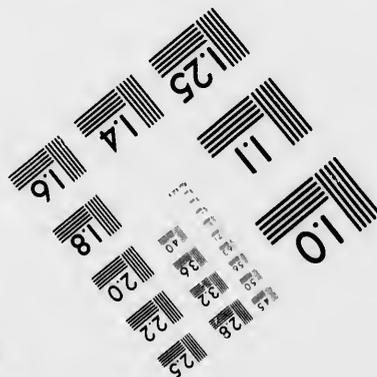
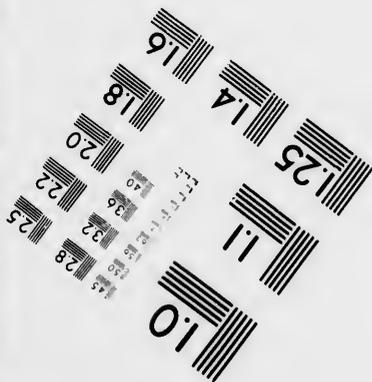
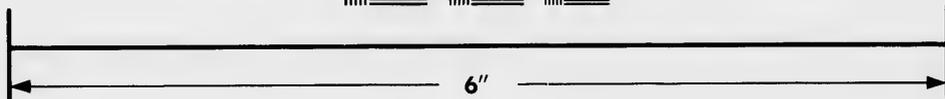
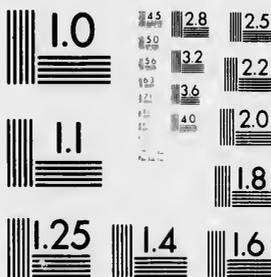


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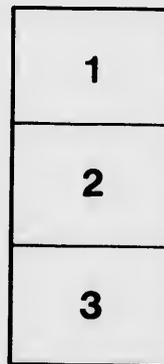
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III.—*The Site of Fort La Tour.*

By W. F. GANONG, A.M.

(Communicated by Dr. George Stewart, F.R.G.S., May 27, 1891.)

Amidst the many brave deeds which enrich Canadian annals, a foremost place must ever be given to the noble defence by Madame de la Tour of her husband's fort by the River St. John. There is no event in the history of Acadia, not even excepting the expulsion, which so powerfully touches the deepest chords of our human sympathies as does this incident, with its picturesque setting of French feudalism romantically colouring the cold rocks and dark forests of the north, with its true womanly devotion opposed to heartless treachery, with its pathetically futile heroism.

Happily the story is well authenticated, for it rests upon the authority of two of the most truthful of all the chroniclers of Acadian events; indeed, it may be added, almost solely upon their authority.¹ The bearers of this honour are Nicolas Denys, governor under the French King of all the Gulf shore from Rosiers to Cape Breton, and John Winthrop, puritan governor of Massachusetts, both of them contemporary with the event, both too near its harsh realism to see in it the romance with which the softening haze of distance shows it to us, both too practical and too honest to pervert its facts for literary decoration or dramatic effect.

Denys' narrative cannot be too often repeated.² La Tour's fort, he tells us, was "destroyed by d'Aunay after he had wrongfully taken possession of it, as he had no right whatever to do, and which he would have found great difficulty in accomplishing had he not been advised of the absence of Sieur de la Tour, who had taken with him a part of his garrison, leaving only his wife and the remainder of his people to keep the fort. After having sustained for three days and three nights all the assaults of d'Aunay, and having obliged him to withdraw beyond reach of her cannon, she was finally obliged to surrender on the fourth day, which was Easter day, having been betrayed by a Swiss who was on guard whilst she, hoping for some respite, was making her followers rest. The Swiss, bribed by d'Aunay's men, allowed them to mount to the assault, which was resisted for some time by the lady commander at the head of her garrison. She only surrendered at the last extremity, and under condition that d'Aunay should spare all, which, indeed, he did not do, for after making himself master of the place, he threw them all into prison along with their lady commander. Then by advice of his council, he hanged them, with the exception of a single one whose life was spared on the condition that he would do the hanging; and the lady commander had to be present at the scaffold with a rope around her neck as though she was the vilest criminal."

¹ Sir Thomas Temple's letters in the British State Paper office give an independent but brief and substantially similar account of the event.

² See appendix.

Winthrop is more concise, but as we would expect from a New Englander, he gives us exact figures: "We understood for certain afterwards that Monsieur La Tour's fort was taken by assault and scalado, that Monsieur d'Amay lost in the attempt twelve men and had many wounded, and that he had put to death all the men (both French and English) and had taken the lady, who died within three weeks after." The year of the event was 1645.

Such is the brave story. Should not Canadians ever wish to point to the spot where it was enacted? But where was Fort La Tour? At the present day no man can point with certainty to its site. It is in the effort to help towards the settlement of this important question that the present argument is submitted to this society.

There are three several localities which have been claimed as the site of the fort, and to these a fourth must now be added.

- I. At the mouth of the Jemseg, 35 miles up the river from St. John.
- II. On St. John Harbour, west side of the entrance, where Fort Dufferin now stands.
- III. On St. John Harbour, west side, at Carleton Point, opposite Navy Island, where Fort Frederick afterwards stood; now known locally as "Old Fort."
- IV. On St. John Harbour, east side, and probably on the present Portland Point.

We shall very briefly examine the evidence for and against each locality.

I.—THE JEMSEG SITE.

At least two writers whose views are entitled to consideration have placed Fort La Tour at Jemseg, where, as is well known, the French had a fort about 1670. The late Moses H. Perley, in a lecture delivered in St. John in 1841, of which the MS. is now in possession of his son, Mr. Henry F. Perley, of Ottawa, gives this locality, but no substantial reasons therefor. Apparently Mr. Perley had not access to either Denys' or Winthrop's works. M. E. Rameau de Saint-Père, in both editions of his "*Une Colonie Fédérale*,"² likewise gives us this view and with no reasons, merely the bare statement that it was at Jemseg. It will take but few words to dismiss this supposition. The evidence for it we do not know; against it are the facts.

(1) All known maps, marking the fort, place it at the mouth of the river.

(2) Denys' full description, quoted below, places it at the mouth.

(3.) The mortgage of the fort, signed by La Tour himself, and given to Major Gibbons, of Boston, in security for large loans made to La Tour, is preserved in the Suffolk County Records in Boston and reads as follows: "his fort called fort La Toure and plantacon w^{ch} in y^e northerne part of america wherein y^e s^d monns^r together with his family hath of late made his Residence, scittuate & being at or neere the mouth of a certajne River called by y^e name of [St.] Johns River."

¹ History of New England, II, p. 238.

² Paris, 1877, and Paris and Montreal, 1889.

³ Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 1, fol. 9, 10; Hazard, State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 541. Jack, History of St. John, p. 156.

Nothing could be more satisfactory on this point, and even other evidence is known.¹

II.—THE FORT DUFFERIN SITE.

To this view, Mr. J. W. Lawrence, New Brunswick's venerable historian, and Mr. W. P. Dole, of St. John, have given their adherence. We cannot find that the former has expressed his opinion in print; but the latter has warmly championed the cause in a paper read before the N. B. Historical Society, and published in abstract in the *St. John Daily Sun* of December 5, 1888. The evidence in favour of the view is all expressed in the following summary:—

(1.) Tradition, derived from early settlers, in connection with the fact that fifty years ago traces of old earthworks were there to be seen, and that a well in the vicinity was called the Old French well.

(2.) Denys' description of the harbour, in which, according to Mr. Dole, it is stated that Charnisay's Fort, built after the destruction of Fort La Tour, was farther up the harbour than the latter. As Denys plainly locates Charnisay's Fort, where Fort Frederick afterwards was, Fort La Tour must therefore, according to Mr. Dole, be below, and Fort Dufferin is the natural situation for it.

No documentary, or cartographical or other evidence is offered in support of the view.

That it cannot express the truth appears to be shown by the following facts:—

(1.) Tradition in such a case as this is well nigh worthless. Mr. Dole's tradition does not pretend to go back of the New England immigrants who came to the River in 1762 or 1763. The hundred and seventeen years which had elapsed since Fort La Tour fell had seen many changes about the harbour; forts had been erected and destroyed, and then the rocky shores had been abandoned by inhabitants for many years together. Prior to the coming of the New Englanders, all of the French had been expelled from the lower part of the river. Whence then did the former derive their tradition? Uninterrupted occupation by a single people gives traditions of value, though even then they may err; irregular and intermittent occupation by people of different races can afford no traditions of weight in comparison with documentary evidence. We know nothing of the origin of the earthworks or old well.

(2.) Denys does not say what Mr. Dole attributes to him, but something entirely different, as our readers may judge for themselves from the translation given below, and from the original reproduced in the appendix. That so accomplished a scholar as Mr.

¹ As the letter of Gorges to Gov. Winthrop. (Williamson's "Maine," Vol. I, p. 312, and references here and there in Winthrop's "History of Massachusetts.") It is curious how this view originated. Haliburton does not distinctly state, though he implies it. Perhaps he had it from tradition, and he was followed without question by Gesner, Munro and others. Perley, however, and Ramo are independent investigators upon New Brunswick history and can hardly be supposed to have accepted it without some evidence.

There is yet another argument, quite unanswerable, which I had quite overlooked, and which I owe, with other valuable matter on New Brunswick history, to Mr. J. W. Lawrence, our New Brunswick historian. The first attack on the fort by Charnisay's ships took place in February, and the final attack between the 13th and 16th of April, at both of which seasons the river is frozen to its mouth, and it would have been utterly impossible to reach Jemseg.

Dole should have misread the plain French of Denys' narrative is most surprising. Denys does say that Charnisay's Fort stood on the site of Fort Frederick, as Mr. Dole states, but he says not one word that can be construed to mean that Fort La Tour stood below it or anywhere in the vicinity of Fort Dufferin.¹

(3.) The total lack of other documentary and of cartographical evidence, in face of the mass of both, placing the fort farther up the harbour, cannot be overlooked. Early maps marking the forts on the harbour place neither of them at Fort Dufferin.

III.—THE FORT FREDERICK SITE.

This view was mentioned by Murdoch in 1864. To it the adherence of James Hannay, after long and careful study bearing on the question, gives the strongest support; and other local historians believe for the most part with him. Mr. Hannay has summed up the evidence in a paper presented to the N. B. Historical Society in Feb., 1882,² and published in a local paper at that time.

The evidence for his view is as follows, resting

(1) Upon a reading of Denys' narrative, which would make the "marshes" referred to by the latter the flats of Courtenay Bay; Charnisay's Fort, which was above them on the same side, would therefore come on the east side, and probably at Portland Point. As two forts are mentioned by Denys (a fact for which there is other ample evidence), and as Old Fort Point (site of Fort Frederick) is the only other place on the harbour where a fort is known to have stood, by a process of exclusion, Fort La Tour must have stood on Old Fort Point in Carleton.

(2) Upon a statement of M. Massé de St. Maurice, in a letter to the French Government, written in 1760,³ in which it is said: "Fort La Tour, or St. John, is on the left bank of the River St. John, and that it has a garrison of 180 Englishmen." As this garrison was certainly in Fort Frederick, the latter and Fort La Tour must therefore occupy the same site.⁴

(3.) Upon a chain of reasoning which endeavours to trace the history of both forts continuously from the time of La Tour and Charnisay to the building of Fort Frederick, and to show that the Portland Point Fort, Villebon's Fort, and Charnisay's Fort all occupied one site, while Fort Frederick, a fort mentioned by Cardillac and others, and Fort La Tour occupied the Carleton site.

No evidence from maps is offered by Mr. Hannay.

The reasons why Mr. Hannay's arguments are far from convincing are as follows:—

(1.) He has incorrectly read Denys' narrative; or rather, in the copy or translation

¹ Unless Denys' mention of "behind the island where vessels anchor" be taken to refer to Partridge Island. But not only is this not sustained by any facts whatever in the narrative, but it is expressly contradicted by Denys himself. A little further along, after describing the harbour and forts, he resumes his description of the river above them, saying: "The island of which I have spoken being passed, under which vessels anchor that they may be more sheltered, it is only a good cannon shot to the falls," etc. The words cannot possibly be made to apply to any other than Navy Island.

² The MS. of this he has been so generous as to loan to the present writer for use in the preparation of this paper.

³ Given in Murdoch's "Nova Scotia," Vol. II, p. 383.

⁴ Mr. Hannay does not mention this in his paper, but in a letter to the present writer.

which he has used, some words of primary importance which are fatal to his view have been omitted. This misreading of passages in Denys' work, which are in such plain French that it seems utterly impossible that anyone could ever misunderstand them, is the strangest fact in all of our local literature. As a matter of fact, as the reader can see for himself below, Denys, after speaking of what Mr. Hannay must admit to be Partridge Island, goes on to add: "On the same side as the island there are great marshes or flats." These words, "on the same side as the island," are totally omitted from Mr. Hannay's translation as given in his paper, and thus is destroyed the sense of a passage which in its truth and entirety is quite fatal to the theory he seeks to establish. But this matter will come up again in a moment.

(2.) A bare statement of this sort can have very little weight when not backed by reliable evidence of some sort. We have no reason for believing that M. Massé de St. Maurice, writing in 1769, had any reliable information as to the site of Fort La Tour. But, on the other hand, maps of 1755 (presently to be referred to) are known, which place Fort La Tour on the west side, and it was very probably from one of these that he had his information.

(3.) Mr. Hannay's whole reasoning is based, as he himself tells us, upon the supposition that Fort La Tour stood on the Fort Frederick site. Taking this for granted at the start, he proceeds to show that all we know of the subsequent history of both forts is consistent with his assumption, and hence a strong degree of probability is attached to the latter. But aside from the fact that Mr. Hannay by no means succeeds in proving all of his points in the line of the argument, owing to our very scanty knowledge of their subsequent history,¹ there is the additional difficulty that if the assumption to start with be just the reverse, i.e., that Fort La Tour was at Portland Point, everything is just as consistent with the assumption as in the former case.

The entire absence of cartographical evidence is a serious drawback to Mr. Hannay's argument. The only maps he mentions, two in number, he admits to be against his view. In a question of exact geography, the evidence of maps cannot be neglected.

¹ For instance, to take but a single point, Mr. Hannay argues from passages in Church's history of his eastern expedition that Villebon's fort, built in 1696, was on the east side. But this is directly opposed by a statement of Brouillon, who was personally on the ground in 1701. His description of the fort (in "Collection des Manuscrits," Quebec, 1884, Vol. II, p. 390) calls the land "low, wet and unhealthy, which makes both garrison and stores suffer," which applies perfectly to the Old Fort Point site, but not to Portland Point. Then he says: "The water is very bad and very scarce"—almost the identical words of Denys, who applied them to Charnisay's Fort at Carleton (see below p. 67); and then he adds: "The place is very contracted, and all that M. Villebon has been able to do has been to arrange what little earth there is in bastions very little elevated and with a slope very easy to surmount." And again (Murdoch, I, p. 249), he calls it "extremely small, and commanded on one side by an island, at the distance of a pistol shot, and on the other by a height which commanded it entirely, at the distance of only a hundred and odd fathoms, with the disadvantage of having no water to drink without going to seek it beyond the torrent of the River St. John." Brouillon thus clearly indicates that Villebon's Fort was in Carleton, and not on the east side, as Mr. Hannay's chain of reasoning requires.

As this paper is passing through the press, I have received from Paris a copy of a map in the French Archives, entitled "Plan du Fort de la Rivière de St. Jean, par le Sr. de Yillien, 20 Sbr 1700." This is Villebon's fort, and shows it surrounded by water on the west, north and east sides, and connected with the land to the south by a marshy neck. This settles finally the situation of Villebon's fort, as Mr. Hannay, who has seen the map, admits. It was in Carleton at "Old Fort." Hence Mr. Hannay's chain of reasoning must fall to the ground.

Just to the south-west on this map is marked a hill, with the inscription, "hauteur d'où le fort peut estre incommode." This is of course the height mentioned by Brouillon, and is the very abrupt hill, higher than "Old Fort," on Water street between Market and Ludlow, in Carleton.

IV.—THE PORTLAND POINT SITE.

So far as he knows, the present writer is the first who has been forced to the conclusion that Fort La Tour was on the east side of the harbour, probably at Portland Point.¹ This view is based upon the following facts:—

(1.) Denys' description of the harbour shows that Fort La Tour could not have been at Carleton. Denys' authority on matters of fact of this kind has never been questioned. All writers praise his honesty and accuracy.² He was an eye-witness of nearly all he describes. He knew intimately both La Tour and Charnisay, had visited St. John harbour, and after La Tour's ruin had employed some of La Tour's men, as he himself tells us. He must have known then where Fort La Tour was. His entire reference to the subject is as follows: "The entrance of the river Saint John is dangerous of access, the shore ranging close up from both directions; the best entrance is on the starboard or right hand side, not approaching too near the shore. This entrance is narrow, because of a little island which is to larboard or on the left side, which being passed the river is much larger. On the same side as the island there are large marshes or flats which are covered at high tide; the beach is of muddy sand, which makes a point, which passed, there is a cove [or creek] which makes into the said marshes, of which the entrance is narrow, and there the late *Sieur Monsieur de la Tour* had caused to be made a weir [or dam, *eclose*] in which were caught a great number of those Gaspereaux which were salted for winter; he several times caught there so great a quantity that it was necessary to break the weir and push them back into the sea, as otherwise they would have given the weir a stretch which would have been ruined by it. There were found there sometimes also salmon, alewives and bass, which is the *maigre* of La Rochelle, which serve all the spring as a grand manna for the inhabitants of this country.

"A little further on, beyond the said weir, there is a little mound where d'Aunay built his fort, which I have not found well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island which is very near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under cover from the fort, in which there is only water from pits, which is not very good, no better than that outside the fort. It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and, in consequence, not commanded by other neighbouring places, and would have had good water, as in that which was built by the said late *Sieur de la Tour*, which was destroyed by d'Aunay after he had wrongfully taken possession of it,"—and so on as has already been quoted at the beginning of this paper.

We do not believe that any modern writer could condense into so few words a description of the harbour which would be more easily recognizable. Upon the larger

¹ It is true two other writers, Williamson, in his "History of Maine," Vol. 1, p. 308, and Smith, in "America," Vol. IV, p. 143, have said that the fort stood on the east side, where the city now is, but neither give any authority for the statement. Probably the latter copied it from the former, who in turn took it from some of the old maps to which we refer below.

² See "America," IV, p. 153, which says: "He was a careful and observant navigator, but in its historical part it is confused and perplexing." This criticism does not refer to his relations of matters of fact with which he was contemporary, but to his discussion of older history. Note that Charlevoix says of him: "He tells nothing but what he saw himself."

map accompanying this paper, a copy of a portion of Bruce's chart of 1761, which, made from surveys, is quite accurate and shows the harbour unmodified by modern changes, Denys' description can be readily followed; as, indeed, it can be without a map by those familiar with St. John Harbour.

Is it possible to doubt that the island on the left of the entrance mentioned by Denys is Partridge Island, or that the marshes and flats on the same side as the island are the Carleton flats, extending all along the west side of the harbour and merging into the great marshy mud flats now for the most part filled in except for the Mill Pond? How can the flats so described by Denys possibly be the Courtenay Bay flats as required by Mr. Hannay's theory? The beach, which is composed of muddy or miry sand, and which extends out into a point, is mentioned next. Can it be doubted that this point is that which is now Sand Point? A modern chart shows even better than the Bruce map the extent and form of these flats, and how well Denys' description applies thereto. This point being passed, he tells us there is a cove (or creek) making into the said marshes, across the narrow entrance of which La Tour built his weir. Can any description be clearer than this? What are the "said marshes," if not the Carleton flats already referred to, now filled in except for the Mill Pond? And the creek is shown with the most satisfying clearness in Bruce's map just above the beach of gravel. Where are the places on the east side of the harbour to which these words would apply?

And now comes the crucial point: "A little further on, beyond the said weir, there is a little mound where d'Aunay built his fort," says Denys. There is such a mound precisely where Denys says; and upon it long afterwards Fort Frederick stood; there is no other with which it can be confounded. Here then was the site of Charnisay's Fort. How can this description be possibly so forced as to place it at Portland Point, as Mr. Hannay would have us believe? But this is not all; Denys tells us more: "I have not found [it] well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island which is very near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under cover from the fort, in which is only water from pits [or wells], which is not very good; no better than that outside the fort." There is but a single island in the harbour above Partridge Island, and that is very near the mound. It is to-day of about the same height as the site of Fort Frederick, but even now at low tide vessels could lie behind it out of reach of the guns of a fort on the shore. There is good reason to suppose that the island was higher nearly two hundred and fifty years ago.¹ As there is but a single island in the harbour, this one apparent inconsistency as to its height cannot throw us off the track.

¹ The island is washing away very rapidly indeed, the estimate of a resident being that 50 feet of the lower end have disappeared within thirty years. Its highest point is at present twenty feet above high tide, about the height of the "Old Fort" site. It was probably formerly wooded, and large stumps can still be seen *in situ* upon its northern beach. It is known to be steadily sinking, but the movement probably affects the mainland as well. It consists of gravel overlying slate, and even its highest part may have been lowered much in two hundred and forty years. It is quite possible, too, that the old fort site is higher than when Charnisay built his fort upon it, as the successive rebuildings upon the site would tend to raise it somewhat. An old resident on the island told me that very large numbers of cannon balls had been exposed in the washing away of a clay bank at the northern end, balls which seemed to have been shot from the opposite, *i. e.* the Portland, shore. It seems certain that these must have been fired from the fort on Portland Point. Is it not probable that they came from Fort La Tour against the ships of d'Aunay during its vigorous defences? And do they not increase the probability that it was La Tour's fort which stood there, and not Charnisay's, which was temporary and probably never besieged, as he had no enemies after it was built?

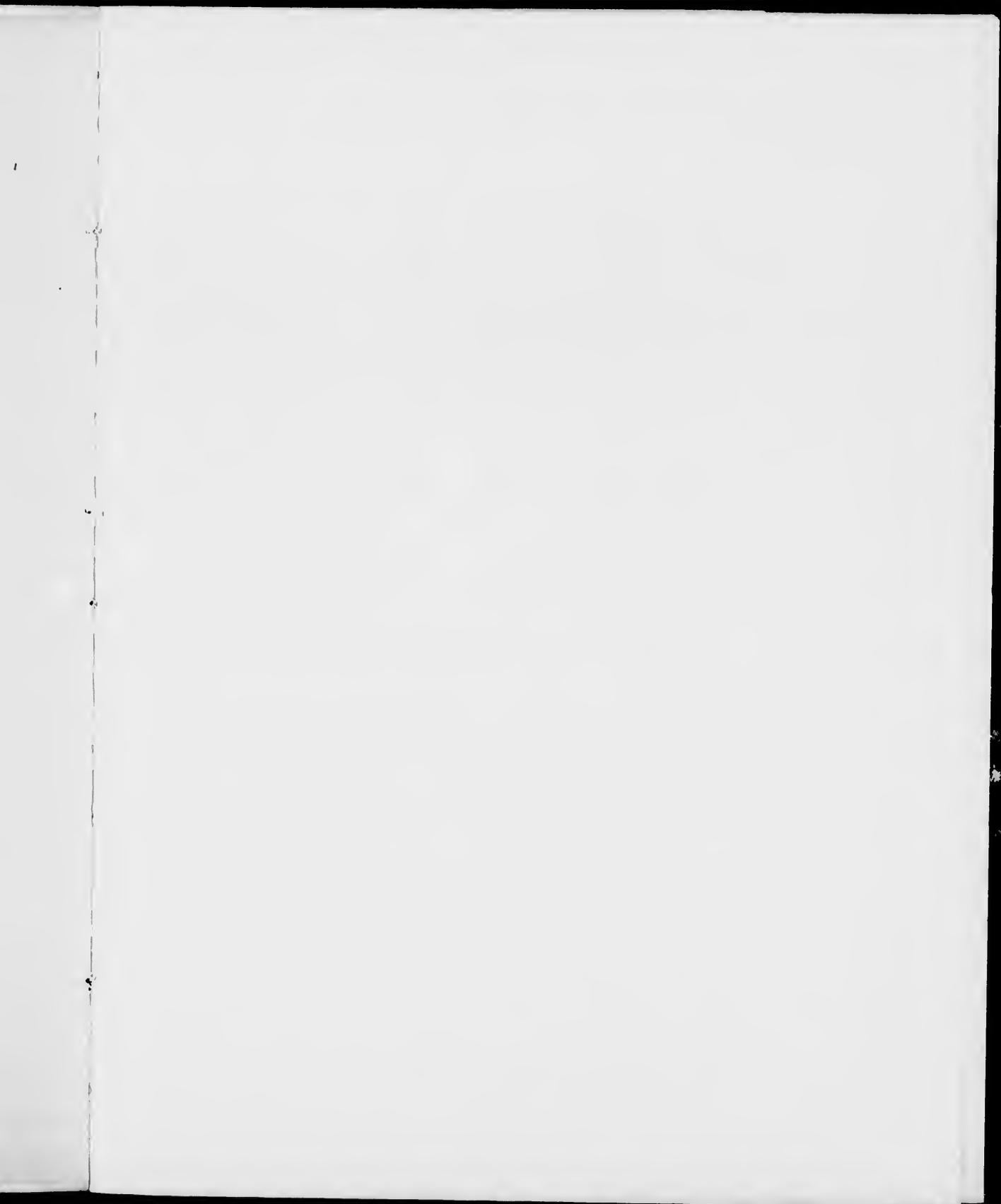
Then the point as to the bad water: as the Bruce map shows, and as old people in Carleton (according to Mr. Hannay) still remember, the low mound of which we speak was cut off from the main shore by a little marsh, through which ran a small creek, which was filled at high tide, making an island of the mound. Under such conditions good water within the fort was an impossibility, and it could be little better than that which flowed outside. This is less probably the case with Portland Point, which is on high ground backed by rocky hills, conditions which should give good water from wells.

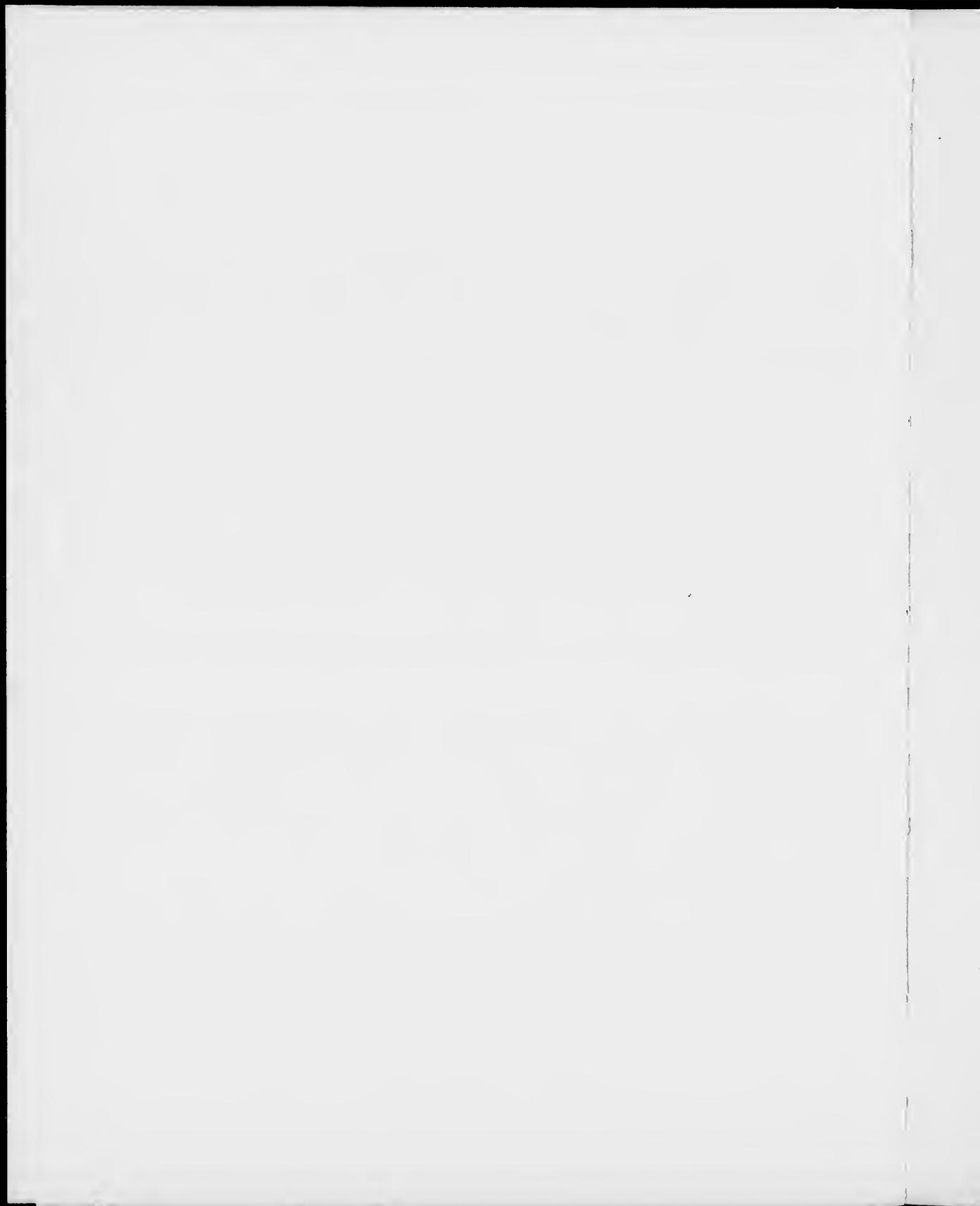
So much for the site of Charnisay's fort. But where was La Tour's? In the next passage we are told: "It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and in consequence not commanded by other neighbouring places, and would have had good water as in that which was built by the said late *Sieur de la Tour*." La Tour's fort, then, stood behind the island where vessels anchor. Is there any ambiguity here? Can it possibly mean anything other than that it stood on the other side of the island (behind it) from Charnisay's, on the shore opposite which vessels anchor? This describes Portland Point to perfection; it describes no other site on the harbour. Vessels cannot lie behind any island out of reach of its guns. It stood on higher ground, Denys said, and not commanded by neighbouring places.¹ Portland Point is much higher than Navy Island and not commanded by it, though it is commanded by Fort Howe Hill. But the conditions of to-day are very different from those of two hundred and more years ago. Then, as we know from records left by the early settlers, the whole present site of the city, and presumably that of the late city of Portland, was covered by a dense growth of trees. Probably through these the small forces of any enemy likely to attack the fort would find it so difficult to drag cannon and mount them that the heights of Fort Howe were considered to be practically useless. There is certainly no hill or height readily accessible from the water which commands the Portland Point site. The case was different with Navy Island, upon which cannon could be landed under shelter and turned against a fort on the Carleton shore. We must admit this discrepancy in Denys' narrative; but in the light of the probability we have mentioned it appears to us to count for very little against the very accurate location implied by his preceding words. It is the only real discrepancy in his narrative. Moreover, there is no other locality about the harbour to which the same objection is not in great measure applicable, and certainly no other to which the full description so well applies.

That there was an old French fort at Portland Point is well known. It stood on what is to-day a grassy knoll, abrupt and commanding, at the south end and east side of Portland street, at the head of Rankine's wharf. Its ruins were found by the New England settlers when they reached the harbour in 1762, and upon its site, one of them, James Simonds, built his house, choosing it because it was already cleared.² No other site of an ancient fort is known about the harbour, except the two we have mentioned,

¹ The strategic value of both the Fort Dufferin and the Fort Frederick sites has been pointed out by Mr. Dole and Mr. Hannay. In this respect Portland Point is a most formidable rival to both the former places, and considering the short range of the cannon of the time rather better than either of them.

² Mr. M. H. Perley, in his lecture on the "Early History of New Brunswick," printed in *Educational Review*, Vol. IV, No. 9, says: "They [Yeabody, Simonds and White] arrived on the 19th of May, 1762 and landed at Portland Point, where there was a small clearing and the traces of an old French fort." Mr. Perley also mentions that skeletons have been found there. Might they be those of the defenders of La Tour's fort, whom Charnisay so





and had there been such, it could hardly have escaped notice and mention by the early settlers. In the face of all this, does there seem room for any doubt that Fort La Tour was the fort that stood on Portland Point ?

(2) There are several maps of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries which mark Fort La Tour on the east side of the harbour; the earliest I have been able to find which places it on the west side bears date of 1755, and even in the best instance of the latter a second and corrected edition restores it to the east side. So marked is this feature that the statement is not too positive that *all known maps made within a hundred years after its destruction, most of them made by map-makers who had good direct evidence as to its location, if they mark Fort La Tour at all, place it upon the east side of the harbour.*

It is true that evidence of this kind must be used with caution, for map-makers often copied directly one from another, and if the first were wrong a long following series might be also misled. This important source of error can be eliminated, however, if it can be proven that a number of maps showing a certain feature were made independently of one another, and especially if it can be shown that some of them were made from actual surveys. In the following notes on the early maps bearing on our subject we have selected only those which appear to be of this nature, neglecting all of those which were obviously copied one from another.¹

MAP No. 1.—The first map we offer in evidence is entitled :—

Le Canada, fait par le Sr. de Champlain où sont La Nouvelle France, La Nouvelle Angleterre [etc.], suivant les memoires de P. Du Val, Géographe du Roy, Paris, 1677. It is not necessary to offer a tracing of this map. On the east side of the river at its mouth there is shown a square fort with no name, but the number 14 attached. In the copy I have examined, through the kind courtesy of Professor E. N. Horsford, of Cambridge, the key explaining the numbers is missing, but the map has so much in common with later ones which mark this fort, Fort La Tour, that we can hardly doubt that such is the name attached to this figure in the key.² In any event, it is important to notice that the *only*

cruelly killed? Mr. J. W. Lawrence (*Footprints*, p. 4) says: "Mr. Simonds erected his dwelling on the ruins of an old French fort, Portland Point." And the map in the same work shows the position of the house.

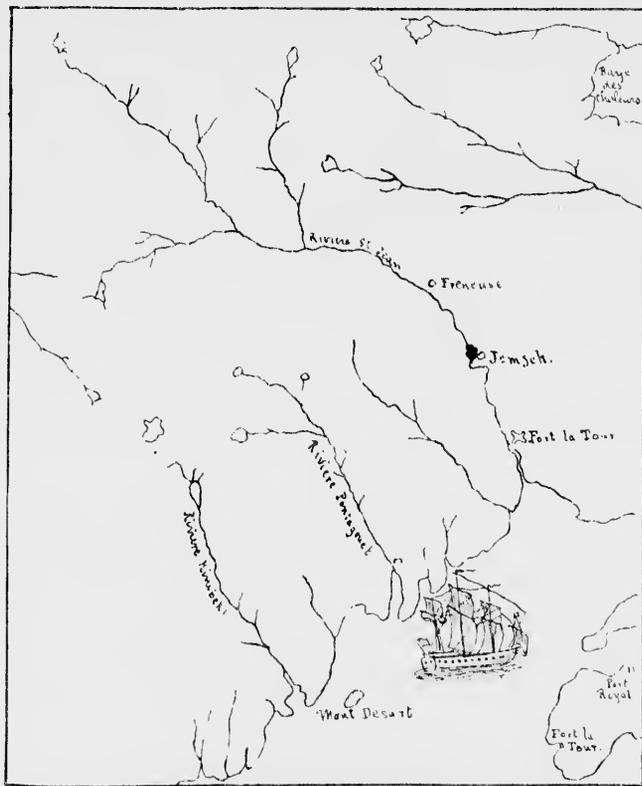
It is a very interesting fact that the site of the fort is to-day unencumbered by buildings. Its situation is most commanding, affording a most beautiful view of the harbor, Carleton and the river, and as one stands upon it he cannot help thinking how superior it is for the site of a fort to the "Old Fort" site in Carleton. There is deep water immediately in front of it, where in old times vessels used to be unloaded. It has, moreover, a most excellent landing place at all tides, while the "Old Fort" site has not. But little is known locally about the place. Mr. John McAllister of St. John has told me that cannon balls have been found on the site, and he writes me that, ten years ago, as a drain was being dug around the base of the hill, "the workmen, when about five feet from the surface, drew my attention to a pavement of stone very neatly and firmly made, about five feet below the surface, evidently showing that some careful work had long ago been done there." This point is interesting. Careful paving was likely to have been done in connection with La Tour's powerful fort, not with Charnisay's temporary and weaker one. A workman told me that excavations showed that the hill is partly artificial, as clay had been brought there to build it up. It is well known that the original Simonds house stood upon it.

¹ There is mentioned in Marcel's "Cartographie de la Nouvelle France" a map of 1667, on which there had been subsequently marked the site of the settlements, including La Tour's in Acadia. In applying to M. Marcel in Paris I find that the map has now passed out of his possession; it might be of very great value in this connection. Although I have made every effort, with M. Marcel's assistance, to trace it, I have so far not been successful.

² This map is reproduced in Prof. Horsford's superbly illustrated "Defence of Norumbega," fifth map facing page 70. I have found, since the above was printed, that the No. 14 does not apply to the fort but to the river. This does not, however, weaken the force of the argument—the *only* fort marked is on the east side of the river.

fort at the mouth of the River St. John is on the east side. This map was made in Paris, where its author presumably had access to the most reliable materials. This was in 1677—long before Villebon or any other French general had rebuilt either of the forts at St. John. There are earlier editions of this map in the French Archives—of 1664, and even earlier, but we do not know whether they show the fort.¹

MAP No. 2.—Our second map is most important. It is a portion of a manuscript sketch contained in Vol. II, p. 11, of the "Documents collected in France," now preserved



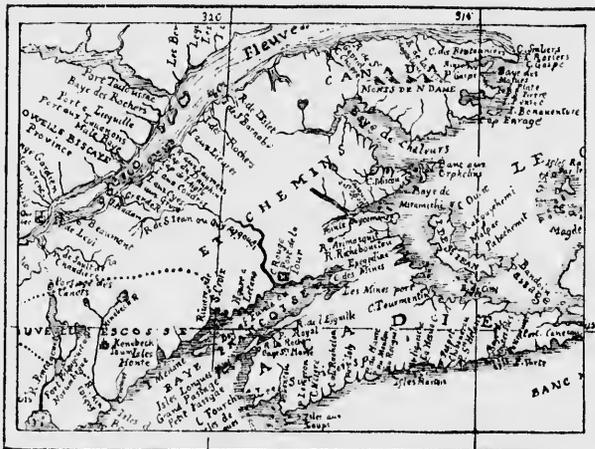
No. 2.—Massachusetts Archives, 1680.

in the Massachusetts Archives in the State House at Boston. It is really a map of New England, but shows a portion of Acadia. It bears date of 1680 and shows every evidence

¹ As this paper passes through the press, I have received from M. Henry Vignaud of Paris (to whom I owe much other material of historical value) a letter in which he tells me that the two earlier editions of this map—of 1653 and 1664—both have it on the *west* side. The only answer I can give to this unexpected fact is that the maker of the 1677 edition saw good cause to change the fort from the west to the east side; but what that evidence was we can only conjecture.

of having been made independently of No. 1. Its author is unknown, but he must have had an actual knowledge of the St. John River, for both Frenouse and Jemseg, the only other places marked on the river, are in their proper positions; just where we know from other evidence they really were. We can hardly conceive that only thirty-five years after its fall, and when its position could not have been confounded with that of any later built fort (Villebon's after 1696 being the earliest of which we have any record), that a map-maker, whose knowledge of the river enabled him to correctly place the only other places marked on it, could have erred as to the site of Fort La Tour.

MAP NO. 3.—The map of 1689, made by Coronelli and Tillemon, published in Paris, is the most complete and accurate of its time. Its author appears to have had information not accessible to DuVal, as witness a number of very different names upon the north shore of New Brunswick, and does not appear to have used map No. 2 above, since he omits Frenouse and Jemseg. It is well known that the old map-makers were too anxious



No. 3.—Coronelli, 1689.

to fill with names the blank spaces on their maps, to leave out any which they could get backed by good authority. That it locates Fort La Tour on the east side must have great weight in this discussion. It is to be noticed that it antedates the building of Villebon's fort—the first one built on the harbour after the destruction of Fort La Tour.

MAP NO. 4.—In the "Fourth Part of the General English Pilot describing . . . America," London, 1707, there is a map entitled:

A Chart of New France, Newfoundland, New Scotland and part of New England. By Jer. Seller and Cha. Price, of which a sketch is herewith given. There is every reason to believe that this crude map was in large part made by Cyprian Southack, an English captain who coasted much on the shores of Acadia and who made several maps of this region. His name appears frequently upon this map, and its whole appearance corresponds closely

was with Church on his expeditions east, and as Fort Nashwaak is not shown, this probably represents the region before the siege of the latter by the English in 1696, and before Villebon's fort was built at the mouth of the river. The rough sketch of St. John Harbour is what chiefly interests us at present, and there we can easily recognize Partridge Island, the Falls, the wooden fort, well known to have stood at the mouth of the Nerepis, and the village at Indiantown, here dignified by the name of St. Johns Towne. Then we see two forts, of which that on the east side is the larger. This is a point of much importance, since it shows the larger of the ruins of the forts to have been on the east side. As La Tour's was without doubt a larger fort than Charnisay's,¹ and as Villebon's fort is shown by his own letters to have been simply the old fort in Carleton repaired, this map helps to increase the probability that Fort La Tour stood on the east side.

MAP No 5.—Another map of high authority, and great accuracy for its time, is

Carte du Canada, ou de la Nouvelle France. Par Guillaume de l'Isle, Paris, 1703. It also places Fort La Tour on the east side, as do Moll's maps of 1715-1720. A number of other maps could be mentioned which do likewise, but, as they obviously follow one or the other of these we have mentioned, their testimony is of slight value.

TRANSITION MAPS.—We now come to a series of maps upon which the name Fort La Tour does not appear at all, though forts are marked either upon one or both sides of the harbour, and called either simply "fort," or else "French fort," or even Fort St. Jean. Such are those of Popple of 1733, Bellin of 1744, Mitchell and Jeffery's of 1755 and many others. This is the period in which the real site of the fort has become confused by the fact of others having been built upon its site, and also upon the site of Charnisay's, and the best map-makers had dropped the name La Tour altogether. But in 1755 there appeared two maps, made by two of the greatest of French cartographers, Bellin and



No. 5.—Bellin, 1755.



No. 6.—D'Anville, 1755.

d'Anville. Both of these men are renowned for their accuracy in matters of detail; they endeavoured to reject all names for which there was not good authority, and to restore all which were authentic. Both restored "Fort La Tour," and both for reasons we do not understand, and which indeed do not greatly concern our present purpose, placed it upon the west side of the harbour, at Old Fort Point, in Carleton,² as is most clearly shown upon the annexed sketches (Nos. 5 and 6). Very many later maps follow them exactly, but I find none earlier that give this feature. Now even had we no other evidence upon this point, the testimony of these two maps, made so long after the destruction of Fort La

¹ As Mr. Hannay points out, two or three references to the Carleton fort speak of its small size.

² Bellin, in his description of his 1755 map, says, p. 41: "Sur la Pointe occidentale il y a un petit fort nommé Fort La Tour." In 1755 then he clearly thought Fort La Tour had stood upon the west side.

Tour, and when its site might well have become confused with the other forts built by the French about the harbour between 1690 and 1750, could not be considered as of much value in comparison with that of the earlier and nearly contemporary maps made in Paris, near the best sources of information, before any other forts were built. But happily we have other satisfactory evidence. Two years later (in 1757) Bellin issued a new edition of his map of Acadia, corrected in several respects, and upon that, as shown by the sketch herewith given (No. 7), he places the fort upon the east side, marks its position by the conventional circle, and then calls it "Ancien Fort La Tour," and renders it absolutely



No. 7.—Bellin, 1757.

certain to what this legend refers by joining the two by a short line of dots. The use of the word "ancien" here is most significant; it appears upon no other map I have seen. Is there any way of avoiding the conclusion that Bellin, after his 1755 edition, had seen evidence which satisfied him that the true ancient Fort La Tour had stood not upon the west but upon the east side, and that he therefore placed it in the latter position in his second edition, adding the word "ancien" to show that he referred to the real *old* fort which La Tour built? D'Anville himself published no later edition of his map, so we cannot know what his later opinion would have been. Bellin's 1755 map was extensively copied, while the 1757 map was not. This is probably due to the fact that the former was issued separately as an ordinary map, while the latter appeared only in a volume of the work "Histoire générale des voyages," (vol. XIV). The testimony of the late maps which place Fort La Tour upon the west side appears by this to be quite nullified, and the statement seems therefore justified that all known cartographical evidence points us to the east side of St. John Harbour for the site of Fort La Tour.

The succession of forts in the harbour would seem to be as follows: in Carleton, at "Old Fort," Charuisay's, Villebon's, Fort Frederick; at Portland Point, Fort La Tour.

I know of no evidence, documentary or cartographical, and no line of argument from induction, or from indirect evidence of any kind which I have not mentioned, which is opposed to the conclusion to which I have been forced and which is discussed in this paper.

In conclusion, then, in the light of the fact that the only contemporary narrative we have, that of Denys, proves the fort could not have been at Old Fort Point, but, on the other hand, gives us strong reason for believing that it was at Portland Point, and in the light of the fact that all evidence from maps points to the east side of the harbour, where only a single fort site, that at Portland Point, is known, or has ever been recorded or referred to, does it not seem that if it is at Portland Point we must find the site of Fort La Tour?

¹ It is well known that in 1750 the French had a fort on the Old Fort site in Carleton. This perhaps helped to confuse Bellin and d'Anville, who would have supposed that it stood on the old La Tour site.

APPENDIX.

From "Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amérique Septentrionale" (Par Nicolas Denys, Paris 1672.)

L'Entrée de la riviere saint Jean, est de dangereux abord, rangeant la terre des deux côtez; le meilleur endroit est du côté de Stribord ou main droite, sans trop approcher la terre: cette entrée est étroite, à cause d'une petite Isle qui est à Basbord, ou costé gauche, laquelle passée, la riviere est bien plus large: du mesme côté de l'Isle, il y a de grands marais ou prairies qui sont couvertes de plaine mer, le rivage est sable vaseux, qui fait une pointe, laquelle passée, il y a une anee qui entre dans lesdits marais, dont l'entrée est étroite, ou feu Monsieur de la Tour avoit fait faire une écluse, où l'on peschoit un grand nombre de ces Gasparots que l'on faisoit saller pour l'Hyver, il s'y en peschoit quelques-fois une si grande quantité que l'on étoit obligé de rompre l'écluse, & de les jeter à la mer, autrement ils auroient empuanté l'écluse, qui en auroit esté perdue, on y trouvoit aussi quelques-fois des Saulmons, des Alozes, & du Bar, qui est le maigre de la Rochelle, qui servoit tous les Printemps d'une grande manne pour ceux du pays.

Un peu plus avant, au delà de ladite écluse, il y a une petite butte, où d'Annay fit bâtir son Fort que je n'ay pas trouvé bien placé à mon avis, pour estre commandé d'une Isle qui est tout proche plus élevée, & derriere laquelle tous Navires se peuvent mettre à couvert du Fort, dans lequel il n'y a que de l'eau de puits, qui n'est pas bien bonne non plus que celle qui est hors du Fort: Il auroit esté à mon avis mieux placé derriere l'Isle où mouillent les Vaisseaux, & où il auroit esté plus élevé, & par consequent point commandé d'autres endroits voisins, & auroit eu de bonne eau, comme dans celuy que fit bastir ledit feu sieur de la Tour, lequel fut rûiné par d'Annay après s'en estre rendu le maistre assez injustement, n'y ayant aucun droit, ce qu'il auroit eu bien de la peine à executer s'il n'eust esté adverty de l'absence dudit sieur de la Tour, qui avoit mené avec luy une partie de son monde, & n'avoit laissé que sa femme avec le reste des siens à la garde du Fort; laquelle après avoir soutenu pendant trois jours & trois nuits toutes les attaques de d'Annay, & l'avoit obligé de s'éloigner de la portée de ses canons, fust enfin obligée de ceder le quatrième jour qui étoit le jour de Pasques, ayant esté trahie par un Suisse qui étoit en garde ce jour-là, pendans qu'elle faisoit reposer ses gens, esperant quelques relâches. Le Suisse se laissa corrompre par les gens de d'Annay, & souffrit qu'ils montassent à l'assaut, qui fut encore soutenu quelque temps par la Commandante à la teste de son monde, qui ne se rendit qu'à l'extrémité, & sous condition que ledit d'Annay donneroit quartier à tous, ce qu'il n'excuta pas, car s'étant rendu maistre de la place, il les fit mettre tous en prison avec la Commandante, ensuite de l'avis de son conseil, les fit pendre, à la reserve d'un seul qui eut la vie sauve à la charge qu'il en feroit l'exécution, & la Commandante les assista à la potence la corde au col comme auroit esté le plus grand scelerat. Voila le tiltre dont le Borgne s'est servy pour pretendre comme Creancier dudit sieur d'Annay la propriété de la riviere saint Jean.

