr. of Dr. John Boyd. Had at least two sons and a daughter.

ix. George, b. Monday, Dec. 13, 1803; ch. May 15, 1803; died at St. Andrews, unmarried.

x. Peter, b. Monday, May 29, 1805; ch. July 21, 1805, by Rev. Samuel Andrews; buried 29 March, 1815. Was killed by the falling of a tree.

xi. Dorothy, b. Monday, March 30, 1807; m. Sept. 20, 1831, to Adam Jack, who was b. Nov. 21, 1800, at Innerkip, near Greenwich, Scotland, and died Feb. 2, 1856, at St. John, N. B. An obituary of him is given in the History of St. Andrews Society, of St. John, N. B., pps. 58-9. She died May 14, 1842.

xii. Susanna Elizabeth, b. Tuesday, Feb. 27, 1810; m. Dec. 17, 1833, to Robert Duncan Wilmot, by Rev. Jerome Alley, D. D., rector of All Saints Church, St. Andrews, N. B. He was born at Fredericton, N. B., Oct. 16, 1809, and was the son of John M. Wilmot, and grandson of Lemuel Wilmot (U. E. L.). Robert Duncan Wilmot was for a term governor of New Brunswick.

Children of Robert Duncan and Susan Elizabeth (Mowat) Wilmot.

(1) John[3], m. Sarah Allen.
(2) Anna, m. Rev. William Grear.
(3) Astley.
(4) Robert Duncan, m. Lilian Black.
(5) Elizabeth, unmarried.
(6) Susan, m. Ambrose Hubbard of Burton, N. B.
(7) Henry, m. Lilian Simonds.

Jessie Isabella Campbell, who married David Wyer Mowatt, was a daughter of John Campbell who died at St. Andrews, N. B., 1884. Her mother was a daughter of James Campbell of Pennfield, Charlotte Co., N. B. John Campbell was a son of Colin Campbell who came to St. John in 1784, d. 1843. A full

account of this interesting family is given by James Vroom of St. Stephen, N. B., in his valuable series of articles published in the "St. Croix Courier," commencing January 2, 1892, upon the Early History of Charlotte Co., N. B.

William Henry Mowatt removed to Hastings, Minn., about 1840, and there pre-empted two blocks of land, which he afterwards offered to Messrs. George and Charles Mowatt, provided that they would remove to Hastings and settle upon the property. This offer was declined by both of the brothers.

The two volumes, being the Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, 1904, containing "Enquiry into the Losses and Services of the United Empire Loyalists, in consequence of their Loyalty," make frequent reference to Captain David Mowat. He appears to have been before the Commissioners only in the capacity of a witness on behalf of several of his friends. There is no mention made of his having put forward any claim for compensation in consequence of his own losses.

An interesting portrait in the Mowat residence at Beech Hill, St. Andrews, is that of the wife of Anthony George Forbes, Surgeon General of His Brittanic Majesty's Forces in the West Indies. Her daughter, Mary Anne Elizabeth Forbes, married Charles Jeffrey Peters, Attorney-General of New Brunswick.

Mrs. Forbes was the grandmother of Hurd Peters, Esq., City Engineer of St. John, and great-grandmother of Mrs. Charles Mowat, who is the owner of the picture.

Mrs. Forbes taught a ladies' school in St. John for many years.

DAVID RUSSELL JACK.

THE WIFE OF ANTHONY GEORGE FORBES.
Surgeon-General of H. B. M.'s Forces in the West Indies.
(From an oil painting in the Mowat residence, Beech Hill, St. Andrews.

Louisburg.

Benjamin Stearns's Diary, 11 March—2 August, 1745.

EDITED BY J. C. L. CLARK.

[The original of the following fragmentary journal came to light in 1907 in the attic of the house in Bolton, Mass., formerly the home of Samuel Stearns Houghton, a grandson of Benjamin Stearns. It bears evidence of being in part copied from the diary of Stearns's comrade in arms, Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet, of Groton, Mass., published by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green in "Three Military Diaries kept by Groton Soldiers in Different Wars."

Benjamin Stearns was born in Concord, Mass., 8 November, 1714. He married Dinah Wheeler, of Bolton, in 1738, soon after the setting off of that township from Lancaster. The second child of this marriage was the eccentric and unfortunate Dr. Samuel Stearns, the Loyalist. The home of the family was in Bolton till some years after Mr. Stearns's early death, which occurred 5 January, 1755.

Althongh Benjamin Stearns's name nowhere appears in this curious document, I entertain no doubt that it is from his pen. He is mentioned by Bradstreet as among the soldiers at Louisburg, and the writing strongly resembles other examples of his penmanship. In this copy I have merely given the narrative word for word from the original: to follow further the peculiarities of the somewhat illiterate manuscript has seemed to me an unnecessary burden upon reader and copyist, all the more as it is the purpose of my honoured friend, Dr. Green, to publish at least a portion of the document *literatim et punctuatim* in a new edition of Bradstreet's journal. For the same reason I have refrained from any attempt at full annotation. Such notes as are found here are chiefly intended to be supplementary to those by Dr. Green in "Three Military Diaries."]

Memorandum, March 11, 1744|5. Then we depart-[ed] from Groton, namely Dudley Bradstreet, and Benj[a] Wilson, Benj[a] Lakin, Jonathan Lakin, Jacob Nutting, Daniel Blood, John Chamberlain, Stephen Barron, Phinehas Barron, Isaac Kent, Aaron Boynton,

Gideon Sanderson, John Pierce & Daniel Pierce,[1] from Groton to Concord, March 11; and from Concord to Charlestown, [March] 12; & at Charlestown we staid 5 [days]; & on the 18 [th] we went on board and there we stayed 3 days; and then we sailed from Boston to a place called King's Road,[2] & there we stayed 4 days; and from thence we sailed by Cape Ann;[3] & from thence we sailed to a place called Sheepscott-Harbour River, March 27; & there we stayed till y^e^ 29[th] of the . . . s^d^ month; and then we sailed [to] a place called Penobscot and [P]emaquid, & then to the Bay Fundy. And there we was two days. The weather was exceeding bad for us; there arose a great storm, and the seas run mountains high, and it did rain very hard, and the wind did blow very hard, so that we was fain to let down our sails and let drive where the seas would carry us. And a terrible storm we had, so bad that I thought that every minute would be the last. And in the meanwhile our men was exceeding sick, and did vomit as if they would die. And in this troublesome time, and in the mount of difficulty,[4] I hope every man called upon his God for his deliver[ance]. And after some time the rain and wind did abate, and the seas left hurricaning in some measure; and by the goodness of God, who is willing to save and succour all them that put their trust in him, he blessed us with a fair wind and brought [us] by Cape Sable. On the first of April we hoisted sail and sailed [out] of the Bay Fundy and by Cape Sambro, and then by Port Latour, & thence by a place called Beaver [Harbour], and from

[1] These young soldiers, almost beyond doubt, were all of Groton, Stephen and Phinehas Barron, John and Daniel Pierce, were brothers.

[2] Now the President's Roads, in Boston Harbour.

[3] Orig., Cape "Pan."

[4] Probably the diarist had Bunyan's "Hill Difficulty" in mind.

thence to a place called Cape Negro Harbour, and from thence to a place called the Country Harbour,[5] the 4[th]. And there we went on shore, and on the 5[th] & 6[th] days we lay at anchor. In the 7[th] day of the month, on Sunday, we sailed about 3 leagues out of s[d] place towards Canso; and, the wind being contrary, we dropped anchor again and went on shore. And there we found 2 graves, and a board set up at the head of one of their graves where 2 men's names was written, viz., John Pinkham and Thomas Sim[p]-kins, buried in the year 1737. On Monday, the 8[th], we hoisted sail again, and the same day we passed by a place called White Head, and from thence we sailed to a place called Canso: on the 8[th] of April by the goodness of God we all arrived at our desired haven and dropped anchor. On the 9[th] of s[d] month it rained so that we could not get on shore. On the 10[th] day we went on shore and our squadron was joined, whereof Colo[n] Richmond was our commander. On the 17[th] of s[d] month there was an English brig brought in that was taken from Captain Loving in the year 1744, laden with 5 hundred hogsheads of rum and some molasses, whereon was a council of war held on the 18[th]day to see if our men could not keep some of the rum and other for the support of the fleet. And on the same day there was brought in a prize; she was taken one day from the English and the next day re-

---

[5] Orig., "and sailed of the Bay fundey and By Cape Sambers and then by Port Leoter & thence by a place Called Beuears and from thence to a place Called Cape Negeors Harber and from thence to a place called the Cuntry harber".....To follow this extraordinary course the fleet would have been obliged to double on its course four times. Doubtless the diarist, or the scribe, confused the order of the unfamiliar names.

taken by Cap[t] Beckwith[6] and Cap[t] Donahue.[7] On the next day there was 2 prizes brought in, taken by, viz., Donahue and Beckwith — a French brig and a Cape Ann[8] schooner was brought in. The former of them was laden with provision and other[9] [supplies] for the support of the French. And the same day, just at night, our men thought they espied a French man-of-war,[10] and they all manned themselves and hoisted sail, and after them they went, to see if they could take her; and in the evening we heard several guns. And on the 19[th] day some of our men found a packet of letters on shore, which we did conclude that the frigate flung overboard when our men fought with her. The packet was wrapped up in a piece of parchment. And on the same day there was brought in another prize. On Monday the 29[th] day of April we sailed towards Cape Breton, & on Tuesday the 30[th] of s[d] month we went on shore. And when we was a-landing there came between 2 or 3 hundred of French and Indians to debar us from landing; but by the goodness of God we all landed safe and well, and had a skirmish with them, and some of them we took. We took and killed 17 on the same day that we went on shore, and travelled about 3 miles towards the city; and then we pitched our camps not far from the city. On May the 1[st] our men took 8, and on May the 2[nd] they took 6 more; and after that took the Grand Battery, and several cows and horses and some plunder, viz., some

---

[6] Orig., "Bekit."

[7] Identified by Dr. Green with Daniel Donahue, of Marblehead. He commanded the *Resolution* sloop.

[8] Here, as before, "Cape Pan." No doubt the captured schooner had been previously taken by the French from New England seamen.

[9] Orig., "others."

[10] The frigate *Renommée,* which the provincials succeeded in driving off (see Parkman, "A Half-century of Conflict," Chap. xix.)

pots, some kettles, some gridirons—some one thing and some another, and burnt several houses. May the 3[rd]. Our men took 10 more of the French, and shot several great guns from the Grand Battery, through the governor's house, and did begin to play upon them finely. 4[th]. Then we fixed our artillery, and did begin to fling our bombs into the city, and made notorious work with them and their buildings. 5[th]. Our men took one Frenchman and one negro man. May 6, on the Sabbath day,[11] our men took 9 Frenchmen and 2 women. And the same day our gunner was wounded and four of our men, by overloading their guns. 10[th]. Then our men took 4 French more. 11[th]. Tuesday.[11] Our men took 5 French more. 12[th]. 4 of our men wounded, and the same day one of them died. 23[rd] day of May. Sergeant Kerley[12] died, in the year 1745. And on the 19[th] day of the same month Cap[t] Pierce was killed; and a famous and a worthy gentleman he was counted, both for courage and conduct, and a man that sought y[e] good of his soldiers as the good of his king and country. On the 20[th of the] same month our men took 20 more French women and children. And still our men kept firing against the walls of the city and their houses, & most confused work they made with them, by beating down their walls and their gates and their forts. By bombing them we tore their houses, and killed several of them, as we have heard since we took the city. There is one thing worthy of our remark,—one of our cannon-balls killed six French at one shot. We sot some of their houses on fire in the town by shooting bombs, but by their craftiness they put them out

[11] Mr. Stearns goes astray occasionally regarding the day of the month: 6 May, 1745, fell on Monday, and 11 May on Saturday.

[12] Orig., "Corly." In Dr. Green's *literatim* transcript of Dudley Bradstreet's diary, occurs the entry under 22 May, "This Day Serg't James Carley Died."

again.[13] And, by the way, in this difficult time[14] we lost some men and some wounded. Admiral Warren took a ship judged to be worth nearly a million of money. May 23. Our men took 10 Frenchmen. And on the 26[th] about 280 of our men went to take the Island Battery; and as near as we can tell we lost forty odd[15] in the fight when they was a-landing. Some, their head was cut off; and some, their arms; and other casualty that they met with,—so that they was destroyed and cut off. After this our men shot red-hot bullets into their houses and amongst them in the streets; and when they saw them roll along the streets they went to take them up [and] burnt their hands, they not knowing they was hot. So, by shooting the red-hot ball, it sot many of their houses on fire, but they by their craftiness put them out again.[16] May the 29[th]. Being the Election Day.[17]

June the 2[nd]. Our men took 7 Frenchmen and 3 women; and, in a fight that our men had with the French & Indians, our men killed and wounded 40 of them, as we heard and was informed credibly by them that was there.

June the 3[rd]. Then Cap[t] Warren took a rich prize that was laden with provision for the French. June the 4[th]. Then our men took 17 French and killed 2 of them. June the 5[th]. Then one Frenchman came out from the city, pretending to be a friend; but we found that he was a traitor, and we secured him fast. June the 6[th]. Then our sea-forces took two French ships laden with rice and other provision for

---

[13] How wicked of them to save their property!

[14] Orig., "in this dificketty Times."

[15] The number of captured and wounded brought the loss up to nearly two hundred (see Parkman, "A Half-century of Conflict," Chap. xx.)

[16] Again those inconsiderate Frenchmen!

[17] *I. e.* in Massachusetts.

the support of the French. And the same day there came out one Frenchman to our men and resigned himself up to them, he being a youngster. June the 8[th]. Then we was informed that some of our men took considerable many of the French women and children. Some said the number was 70, and others said not so many; and as to the certain number I never could tell.

June 10. Then our men took two ships of considerable value. Then, in a few days after, 3 of our men went on board the men-of-war to help and assist them on the sea, because they put 60 men on board a sixty-gun ship which they had taken from the French—25 was in that company which our men was in. On Friday they went on board, and they tarried till the Tuesday following, and at night they came home all well. June the 16[th], 1745. Then the city was delivered into our hands; and we took possession of all their strongholds and all the glory of Louisburg, the Island Battery and all their strongholds, with all their artilleries of war. And an exceeding strong place it is as ever I did hear of or see in all the course of my life. The walls in some places are towards 30 foot high, and at some places toward 60 odd foot through. The whole situation of the city is exceeding strong, both by sea and land; and there are 140 odd embrasures round the walls. 6 brass guns are placed along with the rest, and six mortar-pieces alongside of the walls; and in the town 37 swivel-guns are placed upon the walls, and other inventions to destroy us when we was engaged against them. And the Grand Battery is an exceeding strong place; also there are embrasures for 35 great guns; the walls are very high also, especially by the seaside. The barracks are of an exceeding great length and strong withal. The watch-boxes are strong as the former, made with stone and lime. Some part of them are bomb-proof, so that it will

stand any bombs or bullets; and all round the watch-boxes, in the guard-house, in every hole, there is a place fixed for swivel-guns. . . . .

21[st]. Removed our sick to house towards the city, and 2 men to look after them.

23[rd]. Sunday. Cloudy and foggy. 18 Frenchmen [that] made their escape yesterday brought in [with] their knapsacks and arms and provision, & were committed to prison. Mr. Moody[18] preached in the forenoon at the camps from Proverbs the 8:6. Mr. Langdon[19] preached in the afternoon from Hebrews the 3:13. The artillery moved from the fascine battery.[20]

24[th]. Monday. Rainy, cloudy and foggy. Cap[t] Rous came in, but did not know that the place was taken till he sent his boat on shore at the camps.

25[th]. Tuesday. Capt. Rous came into Louisburg from Boston and brought in 2 bomb-mortars & 250 cannons.[21]

26[th]. Wednesday. Fine weather.

27[th]. Cloudy and foggy and rainy exceeding much; and that day we removed to the housen towards the town.

28[th]. Foggy, and Oliver Green dies and is buried. Five marines are whipped.

29[th]. Wet weather. Nothing remarkable this day.

---

[18] Of the Rev. Samuel Moody, minister of York, Maine, and senior chaplain of the New England forces, Parkman gives a vivid character-sketch in Chap. xviii. of "A Half-century of Conflict."

[19] Both Bradstreet and Stearns call the future president of Harvard College "Langdall" or "Longdal."

[20] The record for this day, like many succeeding entries in the Stearns MS., is copied nearly word for word from the Bradstreet diary.

[21] *Sic!* Bradstreet makes the same absurd statement.

30[th]. Mr. Moody preached at the chapel in the forenoon & Mr. Crocker in the afternoon. His text was Psalms 56: 12.

July. Monday the 1[st]. Fair weather.

2[nd]. A company comes in, and did not know that the place was taken till some of them came to our house where we dwelt.

3[rd]. Wednesday. A man-of-war came in with 200 soldiers to go to Annapolis, to relieve our men that went there last summer. Several vessels went out,— some for France with prisoners and the others for New England.

July 4. Several more vessels went out with transports to France.

5[th]. Friday. Corporal Lakin orders Stephen Barron to guard the arms, at which s[d] Barron told Corporal to kiss his arse; for which abusive affront he ordered him to ride the pickets one hour. Colo: Choate comes from New England with 2 companies of men.

6[th]. Fine growing weather. Cap[t] Rous sailed for England for recruits, and the council sent for [£]9535. 2[s.] 6[d.] sterling to repair the breaches that our cannon and bombs had made in the city & against the walls. And upon his sailing the men-of-war fired a number of guns. Cap[t] Snelling comes in from New England with soldiers.

July the 7[th]. Sunday. Fine weather. Mr. Moody preached in the forenoon in the chapel in the barracks in the city, and in the afternoon Mr. Williams; and Mr. Balch in the suburbs in the afternoon. His text was 1 Peter 3: 19, 20[th] verses. Sung two last staves 84[th] Ps. Sung two last staves in the 73[rd] Ps. Two men-of-war went out a-cruising and some vessels came in.

July 8[th]. Monday. Nine capt[ains], viz., one out of a regiment, being a committee to search the ves-

sels, to see if they had not got something that they should not carry off, that was prohibited: and in searching they found 7 or 8 hundred pounds worth of iron, & brought it on shore. Cap^{t} Donahue's vessel came in with that sorrowful news, viz.: They was in the Gut of Canso, and 7 Indians made signs as if they wanted to come on board; and s^{d} Donahue went to go on shore, he and the rest of his officers. And when they came at the shore, there appeared 2 hundred Indians and fired upon them, and destroyed them. They was chiefly officers, the number being 12. And, after they had barbarously butchered them, they burnt their bodies to ashes.

Ju[ly] 9. Tuesday. Fine weather. Our companies was called to the city, but for what I do not know.

July 10. Very pleasant weather, only in the morning foggy & misty; but afterwards clears off and is curious weather.

July 11. Thursday. Fine weather. A number went to raising vessels. They raised a schooner that never had been to sea. She is about 40 ton. This is the 3^{d} vessel that has been raised. A number of our committee, consist[ing] of nine capt[ains], viz., one out of a regiment, our Cap^{t} being one of the s^{d} committee, went to the Grand Battery; and in searching they found iron and some clothing [of] considerable value.

J[uly] 12. Friday. Fine weather. Another vessel raised more. Considerable plunder brought on shore from the vessels. Several shallops comes in with French, &c.

July 13. Saturday. Clearer weather. S^{d} com^{tt} went in search of plunder, and found and brought several boat's loads on shore, viz., some bar iron, some spikes, some cables, and other lumber. [£]30 sterling found by one of our Com^{tt}. Several shallops of French comes in.

J[uly] 14. Sunday. Cloudy & foggy, &c. In the forenoon Mr. Williams preached from 1 Chronicles [5 :18, 19,] 21, & 22.[22] Sung 20[th] Ps. In the afternoon Mr. Fayerweather preached from 1 Chronicles [29:][23] 11 & 13. On s[d] day took a French prize. She was taken by Cap[t] Fletcher; and he informed us that the ship that our men had a chase [after] when we was in Canso, that she arrived at Canada 32 days ago.

15[th]. Monday. Fine weather.

July 16. The sun arose clear in the morning, but presently clouds up and is foggy. Several vessels comes in from New England with soldiers consisting of 500.

Wednesday, 17[th]. Several of our men[24] go home, viz., L[ieutenant] Whitcomb, En[sign] Hutchins, Serg[eant] Godfrey, Serg[eant] Warner, Corporal

---

[22] The reference is here emended from Bradstreet's diary, from which Stearns evidently miscopied it. Mr. Williams's text was well chosen for the taste of his victorious and devout congregation: "The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh, of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war, were four and forty thousand seven hundred and threescore, that went out to the war. And they made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab. And they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their hand, and all that were with them: for they cried to God in the battle, and he was intreated of them; because they put their trust in him. And they took away their cattle; of their camels fifty thousand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty thousand, and of asses two thousand, and of men an hundred thousand. For there fell down many slain, because war was of God . . . ."

[23] The chapter-number, which both Bradstreet and Stearns omit, I have supplied from Benjamin Craft's journal ("Historical Collections of the Essex Institute," Vol. vi, p. 188).

[24] *I. e.*, of Capt. John Warner's Co., 4th Mass Regt., in which Bradstreet and Stearns were enlisted.

Johnson, J. Willard, Gordon Hutchins. Went on search after cattle, and found 3 horses & 5 cows.

18[th]. Thursday. Thanksgiving. Mr. Williams preached.

A sheep delivered to every company, and one pint of wine, to keep thanksgiving with. Our sheep, after the guts was taken out, more fit for a lanthorn than to eat. Some companies comes in.

19[th]. Friday. Fine weather. A ship sailed for France loaded with transports, with a flag of truce.

20[th]. Saturday. Cloudy and rainy. A flag of truce sailed for France with transports.

21[st]. Sunday. Rainy in the morning. Mr. Williams preached in the forenoon from John 20: 31; and in the afternoon the old England people met at the barracks, & the churchman's text was in Psalm 116: 12.

Vessels comes in from New England. Brought in men, women, and children.

July 22. Monday. Fair weather.

23[rd]. Tuesday. Two of our men-of-war went out after a ship: and when they came up with her they fired several bow-guns and some chase-guns at her, and then one broadside; and then she struck to us. And she was laden with silks and satins and a great quantity of silver and gold and other rich loading. She had also 700 men on board her.

24[th]. Came in new recruits from New England to help us.

25[th]. Fair and pleasant weather. Nothing remarkable this day.

26[th]. Pleasant weather.

July 27. Rainy and foggy and thick clouds Nothing remarkable this day.[25]

---

[25] At the end of this entry are the cryptic words, "I say soo awhat." Perhaps the writer unknowingly fell into "portmanteau," and meant that he said so "a whole lot."

The 28[th]. Fine weather and pleasant. And on s[d] day there came in a rich prize that our men had taken a day or two ago. She was loaded with pepper and other valuable loading.

J[uly] the 29[th]. Rainy and foggy and some thick clouds. More men comes in from New England to help us. Something of a scrimmage between some of the land army and the seafaring men.[26]

J[uly] 30. Foggy and cloudy.

J[uly] 31. Rainy and misty. Nothing remarkable this day.

August 1, 1745. Thursday. Fair and clear and pleasant weather. Nothing remarkable this day as I have heard.

2[nd]. Friday. Fair & clear. There came in a large prize, which our men had taken some days ago, laden with silver, gold & other rich loading. She had been 3 years in her passage. . . . .[27]

---

[26] This sentence in the original furnishes a good example of Mr. Stearns's spelling: "Sumtheing of a Crumuge Betwn Sum of the Land: armey and the Seafarreing men."

[27] Three lines of which I fail to catch the drift end the diary. After the date for 1 August the writing appears not to be Stearns's.

[FINIS.]

Old Silver.

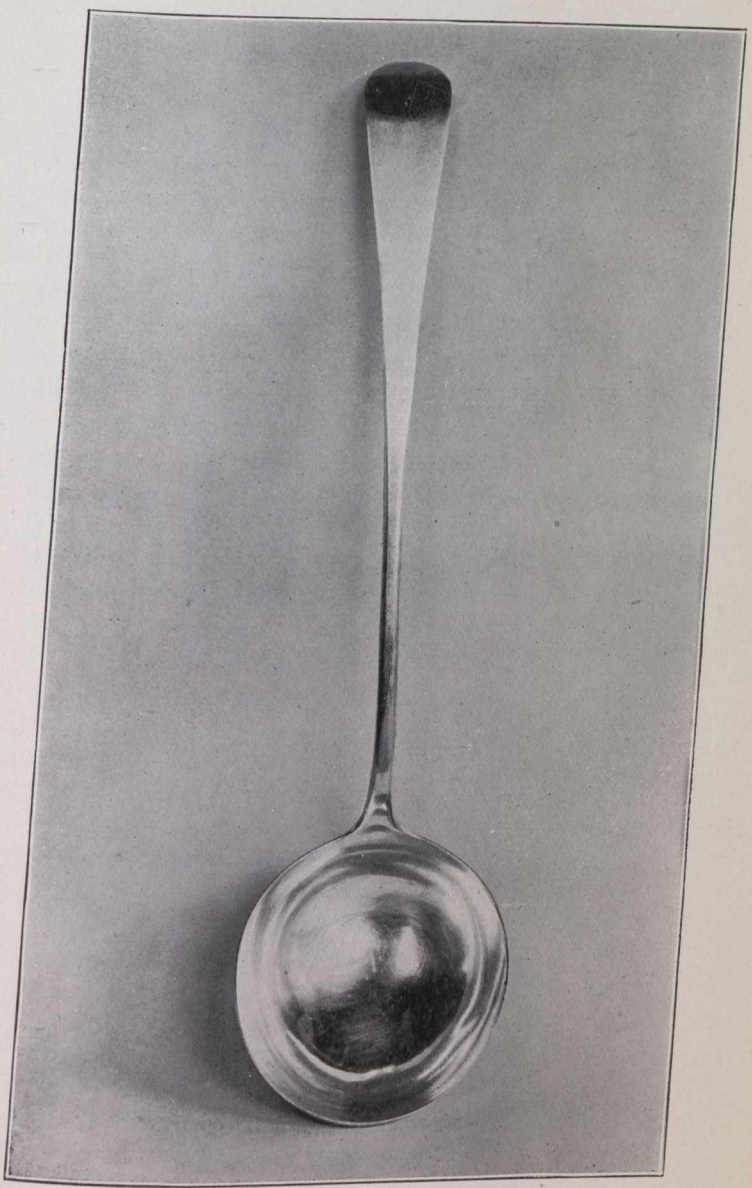
The silver ladle shewn in the first of the accompanying illustrations was once owned by Thomas and Ann Horsfield of St. John, and is now the property of Mr. W. F. Ganong, of Northampton, Mass. It bears the initials of the original owners, just at the top of the handle, on the front, but indecipherable in the illustration. As was customary at the date at which the ladle was made, the initials of the owners were placed in the form of a triangle, having the initial of the surnme at the apex, and the initials of the respective christian names forming the base,thus:

H

T & A.

The only additional mark upon the ladle is upon the back, deeply and plainly stamped, "T. Colgan," evidently the name of the maker. From this we may reasonably infer that the spoon was not made in Great Britain but was of old colonial manufacture. The ladle is about twelve inches in length.

Thomas Horsfield was a well-known Loyalist, who settled at Parr Town, now the City of St. John. Horsfield street takes its name from him. He was either an uncle or a great uncle of William Carman, who lived with him in St. John. Mr. Carman is believed to have inherited the lable from Thomas Horsfield, and it passed to his son William of Fredericton, from whom it again passed to his daughter Murray, now the wife of Prof. W. F. Ganong, whose name is so familiar to the readers of ACADIENSIS. Thomas Horsfield's mother was a Miss Sloan, and an oil portrait of her is in the possession of Mrs. Clowes Carman, 30 Charles street, St. John.



SILVER LADLE ONCE OWNED BY THOMAS AND ANN HORSFIELD,
ST. JOHN, N. B.
Now Owned by Mrs. W. F. Ganong.

The Communion Cups are part of the service of Greencok Church, the quaint old Presbyterian church at St. Andrews, which has been fully described in a former issue of ACADIENSIS. The cups were presented to the congregation by the Rev. Randall Davidson, D. D., of Edinburgh, in 1825. They are very large, of solid silver, and bear the inscription:

"The Gift of the Rev. R. Davidson, of Edinburgh, to the Scotch Church of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, 1825."

Dr. Davidson was the grandfather of the present Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. James Hamilton, long pastor of Regent Square Presbyterian Church, London, England, author of "The Royal Preacher" and other popular works, in his book entitled "Moses, the Man of God," tells the following interesting story about Dr. Davidson. "A poor woman in the town of Stirling, sprang up from her spinning-wheel with an impression on her mind that her child had fallen into a neighboring well. She was just in time to snatch hold of a lint-white head which had not yet disappeared, but which was no child of her own but the minister's son, Tommy Randall, afterwards abundantly known as the benevolent and noble-minded Dr. Davidson, of Edinburgh."

Still another interesting example of an old toddy-ladle is the property of Mrs. Peter R. Inches of St. John. Mrs. Inches is the daughter of the late Mr. Cyrus Fiske and grand-daughter of Col. James Boyd, of St. Andrews. The Boyds came originally from Scotland, either the father or brother of Col. Boyd having charge of the Owen property of Campobello, Charlotte Co., N. B. Col. Boyd was for about half a century member of the New Brunswick House of Assembly for Charlotte County. He died at St. Andrews.

The ladle, it will be observed, is quaint in design, and inset into the bottom of the bowl is a gold coin bearing on one side the following inscription:

1114 (?)
CROSS: AR
TRIPLEX
ALBER: DVC
PRUSSIE
†1540†

On the reverse:

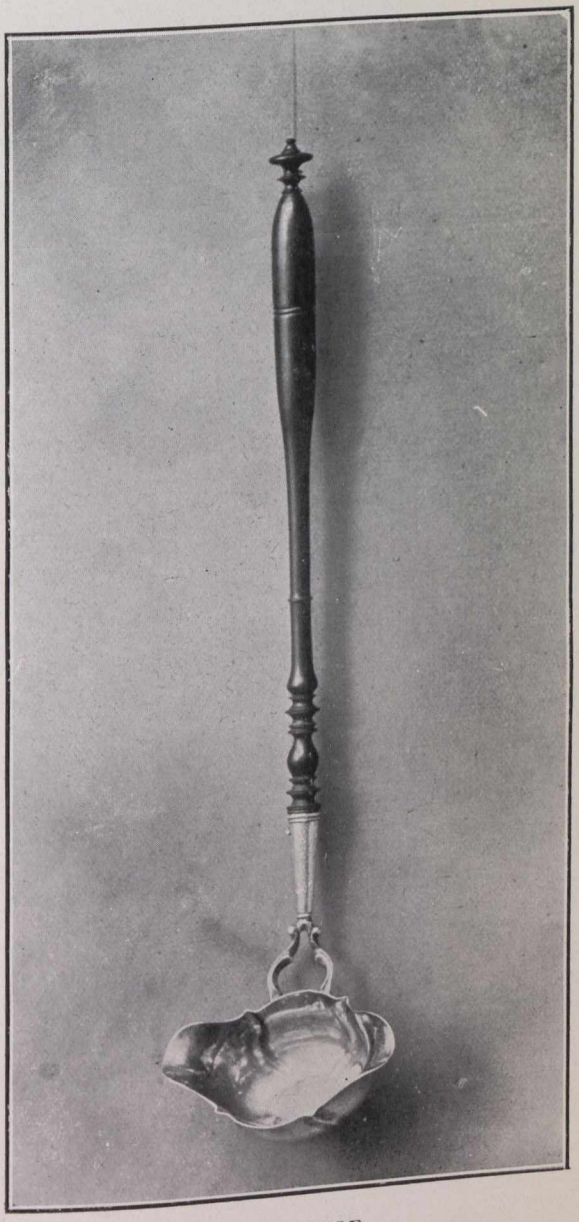
DUK PRV(SSIE) BER. D. OMAR
BRAN

Engraved upon the socket for the handle may be observed "M. D. F. 1868," beings the initial of Mrs. Inches' maiden name, Minnie D. Fiske.

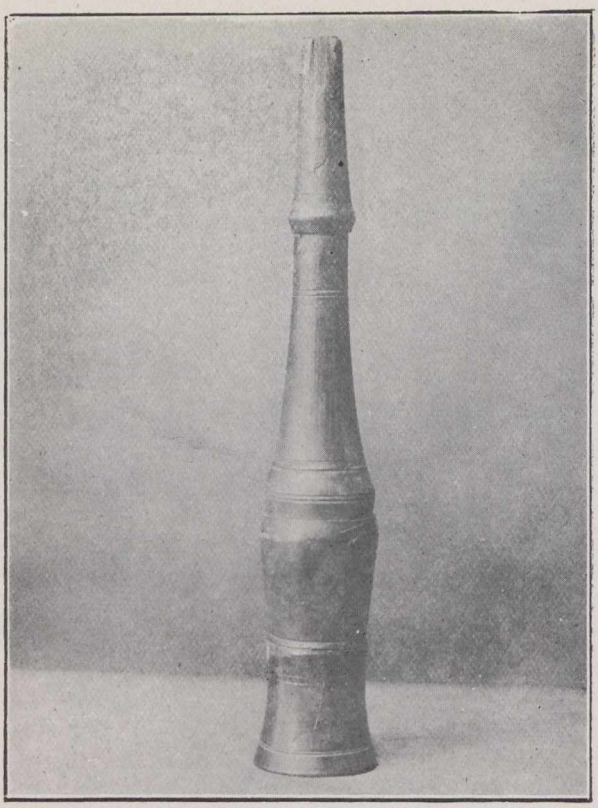
The maker's name, which is stamped upon the rim of the bowl of the spoon is not decipherable. This makes it difficult, in fact impossible, to ascertain the actual age of the ladle.

The discontinuance of this magazine does not necessarily mean the cessation of the writer's interest in old silver and other similar articles of vertu. Upon the contrary, he most respectfully requests owners of treasures of this nature to communicate with him, and to send him particulars, and if possible, photographs of the various articles described. That there are many objects of this nature of historic value in the Acadian provinces of Canada there can be no doubt, and any assistance that may be given in cataloguing and classifying as many as possible of these articles will be very greatly appreciated.

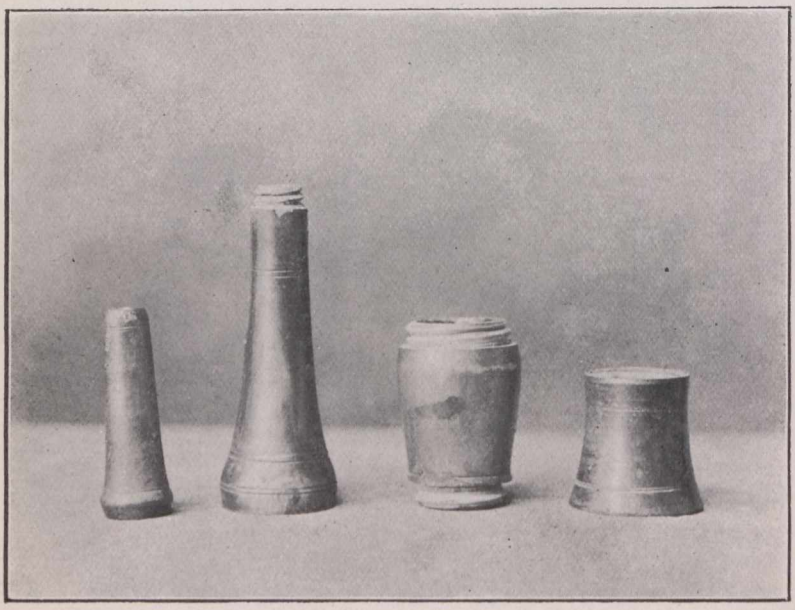
DAVID RUSSELL JACK.



TODDY LADLE.
Property of Mrs. P. R. Inches.



INK-HORN — CLOSED.



INK-HORN.
Open for Use

My Inkhorn.

There lies before me upon the desk as I write, my Inkhorn, a veritable relic of pre-Revolutionary days. An inkhorn is an article which few persons of the present generation in Canada have seen, and of which but few indeed possess an example. St. Andrews, New Brunswick, has always been to me a treasure-house of antiquities. Old silver, old mahogany and curious old jewelry abounded there in the good old days when the port rivalled in importance, if indeed it did not surpass, the port of St. John. Being connected by ties of relationship or marriage with many of its principal families, I have had access to numerous garrets and store-rooms, and have been the legatee of more than one individual who was the last of the name. It has rarely been my lot to return from one of my numerous visits to this quaint and peaceful old town without some treasure of family story, old silhouette portrait, a mourning-ring or a box-full of old letters and papers such as make glad the heart of the writer and antiquarian.

The accompanying illustrations show the inkhorn closed and in a position to carry in the pocket and again opened ready for use. In the second illustration we see, reading from left to right, the sand-shaker, the ink-well proper, the pen-carrier and the cover. There several parts all screw together and form one firm and complete article, easily carried, and so constructed that damage by reason of a leakage of ink is not likely to occur.

What is the sand-shaker, I hear you ask? Well, the sand-shaker preceded blotting-paper. It is shaped

like an ordinary pepper-castor, and was filled with clean white sand. When the user wished to dry off the superfluous ink which remained upon the paper after the completion of his work, he sprinkled some sand lightly over the freshly written page, and this answered the same purpose as the more modern blotting-paper.

The origin of the inkhorn is shrouded in the mists of antiquity. The prophet Ezekiel writes of being "Clothed with linen and a writer's inkhorn by his side."

Could this old horn bring before our mental vision a picture of the early days of its usefulness when the user, wearing a high collar and stock and clad in a blue swallow-tailed coat with brass buttons, sharpened his goose-quill pen with a pen-knife, which Bacon tells us was for making or mending pens, by the light of his home-made tallow candle, writing upon hand-made linen paper, and, after thoroughly sanding the freshly written page, folded the letter carefully so that nothing but the address should be visible, and finally sealed the folded missive with his signet ring, of which no man possessed the duplicate, what a vision of life in the Loyalist days we should behold.

But fountain-pens, type-writers, wireless telegraphy, tickers, isochronizing clocks, electric lights generated by the power of the rise and fall of the tide in the Bay of Fundy, talking machines which recall the voices of the dead, are all of such everyday occurrence that they do not excite even a passing interest in the minds of the veriest school-boy of the present generation.

As I lay away the inkhorn in the secret drawer in my old inlaid and brass mounted mahogany secretary that was taken up the Saint John river on a raft, by the first Peters who settled at Gagetown, and stir

the log which lies across the huge bronze andirons that were once the property of the same owner, I recall, with a sigh, as I warm my fingers at the cheery blaze, the fact that this is likely to be the last time when I shall reveal to my friends, the readers of ACADIENSIS, any of my treasures of antiquity, of which the greater part have not even as yet been mentioned within the pages of this magazine.

DAVID RUSSELL JACK.

CORRECTION.

On page 183 of the last (July) number of ACADIENSIS, lines 19, 20, the dates "1786 to 1789" should be 1686 to 1689. On page 193, in the list of Sir Brenton Haliburton's children, probably between John Crooke and Ellen Emeline, should come Charles Inglis, This son of Sir Brenton's was admitted to the Nova Scotia Bar, January 14, 1836, and soon removed to Amherst, N. S. There he practised his profession and became Judge of Probate. Before October, 1848, he died, it is believed unmarried.

ARTHUR WENTWORTH H. EATON.

Book Reviews.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, Volume I, 1907. The work is printed in large 8vo. size, bound in cloth, and is cxxx + 1066 pps. in extent. The work from a Canadian standpoint is quite up to the standard of previous years, but the Maritime Provinces are, taken as a whole, but poorly represented in this year's volume. In section II, which includes Canadian literature and history, our showing is poor indeed, not a single contribution by an Acadian writer or upon an Acadian subject having been presented. This may be partially accounted for from the fact that numerically, the members of the society from the Atlantic Provinces are comparatively few. Rev. Dr. N. Burwash, President of this section, in a well-written article upon our Canadian literature, asks, has it reached such a position that it can be introduced into our schools and colleges as a subject of study? His conclusion is that a Canadian literature is not only growing up under our observation, but that at the present its buds are opening into blossoms, marking a stage in the process of the deepest interest to the student; and further, that in every way we think that we may confidently say that our Canadian literature should receive distinct attention in the educational programmes, both of our elementary schools and our higher seats of learning.

Among the Associated Societies whose reports are published are the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, The Natural History Society of New Brunswick, The New Brunswick Historical Society, and the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

The 26th annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-05, which has just been received from the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, is a fine volume, comprising xxxi + 512 pps., well printed and splendidly illustrated.

In addition to the report of the chief, detailing the work of the year, etc., the volume contains two papers. The first is by Frank Russell, who from November, 1901, until the following June, made his headquarters on the Gila River reservation, in Southern Arizona, where he was engaged in a study of the Pima tribe of Indians. The American people, it will be re-

membered, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the Pimas. The California pioneers who traversed the southern route before the days of transcontinental railroads, often owed their lives to the friendly brown-skinned farmers whom they met upon the Gila. This tribe rendered notable assistance as scouts in the long contest with the Apaches. Mr. Russell's paper is a lengthy and exhaustive treatise, comprising quite a full account of Piman Ethnology.

The second paper treats of the Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians, and is by Mr. John R. Swanton. It is of about 90 pps. in extent, and like that previously referred to is most amply illustrated, many of the plates being fine examples of color printing. The material contained in this paper is a portion of the results obtained during about two months at Sitka, Alaska, and about one month at Wrangell. The remainder of the material consists principally of texts in the native languages with translations and myths recorded in English.

Pinehurst, or Glimpses of Nova Scotia Fairyland, by R. R. McLeod, illustrated from photographs by A. Byron McLeod, 6 x 9 inches, printed on coated paper, 60 pps.

In the central portion of Nova Scotia, near South Brookfield, nestled amid stream and meadows and growths of variegated woodlands, is a locality of many quiet natural charms, but on the extreme southern border is a fairyland of lakes and streams and groves of pine, and growths of old birches and beeches and oaks.

This veritable paradise, comprising about three hundred acres was purchased by Mr. A. Byron McLeod, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, about three years ago, and here he has built a summer lodge for the quiet enjoyment of himself and of his friends.

That some of those who might never have the opportunity of visiting him at this beautiful resort might have some idea as to its genuine loveliness, he and Mr. R. R. McLeod in collaboration have produced the brochure which is under review.

The illustrations from an artistic standpoint leave nothing to be desired and awaken in the beholder a keen desire to see for himself the scenes which have been so well depicted.

Regarding the descriptive matter, it may be remarked that Nova Scotia, the scenic beauty of which is so justly eulogized, has few more genuine admirers than Mr. McLeod. Fewer still are they who could more graphically, by the aid of verse

and prose, describe its classic beauties of lake and mountain, forest and stream, meadowland and quiet haven. Proceeding a step further, how few are they who, with this love and admiration for natural beauty, could tell us the form of the first species of birds, the progenitors of all of our feathered friends, which inhabited this world millions of years ago, why certain of their species can fly and cannot swim, and vice versa, how the seeds of the oak-tree, too heavy to be carried abroad by the zephyr breaths of summer, are scattered over a wide extent of territory.

Mr. McLeod is not a nature-fakir, but a deep student who believes that the king-fisher takes his lightning-like plunge from the sky above into the deep waters of a placid lake to capture the slippery fish, because the experience of countless generations has taught him that this is the only sure plan by which he can accomplish his purpose, rather than that he was created by the Great Architect of the the Universe with this peculiar instinct implanted within his feather-covered bosom.

The Quebec Tercentenary Commemorative History, compiled and edited by Frank Carrel and Louis Feiczewicz, B. A., and revised by E. T. D. Chambers, with an introduction by Dr. A. T. Doughty, Dominion Archivist of Canada, is a splendid example of the printer's art, from the press of The Daily Telegraph of Quebec. It is large 4to in size, 175 pps. in extent, and is prepared in three bindings, paper, cloth and an edition de luxe, in leather. The respective prices are $2.00, $3.00 and $5.00 per copy, according to binding. Owing to the great demand for the work, it has already been decided to put out a second edition, which will be issued in February, 1909. On this later edition it is proposed to increase the price.

The work contains over 200 half-tone and colored illustrations, and to one who was present at the celebration would prove a most desirable souvenir. It should be remembered that The Quebec Telegraph was the first newspaper to publish the suggestion for the holding of a celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city.

It should be remembered also that the entire profits of the undertaking are to be devoted to the National Battlefields Commission.

The colored illustrations of Samuel de Champlain, Marquis de Montcalm, General James Wolf and General Richard Montgomery, are particularly fine examples of color printing, they alone being well worth the price asked for the book.

In compiling the volume, it was the desire of the editors to produce a complete historical record of all the important events that took place in Quebec during the Tercentenary Celebration. There is no doubt of the fact that in Quebec, as in St. John, the importance of the Tercentenary and of its meaning will be realized in the future to a larger extent than it is to-day by many people. Those who witnessed and took part in the pageant, and who now regard it as but a masterly historical performance, will, in a generation look back upon the event and see in it a much greater significance.

Of course in process printing, a very large number of impressions may be made of a certain book before the signs of wear begin to be in evidence, but it is a sine qua non, that the earlier impressions are always the best, and for this reason, if for no other, it would be well that intending purchasers should take advantage of their opportunity of purchasing while the work is fresh and the lower price is available.

The Scott Family, of Shrewsbury, N. J., being the Descendants of William Scott and Abigail Tilton Warner, with Sketches of Related Families, compiled by Rev. Arthur S. Cole; 74 pps.; 7 x 11 inches, paper covers, with six pages of illustrations. Price $2,00.

The work under review contains reference to several members of the Scott family who settled in New Brunswick, notably Ebenezer Scott, Loyalist, who, with his son Samuel Scott, came to New Brunswick in 1783.

Besides a genealogy of the Scott family, naming nearly 1,000 descendants of William Scott, there are partial sketches of the Bills, Bowne, Conover, Crawford, Holmes, Pintard, Shepherd, Throckmorton, Tilton, Twining, VanBrunt, White and other related families. Copies of the work may be obtained from the compiler, address, Manasquan, N. J., to whom remittances should be made payable.

Champlain, a Drama in Three Acts, with an introduction entitled Twenty Years and After, and a chapter on Cham-

plain the Explorer, by Dr. J. M. Harper; 296 pps., cloth, boards. Price $1.75.

This volume, as an outcome of the Tercentennial celebration at Quebec, is presented to the readers of Canada and the United States as a memorial of the beginnings of colonial life within the territorial lands between the St. Lawrence and the Hudson. Its aim is to take rank as a permanent bit of American literature, Canadian in its origin, among peoples politically separated, but having an identity in their origin—purporting, modestly, if indirectly, to promote the *entente cordiale* among the "kindreds, nations and tongues" which have a common ownership in the personality and life-work of Samuel de Champlain. A plea is therefore entered by the publishers, that it be given a place in every private and public library on the continent, as well as in our schools and homes.

Dr. Harper, who will be remembered by many who were his pupils when he was principal of the Victoria school in St. John particularly, is one of the literary pioneers who is not afraid to travel the hard road that has been set them through the neglect of the Canadian publishers and of a Canadian reading public, who have rather preferred to patronize the work of alien authors than that of the men and women of their own land.

The work under review is said to be the first of a projected series of "Studies in Verse and Prose" by the same author, and all true Canadians should bid him every success in his literary labors.

Being one of the most versatile and industrious litterateurs of Canada, as the list of his recent puplications amply proves, Dr. Harper is never idle, but has always some new work either well advanced towards completion or already in the printer's hands. The Prince's Booklet, dedicated by permission to the Prince of Wales, is another of his literary efforts, of which the second edition is already called for.

In the work first alluded to, the play itself occupies 177 pages, and contains three acts. It is the result of many years' of study; and in order to make it more intelligible to the ordinary reader, the drama is preceded by a prose-essay of 36 pages, entitled Twenty Years and After, followed by another valuable paper of 30 pages on Champlain the Explorer.

To the citizens of the Maritime Provinces who, in 1904, celebrated in such a becoming manner the Tercentennial of

Champain's discoveries in their part of Canada, the work should particularly appeal, and, as has been suggested, a copy should find a place in every library, private or public, throughout the length and breadth of the land.

A Plea for Literature, being the Presidential Address before the Royal Society of Canada, on May 26th, 1908, by S. E. Dawson, C. M. G., Lit. D. (Laval). 26 pps., 6 x 8 inches; bound in paper.

This most interesting address was delivered at the annual meeting of the Royal Society of Canada by the President for the year 1907-8. Forming part of the "Transactions," it will appear in the usual annual volume, but is issued in the meantime, by request, in its present convenient form.

Commencing with a statement of the aims of the founders of the Society, the literary results of the Society are most ably dealt with by the writer. He complains that, as the years pass, there is a growing tendency to exalt science at the expense of literature, and the complaint that "letters are neglected and science is all in all," is too well founded. The growing tendency to endow largely science rather than literature, and the increasing throng of students following strict scientific lines, undervaluing in the inverse ratio the "humanities," Dr. Dawson believes to be largely responsible for the state of affairs alluded to.

What a change from the days when the literary exercises at the Jesuits' College at Quebec were graced by the governor and his little court, and we read how, upon one occasion, when the son of a wheelwright in Quebec—the youthful Jolliet, afterwards to be the discoverer of the Mississippi—took a brilliant part in the public exercises of the college, and the Intendant Talou—great statesman though he was, thought it not beneath his dignity to take part with the students, and spoke like the rest in Latin with fluency and correctness. How many members, either of the faculty or of the student body, at any of our Acadian colleges could accomplish such a feat in these days of foot-ball and kindred athletics?

A high tribute is paid to the memory of the late Dr. Drummond, who, with the true insight of the poet discerned through the outer husk, the true nature of the habitant, and interpreted the soul of one-third of the people of Canada to the other two-thirds—the few of the English-speaking people who knew the habitant liked him, but did not attempt

to study him until Dr. Drummond revealed his intrinsic worth, his humor, his patient courage, his endurance, his simple faith in God.

Of Dr. Dawson himself, it may well be said, that he is a man of rare discernment, of placid and tranquil nature, of great literary attainments, and possessed of a broad and discerning mind.

Recollections of the War of 1812, by Dr. Wm. Dunlop, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author by A. H. U. Colquhoun, LL. D., Deputy Minister of Education, Ontario; Second Edition, 112+xv pps.; cloth, boards, 7 x 5 inches. Historical Publishing Co., Toronto.

This re-print of an entertaining little narrative of personal experiences in the War of 1812-14, is appropriately prefaced by a short account of the author, Dr. William Dunlop, who had a most varied and interesting career, and possessed a personality both striking and original.

Dr. Dunlop, the elder of two brothers, born in Scotland, made his way to Canada when the war with the United States was in progress. Serving first as surgeon and afterwards as combatant, he gave indubitable proof of courage and capacity. At the close of the War of 1812, he made his way to India, and there earned the name of "Tiger" Dunlop, from his capacity for slaying tigers. Returning again to London on account of ill-health, he finally made his return to Canada, becoming interested in some industrial concerns.

A man of rollicking humor, broad sympathies and excentric jests are excellently depicted in the charming pages of the Misses Lizars' book, "In the Days of the Canada Company." The story of his tossing the coin with his brother to settle which of them should marry Lou McColl, the Highland housekeeper and devoted friend, and the terms of his extraordinary will and testament, one clause of which, typical of all, leaves some property to a sister, "because she is married to a minister whom (God help him) she hen-pecks" are famous.

To describe his many literary achievements as a story and magazine writer would fill a book in itself. His description of the War of 1812 is singularly vivid and impressive. The unearthing of manuscripts and official documents about this war will not throw into clearer relief than do the pages of the work under review, the desperate circumstances, under which a mere handful of French Canadian and Loyalist

colonists emerged from their primitive villages and log cabins and with Spartan courage drove back again and again the invader, and captured large areas of his territory.

Canadian Hymns and Hymn-writers, by Rev. A. Wylie Mahon, B. D., 56 pps.; 5 x 7 inches, deckeled edges, in stiff covers, tied with ribbon, price 35 cents.

In the mechanical make-up of this charming booklet the handiwork of Mr. William Lawson, foreman of the St. John *Globe* printing office, is as easily recognizable to the book-lover, as is the touch of a Landseer or a Turner in a water color or oil painting to the Royal Acadamician.

The literary contents are quite up to the standard which might be expected by one who is at all familiar with the writings of Mr. Mahon, who has been a welcome contributor on more than one occasion to the pages of ACADIENSIS. He is a charming writer, and in treating of our Canadian hymn-writers, he has found a congenial theme.

The booklet deals with the work of eight Canadians, namely, William Bullock, Joseph Scriven, Robert Murray, Edward Hartley Dewart, Anna Louise Walker, Silas Tertius Rand, Charles Innis Cameron and Frederick George Scott.

The work is illustrated with portraits of several of the writers mentioned, and has a handsome cover design, appropriate to the nature of the subject treated of.

For sale at the Book and Tract Society, Halifax; E. G. Nelson & Co., St. John; T. R. Wren, St. Andrews; William Briggs, Toronto.

DAVID RUSSELL JACK.

Biographical Dictionary *of the* U. E. Loyalists.

I AM now compiling a Biographical Dictionary of the U. E. Loyalists of the American Revolution who settled in New Brunswick, with notes as to descendants and allied families, and invite correspondence with those having data which should be included in such a work.

Portraits of Loyalists and of their descendants in the first and second generations, which might be reproduced should be mentioned in any correspondence, in order that they may be catalogued, and available for reproduction when required.

Having extensive biographical and historical data concerning the early settlers in the Maritime Provinces of Canada in my possession, I am prepared to assist in compiling genealogies, family records, etc.

With the aid of numerous correspondents at home and abroad I am prepared to assist in tracing family lines back to the immigrant ancestors, etc.

Correspondence invited.

D. R. JACK, *Genealogist*,

Cor. Secy. New Brunswick Hist. Society.
Sec. and Historian the U. E. Loyalists
Cor. Mem. Lit. and Hist. Society of Quebec.
Cor. Mem. New York Gen. and Bio. Society.
Editor Acadiensis, 1901-1908.

INDEX.

POETRY.