



GENERAL MONCKTON'S EXPEDITION
TO SAINT JOHN
IN 1758.

STORY OF OLD FORT FREDERICK
IN CARLETON

BY DR. W. O. RAYMOND.

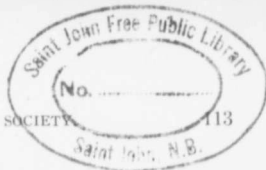


BRIGADIER GENERAL ROBERT MONCKTON.

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BRIGADIER GENERAL MONGKTON'S EXPEDITION

TO THE

RIVER SAINT JOHN IN SEPTEMBER, 1758.

THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE ENGLISH
ON THE SHORES OF THE ST. JOHN HARBOR.

STORY OF OLD FORT FREDERICK.

Twenty-five years ago the Centennial day of the City of St. John was fittingly commemorated by an elaborate festival held on the 18th of May, 1883. Our older citizens will recall the excitement and enthusiasm of the occasion. The founder and first president of this Society, Joseph W. Lawrence, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Hon. R. D. Wilmot, the Mayor of St. John, Simeon Jones, Esq., and many men of mark in the community were actively concerned in the proceedings of that Centennial day. The Haymarket Square Polymorphians and other organizations gave a reproduction of the Landing of the Loyalists, which, if not accurate in all its details, was decidedly interesting, and was witnessed by 20,000 people. The scene of the pageant was the old "Upper Cove," at the foot of King Street. The subsequent proceedings, which were equally enthusiastic, are duly chronicled in the newspapers of the day.

Next in order of our famous historic commemorations came the celebration of the Tercentenary of the discovery of the harbor and river of St. John by Champlain and de Monts on the 24th of June, 1604. This was undoubtedly the most interesting and remarkable historic celebration ever witnessed in St. John, and is likely to be long remembered by those who participated in it.

This brings us to speak of an event which stands midway between the discovery of our port and river by European adventurers and the present time. The 20th day of September, 1908, marks the 150th

anniversary of the occupation of St. John by the British forces under General Robert Monckton's command. The event recalls an epoch in our history. The French regime had lasted with little interruption for a century and a half, but with the coming of Monckton and the establishment of Fort Frederick, British rule succeeded that of France. The landing of the troops on the morning of the 20th of September marks the beginning of the occupation of the valley of the River St. John by English-speaking people.

This anniversary should not be lost sight of, for the consequences of Brigadier General Monckton's expedition and the construction of Fort Frederick on the site of the old French fort in Carleton were great and far-reaching. When the British troops took possession and raised the English flag over its ruined bastions, the territory adjacent passed for the first time into undisputed possession of the English. For well-nigh fifty years this territory had been a bone of contention between the rival European powers. Indeed, it may be said that from the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to the capture of Quebec in 1759, the controversy between England and France, with regard to the limits of their respective jurisdiction in Acadia, had continued to disturb the peace of Europe. Attempts were made to settle the dispute by peaceful means, and for some years the points at issue were warmly debated by representatives of the two nations. The leaders on either side were Count Galissonière, governor-general of Canada, and Sir William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts. Both were resolute and determined, and, differing widely as they did in their opinions, it is little wonder that there was no solution of the difficulty. The issue was fated to be decided, not by wordy warfare at the council board, but by the stern arbitrament of the sword.

For some years the dispute as to the rightful possession of the St. John river was confined to protests on the part of each nationality against alleged encroachments on the part of its rival. The French made use of their Indian allies to repel the advance of English adventurers, and encouraged the Acadians to settle there. The English endeavored, with indifferent success, to gain over the Indians and to induce the Acadians to swear allegiance to the British crown. Galissonière contended that Acadia, as ceded to England under the Treaty of Utrecht, included merely the Nova Scotian peninsula. The St. John, he asserted, was a

river "situated on the continent of Canada," and the governor of Nova Scotia had no right to interfere with the Acadians living upon that river, or to call upon them to make any submission contrary to their allegiance to the King of France, who, he adds, is "their master, as well as mine, and has not ceded this territory by any treaty."

In the great struggle which ensued for supremacy on the American continent, the English were naturally the aggressors, since the population of the English colonies was 1,200,000, while Canada had but 60,000 people.

Early in the summer of 1749, Count Galissonnière sent his lieutenant, Boishébert, with a detachment of troops to the mouth of the river St. John to effect a settlement and to re-establish the fort. Governor Cornwallis sent the sloop of war "Albany" from Halifax to see what the French were doing, and to demand their authority. When the "Albany" arrived, her commander, Capt. Rous, found the old fort still deserted and no inhabitants, either French or Indian, to be seen. While he was waiting in a state of uncertainty, a French schooner entered the harbor, laden with supplies. Capt. Rous seized her, but promised to release her if the master would go up the river and bring down the French officers for a parley. The master accordingly went up the river in a canoe, bearing the following letter to Boishébert:

"FROM THE RIVER ST. JOHN, 3rd July, 1749.

"*Sir*,—I am directed by the King, my master, to look into and examine the various ports, harbors and rivers of his majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, and am now here with that intent. Having learned that you are now upon the river with a detachment of soldiers of the King of France, I should be pleased to learn by what authority and with what intention you are engaged in similar proceedings. It would afford me much pleasure could I have the honor of a personal interview, in order to convince you of the rights of the King, my master. I shall also be pleased to see some of the Indian chiefs in order to inform them of the peace and harmony now established between the two crowns, and to confer with them.

"Until I shall have the honor, as I hope, of seeing you, I am very truly,

"Your humble servant,

"JOHN ROUS."

In response to this invitation, Boishébert went down the river the next day, accompanied by a detachment of thirty soldiers and 150 Indian

warriors. The party took position, with their colors flying, on the west side of the harbor, at a point on the shore within musket shot of the "Albany." Rous immediately ordered the French to strike their colors. Their commander demurred, and asked to be allowed to march back with his colors flying, promising to return the next day without them. Rous, however, ordered the colors to be struck immediately, which being done, the officers were invited on board the "Albany." They showed their instructions from the Governor of Quebec, from which it appeared that their first instruction had been to re-establish and garrison the old French fort. But later the order had been countermanded, and Boishébert was required merely to prevent the English from making any settlement until the right of possession had been settled by the two crowns. Boishébert had fixed his headquarters ten miles up the river, at the place now known as Woodman's Point, where he built a small fort, known as Fort de Nerepice, on the site of an older Indian fort, which stood there in the days when Villebon lived on the river and ruled as Governor of all Acadia. By arrangement with Capt. Rous, the French were permitted to remain undisturbed until the next spring, on the understanding that no fortifications were to be built.

Boishébert continued to move freely up and down the river. At one time he writes from Menagoeche (or St. John, for such was its Indian name), at another from Ecoubac (the Indian village seven miles above Fredericton), at another he is at Medoctec, the upper Indian village eight miles below Woodstock. The Marquis la Jonquière, who succeeded to the governorship of Quebec at this time, realized the importance of the river St. John as being "the key of the country."

In the years that follow there were frequent collisions between English and French war vessels in the Bay of Fundy. In October, 1750, Capt. Rous, in the "Albany," had an encounter with Sieur de Vergor in the "St. Francis," a vessel of ten guns and a crew of seventy men, which was escorting a schooner laden with supplies and munitions for the garrison at St. John. After a running fight, lasting nearly five hours, the "St. Francis" was so crippled by the loss of her mainmast and injuries to her sails and rigging that Vergor was obliged to surrender.

After the founding of Halifax, in 1749, Governor Cornwallis endeavored to establish British supremacy throughout Acadia, but the French stoutly resisted his claim to any jurisdiction north of the Bay of Fundy.

Cornwallis felt the difficulties of his position very keenly. Halifax was yet in its infancy and comparatively defenceless. Louisbourg and Quebec were French strongholds. The Marquis la Jonquière, Governor at Quebec, encouraged the Indians to oppose any attempt on the part of the English in that direction. He wrote to the French Colonial Minister: "It is easy to hinder the English from establishing themselves on those lands. They will have to proceed through the woods and along the rivers; and so long as the French are masters of the Indians, and the Acadians are provided with arms and supplies, the English will not expose themselves to their attacks."

La Jonquière desired Boishébert, his lieutenant on the St. John, to observe much caution in his proceedings, as it was a time of peace. He was to act very secretly, so that the English might not perceive who were supplying the Indians with munitions of war and provisions. He adds: "If all turns out as I hope, we shall retain our lands, and the English will not be able to establish any settlements before the boundaries in dispute have been determined by the two crowns."

The policy of employing the savages to deter the English from occupying the St. John region was attended with success. The threats and occasional raids of the Micmacs and Maliseets kept the infant colony of Nova Scotia in a continuous state of alarm, and effectually prevented any attempts at settlement.

Governor Lawrence succeeded Cornwallis, only to find himself involved in the same perplexity. He wrote the British minister: "What can I do to encourage people to settle on frontier lands, where they run the risk of having their throats cut by inveterate enemies, who easily effect their escape by their knowledge of every creek and corner?"

In the summer of 1750, Captain Cobb, in the sloop "York," found a French brigantine anchored near the old fort in St. John harbor. The brigantine was laden with provisions and supplies for the Indians and Acadians, and had on board a considerable detachment of troops. She fired an alarm gun on sight of the "York." Cobb anchored under the lee of Partridge Island, and sent a party of men in a whale boat to reconnoitre. They were fired on by the French and Indians. Boishébert insisted that Cobb should quit the harbor, as it belonged to the French King, and threatened that unless he did so, his Indians would destroy the sloop and her crew. Not to be daunted, Cobb hoisted anchor

and brought his sloop up the harbor until he discovered the enemy on the west side at "a small fortification by a little hill." Boishébert's forces included two hundred Indians. He had also fifty or sixty of the Acadians living on the river. Captain Cobb was foolish enough to go on shore, under a flag of truce, for a parley. He was made prisoner, and compelled to send an order to his vessel not to molest the French brigantine. This order his mate declined to receive, and immediately seized the bearers of the message as hostages for Cobb's release. A mutual exchange ensued. Cobb honored his promise not to make the French brigantine his prize, but carried off six of her crew in the "York" as prisoners to Halifax. A day or two later Capt. Dove, in H. M. Ship "Hound," arrived off the harbor, and, unconscious of the situation, sent his lieutenant in a whale boat to reconnoitre. The officer was invited on shore by Boishébert, and, of course, made a prisoner. He was released upon his promise that the prisoners carried off by Cobb should be returned. These were some of the humorous incidents arising out of the curious state of affairs existing.

In order to escape the difficulties of sending supplies by sea, and the consequent danger of their seizure by the British war vessels, the Marquis le Jonquière spent a considerable sum of money in improving a road from the St. Lawrence to the Upper St. John, via Rivière du Loup and Temisquata. This road, he informed the French minister, would be very useful, supposing the English should continue to stop the vessels sent to the mouth of the river. "I have given orders," he adds, "to the Sieur de Boishébert, who commands there, to repair the old fort called Menacoché, at the mouth of the river, and to build a barrack for the officers and 100 men, with necessary magazines. The whole to be built of logs, and I have expressly recommended Boishébert to have it done with very little expense to the King, and to that end he is to employ the soldiers and militia."

The site of this fort is well known locally. It was built on the little hill or mound opposite Navy Island, at the foot of King Street, in Carleton. The terraces of the fort were about twenty-five feet high on the outside and twelve feet on the inside. La Jonquière believed the fort to be indispensable, for if the French were to abandon the place, the English would immediately take possession. The Marquis was not any too scrupulous as to the means he proposed to employ to frustrate the

lodgment of the English. Not only were the Indians encouraged to annoy the English on all occasions, and to plunder any ships that should come to St. John, but he suggested that some of the Acadians, dressed and painted like savages, should lead them in their attacks. This was all that could be ventured, since the French were restrained from open hostility by the peace. The Marquis displays much zeal in the King's service. "I beg you to feel assured, Monseigneur," he writes, "that I will manage everything so as not to compromise myself, and that I will not give up an inch of land that belongs to the King. It is time the limits should be settled, that we may know positively what we are to hold."

The services of Boishébert were now required elsewhere, and the *Sieur de Gaspé*, lieutenant of infantry, was sent to replace him, remaining two years and a half in command. He writes from his headquarters at Fort de Nerepice (Woodman's Point) in June, 1751, that he will do his best to complete the fort at the mouth of the river. However, his progress was slow. The workmen had no tools except axes. Laborers were few. Discipline was bad. The soldiers refused to work, and the *Sieur de Gaspé* was afraid to try to compel them, apprehending their desertion. The fort had four bastions. In addition to the barracks and magazines, it was proposed to construct a building of logs, squared with the axe, to accommodate the surgeon and chaplain, and to serve as a guard house.

The situation of the Acadians who were living on the St. John at this time was a most unfortunate one. They were greatly straitened for the necessaries of life. Communication with Quebec was difficult by land, and the vigilance of the English cruisers cut off their supplies by sea. They were even impoverished by their friends. On one occasion, for example, they were obliged to furnish subsistence to a party of nearly three hundred Canadians and Indians under Montesson, and in so doing were obliged to sacrifice the grain and cattle needed for the seeding and tillage of their fields.

The French commissioners who debated with the English as to the limits of Acadia, asserted that the English pretensions to ownership north of the Bay of Fundy had no foundation. If that territory were ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, how was it that the valley of the St. John had for forty years remained in quiet and peaceable

possession of the French? "The English sought to expel the Acadians, to deprive them of their property and their homes, to sell the lands they had cultivated and made valuable, and by such transactions to expose Europe to the danger of seeing the fires of war re-kindled. Whatever sacrifices France might be disposed to make in order to maintain public tranquility, it would be difficult indeed for her to allow herself to be deprived of the navigation of the River St. John, . . . a necessary route of communication." "We do not fear to say," they add, "that the object of the English is not confined to the country they claim under the name of Acadia; their object is to make a general invasion of Canada, and to pave the way to universal empire in America."

There can be no doubt that this was the desire of the people of New England, whose antipathy to the French was largely responsible for the brutality which attended the Acadian expulsion a few years later. According to the statement of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, there were at this time about one hundred French families on the St. John River. The French had strengthened their fort at the mouth of the river with guns and men. A French frigate of thirty guns lay behind Partridge Island waiting for a cargo of furs, and the French seemed to be entirely masters of the situation.

The site of the French fort on the west side of the harbor, opposite Navy Island, is shown in the plan on another page. The first fort built on this site goes back to the days of La Tour and Charnisay, more than two centuries and a half ago. It was occupied a little later by La Tour's son-in-law, the Sieur de Martignon. In the course of time it fell into decay, and was re-built by Governor Villebon about the close of the seventeenth century. Villebon died there on the 5th of July, 1700, and is believed to have been buried in the old French graveyard behind the fort. The place is also, in all probability, the last resting place of Charles La Tour.

After the fort was re-established by Villebon, it was generally referred to, in the official correspondence, as "Fort de la Riviere de St. Jean," or "Fort Menagoche,"—the latter word being the Indian name of St. John. The fort was nearly 200 feet square, and within it were barracks for the soldiers, a residence for the governor, with small chapel adjoining, quarters for the officers, lodgings for surgeon, armorer and gunner, a small prison and a well. Just outside the gate were two bakehouses.

The water supply of the fort seems to have been very inadequate. The *Sieur des Goutins*, who disliked *Villebon*, complained that the Governor kept the water within the fort for the exclusive use of his kitchen and his mare, others being obliged to use snow water, often very dirty. *Brouillan*, *Villebon's* successor, condemned the situation as being commanded on the one side by *Navy Island* and on the other by a height at the distance of a hundred and odd fathoms, and also on account of the very insufficient water supply.

In January, 1754, Governor *Lawrence* urged the British ministry to take some vigorous action with regard to the control of *Acadia*. He states that the French were hard at work making settlements on the *St. John*, offering special inducements to the *Acadians* of the peninsula to join them. He could not prevent them from going, though the greater part were too much attached to their lands to leave them. It was absolutely necessary that the forts at *Beausejour* and *St. John* should be destroyed, or taken possession of and garrisoned by the English and the French possessions along the *Bay of Fundy* "extirpated." Although the *Indians* had been guilty of no depredations for two years past, he believed that no dependence could be placed on their quietude so long as the French were allowed to exercise a disturbing influence among them.

Lawrence now began to consult with *Shirley*, the Governor of *Massachusetts*, about the deportation of the *Acadians*. He proposed that 2,000 troops should be raised in *New England*, which, together with those in *Nova Scotia*, would be sufficient for the business, and that the command should be assigned to *Colonel Monckton*, of the 60th (or *Royal American*) Regiment. This plan, as all the world knows, was carried into execution. The first important event was the capture of *Beausejour*. The details of the siege need not be given, suffice it to say that after a bombardment of four days the French commander, *Vergor*, on the 16th of June, 1755, surrendered his fort to *Monckton*, and from thenceforth it was garrisoned by the British, and called *Fort Cumberland*. *Monckton* received orders to destroy the fort at *St. John*. Captain *Rous*, of the "*Albany*," was sent there with three twenty-gun ships and a sloop of war. A report was current that the French had two men-of-war of thirty-six guns each anchored near the fort. *Rous* anchored at *Partridge Island*, and sent his boats up the harbor to reconnoitre. They found no

ships. Boishébert, seeing that resistance was useless, abandoned his fort, and, so far as he was able, demolished it, burst his cannon, blew up his magazines, burned everything he could, and retired up the river to a *detroit* or "narrows," where he erected a small battery and again took post.

A few weeks after this there occurred the tragic event known in history as the Acadian Expulsion. The agents employed were New England troops, under the command of Monckton and Col. John Winslow. Winslow had little taste for the business in which he was employed. In his proclamation to the Acadians of Grand Pre, he says: "The duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my make and temper." The same, we fear, cannot be said of the rank and file of his forces, for one of his captains writes: "You know our soldiers hate them (the Acadians), and if they can find a pretence to kill them, they will."

Nearly seven thousand Acadians were removed from Nova Scotia and distributed among the American colonies as far south as Georgia. An exciting incident in connection with the expulsion may be here related. On the 8th December, 1755, five vessels sailed from Annapolis with 1,664 of the exiles, whose destinations were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and South Carolina, the whole under convoy of a British sloop of war. One of the transport ships, a snow (or brig) carried thirty-two families, destined for South Carolina. From New York this vessel was to proceed on her way unattended. Small parties of the Acadians were from time to time allowed on deck for air and exercise. Several of the bolder spirits laid a plot to seize the ship. On a favorable occasion, when the hatchway was opened to allow those who had been on deck to descend, the conspirators sprang out of the hold, and, in the twinkling of an eye, were engaged in a hand to hand struggle with the crew. The latter were overpowered and tied fast. The leader of this spirited encounter, Charles Belliveau, was an excellent seaman. He now took the helm, and, after an exciting experience, brought the vessel safely to St. John. Not long after Governor Lawrence sent an English schooner to St. John, hoping, by a stratagem, to regain possession of the vessel and to capture the Acadians. The schooner entered the harbor under French colors, having on board a party of Rangers disguised as French soldiers. The captain sent his boat ashore with four French deserters, who announced that the schooner was from Louisburg with

supplies. The French were completely deceived, and might all have been captured had not the English inadvertently discovered themselves too soon. In consequence they were obliged to retire without accomplishing their purpose.

Acadian refugees continued to come to the river from various quarters. Their condition was pitiable in the extreme. Some had journeyed on foot or in canoes through miles of unexplored wilderness. Others came in small vessels from far-distant Carolina, coasting furtively from colony to colony along the Atlantic shore until they reached the Bay of Fundy. Boishébert soon found himself with more than a thousand people under his care. He sent some of them to Canada, for his forces were insufficient for their protection and his supplies were scanty.

The locations of the French settlements on the river at this period are described in detail in Dr. Ganong's "Historic Sites in New Brunswick." At St. John the French had cleared some land on the west side of the harbor. These spots are marked as "gardens" on Lieut. Bruce's plan of 1761. The inhabitants, however, seem to have deserted the place when the fort was abandoned. There were a few settlers at the mouth of the Nerepis and a small settlement at the mouth of the Belleisle. At Gagetown there was quite an important French village, of which more will be said hereafter. A very old settlement existed at the mouth of the Jemseg, where there was an old abandoned fort. At the mouth of the Oromocto three hundred acres had been cleared. The largest and most important settlement, and the farthest up the river at that time, was at St. Anne's Point, where the city of Fredericton stands to-day. Here the Acadians had cleared six or seven hundred acres and built a thriving village, with a little chapel, which stood near the Government House, and it is probable that their houses were scattered along the banks of the river as far as the Indian village of Aukpaque, six miles above.

The next year England declared war against France, and the capture of Quebec and Louisburg became the ambition of the Colonies, as well as of the mother country. The importance of occupying the St. John river was not lost sight of. On November 3rd, 1756, the Governor of Nova Scotia writes that he is gratified that he is to receive a reinforcement which may enable him to establish a fort at the mouth of the St. John, and to dispossess the French. English ships of war continued occasionally to visit the north side of the Bay of Fundy, so that the French had no opportunity to re-establish their fort.

The expected assault of Louisbourg did not take place until 1758. General Amherst was in command, and among his subordinates were Wolfe and Monckton. After a stout resistance, Louisbourg surrendered on the 26th of July, and a few weeks later Colonel Monckton was sent with a body of troops, flushed with success, to drive the hapless Acadians from their settlements on the River St. John.

As Monckton was the principal agent in an event of such historic importance to us as the permanent occupation of the St. John River by the English, a few words may very properly be devoted to him.

Robert Monckton was the second son of John, first Viscount Galway, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth Manners, the youngest daughter of the Duke of Rutland. He entered upon his military career in Flanders in 1742, and was present in several engagements. Later he came to America, where, in 1752, we find him at Fort Lawrence, keeping watch over the French stronghold of Beausejour, across the river Missequash. Soon after he was in command of the garrison at Annapolis Royal. He commanded the troops at the reduction of Beausejour in 1755, and the next year was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. As colonel of the Royal Americans, he took an active part in the siege of Louisbourg, and in 1759 served as second in command to General Wolfe at the taking of Quebec. Monckton was conspicuous for his bravery on the Plains of Abraham, where he was severely wounded.*

Monckton subsequently was appointed Governor of New York. He was promoted major-general and afterwards lieutenant-general in the army. At the time of his death, in 1782, he was a member for Portsmouth in the British House of Commons.

The people of Massachusetts followed the course of events at Louisbourg with the keenest interest. They had never been reconciled to its restoration to France after its gallant capture by the New England expedition under Sir William Pepperell in 1745. Many of their kins-

* It is a curious circumstance that Wolfe's army on the Plains of Abraham was first discovered by Boishebert who had been so conspicuous in affairs upon the River St. John. Boishebert was at the time sick in hospital at Quebec. Happening to glance out of his window very early one morning, his attention was attracted by the red lines of the British troops, who during the night had scaled the precipitous heights. Word was immediately sent to Montcalm, who on his arrival exclaimed: "There they are, just where they ought not to be!"

men were with Amherst in the second expedition, and they hailed the news of their success with great satisfaction.

The next step in the plan of campaign for the conquest of Canada was to dispossess the French from their occupation of the territory on the River St. John. This was regarded by all New England as "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

The Boston *Evening Post* of September 4th, 1758, informs its readers that information had just been received from Louisbourg "that Colonel Monckton, with a number of men, is to go up St. John's River, by which means 'tis hoped the French and Indians will be entirely routed from Nova Scotia." This service was originally intended to have been performed in August, 1757, by the 27th, 43rd and 46th Regiments under Brigadier Lawrence, but the plan was interfered with by two of these regiments being ordered to the southward with the main body of the army, upon receipt of the news of the unhappy fate of Fort William Henry.

The troops now detailed for Monckton's expedition included 350 New England Rangers under Colonel Scott, the 35th Regiment under General Otway, the second battalion of the Royal Americans and a considerable Artillery force, the whole amounting to 2,000 men.

Exaggerated reports of the strength of Boishébert's forces and of the numbers of the Acadians settled on the river were circulated, and, in consequence, Monckton's force was three or four times as large as was really necessary to overcome any opposition that might have been offered, but having so many men at his disposal, enabled him to make rapid progress in the establishment of a fortified post. He experienced no little difficulty, however, in providing the provisions and supplies needed for his army of 2,000 soldiers. Difficulty, too, was experienced in procuring a sufficient number of sloops and schooners to carry the troops up the river in order to destroy the Acadian settlements. To facilitate this work, orders had been already sent to various places in New England and Nova Scotia to ship materials for the construction of a new fort at St. John and to provide the small craft required for going up the river.

After waiting several days for a fair wind, the troops appointed for the expedition sailed from Louisburg for Halifax on Monday, the 28th of August, under convoy of two English frigates. Having completed their preparations, the expedition left Halifax for St. John on the 11th

of September. The transport ships that carried the little army were the "Isabella," "Wade," "Alexander the Second," "Viscount Falmouth," "Lord Bleakeney," the sloops "York" and "Ulysses," and perhaps one or two others, the whole under convoy of the "Squirrel," man-of-war. The companies of New England Rangers were commanded by Captains McCurdy, Brewer, Goreham and Stark. These Rangers proved the most effective of Monckton's troops in the work which followed.

On the 18th of September, a week after leaving Halifax, the fleet anchored at Partridge Island. The sloops "York" and "Ulysses," under their captains, Sylvanus Cobb and Jeremiah Rogers, were sent up the harbor to reconnoitre, and on their return reported that they had seen only two or three people, and that there was apparently nothing to prevent an immediate landing. However, General Monckton thought best to defer it to the next day. He afterwards learned that more than 200 Indians and some Frenchmen were waiting in ambush to oppose the landing, but the Indians were so overawed by the unexpected strength of the invaders that they did not venture to attack them, but retired up the river to St. Anne's. The next day the entire fleet came up the harbor and anchored below the old fort on the west side. Monckton sent Cobb with his sloop to the head of the Bay of Fundy (Fort Cumberland) to fetch Benoni Danks' company of Rangers, together with some whale boats and Acadian prisoners to serve as pilots.

Most of our information regarding the course of events which follows is based upon Monckton's official report to Major-General Amherst of the proceedings of the troops employed in the "Expedition to St. John's River in the Bay of Fundy." This valuable report, with notes, by Dr. W. F. Ganong, has been already printed in the Collections of the Society.* Other sources of information include the newspapers of the day, and Captain John Knox's Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757-1760 inclusive.† At the time of Monckton's expedition Captain Knox was with the garrison at Annapolis, and naturally felt great interest in what was going on across the Bay.

* Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 4, pp. 163-175.

† A copy of this rare work, which was printed in two volumes in London in the year 1769, is in the library of the department of Canadian Archives at Ottawa. I am indebted to Mr. Placide P. Gaudet for calling my attention to it.

The dates that mark the various epochs in the history of St. John are precise and definite. On June 24, 1604, the river was discovered and received its name. On September 20, 1758, the period of English occupation and permanent settlement was ushered in. On May 18, 1783, we have the landing of the Loyalists and founding of the city.

When Monckton arrived the old French fort was in ruins, but there lay about it the materials, logs, hewn timber, etc., collected by Boishébert and the Sieur de Gaspé for its restoration. Everything apparently remained just as it was when Captain Rous visited the harbor and drove off the French three years before. Monckton's journal contains a brief account of the events of the memorable day of occupation:

"Sep^r ye 20th. Made the signal for landing about nine, and soon after landed near the Old Fort with as many men as the boats could take, being about 400. Met with no opposition. The second division being landed I sent off Major Scott with about 300 Light Infantry and Rangers to make discovery, and advanced the two companies of Grenadiers to support him in case of necessity. The Major returned, having been above the Falls—he found some few tracks but not the least signs of any road or path—the woods very thick and bad marching. The troops being all landed I ordered the tents to be got on shore, and encamped the two regiments just at the back of the fort. The Light Infantry and Rangers under Major Scott encamped on the hill above."*

Captain Knox's account of the landing is as follows:

"September 23d (1758). This day arrived His Majesty's sloop of war *Ulysses*, Capt. Rogers, from St. John's River, by whom we learn that Brigadier Monckton with the 35th and second battalion of the Royal American Regiment, a detachment of the royal train of artillery and a large body of rangers had arrived in that river on Saturday, the 16th instant; that they landed without opposition, hoisted British colors on the old French Fort, were repairing it with all expedition and building barracks for a garrison of 300 men. This gentleman adds that upon his ship's first entering that harbor he saw three of the enemy; that one of them fired his piece up in the air, as a signal, and then they ran into the woods; that the Brigadier is making preparations to proceed farther up the river with a parcel of armed sloops and schooners, in order to destroy some store houses and an Indian settlement that are about twenty-five leagues up that river beyond our New Fort."

* See plan at page 139.

News travelled slowly in those days, and the people of Boston, though keenly interested in the expedition, did not learn of the course of events until about three weeks later. The Boston *Evening Post* of October 16th, 1758, had this short account:

"Last Thursday morning arrived here Capt. Campbell, from Annapolis Royal. He left that garrison the Saturday before, and informs us that on the 1st inst. an officer arrived there who had been with Brigadier Monckton up the River St. John with a number of troops from Halifax, to destroy what fortresses the enemy might have up that river; but that upon their landing they found the old fort had been evacuated a considerable time, as it was entirely gone to decay, and shrubs grown up about it; that there were considerable quantities of timber lying about, of which the Brigadier intended to have erected a strong fort; that our troops had marched near 40 miles up the river, but discovered none of the enemy."

After Brigadier Monckton had landed his infantry, several days were spent in getting the provisions and supplies on shore. The Artillery and three field pieces were also landed. Exploring parties were sent out from time to time. They found the country so rough and broken and the forest so dense that all agreed it was quite impracticable to proceed with the expedition by land. Monckton's ships were too large to go up the river or to attempt with safety the passage of the Falls. Accordingly, Rogers was sent to Annapolis and Cobb to Fort Cumberland to press into the King's service any available sloops or schooners in those parts for transporting provisions and stores up the river. Meanwhile he decided to restore the old fort, and work upon it was begun on the 24th of September. "My reasons," he says, "for fixing on this spot, though somewhat commanded by the hill on the back, were that it was so much work ready done to our hands, the command it would have of the harbor, the convenience of landing our stores, and the great difficulties that would have attended its being erected farther back from the shore, having no conveniency for moving our stores but by men. Besides, as the season was so far advanced, and we had still to go up the river, I thought it best to fix on what would be soonest done. . . And in regard to the hill that has some command of it, it is only with cannon, which the enemy would find great difficulty in bringing, and this may hereafter be remedied by erecting some small work on it."

During the next few weeks there was a busy scene about the old fort. On a spot where just before there had been scarcely a human habitation,

an army of 2,000 men was encamped, and a fleet of a dozen vessels lay at anchor near the shore. For a month 600 men were daily employed in the construction of the works at the fort. The sound of the pick and shovel, axe, hammer and saw, were heard on every hand.

St. John and Annapolis were in close touch in those days, as will appear from the following extracts from the journal of Captain John Knox:

"September 25th. This morning the *Ulysses*, sloop of war, sailed from Annapolis for St. John's harbor. Our Fort Major was sent to Brigadier Monckton to give him a true state of this garrison."

"September 26th. A sloop arrived here from Old York [near Portsmouth, Maine,] with timber, planks and boards for the new fort on St. John's river."

"September 28th. Several sloops arrived here to-day with stores of all kinds for St. John's. The reason of their touching at this place is to be assured of our fleet and forces being there before them."

Captain Knox's journal throws light upon several obscure points in Monckton's official report to Amherst. We learn, for example, that Major Scott's Light Infantry was composed of picked men from the various corps who subsequently returned to their own regiments; also that reconnoitering parties of Rangers went up the river, to the distance of eighty miles, and brought back reports of their observations, whilst Monckton was awaiting the arrival of the small river craft necessary to proceed with the main body of his forces. Boishébert retired at this time with his small force, and the Jesuit missionary, Germain, took advantage of the delay to withdraw the Indians to Quebec, lest they should be enticed from allegiance to their old master, the King of France. The poor Acadians, in their little settlements at Grimross, St. Anne's and elsewhere, were left unprotected, and in a state of unrest and alarm. Their scouts soon divined the intention of the British general to proceed up the river, and every day increased their dire forebodings of coming disaster. They sought safety in the woods and lived after the Indian fashion. Their condition was pitiable.

While the fort was building, Monckton was engaged in collecting military stores, provisions and supplies of various kinds for which he sent to Fort Cumberland, Annapolis, Halifax and Boston. The officers' barracks were erected on the 2nd of October and the work at the fort made rapid progress, but it was not until the 21st of October that the

expedition was in a position to proceed up the river. The early autumn days wore rapidly away as the work at the fort went on. Carleton has never since had so many able-bodied citizens as Monckton's 2,000 soldiers. Nor has the city of St. John ever had so large a body of troops in residence as were encamped for two months on the rising ground back of the fort in Carleton in the autumn of 1758.

The fort, as re-constructed, was called Fort Frederick, and traces of its ramparts are visible at the present day.

Captain Cobb returned from Fort Cumberland on the 30th of September with Danks' company of Rangers, five whale boats and nine Acadians.

The extracts from Knox's journal, which follow, are particularly interesting:

"October 6th. Vessels are continually running between this port [Annapolis], Boston, Halifax and St. John—now Fort Frederic. From the latter of these places our Fort Major is returned. He says that the new fort will be a strong compact place, will mount 21 pieces of cannon, from four to twelve pounders, besides several mortars, swivels and wall pieces, and that the barracks for the garrison are almost finished. Brigadier Monckton had detached a small reconnoitering party of rangers up the country. They proceeded to the distance of 80 miles, keeping the course of the river, and at their return reported that they saw several large settlements with fields of corn still standing, but did not discover any of the enemy. The French prisoners that were at Fort Cumberland have been sent to Fort Frederic to serve as guides and pilots on the river St. John. They have informed the Brigadier that Boishebert was expected to be at this time at the head of that river with 500 regulars and militia and 200 savages, but that upon the approach of our armament they will retire, unless they have lately received orders from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor Gen'l of Canada, to act otherwise. They add that the two privateers are above the Falls and may be easily recovered."

In a footnote it is stated that these privateers were the *Eagle* trading sloop and the *Endeavour* schooner, which were surprised as they lay at anchor; Mearns and Gerow were the masters, who with other seamen were sent to Quebec as prisoners.

Captain Knox here introduces a curious incident that had lately happened in the garrison at Fort Cumberland, and which was doubtless regarded with interest, and very freely discussed by the officers of all the garrisons, *i. e.*, of Fort Cumberland, Annapolis and Fort Frederick. We quote from the journal:

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"Colonel James, of the 43d regiment, has lately sustained a severe loss. His servant, who was a Frenchman, or Swiss, and had been many years a soldier in the regiment, deserted from Fort Cumberland, and took with him near 80 guineas, a fusil, a pair of silver mountel pistols, a sword mounted with the same metal and several other articles. Before he went off he communicated his intentions to the French female prisoners, who gave him full directions about the road he should take and the places where it was most probable he would fall in with the enemy, for which (and perhaps other favors) the deserter rewarded them with a hat full of silver, being dollars, fourths and eights of the same money, as he apprehended such a quantity might be too weighty for him to carry away. A large party of regulars and rangers were sent in pursuit, but did not come up with him; they took one prisoner, destroyed a large settlement and burned about 200 bushels of wheat and other provisions. Brigadier Monckton being immediately apprised of this robbery, detached a party of rangers as far as Pitscordiac [Petitcodiac] River in hopes to intercept the deserter, but they also returned without meeting him. They surprised two Frenchmen fishing, who were taken after a fruitless resistance. Upon the return of the rangers to Fort Frederic, the two prisoners were very sullen and refused to give any intelligence, but being threatened with a gibbet, they afterwards proved more open and were very serviceable. Colonel James has since recovered the greatest part of the dollars and small money, which the French women had concealed in some of their old rags in holes of the chimney and other hiding places of the apartment where they were confined."

The people of New England learned from time to time of the progress of events at Fort Frederick, and the amount of space devoted to the latest news from the River St. John by the Boston *Post* and other newspapers shows that the interest was general throughout New England. The continuous border warfare with the French and Indians had created among the belligerents an intensity of bitterness which it is hard for those not well read in our early history to understand. A specimen of this animosity will be found in the following passage quoted from Knox's journal:

"October 27th. A sloop is returned from Fort Frederic. The master of her assures us that the Cape Sable detachment have been very successful; that they surprised 100 of the French—men, women and children, whom they made prisoners, burned and destroyed all their settlements and sent their captives to Halifax to be transmitted from thence to Europe. With inconceivable pleasure we now behold the situation of affairs most happily changed in this province by the glorious success of His Majesty's arms at Louisburg. The wretched inhabitants

of this country—as well French as the aborigines—are now paying dear for all their inhuman and barbarous treatment of British subjects, and feeling the just weight of our resentment.

"A few nights ago as the *Ulysses* sloop of war was going over the falls at St. John's River above Fort Frederic, she struck and instantly sunk; there were not many lives lost; most of the casks and many other articles (military stores excepted) floated towards the shore and have been since recovered.

"Brigadier Monckton and the forces are gone up the river from Fort Frederic. This intelligence is received by a brig from thence, which was dispatched here for provisions, iron work, a forge and bellows, etc., etc., and also for some smiths and carpenters."

The *Boston Post*, in its issue of the 30th October, contains the following reference to affairs at St. John:

"Wednesday last Capt. Miller arrived here in 6 days with despatches from our forces at St. John's River in Nova Scotia, by which we learn that Brigadier General Monckton had almost finished a strong fort, just above the entrance of that river, on the same spot where the French some years ago erected a fort, which they afterwards demolished. That the French and Indians continue to retire farther up, as our Rangers advance in their scouting, in which they have discovered several of their huts and fields, etc., which they had deserted. That a number of vessels lay ready to carry a body of our troops as far up the river as they possibly could, where 'tis said the French have a small fort, and where they have got up the two vessels that were taken from the English some time ago in the Bay of Funday, and afterwards improved as cruisers. That these troops were to proceed, as soon as Maj. Morris had joined them from Cape Sable, from which place they had an express the 17th inst. with an account that Maj. Morris and Capt. Goreham, with a number of our forces had taken a French place called Capesse, with 70 prisoners and about 100 head of cattle; among the prisoners was a French priest, who has engaged, upon granting them indemnity, to bring in 200 more to submit themselves; and 'tis said he is accordingly gone with a party of our troops, with a flag of truce, for that purpose."

It was not till the expiration of a month from the date of his landing at St. John that Brigadier Monckton was ready to proceed up the river to destroy the French settlements, as he had been instructed to do. Even then the start was not a very auspicious one, as we learn from the entry in his journal, under date October 21st, which reads:

"Works continued. Having got together several sloops and schooners and victual'd them, I order Cobb & Rogers to pass the Falls to cover

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the other vessels as they might be able to get through. They accordingly get under way. Cobb being the headmost passes the Narrows* but is too late to get over the Falls and obliged to come too in a little cove below. The *Ulysses*, Capt. Rogers, in passing the Narrows, strikes on a rock, and is driven by the tide into a creek above Cobb, where the vessel sunk in a short time, and it was with great difficulty the Light Infantry, who were in her, and crew were saved. Upon hearing this and that Cobb did not lay very safe I ordered him down again and very luckily, for at Low Water he would have struck on the Rocks."

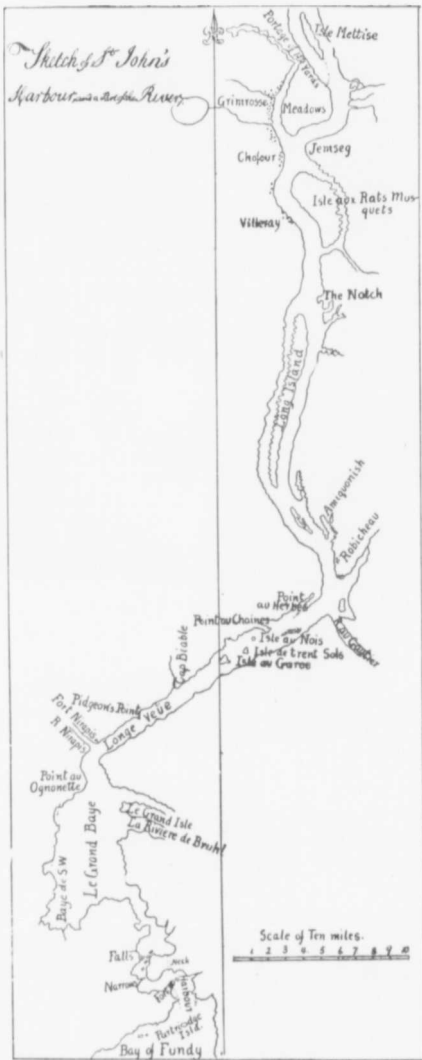
The captain of the man-of-war "Squirrel" endeavored to raise the "Ulysses," but was forced to abandon the attempt, and she proved a total wreck.

Having at length got the smaller vessels safely above the Falls and the troops on board, with provisions for a fortnight, Monckton himself embarked in Capt. Cobb's sloop "York," leaving Capt. Bellen, of the 35th Regiment, in command of the troops at the fort. The force that proceeded up the river numbered about 1,200 men.

The little fleet set out on the 30th of October, and on the following day arrived at *Isle au Garce*, or Caton's Island, below Oak Point, in the Long Reach. This is the island upon which some traders and fishers of St. Malo built their huts and formed a small settlement in 1611. It was probably the first European settlement within the confines of this province. The island was at that time known by its Indian name, Emenenic. The Jesuit missionary, Biard, held on the island in the month of October, 1611, the first religious service on the St. John of which we have any distinct record. The Indians still call the Island "Ah-men-henik," which is almost identical in sound with Biard's Emenenic, proving that the old Indian name has persisted for three hundred years. The plan of the river on the next page was made by the surveyor, Samuel Holland, who accompanied Monckton in the expedition. It is of special interest on account of the peculiar intermixture of French and English names. This feature is quite in harmony with the epoch, which was one of transition. The Devil's Back was then known by its French equivalent, Cap Diable, and Oak Point by its equivalent, Point au Chaines.

On the evening of November 2nd, the sloop "York," with General Monckton on board, came to anchor under lee of Long Island. Some

* At the site of the present Suspension Bridge.



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of the party landed and found on the island walnuts (or butternuts) "much like English walnuts."

Saturday, November 4th, was a lamentable day for the Acadians at the village of Grimross, the site of the present village of Gagetown. The settlers had abandoned their homes, carried their effects into the woods and driven off their cattle. Monckton landed 700 men, a party large enough in all conscience, but he thought it wise to take every precaution, not knowing what opposition he might experience. They met with not the slightest resistance. In his journal he writes:

"It being late in the day I gave orders for burning the houses and barns, being in all about 50, and for destroying all the grain, of which there was a good deal, and everything else that could be of the least service to the inhabitants hereafter. Having burnt and destroyed everything we marched back and re-embarked. As we were disembarking in the morning some canoes were seen crossing the head of Grimrose river [Gagetown Creek], and near where we landed there had lately been some birch canoes made. Much cleared land here. Fine country. This village was settled by the inhabitants of Beausejour, when drove off from thence in 1755."

The expedition only got a little further when the "York" got aground, and several of the transports had a similar experience. Monckton was forced to give up the idea of proceeding to St. Ann's on account of the shoalness of the water and the lateness of the season. He therefore determined to return and destroy everything he could on his way down the river. The surrounding country was scoured by McCurdy's rangers, who succeeded in killing some cattle, but took no prisoners. Danks' and Brewer's rangers burned a number of houses at Upper Gagetown. As they were returning from their foray, they came across some Frenchmen who were driving off about forty head of cattle. Most of the cattle were destroyed, but the Acadians made their escape. Capt. McCurdy was sent across the river to the Jemseg to destroy all the houses and grain that he might find in that quarter, and to kill the cattle, and these orders were duly obeyed. Monckton burnt the little settlement called Villeray's (about three miles below Gagetown), and, as he came down the river, sent a small party to burn the historic settlement of the Sieur de Belleisle and his sons-in-law, the brothers Robicheaux, just above Belleisle Bay. On the 8th November, after an absence of ten days he arrived at the place above the Falls where the troops had embarked.

The *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, in its issue of the 27th November, 1758, mentions having received news of the return to Fort Frederick of the party that had gone up the river. The paragraph reads:

"Friday last [Nov. 24] a Transport, Capt. Edwards, arrived here from St. John's, having Troops belonging to the Train (of Artillery). By him we learn that Col. Monckton had proceeded as far up that river as he possibly could; that he killed between 30 and 40 head of cattle, eight or ten horses, and a number of hogs, sheep, etc., and that he burnt all the houses, barns, huts, grain, etc., for twenty leagues up the river. We also hear that Capt. Cobb had taken a sloop and a schooner, besides a number of prisoners."

Monckton himself was not very much elated at his success, for a few days after his return he wrote to Lieut.-Governor de Lancey, of New York:

"I am sorry I can't give you a better account of our proceedings up this river. But it was attended with so many unavoidable delays and impediments that we were only able to go up about 23 leagues, which is above ten leagues short of St. Amos—where, if we had been able to have reached, it is by very certain accounts of no consequence, being only a village and not the least signs of a fort.

"We burnt one village and some straggling houses and destroyed everything that could be the least serviceable to them, so that I should think that they will in the spring be obliged to return to Canada. The River, after passing the Falls, is as fine a river as ever I saw, and when you get up about ten leagues the country is level, with fine woods of oak, beech, birch and walnut, and no underwood, and the land able to produce anything. We have just finished a pretty good fort here, where the old French Fort stood, which will be a footing for anything that may be thought proper to be undertaken hereafter."

Brigadier Monckton was not alone in his admiration of our noble River St. John, as we find from the following entry in Capt. Knox's journal:

"November 26th—Being curious in my inquiries about the river St. John's, a very ingenious, sensible officer of the 35th regiment informed me that he surveyed that river in his passage up and down; that it is spacious and deep, for he also took the soundings of it; that at the broadest part is above three miles over, and at the narrowest something less than one mile; that there is sufficient water for ships of from one to five hundred tons burthen; and, in short, he spoke of it with great

rapture and praises. This agreeable gentleman* promised me a sight of his observations and remarks, which he had reduced to writing, but not being able then to get at his papers (as he had not yet opened his baggage), and we being both unsettled during my stay here, I lost that satisfaction. I remember I asked him how it came to pass that the *Ulysses* sloop of war was lost in sailing upwards? To this he replied that fault, if any, lay in the pilot and not in the navigation, and that this loss was merely accidental."

While Monckton was absent, three hundred men had been steadily at work on the fort; so that it must have been nearly finished when he returned. It received the name of Fort Frederick, in honor of one of the princes of the House of Brunswick.

The last of the vessels from up the river arrived at Fort Frederick on the 11th of November, and Monckton at once took steps to distribute his troops among the garrisons of Fort Cumberland, Windsor, Annapolis and Halifax.

At Annapolis Royal intelligence was eagerly awaited of the results of Monckton's expedition. Capt. Knox complains of the monotony of garrison duty. "Troops," he says, "that are confined to the retired forts in this country lead a very insipid, disagreeable kind of life. Soldiers are naturally fond of variety and activity. The want of a good collection of books is a very sensible loss to the officers, and the constant sameness in all we hear and see is tiresome, one day being the dull duplicate of another."

Intelligence was received at Annapolis in due time, as we learn from Knox's journal:

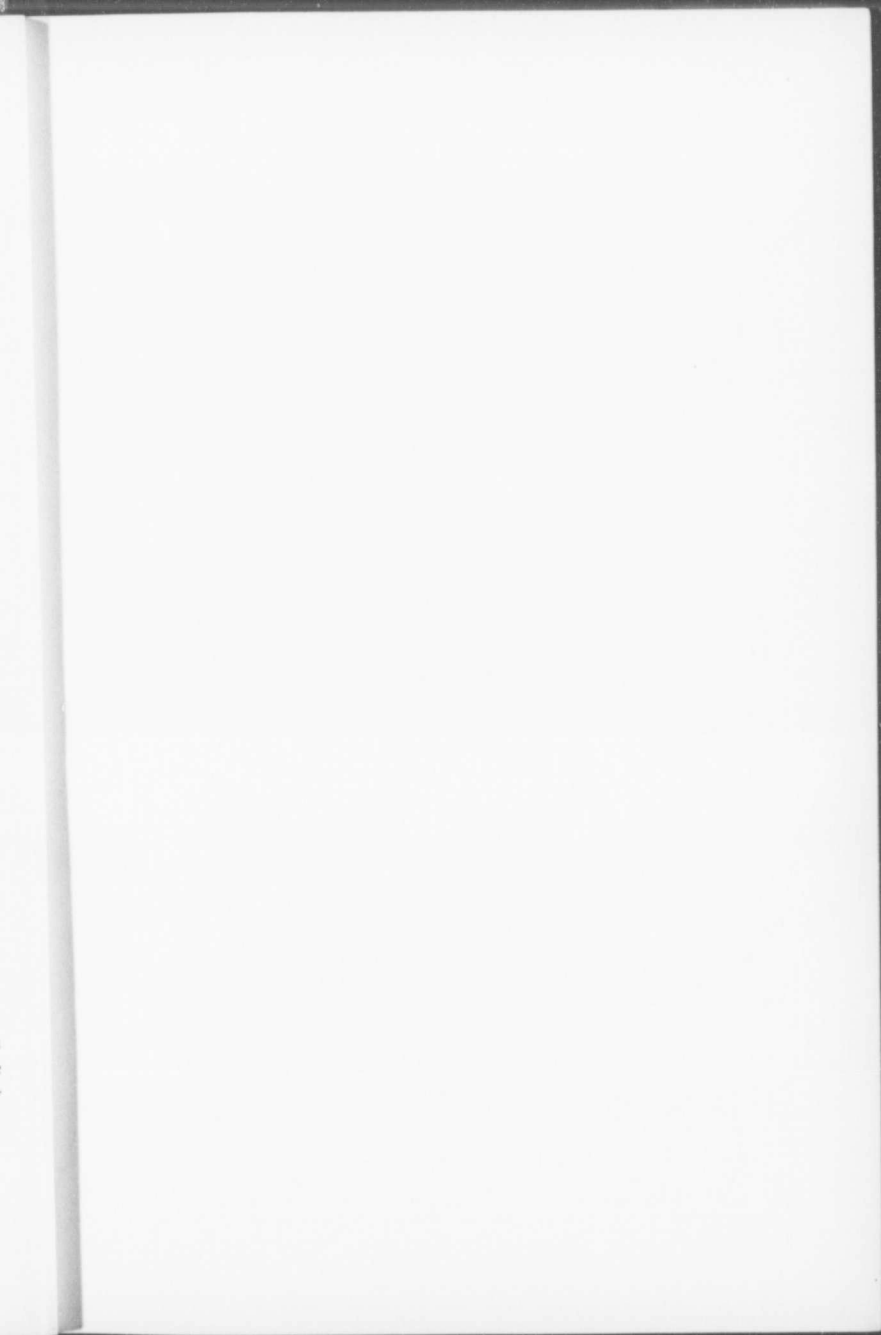
"November 19th—Some guns were heard this morning from the Bay, which we conjecture are to notify the return of Brigadier Monckton and the troops from the upper part of the St. John's river to Fort Frederick. We are in hourly expectation of being relieved by a detachment of the 35th regiment. A schooner arrived here to-day after a passage of four days only from Boston. This is very remarkable, that run being often from 8 to 14 days, but generally 6 or 7. She is bound to Fort Frederic with King's provisions and was put in here by a contrary wind."

* In a footnote, Capt. Knox says that the officer who gave him this information was Capt. Ince, a very accomplished and worthy fellow, who died of the wounds he received at the second battle of Quebec. He was well known in the polite world for his fine voice and great taste in music. He departed universally lamented. Captain Ince may have been associated with Samuel Helland in the survey of the river at this time.

" November 21st—Arrived from Fort Frederick an hospital ship with sick men and a small schooner with convalescents, belonging to the 35th regiment, together with their surgeon."

" November 23rd—Five companies of the 35th regiment arrived to-day. The other half of the regiment is stationed between Fort Frederick and Fort Edward (Windsor), three companies at the former of these places and two at the latter. The battalion of Royal Americans that was employed with the 35th are sailed under Brigadier Monckton to Halifax. The rangers are cantoned throughout the province as usual, and the light infantry, which were composed of chosen men from the different regiments are returned to their respective corps. We have the pleasure of meeting with some of our old acquaintances among the officers of this new garrison (the 35th regiment) who inform us that when Brigadier Monckton and the forces were landing at St. John's a body of 200 Indians, who have always inhabited the banks of that river, lay in ambush on the top of a cape or headland, which commands the place of disembarkation; that they were very eager to fire upon our troops, but were prevented by some of their sachems, or chiefs, who told them that if they proposed making peace with the English, which in the present situation of affairs they earnestly exhorted them to think of, this would be a bad way to effect it. Upon this advice they retired, and proceeded up the country to consult with their good friends the French, to whom they imparted their intentions of burying the hatchet and brightening the chain [of friendship] with the British governor; but an ignorant priest, disapproving their conduct, scolded and abused them for not endeavoring to oppose the landing of the forces, diverted them from their pacific intentions and decoyed them to escort and accompany him to Canada. This intelligence they received from some prisoners they took in their expedition up that river, where they found the two traders [vessels] of which the enemy had possessed themselves some months ago. In the course of this service several settlements were destroyed, about forty captives were made and almost a hundred head of black cattle killed. This armament did not proceed to the head of St. John's river, for the frost setting in earlier than usual and with greater severity they were apprehensive of being frozen up, and therefore returned to the fort, which they found completed for the reception of its new garrison."

Many of the Acadians on the St. John retired to Quebec upon the destruction of their settlements by the English invaders. The Marquis de Vaudreuil mentions their arrival in a letter than he wrote to the French minister on the 9th November, 1758. Some, however, who lived at the village of St. Anne's, remained, vainly trusting that they were sufficiently remote to escape molestation.



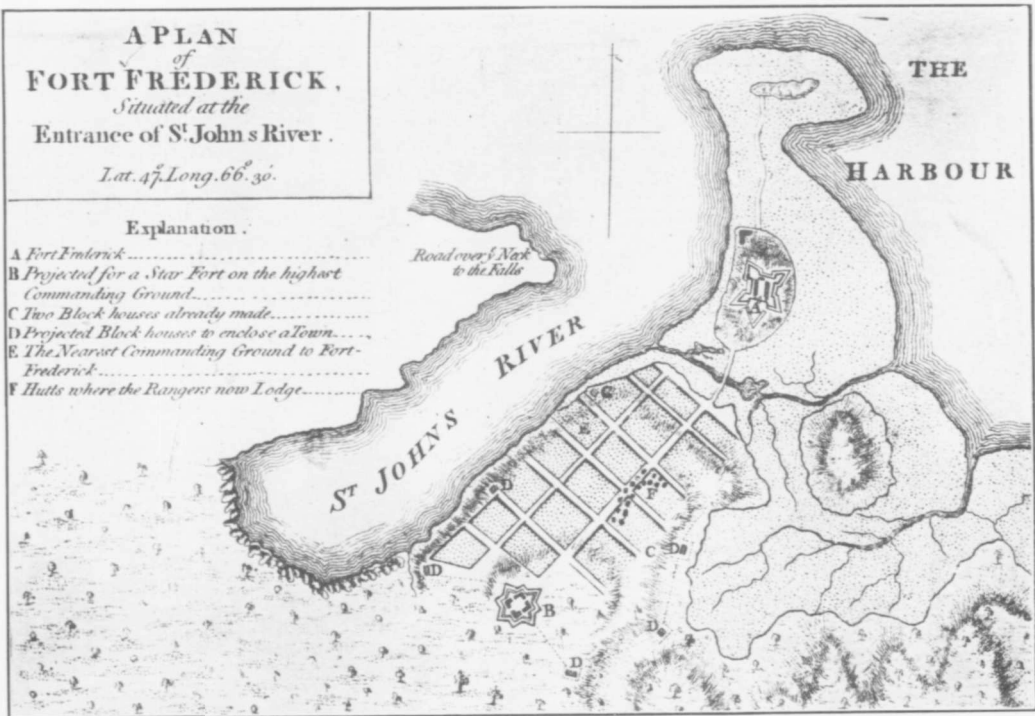
A PLAN
of
FORT FREDERICK,
Situated at the
Entrance of St John's River.

Lat. 47. Long. 66. 30.

Explanation.

- A Fort Frederick.....
- B Projected for a Star Fort on the highest
Commanding Ground.....
- C Two Block houses already made.....
- D Projected Block houses to enclose a Town.....
- E The Nearest Commanding Ground to Fort-
Frederick.....
- F Huts where the Rangers now Lodge.....

*Road over's Neck
to the Kills*



The Marquis de Vaudreuil was keenly interested in the course of events on the St. John, although his forces were much too small to repel the invaders. He wrote to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that a French-Canadian had lately escaped from confinement at Fort Frederick, at the mouth of the River St. John, and returned to Canada. He described the English fort as exactly of the same size as the old fort, but much stronger. The embankment was at least ten feet in thickness and surmounted by palisades ten feet high in the form of chevaux de frise. The Frenchman had counted eighteen cannons of 18 L. calibre, and the English had told him they expected to mount in all thirty cannons of 20 L. and of 18 L.

A very interesting plan of Fort Frederick and its surroundings* has been lately brought to light by the researches of our indefatigable corresponding member, Dr. W. F. Ganong. This plan is reproduced in these pages, on a slightly reduced scale, and is worthy of careful study. The situation and outline of the bastions of the fort are clearly shown, also the contour of the shore and other topographical features. Upon comparing the plan with a modern map of Carleton, we find the site of the huts occupied by the Massachusetts Rangers to have been a little west of the Market Place, near the south line of what is now King Street. The star fort marked B, near the site of St. George's church, was never built, nor were any of the block houses erected except those marked with the letter C, one of which occupied the high ground near Uriah Dake's residence on Water Street, where a number of relics have from time to time been dug up; the other stood near the corner of Ludlow and Guilford Streets. The streets marked on the plan are of course merely ideal, and at that time had no existence. Fort Frederick could not comfortably accommodate within its ramparts so large a garrison as the one that wintered there in 1758-9. The erection of huts for the rangers was consequently a matter of necessity. It seems to have been considered advisable to continue the use of the huts, although the garrison was reduced considerably after the first year. The fort site was itself rather small, and taking into consideration the space required for the magazine,

* The original of this plan is to be found amongst "A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual survey, 1763," by J. Roque, a copy of which is in the library of Congress in Washington. See Dr. Ganong's "Additions to Monographs" in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1906, page 142.

garrison stores, officers' barracks, etc., there was little freedom of movement for the men. The surrounding country being practically a wilderness, there was no likelihood of desertion, or of the men being out of quarters after gun-fire. A glance at the plan shows that the fort site was separated from the mainland, even at low tide, by a creek, and at high water it was in every sense an island. This was in itself an inconvenience. A greater one was the lack of drinking water. Complaints on this head go back at least to the time of Governor Villebon's residence. One of his officers, in a letter written June 23rd, 1699, says: "The Governor keeps the water within the fort for the exclusive use of his kitchen and his mare, others being obliged to use snow water, often very dirty." The fort was then called Menagoeche, or "Fort de la Rivière de St. Jean." Governor Villebon died there on the 5th of July, 1700. He was in all probability interred in the garrison burial ground which, there is reason to believe, is now occupied by the foot of King Street. His successor, Brouillan, determined to abandon the fort, alleging that it was too small, and was commanded on one side by an island [Navy Island] at the distance of a pistol shot, and on the other by a height, with the further advantage of having no water to drink, without going to seek it across the river that flowed about it. He therefore caused the fortifications to be razed, demolished the houses, and carried away the guns and everything of a portable character to Port Royal. The cannon mounted on the ramparts some years later by Boishébert were probably not those removed by Brouillan.

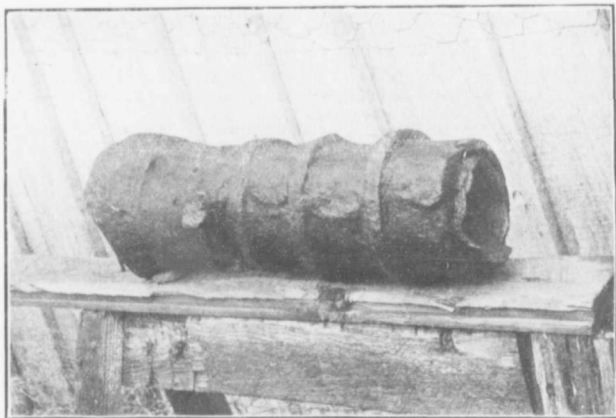
It has already been related in this paper that Boishébert, on the arrival of Capt. Rous with his squadron at the mouth of the river in 1755, blew up his magazine, burst his cannon and retired up the river; and it is worth mentioning in this connection that a few years ago some workmen who were employed in laying down a sewer at the old fort site dug up a fragment of a very old cannon of small calibre. It was hooped with iron to give it additional strength, and is in all probability a fragment of one of the guns destroyed by Boishébert. Many gun fragments were doubtless covered by the earth dumped upon the spot by Monckton's soldiers in the construction of the terraces of Fort Frederick. The fragment of the old gun is shown in the accompanying illustration.*

* The gun fragment is now in possession of Samuel K. Wilson, who lives on the old fort site in Carleton. Mr. Wilson has other interesting relics, including a half penny of the time of George the Second (1749), a soldier's button with the figure "8" and letter "K" thereon, etc., etc.

When the foot of King Street, in Carleton, was graded, some twenty-five years ago, the workmen, in their digging, came upon an old graveyard, presumably the garrison burial ground long used by the French and English. About the same time, or a little earlier, a number of relics were dug up at the old fort site on Middle Street. Thomas O'Keleher, who made a survey of the vicinity for the government in 1847, records in his field book some statements of aged citizens in Carleton concerning the old burial ground.

In the plan of St. John harbor, made by Lieut. Bruce of the Engineers in 1761, "gardens" are marked upon the slopes of the hillsides back of the fort. These spots, cleared originally by the French, we may suppose, were afterwards cultivated by the English garrison.

After his return from the expedition up the St. John river, General Monckton stayed at Fort Frederick until the 21st of November, when, finding the fortifications and barracks complete and winter at hand, he sailed to Halifax. Three companies of the 35th Regiment and a detachment of artillery were ordered to remain at the fort; and the fuel for



FRAGMENT OF OLD FRENCH CANNON DUG UP AT SITE OF THE OLD FORT IN CARLETON.

the garrison not having been laid in, McCurdy's, Stark's and Brewer's companies of Massachusetts Rangers were also left behind as woodcutters. Monckton's instructions to Major Morris were that Captain McCurdy's company should hut and remain for the winter, the other

two, after completing the wood supply, to proceed to Halifax in the vessels which he left for their transport. This they probably did before the end of December.

The first winter's garrison at St. John comprised about 300 men. Their commanding officer, Major Roger Morris, had a distinguished military career. He was born in England, January 28, 1717. In 1755 he was a captain in the 48th Regiment and aide-de-camp to General Braddock. In the disastrous encounter with the French near Fort du Quesne, Braddock, after five horses were killed under him, was mortally wounded; his two aide-de-camps, Orme and Morris, were also wounded, and his extra aide-de-camp, George Washington, had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places. Early in 1758 Roger Morris exchanged into the 35th Regiment, in which he served under Colonel Otway at the siege of Louisbourg, and afterwards came with Brigadier Monckton to the River St. John. He was left in command at Fort Frederick during the winter of 1758-9. The next year he was with Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, and rendered efficient service a little later at the battle of Sillery. When he retired from the army in 1764 he was a lieutenant-colonel. He went to New York and was appointed a member of the Executive Council of the province.

The year 1758 was an eventful one to Major Morris. Shortly before the siege of Louisbourg he married Mary Philipse, of New York, a lady renowned for her beauty and accomplishments, and who is believed to have refused an offer of marriage from no less a personage than George Washington. Her sister, Susannah Philipse, married Colonel Beverley Robinson.

During the American Revolution the State of New York passed an act by which fifty-nine individuals were proscribed and banished, and their estates forfeited to the people of the State. This list included the names of Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity church, New York, and Margaret, his wife; Colonel Roger Morris and Mary, his wife; Colonel Beverley Robinson and Susannah, his wife. The ladies mentioned are the only women known to have been attainted for treason by any of the States. They, in common with their husbands, were declared to be forever banished, and in case of their return to be adjudged and declared to be guilty of felony and to suffer death as in cases of felony. The crime with which the unfortunate ladies were charged was that of

"adhering to the enemies of the States," that is to say, of not abandoning their own husbands. The real motive on the part of the vindictive New York Legislature was to get possession of their large estates. That of Mary (Philipse) Morris eventually passed into the hands of the Astor family, and was, to a considerable extent, the foundation of their fortune. Mrs. Morris survived her husband, and died at York, in England, in 1825, at the age of 95 years.

Returning from this digression, we proceed to consider again the course of events at the River St. John.

Sir Wm. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, in his correspondence with the Governor of Nova Scotia, had repeatedly urged the necessity of dislodging the Acadians settled at St. Anne's. In his letter, dated at Boston, March 13th, 1756, he writes:

"As to the other principal object of attention, which I have before mentioned, viz.: the taking possession of and fortifying St. John's River, I think dislodging and taking possession of their upper fort—which from the accounts given by some of the Eastern Indians and New England traders to those parts it seems probable they have built about 90 miles up the river and six miles below the old Indian Town—is an essential service."

Governor Shirley thought it might be necessary to establish a fortified post at St. Anne's to prevent the Acadians from returning and to overawe the Indians. He thought that a garrison of fifty men would in that event be sufficient at the mouth of the river.

Part of the programme proposed by the Governor of Massachusetts had now been carried out by the erection of Fort Frederick. The dispossessing of the French at St. Anne's remained to be done.

Monckton, although unable himself to get to St. Anne's, had ascertained that it was only a defenceless village. In the ensuing winter the village was completely destroyed by McCurdy's rangers, as we learn from General Amherst's letter to William Pitt, of April 19, 1759:

"I have received a report from Major Morris, commanding at Fort Frederick, on the St. John's River, in the Bay of Fundy, that Capt. McCurdy, commanding the ranging company there was, when on a scout, killed by the fall of a tree. Lieut. Hazen afterwards marched with a party up the River St. John's, on the 19th of February; went up higher than St. Ann's, burnt and destroyed the village, took six prisoners, killed six and five made their escape; he returned to the fort on the 5th of

March with his prisoners and without the loss of a man. One of the prisoners, whose name is Beausejour, has a commission from Monsieur de Galissonnière issued in 1749, as major of militia for the River St. John. By the intelligence it appears that the chief part of the inhabitants belonging to this river went to Canada last fall * * * * on Brigadier Monckton's taking post at St. John's; and now that Lt. Hazen has burnt upwards of a hundred buildings, killed the cattle and destroyed the premises, it will not be possible for the enemy to take any hold there."

The major of militia, Beausejour, mentioned above, is better known as Bellefontaine. He was one of the oldest inhabitants on the river. After his release from imprisonment he went, with others of his relations, to live at Cherbourg, in France. He obtained a pension of 300 livres on account of his losses and services. The minute with regard to his application for a pension states:

"The Sieur Joseph Bellefontaine (or Beausejour) of the River St. John, son of Gabriel, an officer of the King's ships in Canada and of Angelique Roberte-Jeanne, was major of all the militia of the River St. John by order of M. de la Galissonnière, of the 10th April, 1749, and always exercised his function during the war until he was captured by the enemy. He possessed several leagues of land in that quarter, and while he lived there experienced the grief of beholding one of his daughters and three of her children massacred before his eyes by the English, who wished by this piece of cruelty to induce him to take their part in order to escape similar treatment. He only escaped such a fate by his flight into the woods, carrying along with him two other children of the same daughter."

The young mother so ruthlessly slain was Nastasie Bellefontaine, wife of Eustache Pare. Other victims at this time were the wife and child of Michael Bellefontaine, a son of Major Joseph Bellefontaine. The poor fellow says he had the anguish of seeing his wife and boy killed before his eyes on his refusal to side with the enemy.

News of the destruction of St. Anne's reached the Annapolis garrison not long after its occurrence, for Captain John Knox writes in his journal that the captain of a company of rangers in their garrison had received a letter from Lieutenant Butler, of the garrison at Fort Frederick, written on the 6th of March, which contained the following intelligence:

"Captain McCurdy was killed by the falling of a tree on the 30th of January. Lieutenant Hazen commands at present, who returned last night from a scout up the river. He marched from this fort the 18th

February and went to St. Ann's: the whole of the inhabitants being gone off, he burned one hundred and forty-seven dwelling houses, two mass houses, besides all their barns, stables, granaries, etc. He returned down the river about — where he found a house in a thick forest, with a number of cattle, horses and hogs; these he destroyed. There was fire in the chimney; the people were gone off into the woods; he pursued, killed and scalped six men, brought in four, with two women and three children; he returned to the house, set it on fire, threw the cattle into the flames and arrived safe with his prisoners he and the party all well."

All this seems very horrible, and hard to believe, but unfortunately the savagery of the New Englanders finds confirmation from other sources. The Commander-in-chief in America, General Amherst, wrote the Governor of Nova Scotia:

"You will have heard of the accident poor Capt. McCurdy met with as likewise of the success of his Lieut. in demolishing the settlement of St. Anne's; on the recommendation of Major Scott I have preferred Lieut. Hazen to Capt. McCurdy's company."

But the Commander-in-Chief a few weeks later wrote:

"Major Morris sent me particulars of the scouting party and I gave a commission of Captain to Lieut. Hazen, as I thought he deserved it; I am sorry to say what I have since heard of that affair has sullied his merit with me, as I shall always disapprove of killing women and helpless children. Poor McCurdy is a loss, he was a good man in his post."

It would seem from a despatch of the Marquis de Vandreuil that the tragic event to which General Amherst refers took place on Sunday, the 28th of February, on which occasion, Vandreuil says, the New England troops killed two women and four children, whose scalps were carried off.

Further reference to the event is to be found in Rev. Jacob Bailey's journal. This gentleman, while travelling, had occasion to lodge at Norwood's Inn, Lynn, Massachusetts, one night in December, 1759, and, speaking of the company he found there, says:

"We had among us a soldier belonging to Captain Hazen's company of rangers, who declared that several Frenchmen were barbarously murdered by them, after quarters were given, and the villain added, I suppose to show his importance, that he 'split the head of one asunder, after he fell on his knees to implore mercy. A specimen of New England clemency!"

It may well be doubted whether this tragedy of the wilderness was enacted in Lieutenant's Hazen's presence or with his consent. It was probably an exemplification of the words of Captain Murray, written at the time of the Expulsion of the Acadians: "Our soldiers, you know, hate them, and if they can find an occasion to kill them, they will."

In the Revolutionary War Moses Hazen was a "rebel," fought against the King, raised a corps known as "Hazen's Own," and rose to the rank of major-general. His younger brother, William, well known as one of the founders of St. John and a member of the first Executive Council of New Brunswick, was thoroughly loyal to the Crown.

In consequence of this mid-winter foray of the Massachusetts Rangers, St. Anne's was left in a state of desolation. Moses Perley says that when the advance party of the Maugerville colony arrived there in 1762, they found the whole river front, of what is now the city of Fredericton, cleared for about ten rods back from the bank, and they saw the blackened remains of a considerable settlement. The houses had been burned, and the cultivated land was fast relapsing into a wilderness state. In this condition the place remained until the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783. It is a curious circumstance that many of the men of Massachusetts, who were instrumental in the expulsion of the Acadians, were afterwards instrumental in the expulsion of the American Loyalists, who were driven as exiles to the lands once occupied by the exiled Acadians.

An interesting incident connected with the period of French occupation was related many years ago by the grandmother of the late Judge Fisher to one of her descendants. The good old lady came to St. Annes in October, 1783. Not many months after her arrival there was a great scarcity of provisions, and the unfortunate settlers, in some cases, were obliged to dig up the potatoes they had planted and eat them. As the season advanced they were cheered by the discovery of large patches of pure white beans, marked with a black cross. They had been planted by the French, and were growing wild. In their joy at this fortunate discovery the settlers called them "the staff of life and the hope of the starving."

Glimpses of the course of events at Fort Frederick during the next few years are to be found in the correspondence of the governors of Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. We have also valuable information

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in the interesting diary of John Burrell, lately published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.^{*} Burrell belonged to Abington, Mass., and was a sergeant in Captain Moses Parker's company at Fort Frederick in 1759. The commandant of the garrison at that time was Colonel Arbuthnot. Among the officers were Commissary Henry Green, Captains Parker and Gerrish, Lieutenants Hutchins, Clapp, Deming and Foster, and Ensigns Pike and Tirrell. The garrison included about two hundred Massachusetts troops.

The period covered by Sergeant Burrell's diary begins with the 3rd of August, 1759, and ends with the 23rd of July, 1760. Some of the incidents he has recorded will appear trivial, but they were such as served to break the monotony of life in the wilderness, and, as specimens, we will take the following:

"Thursday 30 August we kild a Bare a swimming acrost ye River."

"Sunday 30th September a white Moos came Down on ye Pint and we fired on it."

"Wednesday 17th October A Cold Storm and it snowed a little ye wind blue."

"Tuesday ye 1st day of ye year 1760 three Indians fell over Bord & Drowned, one leetle Boye got a shoare."

"Wednesday ye 16th [Jan'y] Reseved a letter from my wif date July ye 15th 1759."

"Tusday ye 22d Day of Janawary 1760 Between 10 & 11 o'clock at night a Commett was seen to fall in ye north west & a noyes was heard like to 3 cannon Destink."

"Fryday ye 18th maid a vitualing Role and all ye soldiers were revewed toDay."

"Thirsday ye 21 [February] our Capt Parker went up to Bobares Fort a fishing."

"Fryday ye 29 Leape yeare 1760."

"Sunday ye 23d [March] a Snow Storm, we all Received 4 pds Bounty of Col. Arbuthnott."

"Tusday ye 22d [April] finished 30 thou. of shingles."

"Fryday ye 6th [June] Capt Hart Casel come & we finished off 63 thousand of H shingles & ye Col paid us 173-5."

"Sunday ye 8th Rote a Leater home."

"Tusday ye 10th Delivered to Capt Moses Curtiss one Doble Loon for to convey ye same to my wife at Abington."

^{*} Burrell's diary is re-printed in *Acadiensis*, October, 1905, with editorial notes, by D. R. Jack, Corresponding Secretary to the N. B. Historical Society.

Such entries as these are very suggestive. The bear and moose and other wild creatures roamed freely in the surrounding forest. Indians frequently visited the fort, and the accident on New Year's day, by which three were drowned and one "leettle Boye" escaped, looks as if they had been "celebrating" the day. The isolation of the garrison is shown by the fact that the sergeant did not receive his wife's letter till six months after it was written. To pass the time and to earn a few extra shillings, the men made some thousands of long shaven pine shingles.

Sergeant Burrell's observations, it will be seen from the extracts, were zoological, meteorological and astronomical—animals, the weather and the meteoric explosion all commanded his attention. The doubloon that he sent to his wife was a Spanish gold piece, much in use at that time in Nova Scotia and New England. Its value in this province in early days was £13 17 6 currency—equivalent to \$15.50.* The fishing excursion made by Captain Parker to "Bobare's Fort" (now Woodman's Point), in the month of February, shows that mid-winter fishing in the Long Reach is by no means a modern idea.

But there are matters of greater import in Burrell's diary than those just mentioned. He relates that on the 11th of August, 1759, Colonel Arbuthnot, Captain Gerrish, Lieutenants Hutchins, Clapp, Deming and Foster, with seventy-five men, went up the river in quest of the French, returning a few days later with two schooners † they had captured and a great deal of plunder. The garrison had a "frollek" to celebrate the event. The plunder was afterwards sold at the fort by vendue. A second expedition of a similar kind turned out disastrously. It seems that in spite of the efforts of Monckton and Hazen to dispossess the Acadians, they had not withdrawn entirely from the river, but remained in seclusion at various places above and below St. Annes. There was a

* In the year 1819 our Provincial Legislature fixed the value of the doubloon at £4 currency, or \$16.00. A few years later the value decreased in the United States to \$14.50. As a natural consequence, every description of silver coin in New Brunswick was sent to Boston and New York to buy doubloons, which were worth \$1.50 more apiece in the province than in the U. S. The result was that in 1824 silver had become very scarce and trade was badly hampered. The "unwieldy doubloon and copper rubbish" were almost the only circulating medium. Monied men and those who could afford to wait for payments refused to receive the doubloon at £4. Many people who could not wait were obliged to submit to a discount of from 3 to 5 shillings. The newly-established Bank of New Brunswick helped greatly in the emergency to provide the coinage required.

† These vessels were not probably the "Eagle" and "Endeavour" mentioned by Captain Knox. See page 139 *ante*.

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more considerable settlement of them on the Oromocto than has been generally recognized,* and there were other locations where they still lingered. Information as to these localities was no doubt brought to the commandant, and the success of the first raid led him to plan another. Accordingly, on the night of the 5th of September he proceeded up the river with a party of two captains, three lieutenants, two ensigns and about eighty-five men. On the 8th, as they were exploring a small creek, they were fired on by the French, who lay in ambush. Ensign Tirrell and four men were killed and Lieut. Foster and seven others wounded, three of them so seriously that they died after their return to the fort. The casualties were all in Captain Parker's company, except one in Captain Gerrish's. Dr. Ganong is inclined to think this encounter took place near French Lake, on the Oromocto River, where local tradition says the French fought the English. † This is possible, although the time at their disposal seems hardly sufficient to admit of so considerable a party proceeding so great a distance. According to Sergeant Burrell, Col. Arbuthnot started up the river on the night of the 5th of September, and if the encounter with the French on the 8th took place eighty miles from the fort, the expedition must have moved with wonderful celerity, and without tarrying along their route.

The ramparts of Fort Frederick were injured by a heavy rain storm on the 17th of September, 1759, but far more serious damage was done by the storm of the 3rd-4th November. This storm was the most violent that had, till then, been known, and must have rivalled the famous "Saxby gale" of 1869. The tide rose to a height of six feet above the ordinary, and great rollers, driven by the storm, battered down the exposed terraces of the fort. The gale levelled the forest near the coast and broke down the dykes at the head of the Bay, flooding the lands reclaimed by the Acadians. Not only was a considerable portion of the earthwork of Fort Frederick swept away, but the store-house was demolished by the wind and tide, and some of the provisions lost in the

* Capt. R. G. Bruce, of the Engineers, writes in October, 1762: "The first real settlement is about 60 miles above the Fort where the River Ramucto [Oromocto] falls into the River St. John's. Here I am told there is about 300 acres of clear'd land, chiefly on the River Ramucta, which I did not see. * * * * At a place called Opak there are several french Families at present settled."

† See Dr. Ganong's "Additions to Monographs," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1906, pp. 108, 109.

sea. The damage was so extensive that Lieut. Tonge was sent from Fort Cumberland the next summer with a party of engineers to make repairs. He found it impossible with the means at his command to entirely repair the havoc the storm had wrought, but he strengthened the defences as best he could, and planted a strong line of palisades about the fort.

On the 18th October (just a month after the event) the garrison learned of the surrender of Quebec. The news was brought by three Frenchmen, who came to the fort under a flag of truce. They were the bearers of a proposal from about two hundred of their compatriots to submit to the British government. They desired permission to remain upon their lands on promise of fidelity to the English. Colonel Arbuthnot made answer that they must all come down to the fort and remain until he could communicate with the authorities at Halifax. The Colonel made a hasty trip to Annapolis to obtain a small vessel and other assistance. On his return he went up the river with two captains, three lieutenants, one ensign, the surgeon and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and men. On the 4th November Lieut. Hutchins returned in his batteau to the fort and announced that the French were all coming in as fast as they could. The following day a single French family arrived, and two days later the Colonel and his party arrived with thirty families in charge. A few others came in afterwards of their own accord.

The news of the downfall of Quebec had a marked effect upon the Indians, who now professed friendship and came into the garrison in considerable numbers. They were well treated and received allowances of provisions.

The Acadians quartered at Fort Frederick were truly a forlorn little community. Whether they were residents who had lingered in their retreats on the St. John, or people lately come from Quebec, is not quite clear. They were probably mostly fugitives who had retired to Quebec and now wished to return to their loved Acadia. They had exhausted their resources and were in no state to return to the woods, where they would have died of hunger. They produced letters from Gen'l Monckton and Judge Cramahé recommending them to protection. Governor Lawrence decided that the letters must have been obtained through misrepresentation, and ordered the Acadians to be sent to Halifax as

prisoners. The action of Lawrence was endorsed by General Amherst, who wrote: "The pass you mention the two hundred Inhabitants of St. John's River to have from Mr. Monckton, was by no means meant or understood to give the French any right to those lands; and you have done perfectly right not to suffer them to continue there, and you will be equally right in sending them, when an opportunity offers, to Europe as Prisoners of War."

The deportation at so late a period as this of two hundred people from the valley of the St. John is the last act in the tragedy of the Acadian expulsion. Father Germain, the Jesuit missionary to the Indians, had retired to Quebec upon Monckton's landing at St. John. He now returned to his mission, where he found, on his arrival, that all the French inhabitants had gone down to the English fort with their families. He resolved to join them, as they had no priest, and did so soon after. Burrell's diary notes his arrival on the 13th November. The entry under that date reads: "About 20 more Indians come in & Drew Lowances ye Preast himself come in." The arrival of Monsieur Coquart, the missionary of the Acadians, a few days later, enabled Father Germain to return to his station at Aukpaque, a passport having been furnished him for that purpose by the commandant.

The Governor and Council of Nova Scotia met at Halifax on the 30th November to consider the case of the Acadians at Fort Frederick. Their decision is recorded in the minutes of the Council:

"The Council are of opinion and do advise that His Excellency do take the earliest opportunity of hiring vessels for having them immediately transported to Halifax as prisoners of war, until they can be sent to England; and that the two Priests be likewise removed out of the Province."

Vessels were accordingly sent from Halifax, and these hapless people, after a sojourn of twelve weeks at the fort, were put on board. Considering the importance of the event, Burrell's reference to their deportation in his diary is very meagre:

"Sonday ye 27 [January] our Col went a Bord in order for Halifax with part of ye french men. Monday ye 28th ye women & children went a Bord this day. Tusday ye 29th they set sail."

The vessels arrived at Halifax about the 11th of February. Three months later the Acadians were still there waiting till Lawrence should send them to England.

Colonel Arbuthnot was accompanied in his voyage to Halifax by two Indian chiefs of the Passamaquoddy tribe, who desired to make a treaty with the Governor. A very interesting account of the negotiations that ensued will be found in Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia. The Indian delegates appeared before the Governor and Council with an interpreter, and, after full discussion, came to terms of agreement. The treaty was based on the old Indian treaties made in 1725 and 1749, with an additional engagement on the part of the Indians not to give aid to the enemies of the English, and to confine their trade to the truck-house, which it was proposed to establish at Fort Frederick. It was agreed that the treaty should be prepared in French and English, that the chiefs should be sent back in a vessel to St. John, and that Colonel Arbuthnot should accompany them to Passamaquoddy, taking the treaty with him to be ratified. On the 23rd of February the treaty was signed by Michel Neptune for the Passamaquoddy tribe and by Ballomy Glode for the St. John River Indians. It was agreed by the Indians to leave three of each tribe resident at Fort Frederick as hostages to ensure adherence to the articles of peace. Benjamin Gerrish, who was now placed in charge of the truck-house at St. John, was probably nearly related to Captain Gerrish of the garrison.

Lawrence and his council regarded this treaty as an important matter. Only four years before the dread inspired by the Indians was so great that the Nova Scotia authorities were led to offer a reward of £30 for every Indian warrior brought in alive, £25 for the scalp of every male Indian above the age of sixteen, and £25 for every woman and child brought in alive, the rewards to be paid at any of His Majesty's forts by the commanding officer.

Colonel Arbuthnot got back to Fort Frederick on the 12th of March. On the 17th he sailed in Capt. Cobb's sloop, with Captain Parker and the Indian chiefs, to Passamaquoddy to ratify the treaty, returning to Fort Frederick on the 20th.

The Indians continued to come in from various quarters to accept the terms of the treaty, as we learn from Burrell's journal. The crowning event occurred on the 28th June, when "ye Grate King of ye Indians came into ye Garrison for to make a Grate peace with ye English."

By order-in-council of the 19th July, 1760, Captain Doggett was sent from Halifax with stores for the truck-master at Fort Frederick.

Colonel Arbuthnot subsequently informed the Governor that the Indians behaved well and came to the fort to trade.

After the surrender of Quebec the Massachusetts troops at the fort expected to be relieved, their period of enlistment being expired and the crisis of the war over. But the insecurity of Monckton at Quebec and of Amherst at Crown Point rendered it difficult to provide men for the relief of the Nova Scotia garrisons. The Massachusetts legislature in this emergency took the bold step of extending the period of enlistment of the troops furnished by their colony. They promised, as an offset, to provide the men with beds and other comforts during the approaching winter. But the men were not to be persuaded. The situation became critical, and the Governor of Massachusetts wrote to Governor Lawrence:

"I find our people, who are doing duty in your garrison, notwithstanding the favor and attention this province has shown them for continuing their services through the winter—have worked themselves up to such a temper of dissatisfaction that they have long ago threatened to come off, if not relieved."

The threat was not meaningless, for the Governor adds that already "seventy men in one schooner and about eighty in another have openly come off from Fort Frederick at St. John's."

Here, again, Burrell's diary furnishes us with dates:

"Monday ye 5th [May] a number of Capt. Garashes men with some others Deserted on Bord of a Schouner. Tusday ye 13th, 30 of our Company went home in a Schouner to New England."

The conduct of the men of Massachusetts was a source of mortification to Governor Hutchinson, who speaks of "the unwarrantable behaviour of the garrison at St. John's River, all of whom have deserted their post, except 40 men, or thereabout, and the continuance of those forty seems to be precarious." A few weeks later sixty men were sent from Boston to strengthen the garrison. Sergeant Burrell says they arrived on the 7th of July.

The conduct of the garrison was not unnatural, although, from a military point of view, entirely inexcusable. The men had enlisted for a great and, as the event proved, decisive struggle with France for the mastery on the American continent. With the surrender of Louisburg and Quebec the crisis was over. The period of their enlistment had expired; what right had the Massachusetts Assembly to prolong it?

Why should they stay? Thus they reasoned. After the surrender and removal of the Acadians and the submission of the savages, garrison duty at Fort Frederick became monotonous. The surrounding country was deserted. The few habitations that had once existed had been abandoned and destroyed when the French fled up the river. No English settler had yet ventured to establish himself at St. John. Amid the privation and loneliness of their situation, the charms of their firesides in New England seemed peculiarly inviting to the men of Massachusetts.

As time went on, the advantage of having a fortified post at the mouth of the River St. John became more and more apparent. Under its protection the vanguard of English settlement soon began to put in appearance. James Simonds, Richard Simonds and Francis Peabody came there in 1762, and two years later James Simonds, James White and their dependents established themselves in trade at Portland Point. The garrison was then commanded by Lieut. Gilfred Studholme,* of the 40th Regiment, in whose honor Guilford† Street, in Carleton, is named. It seems to have been Lieut. Studholme's unpleasant duty to order the Acadians remaining on the River St. John to remove. These people were living near the mouth of the Keswick stream, a few miles above St. Annes, and probably were settled on both sides of the main

* Some information relating to Gilfred Studholme will be found in the Collections of the N. B. Hist. Soc., No. 5, p. 217; also in Raymond's History of the St. John River, p. 281, and elsewhere. The date of Studholme's death was lately discovered by the writer of this paper in the following obituary notice in the *Royal Gazette* of October 30th, 1792:

"On the 10th inst. departed this life in the 52d year of his age, the Hon. Gilfred Studholme, Esq., one of his Majesty's Council for this Province, and formerly Captain Commandant of his Majesty's Forces and Crown Agent for the settlement of the Loyal Refugees within the district of the River St. John. Two days before his death he received a paralytick stroke which deprived him of his senses, in which state he continued till he died. The amiable manners, universal benevolence and liberal spirit which strongly marked the character of this Gentleman most justly endeared him to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. During his command at Fort Howe, his hospitality and generous attention to all strangers, as well those whom his Majesty's service brought within his notice as those whom the war had disturbed and driven hither for refuge, would have done honor to a much more dignified station, and drew forth the particular notice and acknowledgments of the General Officers commanding in Canada and Nova Scotia. In his capacity as Crown Agent for the settlement of the Loyal Refugees within the District of the River St. John, his exertions were unwearyed."

† This is properly Gilfred Street, and is so marked in the original plan of Carleton. In the City of St. John the street now called Charlotte Street was originally Studholme Street. The name ought never to have been changed.

river. It is marvellous with what tenacity they clung to this locality—in fact their descendants are there yet.*

In consequence of the receipt of Studholme's order to remove elsewhere, the Acadians, in the summer of 1763, made the following appeal to the Governor of Nova Scotia:

SIR,—We have received, with respect, the order which His Honor the commandant of Fort Fredrek has conveyed to us from you to evacuate the St. John River, and we should have done so at once had we not hoped that in pity for our past miseries, you would kindly spare us fresh ones. The truth is, Sir, that we were beginning to emerge from the unspeakably wretched condition to which war had brought us. The prospects of an abundant harvest promises us provisions for next year. If you insist on our leaving before harvest, most of us —being without money, supplies or means of conveyance, will be driven to live like the Indians, wandering from one situation to another. But if you allow us to stay the winter, in order to dry our crops, we shall be able to till the new lands wherever you may tell us to move to. There is no need to point out to you that a farmer who takes up new land without having supplies for a year, must inevitably be ruined, and be of no use to the Government to which he belongs. We hope, Sir, that you will be good enough to grant us a priest of our faith. Such a concession would enable us to endure patiently the troubles inseparable from such a migration. We await your final orders in regard to this matter, and have the honour to be, with all possible respect and submission, Sir,

“Your very humble & obedient servants,

“THE INHABITANTS OF ST. JOHNS RIVER.”

Many interesting incidents connected with the early history of St. John centre around the old fort in Carleton. It was there in the old barracks that Hugh Quinton and his wife Elizabeth found shelter upon their arrival at St. John on the 28th of August, 1762, and there on the night which followed their arrival their first child, James Quinton, was born. He was the first child of English-speaking parents born at St. John.

The fort continued to be garrisoned by detachments of British troops under various commanders until the year 1768, when the troops were withdrawn and sent to Boston in consequence of disturbances there.

* About thirty families of Acadian origin live at French Village, in the Parish of Kingsclear, and seventeen families at the Mazerolle Settlement, in the same neighborhood. The family names represented are Godin, Mazerolle, Roy, Bourgoin, Martin and Cyr. Few of these people now use the French language.

The defenceless condition of the port of St. John did not escape the notice of the Nova Scotia authorities. Lieut.-Governor Michael Francklin, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, states that on the 9th July, 1768, he received a letter from General Gage, acquainting him that orders had been sent to Lieut.-Colonel Dalrymple, who commanded the troops in Nova Scotia, to withdraw the garrisons from Fort Cumberland, Annapolis, Fort Frederick Amherst and Louisbourg. The Lieut.-Governor adds:

"These ports, when abandoned, I purpose to put under the care of the most proper persons, being civil officers of this Government. They may serve for places of safety for the settlers to retreat to in case of a rupture with the Indians, and the buildings of several of them will also serve many publick purposes, such as Court Houses, Churches, Prisons, &c, which have not hitherto been built owing to the inability of the Inhabitants. * * * I should be wanting in my duty to the King and to the true interest of this province if I failed in representing to His Majesty that the hazard of a rupture with the savages will really be great, once they perceive the troops are withdrawn from the Out Posts without a probability of their being replaced, and that this Government conceives it highly necessary that as soon as His Majesty's other immediate service permits detachments of the King's troops be posted on the River St. John, at Fort Cumberland on the isthmus of the Province, at Tatamagushé, at Fort Amherst, on the Island of St. John and at Louisbourg, which detachments will be required to remain there for some years to come."

What Col. Francklin chiefly dreaded was the hostility of the Indians. Their predilection for the French and their natural restlessness were such that in case of a renewal of war they might do infinite harm to the scattered English settlements. His comments on this head are as follows:

"I have exerted myself to make use of every measure to give perfect satisfaction to the Indians by removing the subject of every complaint, and I shall continue so to do. I have also taken great pains to convince the Acadians of the errors they have heretofore been in by having such strong attachments to the interest of France. In this I have been successful beyond my expectations, as they have (very few excepted) universally taken the oaths of allegiance to the King. The Indians I have endeavored to persuade to cultivate the lands and to enter into the business of catching and drying codfish, that they might not be so frequently distressed for subsistence as they have been of late years.* * * * Almost all the Indians are interspersed among the settlers and are

frequently in great want of subsistence, which they will in cases of necessity naturally take by violence or stealth if they cannot obtain provisions otherwise, and they have nothing but their Peltries to pay for what they want."

At this time the two principal chiefs of the St. John river, Pierre Thomas and Ambroise St. Aubin, proceeded to Halifax and entered into agreement with the Lieut.-Governor that all misunderstandings, disputes and quarrels should be forgot and peace and kindness established between the Indians and the English settlers. If war should again arise with France, the Indians promised to remain neutral. Their priest, Mon. Bailly, who had lately arrived, was to remain with them, and they were promised four acres of land at St. Anne's (including their old burial ground and the site on which their chapel formerly stood) near the old Government House building in Fredericton, also the Island now known as Savage Island, with four acres for a church and 500 acres of woodland near O'Paques [Aukpaque.]

There is an interesting reference to the withdrawal of the troops from Fort Frederick in one of James Simonds letters to his partners in Newbury, written under date July 25, 1768:

"The Troops are withdrawn from all the outposts in the Province and sent to Boston to quell the Mob. The charge of Fort Frederick is committed to me, which I accepted to prevent another person being appointed who would be a trader. I don't know but I must reside in the Garrison, but the privileges of the fisheries on that side of the River and the use of the King's boats will be more than an equivalent for that inconvenience."

The withdrawal of the garrison was soon followed by the evil consequences which Colonel Francklin had apprehended.

In August, 1769, Captain Godfrey Jadis, of the 52nd Regiment, came with his family to Fort Frederick with the intention of establishing himself in trade. His subsequent experience is related in his memorial to the Lords of Trade, from which the following extract is quoted:

"Your Memorialist on his arrival at Fort Frederick was frequently treated by the Indians to be destroyed and the fort burnt if he did not immediately quit it, which in order to preserve, your memorialist with His wife and six small children, surrounded with almost unsurmountable difficulties, was obliged to quit the fort and proceed to Gage Township where He used his best and unwearied labours to bring the Savages into

a proper obedience to his Majesty and establish a trade the Revenues of which would yield yearly a considerable advantage to Government.

"During your memorialist's residence at Gage Township the Indians frequently threatened to scalp him and his family and to burn his House, Warehouses, &c, frequently declaring that they were at Warr with us & would continue so till they had Rooted out the british Settlements in that part."

Captain Jadis goes on to say that on the 6th of February, 1771, the savages put their long-concerted plan into execution by fixing combustibles and setting fire to his house, store and other buildings, which were entirely consumed. He placed his losses at the sum of £2128.13.10 sterling.

Lord Wm. Campbell, the Governor of Nova Scotia at this time, confirms the account of Capt. Jadis' misfortunes, and adds:

"I have had frequent complaints of those Indians since Fort Frederick has been dismantled and the garrison, which formerly consisted of an officer's command, reduced to that of a corporal and four. This Fort whilst properly garrisoned kept the Indians of that district in pretty good order, but not so effectually by situation as if it had been constructed higher up the River, and as that Fort is now intirely dismantled I beg leave to offer to your Lordship's consideration whether a strong Block House properly garrisoned might not prove a proper check upon the insolence of the savages at the same time that it would afford a secure protection to a very increasing settlement on the Banks of the River St. Johns, a situation abounding with most excellent soil and which produces the most valuable Timber, of all sorts in this Province."

Among the officers stationed from time to time at Fort Frederick, who left behind them tangible proof of their sojourn, mention may be made of Lieutenant John Marr. We are indebted to him for the most striking object on the walls of the map-room of the Archives Building in Ottawa, namely, a very handsome plan in colors—6 feet long and 3 feet wide, entitled—

"A Sketch of part of the River St. John on the North Side of the Bay of Fundy—from Partridge Island in the Latitude 45° 22 North, to Opaak an Indian Village: the length contained in this Sketch is near 80 English miles. Taken in November, 1764, by John Marr, Sub Engineer & Lieutenant."

In the corner of this map there is a plan on a larger scale, entitled—

"A Survey of the Harbour of St. John and of the Environs of Fort Frederick on the North Side of the Bay of Fundy, Taken in September, 1764, by John Marr, Sub Engineer & Lieutenant."

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In this plan the site of Fort Dufferin is marked "Partridge Point." Sand Point is called *Point aux Galettes* (point of pebbles). The Marsh Creek is called River Shebeskestaggan. Three settlers' houses are shown at Portland Point. From South Bay there is a dotted channel marked leading through to Duck Cove, and the note is appended, "the pricked lines represent the New Channel for the River as projected by the French." The idea of the French was doubtless to reclaim the marshes and low meadow lands up the St. John River by affording a more free outlet to the waters. Surveyor-General Charles Morris discusses this proposition in his report to Col. Francklin in 1766:

"I would observe that it would be beneficial if a passage for the waters of the river could be widened, which seems impracticable in the Passage at the Falls, the sides being Rocks of a hundred feet high Perpendicular; But the French were upon a Project of cutting a channel through somewhere near the south end of the Bason called South Bay, which is of no great distance from the Bay of Fundy: had this or could it be effected it would recover a vast quantity of Land now overflowed for the greatest part of the year. When the Country begins to be filled with Inhabitants this project may perhaps be executed."*

The withdrawal of the garrisons from the outposts in Nova Scotia to strengthen the army under General Gage in Boston was followed by the removal of the ordnance and munitions of war, for Lord Wm. Campbell, in his letter of October, 1771, already quoted, says that the fort had been entirely dismantled. Settlement in the vicinity of the fort had already begun. The land on the west side of the harbor formed a part of the Township of Conway. Messrs. Simonds and White, about the year 1770, were instrumental in placing a number of families there. A census made by James Simonds in August, 1775, gives the names of the settlers—Hugh Quinton, Jonathan Leavitt, Daniel Leavitt, Samuel Peabody, William McKeen, Thomas Jenkins, Moses Kimball, Elijah Estabrooks, John Bradley, James Woodman, Zebedee Ring, Gervas Say, Samuel Abbot, Christopher Cross, John Knapp, Eliakim Ayer and Joseph Rowe. There were in all 21 men, 13 women, 20 boys and 18 girls, total 72 souls. Small as the little community was, it was destined to be broken up by the events of the Revolutionary War. The unfortunate settlers

* See Raymond's *St. John River History*, p. 111.

were robbed and maltreated by the crews of the "rebel privateers," and forced to abandon their homes and remove up the river for greater security.

It is a curious circumstance that the construction and destruction of Fort Frederick emanated from the same quarter, namely, Massachusetts. It was the Governor of Massachusetts who, in the first instance, insisted on the necessity of taking possession of the River St. John and building a strong fort to overawe the French and Indians. Monckton's soldiers, who built the fort and formed its first garrison, were mostly New Englanders.

Early in the summer of 1775 it was rumored in Nova Scotia that Stephen Smith, one of the delegates to the newly-formed Congress of Massachusetts, had orders to seize Fort Frederick, and the Governor of the province advised the re-establishment of a garrison to prevent such an attempt. But the military people were too dilatory. In the month of August a party of Machias marauders, led by Smith, entered the harbor with an armed sloop and captured a brig* of 120 tons laden with oxen, sheep, swine, poultry and a variety of supplies for the British troops that had been brought down the river from Maugerville in gondolas and small vessels. The same night they made the small party in the fort prisoners, plundered everything in it, and set fire to the barracks and other buildings. This was the first hostile act of the Revolution committed in Nova Scotia, and it made no small stir in political and military circles. The news of the destruction of Fort Frederick seems to have been made known at Halifax by James Simonds and Daniel Leavitt, who went to Windsor in a whale boat to solicit the protection of government. However, it was not until two years later that Brigade Major Studholme was sent to take post at St. John with a force sufficient to defend the place from the privateers and marauders that infested the Bay. Major Studholme, after consultation with Messrs. Simonds, Hazen and White, decided upon the erection of Fort Howe rather than the re-establishment of Fort Frederick. The earthworks of the latter, however, remained in

* This brig was the "Loyal Briton." She was owned by David Black and four others of Boston. She was fitted out to bring provisions for the army from the River St. John. She sailed from Boston a little after the battle of Bunker's Hill. She was the first vessel, so far as known, taken by the American privateers in the war. Mr. Black valued his share of the brig at £300. See Report of the Bureau of Archives for Ontario for 1904, pp. 660, 661.

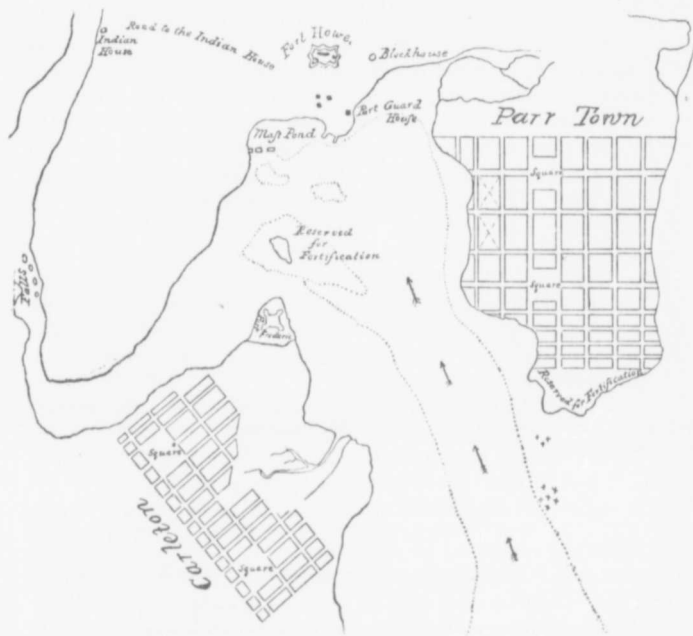
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a good state of preservation when the Loyalists landed in 1783. Their outline appears in the plan made by Colonel Robert Morse, of the Royal Engineers, early in the year 1784, which is reproduced, in part, in the accompanying illustration. The old fort site continued to be for many



PLAN OF PARR TOWN AND CARLETON SHOWING OUTLINES OF FORT FREDERICK

From Col. Robert Morse's Survey in 1784.

years the property of the Imperial Government. During the war of 1812, when the Martello Tower was built and the defences of St. John strengthened on both sides of the harbor, a small wooden building was erected on the site of Fort Frederick, sufficient to accommodate one officer and twenty men, and a few guns were placed in position. A report

made of the state of the fortifications at St. John in 1825, has appended to Fort Frederick the words "battery in ruins." The Imperial Government at length handed the property over to the city. In the meantime a number of people had "squatted" upon the land and built houses, in which they had lived so many years that they claimed the land by right of possession.* The result was a suit in the Court of Chancery about the year 1847, in which the claimants were beaten by the city. They united in an appeal to the Imperial Government, and eventually the city agreed to a compromise, and upon payment of a stated sum the occupants remained in possession. They received a title to their lands directly from the Imperial Government, a rather unusual circumstance.†

Little remains to-day to indicate that so much history has centred about this quiet spot. Yet here in the early days of Acadia La Tour and Charnisay were familiar figures. Here, later, Governor Vilebon for a time held sway as lord of all Acadia. Here, from time to time, came Nicolas Denys, the Sieur de Martignon, the Chevalier Grand-fontaine, the Sieur de Soulanges, and other worthies of the French regime. Over the ashes of La Tour and Villebon, in the old burial ground at the foot of King Street, there pass to-day the feet of those whom they would have regarded as the sons of an alien race.

It was under the protection of Fort Frederick that the settlement of the valley of the St. John began in the year 1762, and from the day that General Robert Monckton landed, English-speaking people have constantly resided upon the shores of the harbor of St. John.

The history of Fort Frederick, as told in these pages, is largely

* The beginning of trouble for the squatters is seen in the following advertisement in the *St. John Courier*:

" FORT NECK, CARLETON, St. John, N. B.

" NOTICE. On Saturday the 18th day of June next (1836) will be offered for Lease, in the Market Square of St. John, for the term of Twenty-one years from the first day of May, last, the 'Crown Property' in Carleton, in the City of St. John, called 'Fort Neck.'

" This property will be offered entire, without reference to the persons, who may be at present in the occupation of any part thereof.

" For terms and conditions, apply at the Ordnance Office any day (Sunday excepted) between the hours of 10 and 4 o'clock.

" Office of Ordnance, St. John, N. B.,

" June 4, 1836."

† My authority on this head is Samuel K. Wilson, who lives at "Old Fort," in Carleton. I am indebted to Mr. Wilson for a good many facts of interest in this paper.—W. O. R.

documentary. Quotations have been made from public records, official reports, private correspondence and contemporary published accounts. Doubtless a story told in this way is less entertaining than one written in narrative form, but it must be recollected that in all publications of the New Brunswick Historical Society accuracy of detail is more essential than literary form.

As an illustration of the unreliability of tradition, and the ease with which two events of similar character may be confused in the mind of one who has not the slightest intention to mislead, we have the following: An old citizen many years ago gave the late Dr. I. Allen Jack an account of the capture of the old French Fort in Carleton, which he claimed to have had from his grandfather. According to this story the British troops under Monckton landed at Negro Town Point, and cut a road through the woods to the place where the Carleton City Hall now stands, which was then used by the French as a vegetable garden. From there they advanced against the fort in order of battle, and, after one repulse, succeeded in carrying it by assault. They captured 200 or 300 prisoners, and the rest of the garrison escaped across the river in boats, and finally made their way up the river. The loss of both French and English was heavy, especially of the former, more than forty being killed. This account is at variance with the facts recorded by Monckton himself in his journal. The story, I have not the least doubt, is based upon an incident that happened nearly twenty years after Monckton's arrival at the St. John River. John Allan, who figures in it, formerly lived near Fort Cumberland, and at one time was a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. At the outbreak of the Revolution he went to Machias and cast in his lot with the American "rebels." While there he planned an expedition to the River St. John with the idea of holding the territory of all western New Brunswick for the United States. On May 20th, 1777, he sent a party of militia from Machias to St. John under the command of Captain Jabez West, with instructions to "annoy the enemy as much as possible till such time as reinforcements should arrive from the westward." On the 31st May, Allan himself set out for St. John with a party, which included "Parson" Noble and Dr. Nevers, who had been obliged to leave Mougerville on account of their disloyalty. Allan states in his Journal that they arrived at the old fort at the mouth of the river at 3 p. m. on Monday, the 2nd of June—went over the falls in their

whale boats and landed everything in a store at Woodman's Point.* Captain West seized William Hazen and James White and brought them as prisoners to the old fort. Colonel Allan decided to leave them on parole with their families at Portland Point till he had a stronger force at his command, or until the determination of the authorities of Massachusetts should be known. The next day he proceeded up the river, leaving Capt West, Lieut. Scott and a detachment "to guard the falls and annoy the enemy should any come to repair the fort." The detachment at the mouth of the river was increased to sixty men by the arrival of a reinforcement from Machias under Colonel Shaw. Instructions were given to them to "range from Hazen's round to the Old Fort" in order to guard against any landing on the part of the British. The situation of the settlers during their stay was a very unpleasant one.

On being apprised of the state of things at St. John, the British authorities sent the war sloop "Vulture" there. She came up the harbor and anchored "within cannon shot" of Mr. Simond's house at Portland Point, where Allan's party lay in waiting. Forty men from the sloop attempted to land, but upon being fired on, returned on board. Nothing further seems to have been attempted until the arrival of the ship "Mermaid" and sloop "Hope" a few days later. Captain West learned on June 30th that the British were landing near "Mehoganish"† in eight barges. He posted thirty men in ambush "in the woods that conducts to the falls." They discovered the British troops when at the distance of gunshot, and were preparing to attack them when they suddenly found themselves surrounded by a flanking party on both sides of them. They were obliged to fly with the loss of a number killed or taken prisoners. Tradition says that on this occasion Messrs. John Jones and Samuel Peabody offered their services to Major Studholme as guides, and furnished information as to the whereabouts of the enemy. Stud-

* The location of Woodman's Point is established by an old deed of conveyance, dated July 28, 1783, in which James Woodman sold his property to Phineas Lovett for £60. The property is described as: "One certain Lot or Tract of Land situate, lying & being in the Township of Conway in the County of Sunbury, known by the name of Point Pleasant, with three Dwelling Houses and one Store house thereon standing, said land containing 170 acres by estimation and is bounded as followeth: that is to say beginning at a marked Seader Tree leaning over the water, standing on the Bank by the side of the West Bay adjoining the falls and from thence running West 47 rods, then running Northerly & Westerly to a marked Seader standing by the water of Misketo Cove and from thence running Easterly & Southerly by Saint Johns River untill it Cum to the Seader Tree first mentioned."

† Manawagonish or Duck Cove.

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holme was thus able to send out his flanking parties, who fired upon the enemy, killing eight of them, who were buried near the spot where they fell; the rest fled up the river in terror and suffered almost intolerable hardships on their way through the wilderness back to Machias. Major Studholme in this encounter acted with all the spirit and resolution for which he was noted. He was on familiar ground, having previously been in command of the garrison of Fort Frederick. A few months later Fort Howe was constructed by his direction, and under its protection the people on the St. John remained in comparative security until the close of the war.

W. O. RAYMOND.