

Duplicate  
June 1913 #2

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

New Brunswick Historical Society.

VOLUME I.-- No. 2.

SAINT JOHN, N. B.:  
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH STEAM BOOK AND JOB PRINT.  
1896.

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At a meeting of the protestant Dissenters Landholders in Maugerville and Sheffield held at the meeting house in Sheffield on Monday the 13th day of August 1792.

1 Voted that Daniel Jewett be Chairman of this meeting.

2nd. Voted that David Burpe Esq. be continued as clerk to this Society.

3dly. Voted to continue David Burpe and Moses Coburn their trustees and Israel Perley Esq. be a trustee in room and stead of John Wason one of their late Trustees who is at present incapable of transacting any publick business and ordered that they the said David Burpe Moses Coburn and Israel Perley or any two of them shall in future manage and transact all kinds of business respecting the publick lot number 15 in Sheffield by themselves or attorney or attornies.

Ordered that an instrument in writing further authorizing the said trustees to act be handed about to the several dissenters Landholders in Maugerville and Sheffield who could not attend this meeting.

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At a meeting of the society held at the meeting house in Sheffield on the 23rd. day of July 1794.

Mr. Moses Coburn Chosen Moderator.

Voted that the Rev. James Boyd be desired to tarry with us for the term of one year from the time he first preached in Sheffield.

Voted to choose a committee to treat with Mr. Boyd on the subject and that Messrs Moses Coburn Daniel Jewett and Nathan Smith be the committee.

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At a meeting of the Society held at the house of Mr. Daniel Jewett in Sheffield on Monday the eleventh day of April 1796.

Chose Mr. Nathan Smith Chairman.

Voted to make proposals to Mr. James Boyd to tarry with us for the term of one year from the 1st day of May next.

Voted to accept the instrument prepared by Mr. Perley for subscription towards Mr. Boyds support resolved to continue the present mode of monthly collections.

Voted that the subscription paper be handed about to those of the Society who are not present at this meeting.

Voted to choose a committee to treat with Mr. Boyd on the subject and to acquaint him with minds of the Society — and Mr. Moses Coburn David Burpe and Israel Perley be the committee.

Monday 24th. October 1814.

A number of the society met and agreed to send to the London Missionary Society for a Missionary to be sent to this place.

And agreed to endeavor to raise money by subscription to send to the said Society.

A paper being prepared the following sums have been subscribed viz by

David Burpe.....	£ 2	0s	0 d
John Pickard.....	1	0	0
Amos Perley.....	1	0	0
Nathan Smith.....	1	0	0
Joseph Barker.....	1	0	0
Ezekiel Jewett.....	2	0	0
<i>Carried forward.....</i>		£ 8	0s 0 d

Joseph Burpe.....	£ 0	10s	0 d
Nathan Smith Jun.....	1	0	0
David Burpe Jun.....	2	0	0
Jeremiah Burpe Jun.....	0	5	0
John Burpe.....	0	5	0
Jeremiah Burpe Senior.....	2	0	0
Isaac & Sam'l Burpe 5s each.....	0	10	0
Charles Stuart.....	0	10	0
Ebenezer Burpe.....	0	5	0
James Harrisen.....	0	5	0
		7	10 0

David Jewett.....	£ 0	10s	0 d
Hannah Burpe.....	1	0	0
Heph Burpe.....	0	5	0
Abigail Flewelling.....	1	0	0
Jas Johnston.....	0	10	0
Thos Langen.....	0	5	0
Saml Nevers Jun.....	0	5	0
David Clendin.....	1	0	0
Andrew Smith.....	1	0	0
Samuel Nevers Senior.....	1	10	0
		7	5 0

*Carried.....* £22 15s 0 d

Enoch  
Sarah I  
Gervas  
James  
Jacob I  
Henry  
Stephen  
Thomas  
Thomas  
Charlot  
James  
Elijah  
John P  
Lois G  
Lydia I  
Jacob I  
John S  
D. & G  
Isaac C  
Stephen  
H. A. I  
Ruth E  
Jonth E  
Nath C  
Amasa  
Jarvis I  
Humph  
Daniel  
Edward  
Robert  
Samuel  
Another

<i>Brought forward</i> .....		£22	15s	0 d
Enoch Palmer.....	£ 0	10s	0 d	
Sarah Plumer.....	0	16	0	
Gervas Say Esq.....	0	10	0	
James Gilley.....	0	10	0	
Jacob Loder.....	1	3	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	
Henry Loder.....	0	10	0	
				3 13 10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Stephen Burpe.....	£ 8	0s	0 d	
Thomas Gurney.....	1	0	0	
Thomas Hathaway.....	0	5	0	
Charlotte Pickard.....	0	5	0	
James Dingey.....	0	10	0	
Elijah Dingey.....	0	10	0	
John Palmer.....	1	5	0	
Lois Gallishan.....	0	2	6	
Lydia Palmer.....	0	5	0	
Jacob Barker.....	1	10	0	
John Stuart.....	0	10	0	
				14 2 6
D. & G. Pickard.....	£ 0	15s	0 d	
Isaac Clark.....	0	10	0	
Stephen Cameron.....	0	5	0	
H. A. Hart.....	0	10	0	
				2 0 0
<i>Carried forward</i> .....		£42	11s	4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d
Ruth Everet.....	£ 0	5s	0 d	
Jonth Estey.....	0	5	0	
Nath Churchill.....	0	5	0	
Amasa Coye.....	0	10	0	
Jarvis Ring.....	0	10	0	
Humphrey Pickard.....	0	5	0	
Daniel Smith Jun.....	0	10	0	
				2 10 0
Edward Burpe.....	£ 0	15s	0 d	
Robert B. Taylor.....	1	0	0	
Samuel Burpe.....	0	10	0	
Another dollar by Lydia Palmer.....	0	5	0	
				2 10 0

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0 0

5 0

15s 0 d

<i>Brought forward</i> .....	£47 11s 4 <sup>3</sup> d
Charles Dingee .....	£ 0 5s 0 d
William Burpee .....	0 5 0
	<hr/>
	0 10 0
Collected by Mr. Elijah Estabrooks from the persons named on the other page .....	7 3 3
	<hr/>
	£55 4s 7 <sup>3</sup> d

James Woodworth Isaac Simmons Ward	
E Brooks Jo. Ebrooks Reuben	
Woburn James Barker & Stephen	
Currie 5s each.....	£ 1 15
David Currie.....	0 7 6
Zeb Currie.....	0 2 6
Gilb Currie .....	0 2 6
Jno Currie.....	0 1 3
Rich Currie.....	0 5
Phebe Carpenter.....	0 5 0
Wm Springer Jun.....	0 5
Benja. Birdrill.....	0 15 0
Ant. Purdy .....	0 10 0
Lucy Barker .....	0 2 6
Mary Estey Widow.....	0 2 6
Rich Currie.....	0 5 0
David Coye .....	0 7 6
Benjamin Coye .....	0 7 0
Ann Earl.....	0 5 0
John Woburn .....	0 5 0
Thomas Bridges.....	0 5 0
Jona. Bridges.....	0 10 0
Saml. Estabrooks.....	0 5 0
	<hr/>
	£ 7 3s 3d

At a meeting held at the meeting house in Sheffield on Monday the 23rd day of September 1816.

1 Chose Mr. Alexander Stuart, Chairman —

2nd. The question was put whether the society would apply immediately to Scotland for a minister by the agency of the Rev Mr. Waddle of Truro — or to apply to some other quarter for assistance

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Ezekiel  
Benjam  
David  
Hugh  
Enoch  
John E  
Moses

Henry  
Joseph  
James  
Stephen  
William  
Isaac B  
David I  
James  
Nathan  
David J  
Nathan  
Jeremia  
John T  
Jonatha  
Nathan  
Samuel  
Moses I  
David I  
Joseph  
Jacob E

Voted to apply to Scotland.

Voted to choose a committee to manage the business in that respect.

Voted that David Burpe Esq. James Taylor Esq. Mr. Joseph Barker—Nathan Smith Esq. and Mr. Alexander Stuart shall be the committee and three of the above named persons shall be a Quorum to transact the business in the absence of the others —

A letter having been prepared by Mr. Stuart was read by the clerk was approved of by the Society and with a small verbal alteration to be forwarded by the committee to the Rev. Mr. Waddle.

James Tilley—No. 9 .....	£21 10s 0d
Robert and Charlie Stuart—No. 9 .....	18 0 0
Ezekiel Jewett—No. 13 .....	20 0 0
Benjamin Taylor—No. 28 .....	20 0 0
David Tapley—No. 12 .....	24 0 0
Hugh Cowperthwaite Jun.—No. 17 .....	18 0 0
Enoch Palmer—No. 10 .....	20 10 0
John Palmer—No. 7 .....	18 0 0
Moses & Ebenezer Burpe—No. 16 .....	17 0 0

## GALLERY PEWS.

Henry Putman—No. 5 .....	11 0 0
Joseph Barker Jun. and Jermiah Burpe Jun.--No. 4 .....	11 0 0
James Taylor—No. 3 .....	11 0 0
Stephen Burpe—No. 6 .....	14 0 0
William McKeen—No. 2 .....	10 0 0
Isaac Burpe—No. 1 .....	11 0 0
David Burpe Esq bid of No. 30 at .....	25 0 0
James Taylor Esq.—No. 23 at .....	26 0 0
Nathan Smith Esq.—No. 31 .....	26 10 0
David Jewett—No. 22 .....	24 10 0
Nathaniel Gilbert—No. 24 .....	28 0 0
Jeremiah Burpe—No. 29 .....	28 10 0
John Tapley—No. 25 .....	16 0 0
Jonathan Putman—No. 1 .....	15 0 0
Nathan Smith Jun.—No. 18 .....	24 10 0
Samuel Burpe—No. 3 .....	15 0 0
Moses Pickard—No. 19 .....	24 0 0
David Burpe Jun.—No. 6 .....	25 10 0
Joseph Burpe—No. 4 .....	26 0 0
Jacob Barker—No. 2 .....	17 10 0

4<sup>3</sup>d

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Rev Mr.  
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Solomon & William Pasley—No. 8 .....	24	0	0
Ezekiel Jewett—No. 15 .....	26	10	0
Joseph Barker—No. 14 .....	22	10	0

Voted that Jeremiah Burpe Ezekil Jewett and David Eurpe Esquires be a committee to examine the claims of all those who have paid any sum or sums of money towards the meeting house and to take notes of all those indebted for the balance to be paid in one year without interest. Voted to dismiss the meeting.

At a meeting of the Presbyterian Society in Sheffield held at their meeting house on Tuesday the 14th. day of April 1818.

Chose Capt. Joseph Barker for Chairman.

The committee made their report and produced a statement of what is due to the Society.

Voted to proceed in building a dwelling house on the public lot as soon as can be conveniently done. Voted that it be left to the committee to build such a sized house as they think proper. Chose Jeremiah Burpe Jonathan Putman and Ezekiel Jewett be the committee.

Voted to proceed to let the lot this year immediately to the highest bidder.

The upper part of the house and half of acre of land to be reserved.

The lot bid of by Samuel Burpe for thirty five and ten Shillings.

Voted to dismiss the meeting.

Proceedings at Church Meetings from July 22nd. 1788 to 1818.

No. 6

SHEFFIELD 1819

To the Revd. James Thompson at Mirimichi

DEAR SIR

We whose names are hereunto subscribed having been informed that you will very soon be under the painful necessity of leaving your church and congregation in Mirmichi for want of a comfortable support, are very sorry that such should be the case, and destitute as we are in this place of the stated preaching of the gospel and the regular administration of the ordinances do assure you that the underwritten invitation is not made with the least design of depriving a sister church of their minister or wishing you to leave them, unless from absolute necessity or with the unanimous consent of your congregation.

But should our information be correct or your people be otherwise

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supplied we do hereby invite you to spend one year at least in preaching the gospel in this place and being fully convinced that the faithful laborer is worthy of his hire and that a minister of the gospel ought to be decently supported do severally promise to pay unto you the said James Thompson or to any other person or persons who shall be duly appointed to receive the same for your use in addition to the parsonage lot, we have possession for your services for one year to commence from the time you shall leave your present place of abode to come to us the sum which we shall hereunto annex to our names — respectively hoping and praying that God may make you inimately successful in winning souls to himself and building up his church in whatever part of his vineyard he may see fit to place you. We subscribe our names and annex the sum we oblige ourselves to pay the day and year above written.

Nathan Smith Senr. £2 Jervas Say £1: 10 Joseph Barker £4: 10  
David Burpe £6 Nathan Smith £4 David Burpe Jun. £5 John  
Burpe £2 Jacob B. Smith £1: 10 Amos Perley £1: 10 Henry A.  
Putman £1: 10 John Stuart £2 Nathaniel Burpe £1: 10 Joseph  
Burpe £2 Ebenezer Burpe £2 Samuel Shanks 10s John P. March  
£1: 3 Jonathan Putman £2 James Tilley £2 Joseph Barker Jun.  
£4 Charles Stuart £6 Alexander Stuart £3 Joseph B. Libey £1: 15

Sheffield 1819 Call to the Revd. James Thompson of Miramichi to accept pastorship of the Sheffield Church — With subscription list.

## LETTERS WRITTEN AT SAINT JOHN

BY

JAMES SIMONDS.

A. D. 1764-1785.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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

Out of the business transactions carried on at the mouth of the River Saint John by James Simonds and his partners William Hazen, Leonard Jarvis, and James White, there arose a serious disagreement in regard to the division of their property, about the time the province of New Brunswick was set off from Nova Scotia. This disagreement soon assumed an acute form and after several abortive attempts to effect a settlement by arbitration the subject in dispute, about the year 1791, got into the Chancery Court where it remained in one form or another for upwards of twenty years. During the various legal proceedings the most eminent lawyers of the day were employed. At the outset Elias Hardy was counsel for James Simonds and Ward Chipman, the elder, appeared on behalf of Messrs. Hazen, Jarvis and White.

At the hearing of the cause the following letters were, by consent of all the parties, put in evidence:—

No. 1. Letter from James Simonds to William Hazen, dated 18th August, 1764.

No. 2. Letter from James Simonds to Samuel Blodget, dated 1st October, 1764.

No. 3. Letter from James Simonds to Blodget and Hazen, dated 16th December, 1764.

No. 4. Letter from James Simonds to William Hazen, dated March 18th, 1765.

No. 5. Letter from James Simonds to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 27th May, 1765.

No. 6. Letter from Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 20th June, 1767.

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No. 7. Letter from Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 23rd June, 1767.

No. 8. Letter from James Simonds to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 5th August 1767.

No. 9. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 22nd June, 1768.

No. 10. James Simonds to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 25th July, 1768.

No. 11. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 11th August, 1768.

No. 12. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 21st December, 1768.

No. 13. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 6th March, 1769.

No. 14. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 10th May, 1770.

No. 15. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 9th July, 1770.

No. 16. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 26th July, 1770.

No. 17. Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 18th February, 1771.

No. 18. Simonds and White to William Hazen, dated 21st February, 1774.

No. 19. James Simonds to William Hazen, dated May 10th, 1781.

No. 20. James Simonds memo. of agreement with Hazen and White, dated 15th March, 1782.

No. 21. James Simonds to Hazen and White, dated 19th March, 1783.

No. 22. James Simonds to Hazen and White, dated 23rd February, 1784.

No. 23. James Simonds to Hazen and White, dated 28th February, 1784.

No. 24. James Simonds to Hazen and White, dated 13th March, 1784.

No. 25. James Simonds to Hazen and White, dated 30th July, 1785.

The above letters were eventually filed away among the Chipman papers where they remained until brought to light by the late Joseph W. Lawrence a few years since. Mr. Lawrence appears to have loaned the letters to various parties from time to time, and it is feared that several

of them are now lost. All that I have been able to discover are those that are here given. Where practicable the letters have been copied from the original manuscript ; a few foot notes have been added by way of explanation.

W. O. R.

No. 1.

PASSAMAQUADA [PASSAMAQUODDY,]

18th August, 1764.

SR. :— Rec'd your & Mr. Blodget's Letters and Goods pr Captns March & McCown. Since wrote to [you] each by a Piscatawa Vessel.

The sloop Bachellor is now ready to sail : the contents of Cargo is 251 Quintles Cod and Polluck of her crews catching, 30 Do. of Hunts : Cox's part of Oyl in barrels mark'd W. H.

The great sloop arrived ten days ago : has made but an ordinary fare said to be 300 Quintles. Will sail with dry fish in about a fortnight : you'll be looking out for business for her.

With respect to Indian trade it is absolutely necessary to get Licence both for that & selling Liquors. I don't know any way to get to Halifax this fall being so confined here yet shall if possible, as vessels goods & fish of all unlicenced traders will perhaps be seized. I have sent to his Excellency\* an account of my settlement in fishing & of having credited men so as to make it difficult leaving that trade, praying that no advantage may be taken by men that are able to make formal application ; how far that will avail is uncertain as we have adversaries to encounter, We shall want the old Sloop at St Johns but do not know how you'll send her there without extraordinary Cost. If you & Mr. Blodget think it will be best to carry on business largely at St. John's, we must have another house with a cellar ; the latter is now dug and stoned & will keep apples, potatoes & cther things that will not bear the frost, for a large trade ; this building will serve as a house and store, the Old Store for a Cooper's Shop.

If the Lime answers well we shall want 150 Hd. [hogsheads], it will be best to get the cheapest sort such as are powder-posted (often sold at half price) with hoops & Boards for heads ; also boards for a house, some glass, &c, Bricks for Chimney & hinges for 2 Doors. I think the business at St. John's may be advantageous if not too much entangled with other. We can work at Burning Lime, catching fish in a large wire

\* Governor Montagu Wilmot of Nova Scotia.

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Bay.

[weir] we have built for bass up the River at the place where we trade with ye Indians, trade with ye Soldiers\* and Inhabitants, &c. Next winter we can employ the Oxen at Sleding wood and Stone, Mr. Middleton at making Casks ; don't think it best to keep any men at Passamaquada. The Lands are very Valuable if they may be had. The Old Sloop can bring the Bricks, boards, Ho. H'ds, the Great Sloop the goods for the fall trade and carry a load of Lime home ; perhaps you'll get some Freight.

It may be of some advantage to get a Licence from Governor Bernard,† you'll speak to Mr. Blodget about it. Polluck will sell best in the country, pray sell as many that sort as is possible. It is best to be careful of over paying the men who come home from here. Wiggins took the Opportunity when I was Sick to go away in Debt.

Hilliard & Berry have lost considerable & have made out poorly ; Nason ditto.

All stores if any are left you'll take care of. You have not said whether the Draught was accepted.

My compliments to Mrs. Hazen & all Friends.

I am S'r,

Y'r Humble Servant

JAS. SIMONDS.

N. B. Mr. Walker has been in Mr. Boyd's‡ employ, he came after we was fully Man'd. My brother knew nothing of his being indebted to you or of any charges arising by being out ; he was willing to work with Mr. Boyd instead of us. Lately Mr. Boyd has charged his passage (high) ; he has rec'd an Order on Mr. Morland for his wages ; you may stop them if you look out in season. We shall need two or three sets of trus hoops.

[Addressed :—“To Mr. William Hazen, Merch't,  
Newbury-port.”

“pr. Capt. Eaton.”]

\* The garrison at Fort Frederick, at the mouth of the river St. John.

† Sir Francis Bernard, governor of Massachusetts, whose jurisdiction extended over what is now the State of Maine.

‡ James Boyd, who was engaged in trading and the fishery at Indian Island in Passamaquoddy Bay.

No. 2.

HALIFAX, Oct'r 1st, 1764.

SR. :— Last night arrived here after four Days passage from St. John's — the first 24 hours at sea in a Severe Storm, the second passed a place called the Masquerades where there was seas and Whirlpools enough to have foundered the largest ships but were providentially saved with only the loss of all our Road [chain] & anchor by endeavouring to ride at anchor till ye tide slack'd (in vain). It was unlucky for us that we happen'd to fall in with that tremendous place in the strength of the flood tide in the highest spring tide that has been this year. Gentlemen here say it is presumptuous to attempt to return that way at this season of ye year in open boat but as the boat & men is at Pisquit\* and I have no other way to get to St. John's in season for my business this fall, shall get our business done here as soon as may be & return there the same way I came, where I hope to meet some of our Vessels. The plea of the above difficulty will have a greater weight than any other to have business finished here immediately. This Morning I waited on the Governor, Secretary and all officers concerned in granting licence, &c, who assure me that my request respecting licence shall be granted directly so that I hope to be on my way to St. John's tomorrow. I am obliged to take it (licence) in my own name, as it is by the year, not by the Quantity sold, and if I acknowledge that I am in Co: with others each of their names must be made known and each pay for Licence separately at £10 pr year if they sell at more than one place and if any concerned live out of the Province they will not Licence them at all. Therefore it is highly Necessary that it is not known in this province that any are concern'd with me in a Company way (more than in ye fishery) for as sure as it is known I shall forfeit my Licence and be deprived of ever renewing again. A certain respectable Gent'n has lately been strip'd of all his employment for only a transgression of the above kind.

I have also been with the King's Chief Mason ; have shewn him a sample of our lime ; he likes it well and gives me encouragement that he will take all of me that he wants either for public or private use (he is the only Dealer in lime in town) at a rate that will neat at St. John's three dollars or more pr H'hd.

Likewise have encouragement from some Gentlemen of high rank to have the supplying of the Garrison at St. John's another year with wood & several other articles.

\* Now Windsor, N. S.

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With respect to Land there is no prospect of ever getting a Grant of any Valuable from this Government though doubtless whatever asked for in England, if right steps is taken, may be had with little cost, several large grants have lately been made there. The land is very valuable.

Inclosed is a third list of goods for the fall with some additions lest the first and second should miscarry though I hope, without a very quick passage of this letter, that all goods will be sent before the receipt of it. Anything more may perhaps be sent on Freight. Pray do with my Vessel building with Mr. Johnson as you think will be most for my advantage & send the prices of Oars, Rafters, Shingles, Clapboards, Staves, Sparrs &c.

In haste ; have only time to send this by Vessel just going. Compliments to all Friends.

I am Sir

Y'r Most Humble Serv't

JA'S SIMONDS.

Mr. Sam'l Blodget  
Boston.

No. 3.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER, Dec. 16th, 1764.

MESSRS. BLODGET & HAZEN,

I have long waited with impatience for the arrival of the Sloop with Goods, Stores, &c : have now given her over for lost. All the hopes I have is that the winds were contrary in New England as they were here all the fall, that detained her until too late, and you concluded not to send her.

We had a fine prospect of a good trade the last fall ; and had the goods come in season, should by this time have disposed of them to great advantage ; but instead of that we have missed collecting great part of our Indian Debts, as they expected us up the River and have not been here on that account ; besides the disappointment for want of provisions and supply for our men, and hay for our cattle, will not be trifling, as the former must be provided for at retail prices here, the latter sent up the River to be wintered, which will entirely overthrow our plans for this winter, which was to sled Wood and Limestone for next summer — a much easier way than carting.

We have Stone dug for 500 H'g'ds, and near Wood enough cut to burn it ; that must now lay till carting, and we shift as well as we can

to employ our men so as not to have them run us in debt. I have not heard from Passamaquada for six weeks, but fear they have little or no provisions, and am sure they have no hay for a Cow that is there. She being exceeding good shall endeavour to save her life till you can send hay for her ; I shall go there as soon as the weather moderates (that has been intensely cold lately) and employ the men there as well as I can, as they are confined there contrary to intention for the Winter, and return here as soon as possible.

I have been trying and have a great prospect of getting one or two Rights [shares] for each of us concerned and to have my choice in the Townships of this River,\* the land and title as good as any in America, confirmed by the King in answer to our petition.

Tho' loath to project any scheme that would have the least tendency to involve or hinder us from making speedy remittance, yet being obliged, as I before observed, to leave the business allotted for the winter can think of nothing better than to make a resolute push up the River with our men, employ some of them at making Lumber, others at clearing Land and fitting it for grain in the Spring. According as crops heretofore have been, it will more than pay for clearing the first year ; the produce equal to cash — (bread and meat for all our Men, excellent for Hemp and Flax), and every year be growing more valuable. The Men are in low spirits, having nothing to eat but Pork & Bread and nothing but Water to drink. I therefore pray that you would send the inclosed articles as soon as possible in the Schooner *Polly*, as those that we have not present use of will sell immediately. Knowing thus much, I trust you will lose no time in sending to our relief.

Please to give my compliments to all Friends.

I am, Gentlemen

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

JAS. SIMONDS.

N. B. Memorandum inclosed in Mr. Blodget's note two days since. This sent if a Vessel should touch in at Newbury instead of Boston.

To Messrs. Sam'l Blodget & Wm Hazen,  
Newbury, Mass.

\* The townships referred to were Burton, Gagetown and Conway, granted Oct. 18, 1765 ; and Manguerville, Sunbury and New Town, granted Oct. 31, 1765. Messrs. Simonds, Hazen and White at the time the Loyalists came to New Brunswick are said to have owned about 60,000 acres of land at various places on the River St. John.

## No. 4.

HALIFAX, March 18th, 1765.

SIR:—I am just arrived here on the business of the Inhabitants of St. John's. As Capt. Harris is now going to sail, can only just let you know that all was well at St. John's when I left that place. Have sent a Memorandum for Goods this Spring with alterations from that sent by Cap. Story, as I have since been up the River & seen the scarcity there. The people have but little money, their pay must be Shingles, Clapboards, Rafters &c.; pray send word whether it will do to take such pay for goods.

I have seen Capt. Glazier who informs me that he is getting a grant for a large tract of land at St. John's for a number of Officers and that your brother\* is one of them.

St. John's is made a County [Sunbury] and I hope will soon make a formidable appearance. I can only add that I beg you will despatch the Vessel early, that we may not lose any time in trade this Spring, and that I am Sir

Your Humble Servant,

JAS. SIMONDS.

Mr. William Hazen, Newburyport.

## No. 5.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER, 27th May, 1765.

GENTLEMEN:—I Rec'd yours of 3d April the 1st Inst, and of the 18th on the 9th Inst. The Schr Polly was dispatched immediately for fishing. She is now near loaded. I am sorry the same dispatch could not be made with ye Schr Wilmot. A cargo of Lime could not be prepared before hand for want of Oxen to draw wood, but thought it would be better for her to wait three or four days extraordinary than to return in her Ballast.

Have had very bad luck in burning the lime, the wood being wet, as the snow was but just off the ground. One third of the kiln is not burnt; however as the salt is here that ought (great part of it) to have been landed at Passamaquaday it must be sent back which will make a full freight to that place.

The winter has been much here as in N. E. If you can get freight

\* Moses Hazen. The Township of Burton is probably here referred to of which James Simonds, William Hazen and Moses Hazen were grantees.

to this place, believe it will be best to keep the schooner constantly running between here and Newbury. If Lime answers well can burn any Quantity whatever. The want of H'hds is the greatest difficulty, the want of a house to cover it the next.

I doubt not of your making the greatest despatch in all business relating to this concern, and wish I could make you sensible of the disadvantages we are under to do the same. I thank you for the willingness you express to relieve me, and that you think there is any difficulty to go through in these parts. The fishermen's accts will settle here, if possible. With respect to Mr. Blodgets not advancing more than precisely  $\frac{1}{4}$  part of the outsets is what I never before understood; I am sure by his situation that he cannot do but a little part of ye Business, and therefore think he ought to excell in his proportion of Supplys rather than to fall short. You may depend upon it that no pains will be spared in this quarter to make the Concern advantageous. There is such a number of traders at Passamaquada that I don't expect much trade there this Spring; have prevailed with the Commandant to stop them from going up this River; there has been no passing the falls till now by reason of the freshet. Shall go over this afternoon and proceed directly to Opaque, an Indian Village eighty miles up this River.

I have no Objections to yr proposals (say disposal) of the vacant part\* of the Concern; Mr. White will write respecting himself in the affair. I am obliged to you for sending some furniture, for truly none was ever more barely furnished than we was before. Gentility is out of the question. The chief of my small supplys Mr. Hazen is due for some small Bills I had not got in when I left home and must beg to be excused till I pay you a Visit at Newbury the last of the Summer. I can think of no better way to settle with Mr. Peaslee than to allow him for his Supplys, and he give in his time as we do on this Station. I shall be extremely glad to wait on Mr. Hazen when the Sch'r returns.

I trust you have done with the Sloop "Peggy & Molly" what is for the best. Mr. Marvel appears worthy of the character you gave of him, but fear his discipline will be too mild for such a sett of fishermen.

On ye 20th of March rec'd the contents of Mr. Studholme's† bill, which is forwarded in ye Sch'r. Have been obliged to credit the

\* The reference here to the "vacant part of the Concern" is explained in the following extract taken from a letter written by Messrs. Hazen and Jarvis to James Simonds, under date the 3rd day of April, 1765:—"Mr. Peaslee is determined to sit down in Haverhill and to leave this Concern, and as by this means and the death of your brother (in which we sincerely condole with you) one sixth part of the Concern has become vacant, we think to let Mr. White have one eighth and to take three eighths ourselves." Robert Peaslee here referred to was a brother-in-law of Wm. Hazen, and a partner in the Company.

† Capt. Giffred Studholme commanding the garrison at Fort Frederick.

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Inhabitants up the River to the amount of a considerable sum, which is to be paid part in furs and part in Lumber (the Lumber is not brought down). The Officers and Soldiers supplies, and Wooding the Garrison is to be paid by a Draught on the pay master at Halifax. It will be best to dispose of the Alewives\* soon, I doubt whether they will keep in warm weather. A memorandum for some necessary supplies is inclosed. The pork, lines & hooks pray fail not of sending soon; the want of them, which will be in a Month, will break up the fishery. The Indians have bought more pork than I expected when I sent you my memo., and there has come less.

Since the Lime is all put in Hh'd's I find there is near seventy [empty] H'hd's remains. They chiefly want one head each — twenty or thirty more will be sufficient for another kiln. If you send the Sch'r directly back, boards must be sent for heads, and should think it would be best to send 100 refuse shook Hh'd's for a third kiln with boards for heads and hoops, as they cannot be had here, also 5 M. boards to cover a frame that is now decaying and will serve for a Lime House and Barn. Have borrowed 12 C. boards of Mr. Green. Shall have a kiln ready to set fire to in three weeks after the Sch'r sails. Dispatch in shipping lime can never be made without a Lime house to have it ready when any Vessel arrives. Have sent Inclosed the Invoice of Sch'r's cargo which I wish safe to yr hands, also an account of the works, craft, goods &c, though not so compleat as I should be glad of. I hope it will in some measure answer your end till we can further examine it. Picket & Buller ship'd with Weed at Passamaquoddy; please to send their acct., and I will endeavour to have the amount of them stopped, also all their accts. that have been supply'd in Newbury, and the Middletons acct. for 1763.

In great haste

I am Gentlemen

Yr. Most Obedient & Humble Servt,

To Messrs Hazen & Jarvis,

JAS. SIMONDS.

No. 6.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER, June 20th, 1767.

MESSRS HAZEN & JARVIS :

GENTLEMEN,—We received your favor 2d instant by Capt. Dow. The Sloop *Bachelor* did not return from up the River before this morning. We have but few fish; the men that undertook the weirs were

\* Gaspereaux.

very slow and unfaithful, and not only neglected the fisheries but the Mill also, for which reason we have not a full load for the Sloop. Have not been able to collect any thing valuable of the Inhabitants but are coming into measures to effect it. The Indian debts we cannot lessen being obliged to give them new credit as a condition of their paying their old debts. They are very numerous at this time but have made bad hunts; we have got a share of their peltry, as much as all the others put together and hope soon to collect some more. There is scarcely a Shilling of money in the Country. Respecting goods we think it will be for our advantage not to bring any Toys & Trinkets (unnecessary articles) in sight of the Indians, and by that means recover them from their Bankruptcy. They must have provisions and coarse goods in the Winter, and if we have a supply of those articles by keeping a store here and up the River\*, make no doubt of having most of the Trade. Shall have a Store ready by September next, and hope to have it finished by the last of that month, we have by sad experience been admonished of a further delay. The winds back in the Country are forever northerly in the fall.

The Mill we have not nor shall be able to keep at work without more and better hands; have four less than we ought to have for different branches if all of them was good boys, and those that are bad must make a bad figure.

We have promised 30 to 40 H'nds Lime to Mr. Best (H'fx) and hourly expect a Vessel for it, and have encouragement of a contract for King's works; expect nothing but to disappoint him as that rascal negro West cannot be flattered or drove to do one fourth of a man's work; shall give him a strong dose on Monday morning which will make him better or worse, no dependence can be put on him.

As the season is somewhat advanced, or will be before another Cooper can be sent we think it will be best to send all salt and other goods in hogsheads that will not want trimming and even send them empty when there is room for them. You will be judges whether sending them or a Cooper is the easiest & cheapest way. We apprehend there must be salt sent soon to Passamaquoddy.

Such an one as Stickney's Sloop we think we can load with Lime & Lumber in three or four weeks from this time; if the price is in proportion there will be no loss from her smallness.

\* According to the late Moses H. Perley the first trading house up the river was built by Simonds and White, at or near St. Ann's Point; it was carried off by an ice freshet and was replaced by another one. John Anderson, another trader, had an establishment at the mouth of the river Nashua, where he received a grant of 1,000 acres, Oct. 9, 1767.

When Col. Glasier left this place he was in such a hurry (the Vessel being bound directly to sea) that we could not make compleat settlement not having the people's accounts up the River that had worked on the mills, logging, &c. We have inclosed his order for what could be settled, also the Invoice of Sloop's Cargo and Capt. Dow's share of it; also a memoranda of some goods we are in want of for fall & winter trade as far as we can recollect in so few moments as we have to deliberate on the matter. Shall send a full list by next conveyance.

The Lots in Gagetown are drawn, Moses and William Hazen, No. 53, 54, Mr. Simonds No. 12, none of them either the best or worst in the Township.

In haste we are Gentlemen,

Your friends & humble Servants

SIMONDS & WHITE.

N. B. We want three men, one that understands tending a Mill and two Teamsters, which we beg you will send in next vessel. Four Oxen more than we have may be employed to good advantage. If young cattle are cheap at your place, recommend sending some every opportunity; the growth of them is profitable, and the Kings Instructions to the Government are, that three cattle be kept on every fifty acres of land granted. If you send any Oxen there must be a chain to each yolk.

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No. 7.

Letter from Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 23rd June, 1767. *Missing.*

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No. 8.

Letter from James Simonds to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 5th August, 1767. *Missing.*

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No. 9.

SAINT JOHN'S RIVER, June 22d, 1768.

GENTLEMEN,

We have yours of the 20th of May pr. Capt. Brookings who had a long passage to this place, and who we have dispatched as soon as this extraordinary season would permit. It has rained almost every day of this month and the whole of the time of burning and drawing the Lime:

which has caused a quarter of the Kiln to be coar and has done some damage to the casks that goes in the Sloop. If the weather is the least favorable shall have one Kiln burnt and another ready to set fire to by the time the Sloop can return. We beg that you will send 70 or 80 H'nds in her for the second, as we cannot have more than casks enough for the first made by the time it is finished and not more than ten days before the second may be filled. (Abbot makes but one Cask per day).

We have made a smaller collection of Furrs this year than last, occasioned by the Large Demands of the Priest for his services and his ordering the Indians to leave their hunting a month sooner than usual to keep certain Festivals, and by our being too late at their Village the reason of which we informed you in our last. The Inhabitants have paid little or nothing of debts this Spring and the Freighters Newman cannot pay a quarter of the amount of their freight; the family taken in at the Eastward will never be able to pay a farthing. We think it will be better for you to receive all passages and freight at Newbury, as has been the custom of others. Mr. Livingstone\* writes that the order is made payable in Boston tho' we are surprised that he should mention anything of the sums not being due when not only that but near as much more has been advanced to save the lives of the wretched crew he sent. We have ever found that ye doing business for others is an office the most unthankful, and equally unprofitable. Mr. Shorne has arrived with some Familys from New York to settle his own and some other Rights. He will want some articles purchased at Newbury for which he proposes to pay Bills.

Mr. Livingston's recommendation we recite and beg your opinion of the matter that we may be able to give answer to his request.

Mr. Shorne† the bearer of this is a Proprietor in our Lands and has left Ireland with an intention of settling a number of Rights on this River and for that Purpose is invested with powers from his friends to draw for any sum that may be necessary on this occasion; I must beg your kind assistance and advice on his behalf as he does not appear to be much acquainted with the Settlement of Lands; you may with great safety I think take any Bill from him for a moderate sum.

We are of opinion that the new regulations is the best and that the Township of Sunbury is the best in the Patent and that Newton is the next to it according to the Quantity of Land as it will have a good

\* Probably Philip John Livingstone, an original Grantee of the Gagetown Township, and an agent for the settling of the Canada Company's lands in the Townships on the St. John river.

† Richard Shorne and Phineas Nevers were returned in 1768 as members for Sunbury in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly.

Salmon & Bass Fishery in the river which the Mills are to be built on\* which runs through the centre of the Tract, and as the Mills are to be the property of the Eight Proprietors after Seventeen years from this time and all the Timber also the moment the partition deed is passed, no general reserve being made of anything but the expence of completing the Mills.

If you think it cheaper to send a Cooper than to buy H'nds out of the Distill Houses for near half the Lime we shall burn please to send one, and half a dozen Salem Scythes — Haskel's tools are entirely out of credit here; it would be a sufficient excuse for a hired man to do but half a days work in a day if he was furnished with an Ax or Sythe of that stamp.

We are Gentlemen

Your Humble Servants

SIMONDS & WHITE.

N. B. We have inclosed with the Invoice of Sloop's Cargo, a memorandum of some articles which we will be glad to have next Trip. There is a prospect of a scarcity of Corn on this River, the weather being very unseasonable, and it's expected that there will be a greater number of Indians assembled at Aughpaugh next fall than has for several years past. We shall therefore want a larger supply of Indian Corn than we have ever had before at once which must be of the last years growth, or not be here at the proper time. Provisions, Blankets and Stroud, is all the articles we shall want; the Quantity of each shall advise when we hear from Halifax. Leavit in the *Polly* has just arrived from Annapolis; he says he has lost a fare of Fish for want of a sufficient length of Cable to ride, and that he must have one by the middle of August or he shall lose one or two fares more at Grand Menane.

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No. 10.

Letter from James Simonds to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 25th July, 1768. *Missing.*

The following extract however, found in one of the manuscripts of the late J. W. Lawrence appears to be taken from the letter of this date; it was written at Halifax:

“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

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\* The site of the proposed Mills was in all probability at the falls on the river Nashwaak, where Alexander Gibson's famous Mills are now erected.

committed to me, which I accepted to prevent another person being appointed who would be a trader. I dont know but I must reside in the Garrison, but the privilege of the fisheries on that side of the River, and the use of the Kings boats will be more than an equivalent for that inconvenience."

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No. 11.

Letter from Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 11th August, 1768. *Missing.*

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No. 12.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER, Decr 21, 1768.

MESS. HAZEN & JARVIS,

GENTN, We have sent by the Schooner *Polly* what Furs, Feathers &c we have collected at this place, invoice of which is enclosed. We imagine we have about the same quantity in store up the River but have heard nothing from there since the Gondolas returned, which was immediately after their arrival, by reason of the ice in the River. There is commonly no passing in the cold season, only between the first of January and the last of February, and then many times, difficult. But if it would be of any material service in the sale of those Furs together with what may be received during the winter, they might be sent to Newbury before the fishing season comes on. Of this you will be able to determine; the extra expence of carriage about forty shillings.

We shall have no meat or bread left by first of April, so that we cannot subsist without that article beyond that time which will not be much if any too early to proceed up the River with all the goods.

We have hitherto lost a valuable part of the trade, either by the goods coming too late or by our being embarassed with other business when attendance should have been given on trade only, for which reason we think that having a vessel building and fitting out in the Spring will be of like detriment to the Concern on account that the timber must be picked up at a great disadvantage this winter and that in the Spring we must go into the Weirs every tide; (this we must do if it was for nothing else but to keep our men from selling bait to the fishermen for rum, which is not only attended with the loss of the fish so sold, but of the men's time who would drink so to excess as not to be able to do anything).

If the goods arrive by the time the River is clear of ice, we can go up with them and have everything so regulated as to attend on this branch of Fishery and what Indians come this way. We hope to catch nearly a thousand barrels. Shall not have barrels enough but think we can save that quantity till they can be made or procured. The two hundred hogsheads in our memorandum is for salting in the first pickel; shall have two hundred more made for the same end. As the fish don't run for more than twelve days none can be repacked until all is caught. We shall at the time they come want more hands than can be mustered here after keeping the Lime Kiln, Boating, Store and Building going on. We therefore think it best for the Paquet to be here at furtherst by the first of May with salt, and lay here fourteen or fifteen days, the hands to be shipped to assist in catching, salting, etc. This will be a saving of the expense and wastage of landing the salt and a saving of store room that will be much wanted. We beg that the salt may be here by the time mentioned. Large allowance ought to be made for contrary winds, as some vessels at that season have been upwards of twenty days on their passage; one week too late would defeat the design.

Our help mostly failed us last fall, and the hay season was the wettest that was ever known, which prevented our having a sufficient quantity of lime stone dug and wood cut to employ the teams to good advantage. We have but five men that will tarry all winter beside the Coopers, and they not constant labourers.

Have sent part of the mould shot to be exchanged for Duck and Pidgeon; could not sell a bag of that size in a year.

Old Abbot did not do one day's work for sixty days after his wife arrived; no dependence can be placed on him, and as Stevens goes a fishing in the Spring on his own account, shall want another cooper and three labourers that understand catching and salting fish, boating, cutting wood, etc. It will make a material difference if these men are of a tractable disposition.

It is with reluctance we send another memoranda for goods when we have made so little remittance of late, a few months will we hope alter the face of affairs. The inclosed accounts will vary some from those that went by the Paquet as they were executed in great hurry.

We are Gentlemen, Your most obedient

and Humble Servants

SIMONDS & WHITE.

## No. 13.

SAINT JOHN'S RIVER, March 6th, 1769.\*

GENTLEMEN,

We have rec'd your favor of the 21st of Jan'y by the Polly which had a long passage of 23 or 24 days. She might have sailed some days ago if it had not been for a deep snow that fell while the Furs was coming down the river, so deep that it was with difficulty the horse was got in.

We have sent all the Furs and everything received except about 60 lb. Castor and a quantity of Mucsquash skins that could not be brought down. There is, as has been usual, less furs than we expected and consequently more goods on hand as we have credited little or nothing this winter, as we shall not for the future, finding upon examining our accounts that trusting seemingly but little soon amounts to a large sum. We have by the nearest calculation we can make about £1500 L. M: due to us from the English and Indians — about half that sum from each, which will be hard to collect tho' we hope not much of it finally lost. Shall call on every one to pay as much as in their power to do. The English are more distressed for provisions than they have been since their settlement on this river. Mr. Shorne has had but little of us and we have had no opportunity to obtain a draught for it. Mr. Livingston's account we sent with the order that was returned; as he has it, it will be needless to send another: however have enclosed a letter and order which must convince him that not only the sum drawn for has been advanced him, but as much more to his settlers, which he has the benefit of, as without it all the disbursements would have been lost, at least part of them.

We imagine that the loss of Mr. Anderson's† vessel will cause more trade to come to us than we should have had if she had gone safe; but as we have more goods on hand than we expected to have, have made only a small addition to our memo: and some alteration. The corn that came in the schooner is totally spoiled for any sale, and we shall suffer greatly for want of that article except we have a 100 or more bushels pr return of the schooner.

Abbot and Middleton will both do about one man's work, and Stevens tho' an industrious peaceable lad had not experience to make any dispatch at coopering. We think it will be of more advantage to keep the coopers mostly at making Hogsheads as they will make as

\* This letter is endorsed as received March 23, 1769, by Hazen & Jarvis.

† John Anderson who had a trading post just above the Nashwaak, opposite Fredericton.

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many of them as Barrels and all they can make in the season will be wanted for Lime. Barrels are cheaper with you than Hogs'ds, less freight and much better for Fish than can be made here by these coopers; therefore advise to the sending 200 Bbls by the Sloop. Shall have 200 more here, and if we should catch as many fish as we expect, all above the 400 Barrels might be saved in Hog'ds or in bulk till Barrels could be made or bought for all above the 400. If we should fall short there would be less loss for the outlets for that branch than to have a great number of Barrels lay on hand.

Have had but little Snow this winter, but few days that the ground has been covered; have got to the water side a large quantity of wood and Wharf logs; about 300 Hogshead Lime Stone to the Kiln, and should have had much more of both articles if there had been snow. Our men have been so froze and wounded that we have not had more than three men's constant labour to do this and sled sixty loads of hay, saw boards for casks, look after the cattle and draw firewood. Shall continue drawing or dragging wood and stone as long as the ground is froze and then cut the timber for a Schooner and boat stone for a Lime Kiln which with the wharf will take 400 Tuns. The Wires [weirs] will want great repairs occasioned by the late storms. We cannot compleat all this without three labourers, at least, mentioned in our last, and they stout men, and the fishery besides. We hope to not want much supplys in all next Summer more than is in our memo accompanying this; a little provisions will be the chief additional outlets till the Schooner's Rigging is wanted. The fishermen cannot expect great wages for what they can do here while they are waiting for the fish. April is a very stormy bad month for business. It is supposed the river will be open in a month or five weeks so as to allow us to proceed up the river with the Sch'r by that time if she arrives: it will be a great advantage to go up early on several accounts.

As Hodge is here, and out of employ is very desirous of building the schooner, after the most sciemn promises of amendment we have agreed with him to build her for  $23\frac{3}{4}$  currency pr tun, measuring to the Wales [gunwales] and to lay the Deck a foot higher; have about half Iron enough to build her that came out of the Old Sloop, and if we find the Anchor that was lost shall have two suitable anchors. Hodge writes to his friends to agree with a carpenter to assist him that they can recommend for his workmanship and industry. He proposes to have him come without wages on the passage and then to fish together on their own acct's while the season lasts off this river and then proceed to work

on the vessel; (she is to be launched by the last of August). If such an one is agreed with that you think will answer, and the pay agreed for made easy, please to be accountable for his wages while at work on the Vessel if requested.

Mr. Richard Hazen\* writes us that he likes the country up the Bay, where he has been, and determines to carry on business there, that he is desirous our being concerned with him, but as our outstanding debts here are large and in dull hands we give him no other encouragement than to conform to your Inclination in that matter.

We are of opinion that a Trade might be carried on to good advantage at Windsor; the general scarcity of money is the only difficulty that we can foresee.

We are Gentlemen

Your most obedient Humble Servants

SIMONDS & WHITE.

MESSRS HAZEN & JARVIS,

P. S. Please to advance a trifle to help Black's wife to Newbury, if she cannot come without, as he is, and will be, uneasy without her, and to forward the inclosed Letters to Halifax the directest and safest way that is possible—they were expected by a post that was lately sent and returned without them.

No. 14.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER, May 10th, 1770.

GENTLEMEN,

The Sloop St. John's Paquet arrived here the second inst, but the river was so high and full of ice that we could not begin to unload until 3 days ago; have taken out 200 Hogs'ds Salt and 4 tun 36 cwt sugar and have left 650 bushels of salt on board, and ship'd all the lime that is burn'd and furs that we have yet rec'd.

This spring has been so backward that there has been no possibility of burning any lime. The piles of wood and stone are now frozen together. We have not more than half men enough to save the fish (seven in all—the rest have left us some time since) the first School is now running and the Wires wholly broken down with ice; have no help of the fishermen, only about 10 days work of two hands.

The Mill could not go before the middle of April and the ice has been continually breaking the dam ever since.

\* Richard Hazen was a cousin of Wm. Hazen; he was born at Haverhill in the year 1722.

The saving of the Gondalos from being lost at the places where they was left last Fall has taken a great deal of time, have got the last of them home today but have not anybody to caulk them — have no nails to trim casks, or board the frames, nor any hoops but what is picked up at an amazing expense. But what has been the most difficult and distressing was the *want of provisions and hay*. Such a scene of misery of man and beast we never saw before. There was not anything of bread kind equal to a bushel of meal for each person when the Sch'r sailed the 6th of February and less of meat and roots in proportion — the Indians and hogs had part of that little.

The flour that came in the Sch'r has been wet and much damaged and having no Indian Corn it will be mostly gone by the time the hunts are finished.

We meant by our memorandum to have the articles over and above what would fit out the fishing vessels — they will want 7 or 8 Barrels of pork and all the bread for the whole season. They ought to have all their stores when they leave this place about the first of June. We have expected Capt. Newman for some time but begin to think he or you have altered your minds about the trip.

There is great uneasiness among the fishermen about Coffee; they say you promised them 5 lb. each man, the same as they had last year and a barrel of molasses to each vessel. We have not had any of these articles nor any tea except that of the Spruce kind for three months past. We beg that we may have the articles in our inclosed memorandum by the first opportunity.

If hands can be got to work on shore we think it will be best to send the Sloop back immediately and have her graved here — there is part of pitch enough that we shall not want at present, and if Newman does not come there will be no other way to bring the Lumber down the river but in the Sloop.

We have only to add that we shall do all in our power to catch fish and burn lime but cannot tell what quantities we shall have as the few hands here are sickly and not to be depended upon.

We are Gentlemen, Yr Humble Serv'ts

Messrs Hazen & Jarvis, Merchants  
Newbury Port.

SIMONDS & WHITE.

No. 15.

Letter of Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated 9th July 1770. *Missing.*

## No. 16.

Letter of Simonds and White to Hazen and Jarvis, dated the 26th July, 1770. *Missing.*

## No. 17.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER, Feb'y 18th, 1771.

GENTLEMEN,

Inclosed is a list of Sundrys ship'd on board the Sch'r Humbird and for some articles not in our memorandum of December last, both which we should be glad to have compleated if possible.

You have sold the Schooner and Coals better than we expected.

There has not been one day's sleading this Winter, and as the season is so far advanced there cannot be much more than enough to get the Hay from the Marsh at best; but shall haul Loggs to finish the Wharf and for plank for Fish Cisterns if it can by any means be done.

We shall cut Mr. Hazen's Frame\* in some place near the Water where it may be Rafted at any time. Have cleared Roads and cut the small stuff out of a large body of wood and Timber, but great part of it must remain on the spot till next winter.

You did not mention what kind of a vessel you thought of building. The dimensions ought to be known to cut the Timber to advantage; it will make a material difference between the compass-timber for two, and three heights of Lime.

The having Hoop poles to cut and pick up all over the woods will be a great hindrance to other work. Those that grow up the river are not worth the freight down — if they were we should not have wanted any before there is passing up and down. Middleton makes one Hogshead pr day, Abbot one in two days, Godsoe one in a day, so that there cannot be many casks ready for Lime. If you can have a vessel here by the first of April she may make a Trip to Boston or Newbury and return by the time the Alewives are running. It would be better to pay the hire of a Vessel ten days at that time than to want hands. There is only four hands here by the month (besides Donnohue) and two of them will go from hence the first of June. Black will be foreman at burning Lime. Brooks & Bradley will work part of the summer.

\* Wm. Hazen about this time decided to close up his business at Newburyport and remove to St. John. A house was built for him at Portland Point near the house of Mr. Simonds about the year 1772 mostly by the labourers and with materials belonging to the Company. This house was burned down and another one soon afterwards erected upon the same spot, into which Mr. Hazen removed with his family in the year 1775. He is said to have left Boston the very day the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought.

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You will be judges of what Lime can be got to market, and of what other help will be necessary to Dig and Boat stone and bring wood, catch and salt Alewives, cut hay and do all other sorts of work which you think will answer to carry on, and of what Coopers will be wanted to make casks.

We are of opinion that Donnohue deceived you about his views in coming this way ; it appears to us that his designs was to make a large sum of money out of a small one by Traffic with the Savages. He sets out with giving one Quart of rum for a Beaver Skin.

We are Gentlemen

Your Most Obedient Humb'e Serv'ts

SIMONDS & WHITE.

Messrs. Hazen & Jarvis.

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No. 18.

Letter of Simonds and White to William Hazen, dated 21st February, 1774. *Missing.*

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No. 19.

Letter from James Simonds to William Hazen, dated May 10th, 1781. *Missing.*

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No. 20.

[MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT.]

March 15th, 1782.

I hereby agree with James White and William Hazen Esquires, to Rent to them all my Lands and Buildings near to Fort Howe in the County of Sunbury, for the space of one year from this date, for the consideration of thirty pounds currency, they allowing to all and every officer of the Garrison all and whatsoever I have heretofore promised to them,— which cannot be particularly herein pointed out, of my part of the premises : also to permit George Manning and Lemuel Cleveland to Improve and Occupy whatever I have promised to them for the Term aforesaid ; they, the said Manning and Cleveland; to account with the said White and Hazen for the just value of the Lands or Buildings which they may Improve in consequence of said promise.

Witness My hand

JA. SIMONDS.

N. B. For promise to Maj'r Studholme and Dr. Sherman, see my letter.

To Geo. Manning, the house that he lives in at present and the land that he improved last year thereabout, also pasturage and hay for his Cattle (about six head) all at a reasonable rent, and liberty to cut some Spars this Winter.

To Lemuel Cleveland, licence to build a House near the Beach.

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No. 21.

March 19th 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

As I could not agree with you, when here, either to purchase or hire my Interest at Monuguash, I have rented to William Simpson the Salt Store, a third of the Wharf, a third of the Fishery, and a third part of the privilege of the Common Landing fronting the inclosed lands for two years, reserving only a right of entry on the premises at the end of one year, in case of my selling my right at or before that time.

I have also promised to Geo. Manning the House wherein he now lives for one year, and mowing and pasturage for his Cattle the same term.

As I have taken only the most useless buildings and such other articles as cannot infringe on any Contracts which you made the last year, or thwart any plan of your business for the present, I hope for, and expect your approbation of my proceedings. The remainder of my Right is yet undisposed of, and I think that you can have no objection to my receiving payment for whatever stock may be put upon the lands by others, unless they should amount to more than my share, you know that I have received but little benefits the last three years.

I am Gent'n Y'r Most Humb'e Serv't

J. A. SIMONDS.

Messrs Hazen & White.

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No. 22.\*

February 23d, 1784.

GENTLEMEN,

I rec'd your letter by Dr. Sherman on the subject of lands and am sorry that it is not in my power to assist in the business (on the spot) agreeable to y'r request. I am with you fully convinced of the necessity of attending to our interest; But the irregular and outrageous

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\* This letter was written by James Simonds from Lower Mougerville (now Sheffield), where he was then living, and forwarded by the hands of Samuel Peabody to Messrs. Hazen and White.

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conduct of a number of persons who are combined to oppose all legal authority and (as I have reason to suspect) to take my life, has for a long time induced me to prefer self preservation to every other consideration.

Our mode of settling a number of families in Conway, in the opinion of the late Col. Franklin and several other gentlemen, as fully secured our interest from forfeiture in the other Townships as if they had been dispersed on the several tracts; and tho' a part of those settlers was plundered and driven from their habitations by the Enemy during the late War, their sufferings cannot in law or equity subject any lands to revert to the Crown on that account. The families settled in Conway and Atherton\* in Sunbury peoples 2,000 acres more than our Rights in the Society's† Grants requires: Therefore nothing (consistent with common sense or the most contracted notions of equity) can be urged as reasons why we should be ousted or curtailed of any part of the land we have settled or are entitled to by the tenor of those grants.

You will find enclosed a calculation of the amount in acres of our shares in the several Townships, the description of Conway and the two grants opposite thereto. I cannot suppose that we have included in the lands disposed of at Manuwagonis more than a proportion of Marsh or good upland. A few steps from the road towards the Falls will lead to the worst of land (if Bogs, Morasses and rocks may be called lands) the front on the seashore having no harbour, nor the shore of the river any good landing places, whereas Musquash Cove is a harbour at all times of Tide and is navigable five or six miles. There is as many more on the Grand Bay where there is good landing places.

As you will direct the Survey to be made for the advantage of the concerned, I need only to add that I shall be ready to pay my proportion of the expence with thanks,‡ and that I shall write more fully by Dr. Sherman; in the meantime I am Gent'n

Your Most Humble Servant,

J. SIMONDS.

Messieurs Hazen & White.

\* Probably St. Ann's Point the site of the present city of Fredericton is here referred to. See collections of N. B. Hist. Soc. Vol 1, pp. 109-110.

† The Association commonly called the Canada Land Company.

‡ In this letter was inclosed a memorandum by Mr. Simonds specifying the bounds of two grants lying to the eastward of St. John Harbor, the one a grant of 2,000 acres made to James Simonds, Richard Simonds and James White, October 2, 1765, and the other a grant of 2,000 acres to James Simonds dated May 1, 1770. Samuel Peabody was guided in surveying the lines of these grants (which appear never to have been run before) by the description given in Mr. Simonds' memorandum.

No. 23.

Feb'y 28th, 1784.

GENTLEMEN,

The morning after I wrote you last I had determined to have come down with Dr. Sherman \* the Thursday following, which I mentioned to Mr. Peabody just as he was setting out, but being attacked the next night by a company of Ruffians was obliged to give over all thoughts of leaving my family exposed to the abuses of those worse than savage barbarians. Mr. Sherman not going down as soon as he had appointed, it is probable that Mr. Peabody will have finished his survey before this comes to your hands. The lands you mentioned lying to the eastward of the two grants is promised to Mr. David Fletcher by the Governor's approbation of his memorial (now in the Secretary's office †) as a reward for his services as a Subaltern officer in the late war, ‡ so that a tract of land cannot be obtained at that place only through his pretentions which I purchased by exchange of lands near two years ago; but I shall have no objections to your becoming interested on equitable terms. The Island in Kennebeckatious in the front of the tract is included in the petition, and if the warrant of Survey is not already made out the proportions of the land sufficient to make 2,000 acres may be described in such a form as will accomodate the settlements on the former grants. If Mr. Hazen should think proper to apply for the warrant of survey when he is in Halifax on the business of our lands in the several Townships, I will pay my share of his trouble and expence with thanks, and I think that if any memorial should be necessary to explain our proceedings it will be needful to be very explicit in setting forth the time when the settlement was made: That it was our expectation (grounded upon the opinion of the best judges) that the full complement for settling our shares in all the Townships would every as fully answer the intention of Government to be in one Township only as if they had been proportionately seated on the different tracts, the peopling of the Country being evidently the only end and aim of Government in granting lands: The difficulty or impossibility of families settling heretofore among the Indians against their disapprobation: The expences of the settlements in Conway: The losses and sufferings of the settlers: That we and

\* Doctor Ambrose Sherman was Surgeon in the Royal Fencible Americans, and during the revolutionary war was stationed with the Garrison at Fort Howe. After the disbanding of his regiment he settled at Burton, where he died December 17th, 1793. His orphan children were educated by Samuel Denny Street, Esq., a brother officer, who named his son Ambrose Street, after his old friend Dr. Ambrose Sherman.

† At Halifax.

‡ That is the French war ending with the peace of 1763.

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they was for a long time unprotected against the depredations of the enemy; and to assign any other reason that may occur why our property or any part of it ought not to revert to the Crown.

Instead of our being stripped of our Rights to make amends for the losses of the Loyalists who was plundered in New York or elsewhere we have at least as weighty reasons as they possibly can offer to claim restitution from Gov't for the value of all the property taken from us, our distresses by Imprisonment &c. They had a numerous British army to protect them, we had to combat the sons of darkness alone; In a word we had much less than they to hope for by unshaken loyalty, and incomparably more to fear.

I must beg that you will not engage the Old House \* longer than till May. I must remove from hence as soon as the Spring opens if not before.

I am Gentlemen

Your Very Humble Servant

J.A. SIMONDS.

Messrs. Hazen & White —

No. 24.

March 13, 1784.

GENTLEMEN,

Having wrote you some time since in answer to your letter on the subject of the lands lying to the eastward of the former Grants, but did not explain the Terms in which you might be interested in the Right that I had purchased of David Fletcher. My meaning was that you should have two thirds of the Tract for the same number of acres of your lands at Rushigonis [on the Oromocto] both to be made equal for quantity and quality through the tracts. In the ratification of such exchange (which if you agree to on your parts) I hereby promise to comply with what I have proposed on my part upon demand, after the Grant is made to Fletcher and his Deeds executed to me for which he is under large bonds. †

As many have applied to me for leases of some Land near the Town of Parr and near the Indian House, if you think it will be for the

\* The Old House here referred to was no doubt the House built by James Simonds in 1762 upon the site of an old French Fort that had previously stood at Portland Point.

† Messrs. Hazen and White objected to this arrangement between Simonds and Fletcher and Wm. Hazen shortly after went to Halifax and induced the Government to grant the tract referred to to Lieut. Wm. Graves. The latter conveyed it for a small sum to Messrs. Hazen & White. The dispute that arose out of this transaction was the cause of prolonged litigation between the parties.

Interest of the concerned to give leases to a number of lots I have no objection, but recommend that they may not run to any very distant period, not to exceed ten years.

I am Gentlemen

Your humble Serv't

JAS. SIMONDS.

Messrs Hazen & White.

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No. 25.

SAINT JOHN, 30th July 1785.

GENTLEMEN,

There being some in and near to this City who appear to be desirous to purchase, or lease small lots of Land adjacent for building Houses, Stores, Wharfs, Lime Kilns, &c, and there being no partition fence between our improved lands and the City, I do hereby agree and promise to join with you in the confirmation of any bargain you may make in my absence for the sale or letting such part of the lands as you may think will be for our mutual advantage to dispose of immediately, and I do also agree to be answerable for my proportion of the expence of erecting a good and sufficient fence to secure the produce of the lands from being destroyed by the Cattle and other Stock belonging to the City.

I am Gentlemen,

Your Humble Servant

JAMES SIMONDS.

Messrs Hazen & White.

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Letter written by James Simonds from St. John the 23rd September, 1764, to Messrs. Blodget and Hazen.

(AN EXTRACT,)

"I hope if I sacrifice my Interest, ease, pleasure of Good Company—and run the risque even of life itself for the benefit of the Company, those of them that live where their circumstances are every way the reverse will in return be so good as to take a little pains to dispose of all effects remitted to the best advantage and also to observe the same rules in purchasing Goods for the future, as some articles of ours are dearer by Invoice, by the *Quantity*, than is sold at Saint John's of the same kind, and every way better by *retail*."

## FIRST CONTRACT OR BUSINESS AGREEMENT

ENTERED INTO BY

SAMUEL BLODGET, WILLIAM HAZEN, JAMES SIMONDS, JAMES WHITE,  
ROBERT PEASLIE AND RICHARD SIMONDS.

*March 1, 1764.*

THIS INDENTURE quadrupartite, made this 1st day of March, 1764, between Samuel Blodget on the one part, and William Hazen on the second part, James Simonds on the third part, and James White, Robert Peaslie and Richard Simonds on the fourth part.

WITNESSETH the following agreements and Covenants, and the said parties do hereby mutually and reciprocally covenant every party with every other in manner following :

*Imprimus*, the said Samuel, William, James Simonds, and James White, Robert, and Richard, do mutually covenant that they will immediately enter upon and pursue with all speed and faithfulness the business of the Cod-fishery, Seine-fishery, the Fur trade, burning of Lime and every other trading business that shall be thought advantageous to the parties and Company at Passamaquoddy, Saint John, Canso and elsewhere in or near the province of Nova Scotia and parts adjacent, and it is further agreed that the said Blodget and Hazen or either of them shall find and provide at the expense of the Company a Vessel or Vessels, Crafts, Boats with tackling and furniture proper therefor, and all materials which they or either of them shall judge fit ; and also all sorts of Goods and Stock wherewith to carry on the business aforesaid shall be found and provided by the said Blodget and Hazen or one of them agreeable to their directions excepting as hereafter is excepted, and all things supplied by them or either of them shall be set by them at the common price or value ; and they shall be allowed Interest therefor or so far as the produce of the trade and business aforesaid (after six months) shall fall short of satisfying for the outsets untill the same shall be repaid them, but they shall be allowed Interest for all Cash, and for all articles commonly called Cash-articles, or articles called the same as Cash from the time that the said Blodget and Hazen, or either of them respectively shall advance the same, and all the Fish, Fur and whatever else the produce of the trade and business aforesaid shall be, shall be sent to the said Blodget and Hazen and as they shall order.

*Furthermore:* the Fishery Business and the business of Traffick at Saint Johns and elsewhere shall be under the control of the said James Simonds; and the said James White, Richard Simonds, and Robert Peaslie shall be ruled by the said Simonds at all times and in all things which shall relate to the good of the concerned wherein the said James White Richard Simonds and Robert Peaslie or either of them shall differ in judgment from the said James Simonds, tho' all the parties do hereby covenant in all things to consult and advise and act to the utmost of their power for the best good and advantage of the Company and all those concerned.

*Furthermore:* it is mutually covenanted and agreed that the deck'd Vessel, or Vessells, with their appurtenances and all cargoes and goods that shall be shipp'd on board the same Vessel or Vessells from one port to another, whether on their inward or outward bound voyage and voyages shall be well insured, when it can be done, at the peril of such person or persons of the party whose proper care it shall be to insure as aforesaid.

*Furthermore:* it is agreed that James Simonds, James White, Robert Peaslie and Richard Simonds proceed as soon as may be with the Vessells, Crafts, Goods, Fishermen; &c. to Passamaquoddy, Saint John and Canso and there do what business is necessary to be done during the co-partnership, and that Samuel Blodget and William Hazen are to remain at Boston and Newbury to forward supplies and receive what may be sent from St. John or elsewhere by the Company nor shall any of the parties to these presents be allowed any wages or commissions but all expences which shall necessarily attend the business aforesaid shall be equally borne by the parties.

*Furthermore:* no more Vessells shall be purchased without the consent of two of the four parties aforesaid. And the four parties aforesaid shall equally share all the net profits which shall be made in the Traffic and Fishery, Lime-burning and all advantages in the business aforesaid and they shall also bear an equal share in all charges loss and losses which shall arise from the business aforesaid, and neither the said James Simonds, James White, Robert Peaslie and Richard Simonds during the time of the continuance of this Partnership shall buy or sell on his own private account to the prejudice or hurt of the common advantage of the Company and parties aforesaid. Also neither of the parties nor either of the fourth party shall sell out or part with his or their interest in the Company without the consent of two of the parties aforesaid and the Company to have the refusal of it at a reasonable appraisal. And

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if at any time there should arise any controversy or disagreement between either of the parties aforesaid they are hereby obliged to submit all matters of difference relative to this Contract to the judgment and final determination of Arbitrators indifferently, equitably and mutually by them the contending parties to be chosen, and each party bind and oblige themselves each to the other to join in such choice.

*Furthermore:* the Partnership in trade and business shall continue certain for the space of one year from this time and for such longer time as all the parties shall hereafter agree.

To the performance of all and singular the Articles of agreement aforesaid, the parties to these presents mutually and reciprocally bind themselves each to the other in the penal sum of a Thousand Pounds.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF the parties to these presents have interchangeably hereto set their names and seals the day and year first afore written.

SAM'L BLODGET.

WM. HAZEN.

JAS SIMONDS.

JAS WHITE.

ROBT. PEASLIE.

RICH'D SIMONDS.

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NOTE.

The termination of the war between France and Great Britain in 1762 afforded the enterprising merchants of New England an opportunity to extend their trade in various quarters. Attention began to be directed to the Bay of Fundy, and among the various enterprises set on foot was the one carried on under the foregoing contract by Messrs. Blodget, Hazen, Simonds, White & Co. The active promoter of the business in the first instance appears to have been James Simonds. He was born at Haverhill, Mass., in the year 1735. Upon the death of his father, Nathan Simonds, and the settlement of his estate, the property inherited by Mr. Simonds was inconsiderable; he accordingly left home in company with a younger brother Richard to seek his fortune. The circumstances that led to the selection of St. John as the principal centre of the trading operations of the Company are thus detailed in Mr. Simonds' evidence in the celebrated Chancery Suit, already referred to in these pages. He says:

"Having in the course of the years 1759, 1760, 1761 and 1762, been at great expense in viewing different parts of the then Province of Nova Scotia in order to ascertain the nature of the soil and value of the land and advantages attached to them, with an intention to make choice of a situation for himself and brother Richard Simonds, since deceased, who accompanied him in several of the journies and contributed to the expense, and finding that there was a large tract of Marsh land, and lands that afforded great quantities of Lime Stone, adjacent to the Harbour of Saint John, he the said James Simonds eventually gave the preference to those lands on account of their situation and the privileges attached to them,

and having previously obtained the promise of Government of a grant of 5,000 acres in such part of the Province as he might choose, he with his said brother Richard took possession," etc. etc.

In order to carry on business successfully and with substantial backing, James Simonds proceeded to organize a company from among his friends and relatives. Samuel Blodget, a prominent merchant of Boston, was at the outset an active member of the company, but at the end of two years sold out his interest in the business. He was not, so far as known to the writer, a relative of any of the other partners. It will be a matter of some little interest to understand the degrees of relationship existing between the remaining members of the company.

The father of William Hazen was Moses Hazen, who married Abigail White, sister of James White's father; so that William Hazen and James White were cousins. James Simonds' father, Nathan Simonds, married Sarah Hazen, a sister of Moses Hazen and aunt of William Hazen, so that James Simonds and William Hazen were also cousins.

Robert Peaslie, another member of the company, married William Hazen's sister Anna. After their settlement at St. John, James Simonds and James White married respectively Hannah and Elizabeth, daughters of Captain Francis Peabody. William Hazen was also related to the Peabody family, his grandmother having been Hannah Peabody of Haverhill.

In the course of the three years that followed the signing of the Articles of Partnership by Samuel Blodget, Wm. Hazen, James Simonds, James White, Robert Peaslie and Richard Simonds, the complexion of the company was radically changed. In the autumn of the year 1764 William Hazen associated with him in his business at Newburyport, Leonard Jarvis, and the latter became, by consent, a sharer of Mr. Hazen's interest in the business at St. John and Passamaquoddy. Richard Simonds died on the 20th January, 1765. A few months later Robert Peaslie withdrew from the Company. Samuel Blodget, the Boston partner retired in May, 1766.

In consequence of such material changes as these, and in view of certain questions that had arisen respecting the settlement of accounts, together with the necessity of arriving at some understanding as regards the rights of individual members of the Company in the lands procured from government by one or other of the partners, it was decided that a new Contract or Articles of Partnership should be drawn up. This contract will be found on the two pages following.

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## SECOND CONTRACT OR ARTICLES OF PARTNERSHIP

ENTERED INTO BY

WILLIAM HAZEN, LEONARD JARVIS, JAMES SIMONDS AND JAMES WHITE.

*April 16, 1767.*

THIS INDENTURE of three parts made this 16th day of April, *Anno Domini* 1767, between William Hazen and Leonard Jarvis both of Newbury Port in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Merchants, of the one part, and James Simonds Esqr of Nova Scotia of the second part, and James White of said Nova Scotia, Merchants of the other part.

WITNESSETH, That the said William and Leonard, and the said James Simonds and James White do hereby mutually covenant and agree immediately to enter upon and pursue with all speed and faithfulness upon the river Saint Johns or elsewhere in Nova Scotia, the Cod fishery, Fur-trade, and every other such branch of business as they the parties hereto shall think proper, and that all the trade and business in Nova Scotia shall be done and transacted by the said James Simonds and James White, and whatever business is to be transacted at Newbury Port shall be transacted by the said William and Leonard, and that neither of the parties shall be allowed any commissions, but that all expences necessarily attending the carrying on of said business shall be borne by the parties in the proportion hereafter mentioned, and it is also agreed by and between the parties that whatever sums are advanced by each and either of the parties for carrying on the said business shall be put into common stock and that Interest shall be allowed by the parties for whatever sums are advanced by either of the parties from the time each party shall advance the same, and all the profits arising on said business shall be divided as follows, one half to the said William Hazen and Leonard Jarvis, one third part to the said James Simonds and one sixth part to the said James White.

It is also agreed hereby between the parties hereto that all lands now granted to the said William Hazen, James Simonds and James White lying upon or near the river Saint John or elsewhere in Nova Scotia (excepting a certain Tract of Land in the Township of Maugerville now belonging to the said James Simonds) together with whatsoever lands may be granted to them or either of them during the continuance of this their Partnership, and also all lands that may be bought by either of them shall be put into the common stock and shall be divided, one half to the said William and Leonard, one third to the said James

Simonds and one sixth to the said James White, and they and each of them agree and hereby covenant to give to the other of them sufficient deeds to secure to each other all such lands in the above proportion: And it is

FURTHER AGREED, that this Contract shall subsist for the space of one year to be accounted from the date of these presents and for so long a time afterwards as they the parties thereto shall think fit.

AND FURTHER, that neither of the parties to these presents shall sell his share or interest in this Contract without the consent of the other, and that the Company shall have the refusal of it at a reasonable appraisal. And if at any time there should arise any controversy between any of the parties, the matter in dispute shall be left to the final determination of Arbitrators to be indifferently and mutually chosen by them the contending parties and they hereby bind themselves to stand to and abide by the determination of such Arbitrators.

To the true performance of all and every the foregoing Covenants and Agreements the Parties hereto bind themselves their Heirs, Executors and Administrators reciprocally each to the other in the penal sum of Three Thousand Pounds Sterling money of Great Britain to be paid to the party performing by the party failing.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF they have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

JAMES SIMONDS,  
LEONARD JARVIS,  
WM HAZEN.

In presence of  
ISAAC MARBLE, { Witnesses to Simonds, Jarvis and Hazen's signing.  
NATH. HAZEN }

NOTE.

The above contract is recorded in an old volume of Sunbury County records which is still in existence. It will be noticed that the signature of James White is not appended to the contract. As a matter of fact Mr. White never did sign it. In his evidence in the Chancery Suit, he gives as the reason for his refusal to sign, that the contract had been drawn up and signed in his absence by the other three partners at Newburyport, and that he deemed the proportions established therein unfair as regards himself. His statement is that:

"Having one fourth part of the duties, trouble and services to undergo and perform in transacting the business of the Copartnership, yet he was by the said Contract intitled to one sixth part only of the profits and one sixth part only of the lands to be divided under and by virtue of the same Contract; \* \* \* that altho' he, the said James White, disliked as aforesaid, his having no greater share than one sixth part in the said Concern, yet that he joined with the said James Simonds in carrying on the business of the said Concern in full confidence that some equitable allowance would be made to him for his extra services over and above his proportion of the said profits and lands."

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## THE JOURNAL

OF

CAPTAIN WILLIAM OWEN, R. N.,

DURING HIS RESIDENCE ON CAMPOBELLO IN 1770-71,

TOGETHER WITH

OTHER DOCUMENTS AND NOTES UPON THE HISTORY OF THE ISLAND.

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 EDITED BY W. F. GANONG.
 

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It is well known to those interested in the history of Campobello, that Captain William Owen, R. N., the principal grantee of the island, and founder of its first considerable settlement, during his residence there in 1770-71 kept a journal which has now become of much historic value. While his descendants lived on the island, the journal was kept there and several persons read it, and a few extracts were printed in a local newspaper, but it was never published in full, and of late years its whereabouts has been unknown. Some five or six years ago I wrote to Captain Owen's grand-daughter, Mrs. Robinson-Owen, then living in England, to inquire about it, and she replied that it had been lost. A year later she wrote that it had been found. She valued the original too highly, however, to allow it to go out of her possession, but wishing to make it accessible to those who would value it, she copied out for me, with full permission to use according to my judgment, the entire part relating to Captain Owen's residence in Campobello, and also the account of his explorations in 1767 along the route of the present Shubenacadie Canal and around Minas Basin, in Nova Scotia. The former is published herewith and the latter is still in MS. in my possession. The journal is described as very bulky, and as containing much more than these parts, in particular the narrative of his travels in the United States. I greatly regret that I cannot have the use of the original in printing the journal in order to secure perfect accuracy, the more especially since I am convinced that the only safe rule for an editor is to publish his text *verbatim et literatim*; but the copy was clearly written and will be closely followed. Mrs. Robinson-Owen died in England last spring. To her every student of Campobello history, as well as I myself, must be indebted, not only for the labor she assumed in copying the journal, but as well for her generous permission to use it in any way which would

make it of the greatest service. Her daughter, Mrs. Cochrane, now lives at Bagshot, Surrey, England, and is the possessor of the journal.<sup>1</sup>

Belonging, as it does, to the most valuable class of historical records, those written on the spot with no motive for falsification, the journal gives us trustworthy evidence upon several subjects of considerable local importance. It pictures in simple outline the interesting events and customs of the time; lets us breathe something of the social atmosphere of the day and place, and recalls a regime very different from that of the present. It fixes the exact date, place and manner of the formal settlement of Campobello, and gives by far the best description we have of the mode in which the great land grants of that time were supposed to be settled. It fixes the advent to this country of the ancestors of some American families, locates several of the pre-loyalist settlers and shows the presence of others, uses for the first time many now-familiar place-names, describes otherwise-unknown Indian customs, and presents many other facts more or less new or useful.

Of Captain William Owen and his Campobello colony some account will be found in the second part of this paper. For the present it is enough to say that he was a gallant officer in the British Naval Service, won renown in arms in India, received the grant of Campobello in 1767, spent but one winter there and died at Madras in 1778. As a result of his conscientious and well planned effort to settle it, the island passed to his family and descendants, in whose possession it remained for more than a century.

<sup>1</sup> It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge here the kind assistance I have received in the preparation of this paper. In particular to Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, of Boston, and Mr. John Farmer, of Campobello, I am indebted for many notes. Mrs. Cochrane has given help in certain points. Mr. Arthur Hill, of St. Stephen, has laid open to me his valuable collection of historical papers, and has taken the greatest pains to settle doubtful matters. Mr. T. G. Loggie, of Fredericton, has furnished, with his usual exactness, data from the Crown Lands office. Rev. W. O. Raymond, of St. John, has offered valuable suggestions; and Mr. George Batson, of Campobello, has given me some facts of importance. To all of these I give the sincere thanks of myself and of all to whom their aid has made this work of greater interest and value.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF CAPT. WM. OWEN, R. N., WHO SETTLED  
CAMPOBELLO IN 1770.

The Island of Campobello was granted to Capt. William Owen, R. N., in 1767 by Lord William Campbell, the then Governor of Nova Scotia, which province included New Brunswick,<sup>1</sup> and also presumably part of Maine. On the 7th April, 1770, Capt. Owen having purchased a vessel called a Snow, on account of its build and rig,<sup>2</sup> which he named the Owen, started from Liverpool and arrived at Halifax on the 21st May, and on the 27th of that month proceeded to Campobello which he reached on the 4th June — the birthday of King George 3rd. Here the "Owen" anchored and moored in the N. E. cove of Havre de L'Outre,<sup>3</sup> in the Island of Passamaquoddy.<sup>4</sup> I soon after went on shore and found three New England families settled here without legal authority, who cheerfully acquiesced in coming under my jurisdiction<sup>5</sup> I fixt on a spot for building a town, to be called New Warrington,<sup>6</sup> and formally named the Harbour Port Owen,<sup>7</sup> and the Island Campo-Bello; the latter partly complimentary and punning on the name of the Governor of the Province, Lord William Campbell, and partly as applicable to the nature of the soil, and fine appearance of the island; Campo-Bello in Spanish and Italian being, I presume, synonymous to the French "Beauchamp."<sup>8</sup>

1 Until 1784.

2 A vessel like a brig, but having immediately behind the main mast a smaller mast which bore the fore and aft trysail or mainsail. See Century Dictionary.

3 First known use of the word; now Harbour de Lute. It is said locally to have been originally Havre de Loutre, Otter Harbor, but this is not certain. One of its branches is still called Otter Cove. Others say it was Havre de Loup (shortened from Loup-Marin), Seal Harbor.

4 The earlier name of Campobello. In the MS. there is no break here, but obviously the preceding portion, including the title, was written by the transcriber, Mrs. Robinson-Owen, and the journal proper begins at this point.

5 These three families must have included that of Robert Wilson, who had settled here in 1766, (See Part II.) One of the others was probably that of Hibbard Hunt (See St. Croix Courier Series, to be explained later, No. XXXVIII.), and the third may have been that of William Clark, a friend of Wilson, or of Flagg (said by tradition to have lived on the Island) of Aikin, or of Newton or of Luke Kelley, known to have been a friend of Wilson's. (See later notes). Some years later, when David Owen was in charge, the Wilsons resisted the Owens (See Part II.) and succeeded in holding the lands they occupied, and they own them to this day. The explanation is, no doubt, this: When Captain Owen arrived in 1770, the Wilsons had been in possession only five years, and having no grant (none is recorded at Fredericton where all pre-Loyalist grants had to be re-recorded, in order to be legal,) they had no alternative but to "come under the jurisdiction" of Captain Owen, whose grant included the entire island. They were doubtless left undisturbed by him, and after the lapse of the legal term claimed their land by right of possession, and succeeded in making good their claim before the courts.

6 After Warrington on the Mersey, from which the "Owen" had sailed. See next paragraph.

7 The first cove east of Windmill Point in Harbor de Lute, now called Curry's Cove. On the Campobello Co. map of 1839 it is named "Port Owen."

8 Captain Owen's grandson, Admiral Owen, in his book "The Quoddy Hermit" (See Part II. of this paper), calls it Fairfield, an English translation of the word. There is a Campobello in Switzerland, two in Sicily, and one in South Carolina.

List of my Indentured Servants at Campobello—38 people having come out from Warrington in the Snow Owen :

No.	NAMES.	QUALITY OR TRADES.	RATE OF WAGES.
1	Wm Isherwood Esqre.	Clerk and Assistant . . . . .	£60 increased to £100 per ann.
2	John Montgomery . . . . .	My Servant . . . . .	
3	Sarah Haslam . . . . .	Housekeeper . . . . .	
4	Jane Johnson . . . . .	Housemaid . . . . .	1s 6d per week
5	Richd Atwood . . . . .	Armourer and Blacksmith . . . . .	7s "
6	Wm Rylands . . . . .	Fisherman and net weaver . . . . .	6s "
7	Evan Williams . . . . .	" " " " . . . . .	6s "
8	Wm Drinkwater . . . . .	Husbandman and labourer . . . . .	6s "
9	John Drinkwater . . . . .	" " " " . . . . .	6s "
10	Benjamin Mather . . . . .	Butcher . . . . .	6s "
11	Charles Whitnell . . . . .	Brickmaker, burner and labourer—our shoemaker . . . . .	6s
12	Lewis Jones . . . . .	Mariner and fisherman . . . . .	6s
13	John Holliday . . . . .	Shipwright, caulker and seaman . . . . .	£3 per month
14	Joseph Caldwell . . . . .	Tailor . . . . .	6s per week
15	John Lawless . . . . .	Barber and gardener . . . . .	6s per week
16	Catherine Lawless . . . . .	Cooks, Housewives, Washerwomen and spruce beer brewers . . . . .	At 2s and 1s 6 each per week
17	Mary Lawless . . . . .		
18	Elizabeth Whittal . . . . .		
19	Eleanor Newell . . . . .		
20	Mary Jones . . . . .	Labourer . . . . .	6s a week
21	James Gregson . . . . .		
22	John Clark . . . . .	Husbandman and labourer . . . . .	6s "
23	Richd Clayton . . . . .	" " " " . . . . .	4s "
24	John Unsworth . . . . .	Carpenter, Joiner and Boat builder . . . . .	8s "
25	John Clotton . . . . .	" " " " . . . . .	8s "
26	John Lockitt . . . . .	Ploughman and labourer . . . . .	6s "
27	Wm Mollineux . . . . .	Potash burner . . . . .	6s "
28	Wm Douglas . . . . .	Miller and Husbandman . . . . .	6s "
29	Thomas Green . . . . .	Cooper and labourer . . . . .	6s "
30	Thos Gregory . . . . .	Carpr, Joiner, Wheelwright . . . . .	8s "
31	John Hurst . . . . .	Ploughman and gardener . . . . .	6s "
32	James Bate . . . . .	Gardener, clay caster and delver . . . . .	6s "

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No.	NAMES.	QUALITY OR TRADES.	RATE OF WAGES.
33	Joseph Henshaw . . . .	Bricklayer, maker & burner	9s a week
34	John Robotham . . . .	Potter and labourer . . . . .	6s "
35	Adam Kingsley . . . . .	Mason, slater and plasterer	£25 per annum
36	Nicholas Rollin . . . . .	Fisherman and laborer . . . .	13s 6d per month
37	Edmund Mahar . . . . .	Labourer . . . . .	£1 11s 6d "
38	John Gendergrass <sup>1</sup> . . . .	Fisherman . . . . .	£1 "

By the foregoing list it appears that I took out with me people of almost all trades and callings, and that I was thereby enabled to carry on the business of my infant colony without calling in any auxiliary, or further mercenary aid; but justice obliges me to say, that I found upon all occasions, cheerful and efficacious assistance from about fifteen goodmen that composed the crew of the "Owen" during their stay: Let me also acknowledge the superior abilities I met with, in the New Englanders, when upon any particular emergency I thought it proper or necessary to employ them, especially in felling, squaring, and providing the "Owen's" lading of timber and lumber, and lastly let me not forget the friendly assistance of Sir Thomas Rich and the company

<sup>1</sup> Of these 34 (or excluding those of women alone, 30) family names, nearly all have disappeared from Campobello and the neighboring parts of New Brunswick and Maine. It is known that soon after 1771 most of the settlers left Campobello, and they may have returned in a body to England (See Part II.) The names are not Welsh, but as Rev. Mr. Williamson, of Milltown, N. B., who knows Welsh, tells me, they are typical Warwickshire. How and where these people were collected together by Captain Owen we have no information, but the naming of the settlement for Warrington, may mean they were natives of that place.

Several of the names are everywhere so common that it cannot be inferred that those now bearing them in this region are descended from these settlers. Such are Williams, Jones, Clark, Douglas, Green, and to a lesser degree Montgomery and Gregory. Green occurred on Campobello some 70 years ago and descendants now live in the vicinity. Holliday formerly occurred in St. Stephen, but is said to have come from Nova Scotia. Lawless will be mentioned below. A Gregson some 65 years ago lived at Campobello and afterwards at Treats Island. Bates formerly occurred at Campobello and descendants or relatives now live at Eastport. Edmund Maher is known to have settled on the Cobscook (See Courier Series XXXVIII., and Eastport Sentinel, June 8, 1892), and the name still occurs there; perhaps Meagher, occurring in New Brunswick, is the same. With Maher from Campobello went Clark, but his name is given as William, not John, and he is therefore not the one of the list, but probably a friend of Wilson, and perhaps one of the three New England Families. Possibly other names now survive in an altered form; but Batson is known *not* to be connected with Bate, nor Calder with Caldwell, nor Lawlor with Lawless. Creighton formerly occurring on Campobello, may have been Clayton. Of the others nothing is known.

The most interesting names on the list are those of John, Catherine and Mary Lawless, for Mary, the daughter, married Andrew Lloyd and became the grandmother of William Lloyd Garrison. In the Life of Garrison, edited by his children (William Lloyd Garrison, New York, 2 Vols. 1885) we read as follows (Vol. I, p. 14): "He [Andrew Lloyd] came out to the province of Nova Scotia in 1771, as a 'prentice bound to the captain (Plato Dana) of the ship which also brought over John Lawless, an Englishman, who had been a sergeant under Wolfe at Quebec; his wife, Catharine, said to have been a native of Limerick, Ireland; and their only daughter, Mary, who was certainly born there. \* \* \* He [Andrew Lloyd] married Mary Lawless on March 30, 1771, the day after they had landed on the Island of Campobello." The daughter of Andrew Lloyd and Mary Lawless was Fanny, who married Abijah Garrison, a descendant of Manguerville settlers, and their son was the great abolitionist. This present document shows a slight error in the above account — they could not have been married "the day after they landed." The name Lawless has disappeared entirely from this region.

of H. M. Sloop Senegal, who, to a man, were ever ready and willing to serve me without fee or reward; or at least anything but a little grog.<sup>1</sup>

As I do not mean to enter into the minutiae of our proceedings, I shall only observe that my first object was to build a temporary shed to shelter my people; to fell, burn up wood, and clear ground for planting and sowing potatoes, turnips, and all sorts of grain, and garden seeds, which had been amply provided in England<sup>2</sup>; next to build a large and safe Magazine to deposit our stores and provisions in; and lastly to effect the building of warm and comfortable dwelling houses for my people, before the winter set in with its usual rigour and severity.<sup>3</sup>

The different wheels of this complicated machine were set a going, but for what was done during my stay I shall, in a great measure, content myself with inserting in its proper place, the report of twelve Jurors,<sup>4</sup> who viewed my works at the year's end and made their return upon oath, which was registered and entered in the proper offices at Halifax. On the 4th July in the morning Capt Denny (who was master of the Snow Owen) and I proceeded with one freshwater fisherman in the whaleboat and punt for the falls of Scoodic<sup>5</sup> to fish for Salmon, arrived there in the evening being 10 leagues. On the 6th we returned with a few Salmon and much fatigued.

Sunday 8th performed Divine Service and in the evening read a sermon to a numerous audience in the new-built store.<sup>6</sup> 11th Lieut. John Preble<sup>7</sup> of Point Pleasant lodged a complaint against Pierre Paul Neptune, an Indian, and brother to the Chief of the Tribe, for breaking into his house, maltreating his maid, and compelling her to give him a

1 This acknowledgement of the assistance of Sir Thomas Rich, in advance of the date when it was rendered, shows, along with other things in the Journal, that it was written up, not always from day to day, but sometimes in considerable portions at once.

2 This together with the "people of almost all trades and callings" shows how carefully the settlement had been planned.

3 The appearance and location of these buildings is preserved for us, in part at least, in Des Barres "View of Campobello" in his Atlantic Neptune of 1777. See Part II. It is easy with a copy of this view in hand to locate the settlement. It is taken from the hill North of the Road just west of the head of Curry's Cove. It shows a windmill on Windmill Point; an old 3 arched ruin where the house and barn half way out to the point now stand, a large enclosed garden, two small houses on the bar at the head of Curry's Cove, a wharf with a building upon it in the Cove, a large frame for a house or barn near by, the roof of a considerable house just showing over the edge of the hill on the left, and the chimney of another on the right, with two others still further to the westward. No doubt one of the two partially hidden by the hill was Captain Owen's, and it is interesting to notice that a local tradition places just here the "Man of War House" in which Captain Owen no doubt lived, and in which the same tradition says that David Owen lived before he removed to Tyn-y-Coed (see Part II.) Expressed with reference to modern objects, Man of War house is said to have stood partly on the highway road and partly in the field just to the eastward of the small house which itself is eastward of Mr George Tinker's house and barn. I have myself examined the locality with a copy of Des Barres picture in hand. The enclosed garden is probably the Man of War garden which tradition speaks of but locates variously. The topography shown in the view is accurate.

4 A condition of the grants of that time was the performance of certain improvements within a year, to be viewed and reported upon by Jurors.

5 The Salmon Falls at Milltown, N. B.

6 A Document of 1797 states "Mr. Owen kept a large store at Campo-Bello." Kilby, 106.

7 Son of General Jedediah Preble, prominent in the Revolution. Courier Series xxxviii.

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gallon of rum ; Granted a warrant and sent a party to apprehend him, who returned with him handcuffed the next day. After making due concession and satisfaction to Mr. Preble, and swearing to demean himself in strict conformity and obedience to the wise and benign laws which secured his tribe in lives and properties equal to Englishmen, I dismissed him, and all parted friends. On the 30th bought a Moose of the Indians and served it to the people.

August 1st visited by M. Baillé,<sup>1</sup> the Missionary, complaining of some grievances the Indians laboured under ; the next morning I went up to Point Pleasant and settled all disputes between them and Lieut. Preble, as well as between them and their Priest.

The 3rd a pair of stocks and whipping post was erected near what we called the Market-gate, to deter or punish the unruly, disorderly and dishonest. This evening the Shoal of Pollock came in, which (tho' strange is true) they never fail doing annually between the 1st and 4th of this month,<sup>2</sup> the fisherman catch them in immense quantities, salt and cure them for the West India Market.

9th Aug. At 6 in the morning, accompanied by Captain Denny and the Pilot, I set off from Port Owen in the Snow's Longboat properly manned, called at Indian Island,<sup>3</sup> took in James Boyd Esqre<sup>4</sup> and with a breeze at N. W. and pleasant weather, we proceeded along the Northern<sup>5</sup> coast of the Island Campobello, through the West passage and from thence stood over for the N. E. head of the Island Grand Manan, where the tide of ebb met us, and the wind died away. Rowed and sailed along the coast of the island till five o'clock in the afternoon, when we landed on a salt marsh on the Western shore of N. E. harbour ; called by the fisherman Gull Cove ;<sup>6</sup> encamped for the night, and shot some black ducks for supper. This is a very indifferent harbour, but may occasionally serve as a tolerable Asylum for fishermen and small craft, being sheltered from the S. E. by an island, under which is the anchoring place, and is almost surrounded with ledges.

The 10th having fair weather, we struck the tent, and embarked at 3 o'clock in the morning, with a light breeze northerly, we sailed through, between the small islands and ledges, and ranged alongshore

1 M. Baillie, a priest among the Indians often mentioned in documents of that period. He was a Frenchman, but a good British subject and instrumental in quieting the Indians. See Canadian Archives, 1894, p. 288.

2 Yet later in the Journal under June 2nd, 1771, he states that the Pollock fishery was then commenced. Mr. John Farmer, of Campobello, tells me they set in now between July 1st and 15th.

3 First known use of the word.

4 A resident of Passamaquoddy since 1763. See Kilby's Eastport and Passamaquoddy, pp. 90 and 106 ; also Courier Series CXL. Papers relating to him are among the Chalmers MSS. in the Lenox Library in New York. He was made Justice of the Peace in 1767. Courier Series XLI.

5 Apparently he means the Western.

6 Now Flagg's Cove, no doubt.

to the S. W. ward with the ebb. At 6 o'clock we ran aground in the inner<sup>1</sup> passage of the two, which at high water separated a large tract of the south east part of Grand Manan from the main body of the island, where the long boat became high and dry; and in fact the whole passage was dry soon after. Here we met with John Wood Denny, an Indian and his Squaw, who, to prevent our waiting the tide's ebbing landed us in his Canoe on the north shore, where we made a fire, boiled the teakettle, breakfasted, and shot some birds. At 9, the long boat being afloat and sufficient water in the passage, and the wind being at S. W., it was with great difficulty we got through with our sails and oars: for the first quarter flood runs here with great rapidity; but it afterwards slackened, and at length sets to the westward. At 10 we landed on the point of the marsh on the south shore, where we pitched the tent, made a fire and boiled the pot. We caught some young gulls, shelldrakes and dippers; and found here Captain Nicholls<sup>2</sup> with a party of Mr. Lane's men from Gouldsbrough, cutting and making hay. We embarked at noon and ran up south-east or (as it is commonly called) Grand Harbour.<sup>3</sup> We called alongside the Hay Sloop, where the poor fellow that guarded her, gave us some fine lobsters; thence proceeded up to the head of the harbour, where finding the tide had ebbed, we only filled a keg of fresh water, at a small rivulet and turned down again. This Harbour is pretty spacious, and vessels may ride in security, with two fathom at low-water; but I would not recommend it to vessels of burthen, unless in stress of weather, or real business. At 5 o'clock we landed on the inner Green Island;<sup>4</sup> where finding no young birds or any diversion, we re-embarked: From hence the middle of S. E. or Grand Harbour bears N. N. E 4 or 5 miles and Whitehead E b S  $\frac{1}{2}$  S 1 mile; ran into a deep passage between Grand Manan and two islands,<sup>5</sup> proceeded some miles up it, when we laid the long boat on a fine smooth sandy beach,<sup>6</sup> landlocked; landed and pitched our tent for the night. The 11th morning foggy, and blowing fresh westerly, we dared not venture out: Messrs. Boyd & Black<sup>8</sup> went on a shooting

1 Between Cheney and Ross Islands.

2 White Head and Cheney Islands.

3 Probably Alexander Nickels, an early fisher and trader at Passamaquoddy. Courier Series XXXVII. In the MS. Proceedings of the Boundary Commission in 1817, now in possession of Rev. W. O. Raymond, testimony is given that "Grand Manan was first occupied by Americans from Portland, who went down there to cut grass, etc. But it was chiefly wild land and unoccupied, serving chiefly as a harbour for shipping."

4 First known use.

5 A group of very small islands, marked on the charts, but omitted from most maps. They are north of Three Islands and West of Whitehead Island.

6 Evidently Wood Islands; it is plain he rounded their southern end and ran to the head of Seal Cove.

7 Apparently that at Deep Cove, S.W. of the Village.

8 I can find no other mention of this name.

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party, discovered a pretty considerable river<sup>1</sup> running from the N. W. into the bight of the passage, and returned with a few wild ducks. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, being moderate, struck the tent, embarked, and worked down almost as far as the South head<sup>2</sup> of Grand Manan, from which a ledge stretches half a mile to the Eastward,<sup>3</sup> covered at high water, but finding no convenient place to land, or to secure the long boat, we were obliged to return back to our former encampment. The 12th fresh gales at S. W. and very foggy all the morning. Struck the tent at 5 o'clock, embarked, and turned down along shore; doubled the S. and S. W. heads of Grand Manan about the beginning of the tide of flood, and stood over for the main, which we fell in with, about midway between Bailey's mistake and the West passage;<sup>4</sup> We ranged close by the Seal rocks<sup>5</sup> across the West passage, along the S. E. side of Campo-Bello, and running through Conway or head harbour<sup>6</sup> hauled up round the N. E. head of Campo-Bello and turning to windward between it and Casco-Bay Island,<sup>7</sup> arrived at 3 o'clock in Port Owen, where we found just arrived His Majesty's Sloop, Senegal, Sir Thomas Rich, Baronet, Commander, with his Excellency Lord William Campbell the Governor, and Arthur Gould Esqre his Secretary<sup>8</sup> on board, accompanied by their satellites, the Slipper Cutter,<sup>9</sup> a tender of the Senegal's; the Province Schooner immediately under his Lordship's Orders; and the Pilot's Gigger.<sup>11</sup> The Senegal's barge came for me, and I went on board there to dinner.

The 16th about 10 o'clock the Priest and almost the whole tribe of Indians came over to pay their compliments to Lord Wm Campbell, the Senegal soon after saluted with 13 guns and his Excellency came on shore accompanied by his Secretary, Sir Thomas Rich, and his Officers. I waited on the beach with the other Magistrates and principal people of the district, with all my men drawn up under arms, and received them with three volleys. A Congress was held at my house, the Governor settled

1 A small stream flowing from N. W., empties into the head of Seal Cove.

2 This description has now become a proper name in the form Southern Head.

3 On the charts "Buck's Rocks."

4 I. e. that between Campobello and Lubec.

5 No doubt what is now called Seal Rock; called Seal Rock on the Admiralty chart of 1824.

6 First known use of Head Harbor; probably so called because at the head of the island; the only use known to me of the name Conway for the Harbor. General Conway was at that time prominent in the English Parliament.

7 They ran inside of Head Harbor Island, which is possible at all times of tide.

8 First known use.

9 All were men of importance in Nova Scotia. See for example Murdoch's Nova Scotia and Canadian Archives, 1894.

10 The most careful search kindly made for me by Mr. T. J. Kiernan, of Harvard College Library, in dictionaries, ordinary and nautical, has failed to show any reference to this kind of craft. She was about 18 tons burden. See under 13th Sept. Possibly her name was "Slipper."

11 The Standard Dictionary gives this word—"Jigger;" and under Jigger the Century Dictionary has:—"A sloop-rigged boat at one time used very extensively by the fishermen about Cape Cod, but superseded about 1829 by the dory. A Jigger usually carried four persons. The name belongs to the Bay of Fundy and vicinity, and is sometimes used on the Coast of New England."

some complaints relative to encroachments on their hunting ground, the fishermen destroying the Seafowl's eggs, and some English people<sup>1</sup> taking possession of a tract of land at St. Andrew's<sup>2</sup> which had ever been the burial place of their ancestors. He recommended agriculture and particularly the planting of potatoes to them, a civil deportment towards their brethern the English, and a due obedience of the laws; he then presented them with an English Union Jack, and they promised to give up their French Commissions.<sup>3</sup> The Congress over, the Indians returned to their camp; his Excellency the Governor and his whole suite dined at my house. The province Schooner was hauled ashore on the beach, and some of my people employed caulking and repairing her wood and iron work for nine days successively. The 17th I accompanied Lord William Campbell and Sir Thos Rich in the Slipper Cutter to Point Pleasant, visited the Indians in their camp and did not return till late at night. The 18th Mr. Boyd and I went with Sir Thos Rich in his barge up Copscook river, to forbid, in the Governor's name, two Casco-Bay sloops cutting and carrying away hay, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of our own precinct.

Sunday the 19th performed divine service morning and evening, and baptized a daughter of Wm Newton's<sup>4</sup> by the name of Betsey Shepherd.

The 22nd at eleven o'clock in the forenoon embarked with Sir Thos Rich on board the Slipper Cutter weighed and with a fresh breeze Sly ran by Indian Island and up the great Bay.<sup>5</sup> At  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 1 o'clock we anchored in 10 fathom water in the western Bay of Chamcook,<sup>6</sup> and soon after went on shore on the western side, and found twelve of the principal families of our Indians guarding the mouth of Conasquamcook pond<sup>7</sup> At this season the Sea fowl cast their pinion feathers and cannot fly; the Indians had, agreeable to annual custom assembled all their Canoes and "drove" (as they call it) the great bay, closing in by degrees and at length towards high water had forced them all into this large pond, or lagoon, which has but a very narrow entrance, and at low water the greatest part of it is left dry. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 most of the water being ebbed out of the pond, the Indians drove the birds by degrees into a Creek of it to the Northwd where I, with a party of men, woman, and children lay in ambush, and sallied out with paddles and bludgeons; a general massacre

1 These were James Brown and Jeremiah Frost. Courier Series XXXVIII.

2 First known use.

3 Another account of this conference is extant, by John Curry who was present. Courier Series XXI.

4 I can find no other mention of this name.

5 Passamaquoddy.

6 Evidently between Minister's Island and St. Andrews.

7 No doubt the place now called Kitty's Cove. Conasquamcook was the Passamaquoddy name for the point where St. Andrews stands.

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ensued, and what escaped us afforded about two hours excellent diversion to the Gunmen and Indian Squaws, who seemed to excel their husbands in dexterity and certainty of hitting their object. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 the action ceased, and the dead being numbered amounted to 700 in ducks, murrs, coots &c. which after we had taken a few of the ducks, were divided out by the Chief in equal proportions to the twelve families.<sup>1</sup> We embarked at 7 weighed, and turned down the Bay, but finding we did not gain much, and the night being obscure, at 10 o'clock we anchored in 15 fathoms off the N. E. part of Deer Island,

23rd light airs and variable, intermixed with calms; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 in the morning, weighed and came to sail, at about 8 o'clock being low water, ran the Cutter in to Point Pleasant, went ashore at Lieut. Preble's and despatched an Indian canoe with a note to Lord Wm Campbell at Campo Bello, not to expect us to dinner — with the next ebb we worked down and got into Port Owen in the evening.

13th Sepr Sir Thomas Rich was so obliging as to sell me the Slipper Cutter of about 18 tons burthen, with her masts, sails and furniture for 52 Guineas—I called her the Campo-Bello Packet. Mounted my Swivels and Co-horns<sup>2</sup> on flagstaff mount<sup>3</sup> and next morning 14th Sepr. the Senegal sailed hence for Halifax; I saluted with 11 guns, the Senegal returned equal.

29th Bought of Pierre Denny an Indian, 400 lbs. of Moose meat for the people, which was in high season and better than beef.

On October 1st leaving John Clark, as overseer of the work on the Island, I took Mr. Isherwood and four men with me on board the CampoBello, and at 8 a. m. weighed, with the whale boat in tow, and rowed and sailed over for Indian Island, having but light and variable breezes with calms. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 fired a Swivel as a signal for James Boyd Esq. but the tide of Ebb being made, I rowed in and came to with the small anchor in the Cove at Indian Island, and Boyd came on board. At noon Aikin and Flagg,<sup>4</sup> two English<sup>5</sup> hunters came on board in a birch canoe and brought me 55 lbs. of excellent young moose and a fine quarter of Beaver.<sup>6</sup> At 3 P. M. weighed and came to sail with a fine breeze southerly. At 5 fired a Swivel as a Signal and soon after

<sup>1</sup> A custom of great interest, not elsewhere referred to so far as I know in our historical literature.

<sup>2</sup> Cohorn or Coehorn; a small mortar. See Century Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup> The hill now called Flagstaff hill is at Welshpool—but the one here referred to must have been at Port Owen, as shown by a reference under May 20th of this diary. It was, no doubt, on the hill to the Eastward of the present Meeting House.

<sup>4</sup> Aikin I have not seen elsewhere mentioned, but Flagg is said by tradition to have lived on the island.

<sup>5</sup> English to distinguish them from Indian, no doubt.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps a quarter *i. e.*: 28 lbs. of Skins.

Mr. Preble and Louis le Blanc, an Indian, came on board in a Canoe from Point Pleasant :—the wind shifted now to N. E., with which we turned up the Grand Bay : at 7 there was very little wind and the night having a very bad aspect, we rowed in under the pilotage of Preble and anchored with the small bower in  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fms water in a small harbour on the North side of Deer Island, the extreme points of the entrance N. N. W. and N. N. E., and a rock between the two points, in one with Scodic or the Devil's head<sup>1</sup> N. a little Westerly.<sup>2</sup> After bad weather on the 2nd and 3rd Oct. which detained them in Deer Island<sup>3</sup> "on the 4th still hard gales from the N.W. quarter. At 8 A. M weighed both anchors carried out the grapnel to the Westward, warped over and came to sail, and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 we entered the mouth of the Magegadewy (Magaguadavic)<sup>4</sup> River, the first reach of which runs in S. E., at 11, being the pitch of high water, anchored in the second cove on the larboard side in 5 fathoms water. At 1 P. M. all hands went ashore on the Marsh, made a fire to cook — and began to cut and make hay.

5th At 9 A. M. took the Slater with us, and in the Whaleboat proceeded up to the falls<sup>5</sup> which are about 3 miles farther up the river. It was here in the latter part of the late war, a French frigate landed a great quantity of warlike stores for the Canadian army, after Quebec was in our hands. Here we found an inexhaustible quarry of fine blue slate<sup>6</sup> for covering houses, of which my Slater put into the boat a sample. We walked across the Portage,<sup>7</sup> or carrying place about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile to the still water above the falls, found it a fine large river, on each side good land and plenty of large timber. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 we set off on our return and at 1 o'clock landed on the marsh, where hands had been left to make hay and cook the dinner. At 5 o'clock I went down in the whale boat with the ebb to reconnoitre the river's mouth, and returned with the first of the flood ; the rest of the people having, in the interim been employed in packing, carrying on board, and stowing away the hay.

6th We rowed down with the ebb and turned down for Havre le tête<sup>8</sup> passage, but coming on to blow very fresh, with a rough sea, we bore away for Chamcook harbour where we anchored. Chamcook

1 First known use.

2 Northern Harbour. Charts show the rock.

3 This sentence must have been written by the transcriber, and must mark an omission in the Journal.

4 This word added, no doubt, by the transcriber. The spelling ending in wy (also wee) occurs in other early records.

5 A splendid series of falls some 80 feet high.

6 Very well known at the present day — but not profitable. It is on the "Wetmore Farm."

7 The portage was to the eastward of the falls. It is very much shorter than half a mile.

8 The French form given this name is of interest ; its origin is unknown.

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harbour<sup>1</sup> is a very extensive basin and its entrance, which is round the east part of the Island is not above half a cable's length wide at low water. Chamcook Island or Peninsula<sup>2</sup>— call it which you will, joins the main land of Conasquamcook to the S.W., by a high beach or bar, which on spring tides is only sufficiently covered for a whale boat to pass over it. In the upper part of the harbour, where we filled our water, there is a good stream for a Saw Mill, and plenty of timber near it.

Sunday 7th the weather being very clear, and a fresh gale at N. we weigh'd about 3 A. M. and ran out of the harbour and steering S. E. by S. entered the passage of Havre le tête about 6 A. M., in running through which with an accelerated celerity from the strength of the ebb-tide and force of the wind, not less than at the rate of twelve knots, we were in the most imminent danger of being dashed to pieces against the Egg-rock, at a time when our pilot my brother-justice,<sup>3</sup> Boyd, pronounced us far past it. From Havre le tête to the White horse the course is S by E; we past to the Northward of that rock at 5 o'clock, and in about an hour and a half after anchored in Warrington Cove,<sup>4</sup> Campo-Bello.

11th Bought of the Hunters 444 lbs of Moose for the people.

14th Sent Mr. Isherwood and five men in the Cutter with a fair breeze at S. to Chamcook, from whence they returned in two days with a quantity of flagstones and slate.<sup>5</sup>

16th Came into the Harbour the Virginia packet a sloop from Halifax, bound to Fort Cumberland. Bought a barrel of Flour, some rum, onions and other articles out of her. Evan Williams stole rum out of the store, which he for some time obstinately denied, although he was exceedingly drunk, and proof positive of his guilt. I ordered him to be put in the stocks for the space of one hour, with a label pinned on his back "a thief, a liar and a drunkard."

22nd Upon taking a survey of the quantity of spirits, provisions and warm clothing remaining in store, I found I was not sufficiently provided for a long, tedious and perhaps severe winter, not even for the necessary supply of my own numerous family; independent of the people of Indian Island, the young settlers on the Scoodic, a great part of the improvident tribe of Indians, many of whom I was certain if not

<sup>1</sup> Still called Chamcook Harbour. The "Western Bay of Chamcook" mentioned earlier was evidently the part south of the bar. There is reason to think that this Harbour was the original place to which the Indian name applied, and that Chamcook means a Harbour with a narrow entrance.

<sup>2</sup> Now Minister's Island.

<sup>3</sup> See earlier, under Aug. 9th note.

<sup>4</sup> *i. e.* Port Owen.

<sup>5</sup> Well known to-day about the entrance to Chamcook Harbor; excellent in cleavage but very soft.

<sup>6</sup> I have not seen any other reference to the use of the stocks in New Brunswick.

occasionally relieved by me, must be inevitably starved: I therefore determined, though the season was rather too far advanced for so small a vessel, to proceed in the Campo-Bello as soon as possible to Boston, or some other Port of New England, where I could be supplied. I immediately ordered the Vessel to be stored and victualled, fixt on her little crew, and changed a man with Wilson, my tenant, for his servant Aaron Bunker, a very clever fellow, who was to be my pilot, and like most other New Englandmen was Carpenter, farmer, fisherman and seaman: and without a moment's loss of time made every necessary preparation for my Voyage.

VOYAGE OF PRUDENCE BORDERING ON NECESSITY.

23rd After dinner I went on board the Campo-Bello packet, weighed and turned down the West passage — but at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 o'clock, being calm, rowed in and anchored in Friar's head bay.<sup>1</sup> About midnight there came on a fresh gale from the Northward. It was not until the 25th we were able to start again and then we passed through the narrows of West Passamaquoddy and coasting along did not<sup>2</sup> Penobscot Fort till the 3rd Novr.

Penobscot Fort stands on a peninsula of land, on the western side of the Penobscot river where 1200 acres of land was bought out of Brigadier Waldo's Grant by the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The fort is large, strong, and commodious, built of logs, garrisoned by the Provincial troops, whose commandant is also appointed Truck-master, to trade with the Indians. He was at this time gone to Boston, but his wife and family loaded me with kindness and civility; it was with difficulty I cd. prevail on them to sell me the few necessaries I wanted, and had I accepted all the presents they intended me in articles of provisions, roots and vegetables, my Cutter would have been loaded.

On the 5th the Campo-Bello anchored in Falmouth Harbour Casco Bay, found riding here a snow, two briggs and 15 sail of small craft and most of the coasters anchored here and in Hog Island road. The 8th, having agreed with Brigadier General Jedidiah Preble<sup>3</sup> for my supply of stores and provisions, nearly as cheap as I could buy them in Boston, in the evening we hauled the Cutter alongside the wharf; and the next day I ordered the foremost fire place to be taken down to make more room for stowage, got all the ballast out and washed the hold. The following days we took on board as much rum, molasses, flour and Indian corn as we could possibly stow in the hold and battened down the hatches, stowed in my cabin and lockers a quantity of fearnaught, milled caps

<sup>1</sup> First known use.

<sup>2</sup> Word reach, no doubt omitted by transcriber.

<sup>3</sup> Father of Lieut. Preble of Point Pleasant. See note under 8th July.

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mitts, hose, shoes and blanketting; and on the deck I took two carcasses of beef and lashed some casks of cyder and other articles.

The 14th, altho' my vessel was under tonnage and only laden with stores, I made a point of clearing out in form at the Custom-house, as an example to others, for the late repeal of the stamp act had not made the people here more honest or less refractory.

The 16th I got on board some wood, water and vegetables for the people, and at 7 a. m. on the 18th we weighed for Campo-Bello."

Here there is a short hiatus,—a leaf being lost and the next entry is:—<sup>1</sup>

"April 23rd 1771 Began gardening the frost being pretty well out of the ground. Mounted the Co-horns and Swivels on Flagstaff Mount and scaled<sup>2</sup> them. A fishing schooner, the first of the season, from Newbury bound to St. John's anchored at Indian Island.

24th Launched a fine large Gondola,<sup>3</sup> built by my people.

27th Came into the Cove from Boston, Mr. Curry's<sup>4</sup> Schooner and brought me from John Rowe Esqre Molasses, Rum, Bread, Indian meal, and sundry other stores.

29th Arrived from Mount Desert a sloop Beale Master, from whom I bought 6044 ft. of Boards. Began to set Potatoes.

May 15th Came in a sloop from Cobiquid\* and St. John's bound to Newburyport, in whom came passenger my old friend and host Squire Upham Justice of the peace at Cobiquid.<sup>5</sup>

19th Whitsunday—Divine Service as usual. Came into Indian and Casco Bay Islands, eleven fishing schooners from different parts of New England to begin the Cod fishery.

20th At 2 P. M. Isaac Bunker in a small schooner came through the West passage, anchored in the Cove, and informed me that the Snow "Owen" from England was working up at the back of the Island. I immediately sent a party in Wilson's whaleboat round by the N. E. head to meet her, and at 6 o'clock I took some people in our own whaleboat also to assist her in: the night proved somewhat squally and dark, and it was 2 in the morning before we brought her safely to an anchor in Port Owen. At sunrise she saluted with 7 guns, and I ordered an equal number to be returned, from flagstaff Mount.

<sup>1</sup> The words of the transcriber: The lost leaf perhaps recorded the birth of his son, Edward William Campbell Rich Owen, who was born on Campobello Feb. 19, 1771. See Part II. of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Scale. To clean (the inside of a cannon) by firing off a small quantity of powder.—Century Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. a scow.

<sup>4</sup> Doubtless John Curry who later became prominent in this region. He came to Passamaquoddy in 1770, was made a J. P. 1774, lived at Campobello (for him Curry's Cove is said to be named) and carried on an extensive business. See Courier Series XLIII.

<sup>5</sup> While exploring about Minas Basin in Sept. 1767, he and Sir Thomas Rich received great and repeated kindness from Squire Upham, as described in the Journal of that date.

25th hauled the Cutter ashore, cleaned and paid<sup>1</sup> her bottom, fitted her out, put sundry stores on board, and next morning dispatched her for Frenchman's Bay to purchase a cargo of Staves.

June 2nd The Cod and Haddock fishery is now commenced and carried on successfully.<sup>2</sup>

4th being the anniversary of H. M's birthday and of my arrival at Campo-Bello at noon fired 21 guns on flagstaff Mount and at one o'clock the Snow Owen fired 7 guns on the same occasion. A Jury was summoned to view and report the state of the work and improvements done on the Island to the bench in a special sessions of the Peace holden this day for that purpose.<sup>3</sup> The Campo-Bello returned this day from Frenchman's Bay.

11th The Snow Owen having completed her Timber lading, in the evening she fired a Gun to announce the same; next morning she bent sails, and the foretopsail was left loose as a signal for sailing; having nothing more to take on board except 2000 lbs weight of Beaver, some Otter and other skins By the Snow Owen I was first informed for a certainty of the probability of a rupture with France and Spain, tho' such a report had for some time prevailed among our Indians, who by the bye, in their hearts still bore a stronger affection and warmer attachment towards their old friends, the French than the English. I determined therefore, to return to England and leaving Captain Plato Denny to direct, conduct, and superintend the affairs of the Island, I took the command of the Snow Owen in his room—and on the morning of the 14th June I embarked my family, servants and baggage and soon after went on board myself, accompanied by all the principal people of the district. About noon weighed and towed out of the harbor, attended by the Campobello Packet; and was soon after saluted with 7 guns and three Cheers from Flagstaff hill, to which I returned 5 Guns and three cheers. As soon as out of the harbour, a fresh breeze sprung up from the Southward with which we stood down the sound; and at 3 o'clock being about 3 miles to the Westward of the Wolves, the gentlemen of Campo-Bello having washed down their dinners, brought to, sent them on board the Cutter, and she stood for the Island again."

Capt. Owen called at Halifax on his way home, but there is no further record of his doings after the 17th June; the remainder of the Journal is missing.<sup>4</sup>

1 "Pay, to cover with tar or pitch," etc.—Century Dictionary

2 But see note earlier under date August 3rd.

3 The records of this Court were carried off in 1778 by an American Privateer. Courier Series XLIII.

4 This sentence evidently by the Transcriber.

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## PART II.

DOCUMENTS AND NOTES RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF CAMPOBELLO, WITH  
A SUMMARY OF ITS DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

Amongst New Brunswick Islands, Campobello stands out before all others in historic interest. The memories of other days which linger about it have a charming setting in its rugged but kindly features and its beautiful surroundings. It is varied in surface, with high bluffs and rounded hills, fiord valleys, curving beaches and fringing reefs. Over it all is the clean compact coast forest, only broken by pleasing settlements or the ripe old roads. Great tides sweep about it, ever changing its outline, and at times it is veiled in soft clouds of white fog. In the waters around many kinds of craft are forever in motion, and prosperous towns and villages lie within easy distance. About it cluster the traditions of the most picturesque periods of New Brunswick History, of a gentle Indian tribe, of French explorers and Seigniors, of self-reliant New England Pioneers, of solid English colonization and culture. Upon it an English gentleman founded an English settlement, and there he and his kinsman and descendants, in turn a gallant sailor, a scholar of the Universities, and an admiral, ruled in English, half-feudal fashion for more than a century, imparting English ways and English virtues, the traces of which are plain at this day and will long linger. Finally it has passed into the possession of a company of Americans, who are making it their summer home, and bringing to it what is best in American taste and culture. By position a part of the United States, and now largely owned by her citizens, it yet remains the territory of Great Britain, and contains a more curious mingling of characteristics of the two countries than can be found elsewhere. These things give to Campobello an interest, an atmosphere, a charm all its own.

The Physiography and Natural History of Campobello have been but little studied, and hardly at all with reference to their effects upon its history. Professor Shaler has given a very brief outline of its Physiography,<sup>1</sup> all that we yet possess. Its geological structure has been described by Gesner,<sup>2</sup> Bailey and Matthew,<sup>3</sup> and in a special pamphlet,<sup>4</sup> all of which shew it to consist of very old rocks broken by later trap-dykes, but it is still to be worked out in detail. Meteorology has received no special attention, nor has its Botany nor land Zoology, but in these features it cannot differ much from the neighboring mainland. The Marine Invertebrate animals, however, in the waters about it, have been carefully studied by Stimpson, Verrill and others, including New Brunswick students;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shaler, N. S. The Island of Campobello, Preliminary Report, Cambridge, [Mass.] 1881, octv. 11 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Gesner, Abraham. First Report on the Geological Survey of the Province of New Brunswick, St. John, 1839, pp. 30-33.

<sup>3</sup> Bailey, L. W. and Matthew, G. F. Geological Survey of Canada. Report of Progress for 1870-71, pp. 131-133.

<sup>4</sup> A Description of the Island of Campobello: its Location, Resources, Advantages as a Summer Resort, etc., etc. The above Island is for sale. Boston, Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 122 Washington St., 1874, octv. pp. 48. It contains much other information concerning the Island.

<sup>5</sup> The papers by Verrill and Stimpson, as well as others, relating to the marine animals of this region may be found described in the Bulletins of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, particularly No. IV., 1885, pp. 87-97; No. VI., 1887, pp. 17-23; No. VII., 1888, pp. 12-27.

indeed the harbour between Campobello and Eastport is so rich in marine life, and has been dredged so often that it is well-known to American naturalists. But further than these, Campobello does not figure in scientific literature.

No complete history of the Island has yet been attempted. Mrs Wells',<sup>1</sup> "Campobello," relates rather to traditional and later history, particularly in its more picturesque aspects. By far the most important work upon the early history of the Passamaquoddy region, of which Campobello is part, is the St. Croix Courier Series of historical articles, edited by James Vroom.<sup>2</sup> It embodies the valuable material in Kilby's<sup>3</sup> and Lorimer's<sup>4</sup> works, the Eastport Sentinel Series by S. A. Wilder and some valuable unpublished records in possession of Rev. W. O. Raymond, of St. John. For the rest, there are several papers and unpublished records relating to particular periods which will be referred to further on in their proper places.

Of the pre-historic or Indian period on Campobello, we possess no records. No works by them are extant, few relics have been found, and not even is the site of any large settlement, nor of any burial-ground of theirs known. Yet, considering the position and resources of the Island, we cannot doubt that they lived there. They have resorted much in later times to Indian Beach and Indian Point, opposite Lubec. The Passamaquoddies to-day call the Island, *A-bah-guict*, meaning lying *along or parallel, i. e.* with the mainland.

In the period of exploration, there is no record of any visit to this region until DeMonts and Champlain came in 1604,<sup>5</sup> but the only notice of Campobello in all Champlain's works is its presence upon his maps, particularly that dated 1612, clearly outlined with a harbor at its northern end called Port aux Coquilles, Harbor of Shells, which was without doubt the present Head Harbor. A line through this harbor became the southern boundary of De Razilly's great grant of Sainte Croix in 1632.

Between 1680 and 1700 there were French settlers about the Passamaquoddy region, and there were several grants in seigniori made here as well as elsewhere in Acadia by the Government at Quebec, though none of the latter can be located on Campobello. But there were French settlements at Harbor de Lute, between Curry's and Otter Coves, as shown both by cellars still pointed out by the settlers, by a MS. Map of the region made in 1796 by David Owen,<sup>6</sup> showing sites of French settlements, which places one in that vicinity, and by Southack's large

<sup>1</sup> Wells, Kate Gannett. Campobello, an Historical Sketch. Privately printed in Boston in 1893, octv., 47 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Glimpses of the Past. Contributions to the History of Charlotte County and the Border Towns. Edited by James Vroom. St. Croix Courier [Weekly Newspaper published at St. Stephen, N. B.] Articles I-CXXVI., Jan. 21, 1892-July 11, 1895. The Series is not complete, and has been temporarily suspended. Nos XXXVIII., XLIII., CXXI., CXXII., CXXIII. relate particularly to Campobello, but others contain references also. This Series has been conducted by its editor in a thorough and scholarly manner. Its most essential parts have been reprinted in book form; but this, though printed, has not been issued. The only library known to possess the Series complete, is that of the Penn. Historical Society, Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> Kilby, W. H. Eastport and Passamaquoddy. Eastport, 1888, octv pp. 505.

<sup>4</sup> Lorimer, J. G. History of Islands and Islets in the Bay of Fundy, Charlotte County, New Brunswick. St. Stephen, 1876, octv., 122 pp. Contains little about Campobello; more valuable for the other islands.

<sup>5</sup> Upon the picture of Campobello in 1777 by Des Barres, there is shown what appears to be a stone ruin, with three arches. It must then have been very old. We have no clue as to its origin, but claims for the presence of the Northmen about 1000 A. D. in certain localities upon our coast have been made with not much better evidence than the presence of an old arched ruin.

<sup>6</sup> Now in possession of Rev. W. O. Raymond, St. John.

map of 1733, which places houses with the words "French Inhabitants," on the N. E. side of what is plainly Harbor de Lute. Church's record of his expedition seems also to place a French settlement at or near Harbor de Lute. The ruin shown in Des Barres' picture of 1777 may date from this period. If a seigniory was located on the island it was probably that of Jean Serreau, Sieur de St. Aubin, the most influential man of the time at Passamaquoddy.<sup>1</sup> In 1704, Colonel Church, from Massachusetts, in reprisal for the massacres committed in that state by French and Indians, so effectually ravaged the region that the French appear to have left it never to return. The full account of this expedition is given in several works.<sup>2</sup>

From the time of Church's expedition up to 1763 the history of Campobello is a complete blank. Certain maps show it and call it Passamaquoddy Island,<sup>3</sup> but there is no other record of its existence.

The New England period in Passamaquoddy history began about 1763. From 1760 there had been a general movement from the older provinces to Nova Scotia, and many thousands from New England settled in the Peninsula, while a few hundreds came to what is now New Brunswick. In 1763 various settlers, of whom an account is given in the Courier Series, began to settle about Passamaquoddy, and in 1766 Robert Wilson settled at Wilson's Beach, Campobello, buying out the improvements of an earlier settler named Brown. A full and without doubt authentic account of him is contained in a very rare pamphlet issued by his descendants in 1822.<sup>4</sup> In 1770 there were three families settled there, as Captain Owen's Journal shows, and from various references in the Journal and elsewhere, the other two may be inferred with probability to have been those of Hunt and Clark.

From about the year 1760, the British Government had been making very large grants of land to officers of the British Army and Navy, with the double object, apparently, of recognizing their services and promoting the settlement of the colonies.

Among the officers thus favored was Captain William Owen of the Royal Navy, who, along with three of his relatives, was granted the Island of Campobello. He belonged to an old Welsh family, the Owens of Glansevern, with the family seat in Montgomeryshire in Wales. His descent and relationships are given in full in Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed

1 See Courier Series, XXIX. and XXX.

2 Dexter's Edition of Church, 1867; Courier Series XXXI. to XXXIII.

3 Southack, about 1733, Great Island of Passamaquoddy; Mitchell, 1755 Passamacadie I.; Jeffreys, 1755, Passamiquadi I., etc., etc.

4 The Campo-Bello Reviewers, 1822, octv. 16 pp. Only a single copy is known to me—it is owned by Mr. Arthur Hill of St. Stephen. It states that it is in reply to a book by David Owen. This book is unknown to me, and the most vigorous search on the Island and elsewhere has failed to disclose a copy. A second number of the Campobello Reviewers is promised, but probably never appeared.

Gentry, 1847. From this work I have compiled the following table with the exception of the last name in it, which is not there mentioned :

DAVID OWEN,

Died 1777, had four sons, as follows,

{ Owen Owen, had three sons	{ (Sir) Arthur Davies Owen David Owen, Fellow Trinity College William Owen, Q. C.
{ (Captain) William Owen, had two sons,	{ (Admiral, Sir) Edward William Campbell Rich Owen. (Admiral) William Fitz-William Owen

The same work gives the following account of Captain William Owen :

William Owen, a capt. R. N. In the year 1760, this gallant officer, when a midshipman, lost his right arm at the taking of Pondicherry from the French. He was also a second time at the taking of that town, when he commanded the Cormorant. He was bringing home the despatches, when he lost his life by an accident at Madras, in the year 1778.

I have not been able to learn the date of his birth, and but few other facts about him. If it is true that he was only a midshipman in 1760, he could hardly have been over 30 years old when at Campobello.<sup>1</sup> In 1761 he petitioned the Admiralty for recognition of his services, representing that he was broken in health through his Eastern experiences. This petition is given by Mrs. Wells in her "Campobello," p. 8. A minute of Council, Nova Scotia, under date 13th March, 1767, has

"Read the Memorial of William Owen and others for 4,000 acres of Land at Passamaquoddy. Granted."

In 1767 he was in Nova Scotia, as shown by his Journal. On Sept. 14th of that year, he and Sir Thomas Rich explored the lakes and streams along the route of the present Shubenacadie canal, and along the southern shore of Minas Basin : he returned by land to Halifax on Sept. 30th, and on Oct. 1st left for New York with Sir William Campbell in the ship Glasgow. It was on the 30th, the day of his arrival in Halifax, that his grant of Campobello was issued. The copy of the original document is on file in the Crown Lands Department at Halifax (Book 7, p. 234), and at Fredericton, Book 1, p. 138, and is practically the same in both. It was registered in New Brunswick, Jan. 5, 1787. It reads as follows :

30 Sept. 1767.

To William Owen, Arthur Davis Owen, David Owen, and William Owen, Junior, their heirs and assigns, a Tract of Land situate, lying

<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed by Mrs. Cochrane who writes me that he was about 40 at the time of his death.

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and being an Island at Passamaquoddy, called Passamaquoddy Outer Island, and is bounded on the Southeast by the Bay of Fundy, on the Northwest by Passamaquoddy Harbour and the Southwest by Passamaquoddy western harbour, on the northeast by Passamaquoddy Bay, containing by estimation Four Thousand Acres, &c., &c., &c.

A later pencil note added to the copy in Fredericton reads: "Escheated in Nova Scotia, 1783 or 1784." But this must be an error since it remained in possession of the Owens without a re-grant.

The four grantees of the Island were Captain William Owen and his three nephews. A captain was allowed only 3,000 acres in the Royal Grants, and it was, no doubt, in order to keep the entire island in the one family that the names of the three others were included with his. Its extent was far underestimated; a recent survey<sup>1</sup> gives it as 10,180 acres.

Captain Owen and his co-grantees formed a company, said to have consisted of sixteen persons,<sup>2</sup> mostly Liverpool merchants, with whose assistance he made an effort to settle the Island in conformity with the grant. On April 14, 1770, he, together with Plato Denny and William Isherwood were made Justices of the Peace<sup>3</sup> for the County of Sunbury, which then included most of the present Province of New Brunswick, and on June 4th of that year he reached Campobello in his vessel with thirty-eight colonists of diverse trades, and materials for starting the colony. The full account of this settlement is preserved in his Journal, which is published as Part I. of this paper. A valuable contemporary record of it, preserving to us something of its actual appearance, is Des Barres' picture of 1777, already referred to.<sup>4</sup> Although the settlement did not prosper as was expected, it nevertheless fulfilled the conditions of the grant, and secured the Island to his family. In this respect it stands out strongly in contrast to most of the other great pre-loyalist land grants to officers of the Royal Service in New Brunswick, nearly all of which were escheated in whole or in part for non-fulfilment of conditions. It affords, moreover, the best, if not the only example, of a persistence to our own day of the system under which these great grants were no doubt expected to be held, that of a large landed estate descending from father to son, with the tenants paying rent to the proprietor, as in England. To this day only a few lots are freehold in Campobello; the majority of residents are tenants, paying ground-rent to the owners.

One important event of Captain Owen's residence at Campobello was the birth of his eldest son, which was perhaps recorded on the missing page of the Journal. A small painted coat of arms, framed, in possession of the company at Campobello, has this written on the back:

Admiral Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen, G. C. B. H.  
1843, born at Campobello, N. B. 19 February, 1771.

<sup>1</sup> From a large map of the Island published in 1887 by the Campobello Company, from actual surveys.

<sup>2</sup> See a Document later in this paper; the "Campobello Reviewers" states that the company consisted of sixteen persons. Also Courier Series XLIII.

<sup>3</sup> Courier Series XLIII.

<sup>4</sup> A view of Campobello at the Entrance of Passamaquoddy Bay. Lithograph 12 x 14½ in., contained in "The Atlantic Neptune" of 1777, by J. F. W. Des Barres.

Burke's Dictionary already cited, has under Captain William Owen's name, in addition to what has been quoted on p. 212, the following:

He was father of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward W. C. R. Owen, K. C. B., G. C. H., a gallant and highly-distinguished naval officer, who was formerly commander-in-chief in the East Indies, whence he returned in 1832, and is now commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup>

On June 11th, 1771, Captain Owen left Campobello for England and never returned. On June 26th, another Grant was issued to him as follows (Halifax, Book 9, p. 228; Fredericton, Book 1, p. 335):

26 June 1771

William Owen Esquire, his Heirs and Assigns, the several Tracts of Land hereafter mentioned in Passamaquoddy Bay in the Province (of Nova Scotia) situate, lying and being one Island lying and bearing North, Northwest from the Northeast end of the Island, called Passamaquoddy outer Island, (now Campo Bello) about three quarters of a mile distant from the said Island; also a small Rocky Island, called Gull Island lying contiguous to the other; and also one other small Island to the Westward of the Gull Island, commonly called and known by the name of Casco Bay Island, containing in the whole of the said Three Islands by estimation Forty Acres more or less.

After his return to England, and until his death in 1778, we know nothing of him other than what is contained in the citation already given from Burke, and that his second son was born at Manchester in 1774, and of him an account will be found later in this paper. A portrait of Captain Owen is preserved in the ancestral home at Glansevern.

After 1771 we know little of the Island until the coming of David Owen in 1787. Benjamin Yoxall and John Moreau are known to have resided there as agents of the company (Courier Series XLIII). It is certain that most of the settlers soon left it, and it is possible that the company finding the venture so unprofitable, carried back Plato Denny and most of the colonists to England on the next voyage of the Snow Owen in 1772. The following extract from Captain McDonald's Report on the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, dated 1806, on file in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton gives some facts of importance.

No 26, or Campo Bello Island, granted to William Owen Esq and associates. It is said to have been first settled by a company of merchants called the Campo Bello Company, who were bound to the

<sup>1</sup> There is a published lithograph of him showing a man of fine presence. Mr. John Farmer, of Campobello, has a copy. The *Biographie Universelle* gives a short sketch of his life, and states that he was born in Wales at Caron-Havod in 1763, and died at Surrey, Oct 8, 1849. It states that he entered the Naval service in 1775, was Lieut. in 1793, Captain in 1798. But as to his birth, the date 1771, and place, Campobello, are more probably correct.

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grantees to cultivate and improve the land so as to secure the grant. That their losses by the war and further embarrassments in trade induced the persons concerned in the Company to dissolve their partnership and to resign their obligation to the grantees. That a town was laid out on the chief Harbor, called Warrington where sessions were held, and a survey by jury being then had and returned of sufficient cultivation, the Company left it.

The Island contains a large proportion of good land, and is in general well timbered. There are at present about fifty families settled on the Island holding under leases from the grantees. The soil when cultivated is found very productive and cattle and sheep thrive well.

The Society for propagating the Gospel, in London, appointed formerly a missionary and schoolmaster with salaries, for the Island, but from improper conduct in the person appointed, he was discarded and the salary withdrawn. The late erection of the Island into a separate Parish has induced the settlers, with the proprietors, to project the establishment of two schools and a church, with the hope of a renewal of their former donation.

The arrival of the Loyalists, an event of such great importance to other parts of New Brunswick, affected the course of events upon Campobello but little. A few of them settled there as temporary residents or tenants, but of course no land could be granted them.<sup>1</sup>

In 1787 David Owen came to Campobello,<sup>2</sup> doubtless as agent for his brothers and cousins.

The relations of the different members of the Owen family, as regards their rights on Campobello, are explained in the following document, written by Mrs. Robinson-Owen, and sent to me with the copy of the Journal. Although it contains some repetitions of facts already stated, it is given in full.

Perhaps it may not be impertinent to mention that Captain Wm Owen R N to whom the Governor and Legislature of Nova Scotia granted the Island of Passamaquoddy afterwards called Campobello in 1767 — having then no family, and being obliged to introduce into the grant other names than his own for so large a grant of land — named his three nephews, sons of his eldest brother the then head of the family in Montgomeryshire. These nephews were Arthur Davies Owen afterwards knighted, David Owen and William Owen. In the year 1778 Captain Wm Owen R. N. having been serving in India in his profession for some time was sent to England with despatches but on his way

<sup>1</sup> Courier Series, CXXI-CXXIII, for Loyalists of Campobello.

<sup>2</sup> Campobello Reviewers.

thither, he was accidentally killed at Madras. He left two sons, minors under the guardianship of his nephew Arthur and another gentlemen named Smith in Shrewsbury. His share of Campo-Bello was also left by will to his children — but probably it had not proved a good speculation and in 1789<sup>1</sup> I believe, David Owen M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge University a Fellow of his College—went out with authority from his brothers to carry on the work at Campobello. The two Sons of the original Grantee were cared for assiduously by their father's old friend Sir Thomas Rich, who is spoken of in the Journal and both were placed in their father's profession. When they came of age they were devoted to the service in which they found themselves, and were not disposed to dispute their cousins right to the Island. David Owen lived on Campobello, the life of a recluse for 40 years and died in February 1829, when his brother William sent out an agent or employed one, perhaps, already there viz John Wilkinson Esqre (who lived afterwards in Fredericton<sup>2</sup> and probably died there.) The Island, however was not remunerative and Wm Owen<sup>3</sup> a Q C and man of large landed estates in Wales having got the port of Welsh Pool, made a free port, made overtures to his Cousin (who at that time had risen to the top of his Profession — being an admiral and K C B Sir Edwd Wm Campbell Rich Owen) that he should purchase the Island or at least Wm Owen's share of it.

Sir Edward, though married, had no family and was then between 60 and 70 and had no desire to colonize — but he suggested that he would give up his right and title to his brother Captain William Fitz-William Owen R. N. who had two daughters and in 1835 Capt W. F. W. Owen paid his Cousin Wm Owen Esqre £2000 for his share in Campobello, and proceeded in that year to take possession. He lived there and his youngest daughter<sup>4</sup> married Capt John James Robinson R. N. in 1839. He became Agent to Capt Owen and eventually when his father-in-law became aged (he was then an Admiral) he administered the affairs as Trustee for his wife and children.

I may mention that Lord Wm Campbell had a grant of the Island of Grand Manan<sup>5</sup> at the same time that Capt Wm Owen received his of

<sup>1</sup> 1787 according to "Campobello Reviewers."

<sup>2</sup> He was a surveyor and draughtsman. He made the Map of New Brunswick, published in 1859. He died at Fredericton in 1871, aged 67.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* Brother to David. In 1806 William Owen, jr. received from the N. B. Government a grant of Penguin (now Head Harbour) and Mark (now Pope's Folly near Lubec) Islands.

<sup>4</sup> Cornelia, *i. e.* Mrs. Robinson-Owen transcriber of the Journal and writer of this Document.

<sup>5</sup> An error. By an order in Council, dated 5th Nov., 1773, the Island was "reserved" for Sir William Campbell, but it was never granted to him. Documents in possession of Rev. W. O. Raymond show that in 1806, William Campbell, then living at Charlestown, S.C., son of Sir William, had a search made for the grant preliminary to an effort to recover the Island, but none was found and the case was dropped.

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Campo-Bello, but Lord Wm failed to fulfil the conditions viz colonization—therefore it lapsed and in 1835 when Capt W. F. W. Owen settled at Campo-Bello, Sir Wm's only child Lady Johnstone requested him to make enquiries about it—but after 60 or 70 years of course it was impossible to make any claim

Of David Owen, Burke's Dictionary already cited gives this account :—

David Owen A. M., in holy orders, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, senior wrangler in that University in 1777. He d. unm. in 1829, at Campobello, New Brunswick, North America. According to his own request his remains were conveyèd over the Atlantic, to be deposited in the family vault at Berriew.

A record of Cambridge Graduates states that he was A. B. of Trinity College in 1777, A. M. in 1780.

For 40 years David Owen lived in Campobello as nearly as he could the life of an English Squire. Many traditions of him are preserved, and there are men yet living who remember him.<sup>1</sup> He is said by tradition to have lived first at "Man of War" House at Port Owen, (Curry's Cove,) but later he lived at Friars Bay, and his house, which he named Tyn-y-Coed, "House in the Woods," after the ancestral home in Wales, stood about 50 yards north of where Mr. Roosevelt's cottage now stands.<sup>2</sup> Soon after his arrival he became involved in disputes with the Wilsons over property rights. The Wilsons were squatters on Campobello, holding their land only by right of possession; they appear to have been left undisturbed by Captain Owen, but David Owen's efforts to adjust matters led to a series of lawsuits. Some account of these is given in the Campo-Bello Reviewers,<sup>3</sup> and no doubt David Owen's side of the controversy was given with equal vigor in his now unknown book (see p. 211), and perhaps also in his Journal, now preserved in MS. by the Campobello Company.<sup>4</sup> He appears to have wished to own the entire Island, and naturally enough regarded the Wilsons as interlopers, while they looked upon him as a "hard man." In his time, also, the international boundary disputes were active, but there was never any doubt about the possession of Campobello since the treaty assigned to Great Britain all islands over which Nova Scotia had exercised jurisdiction. He was a scholarly man, as shown not only by his University record, but by the opinion of one of his contemporaries<sup>5</sup> and by his various MSS. and Maps, many of which are in existence.<sup>6</sup> His Journal gives a picture of his patriarchal rule in Campobello, which Mrs. Wells has described in her "Campobello" and elsewhere. He con-

<sup>1</sup> He was described to me as a very stout though not tall man, white-haired and clean shaven.

<sup>2</sup> On authority by Mr. John Farmer. David Owen introduced also no doubt the name Lake Glansevern—in memory of the home in Wales.

<sup>3</sup> See also Courier Series CXXIII. Royal Gazette 1792.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Wells, who has examined it, tells me it contains little of interest beyond what she has used in her writings.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Wells, "Campobello," p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> In possession of Mr. A. M. Hill of St. Stephen, N. B., and Rev. W. O. Raymond, St. John, N. B. Mr. Hill also possesses a valued relic of him amongst his rich collection of early New Brunswick Historic Objects—his great iron andirons, of a quaint fashion, very old and now rarely seen

tributed also to early volumes of the *Eastport Sentinel*.<sup>1</sup> He was elected to the House of Assembly of New Brunswick in 1796. He died on the Island in 1827, and Burke is correct in stating that the next spring his remains were removed to Wales.

From 1827 until 1835 the History of the Island is almost a blank. As shown by Mrs. Robinson-Owen's account, an agent was placed in charge of the Island, but it was not profitably managed.

In the year 1835 Captain (afterwards Admiral) William Fitz-William Owen, second son of Captain William Owen, took possession of Campobello under the conditions explained in Mrs. Robinson-Owen's account already given. In the *English Dictionary of National Biography*, a full biography of him is given, of which the following is a summary:—

Owen, William Fitzwilliam (1774-1857) Entered Navy in 1788—served in many engagements in the East Indies—appointed to survey the lakes of Canada in March 1815—returned to England in 1816—surveyed Coast of Africa—Commanded Columbia Surveying Ship in 1847 on Coast of North America, but returned to England on his promotion to flag rank on Dec. 21-1847—made Vice-Admiral Oct. 27-1854—Accepted Pension Feb. 6th 1855—Died at St. John, N. B., Nov. 3-1857—Best known by his accurate surveys of Coasts—Made charts of West and East coasts of Africa, Mauritius, and of Asia, from Aden to Cape Comorin.

In addition it should be mentioned that in 1846 he made an extremely detailed survey of the St. John River from its Mouth to Spring Hill, above Fredericton, and this survey is the basis of all later maps of that region. A set of his unpublished charts and plans of the river, beautifully drawn, is in the Crown Lands office at Fredericton. The admiralty charts of the Passamaquoddy region now in use are based on his surveys. A book of MS. plans made by him before 1835, including surveys of the International boundary, is in possession of the Campobello Company.<sup>2</sup>

To carry on the affairs of the Island, a Company was formed about 1837, and incorporated in 1839 with Captain William Fitz-William Owen as President, and a prospectus of theirs issued in 1839<sup>3</sup> gives an interesting description and account of the resources of the Island, and the proposed mode of utilization of them by the erection of mills, etc. This pamphlet contains also a valuable map of the Island upon a large scale. What measure of success the Company had we do not know, probably very little; and the entire Island appears later to have become the private property of Admiral Owen. He took up his residence at Welshpool, in a house still standing and well known, and with his family lived there in English fashion, directing his property,<sup>4</sup> aiding his tenants, entertaining distinguished

<sup>1</sup> In 1828 a David Owen received a grant of land on the Cardigan Road, in York County, N. B.; but probably it was another of his name.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs Wells, "Campobello," p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> The Campobello Mill and Manufacturing Company in New Brunswick, British North America, London 1839, 16 pp. oct., 2 maps. It refers to an earlier "Prospectus Published in 1837."

<sup>4</sup> As his agent, Mr. John Farmer came to Campobello in 1836. He is still living and courteously helpful to all inquirers about the Island, upon whose later history he is the best living authority.

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visitors, dispensing bountiful hospitality. His wife and daughters took great interest in the welfare of the people of the Island, teaching their children and aiding them in all good works. This mode of life and patriarchal rule so rare in America, makes this period of the Island's history most picturesque. It has especially attracted the attention of Mrs. Wells, who has written charmingly about it.<sup>1</sup>

During his life at Campobello Captain Owen became interested in theological questions, and discussed them freely and vigorously. One of his friends now living has told me, "he passed through many stages of opinion, but I think he came to the right at last." In 1842 he published a small book, "The Quoddy Hermit,"<sup>2</sup> containing Conversations, sixteen in number, upon religion, in the course of one of which he gives his autobiography. The book was displeasing to his family, and was recalled and destroyed and but few copies are now extant. He was for several years a Member of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick. His wife died in 1852, and he married again Mrs. Solomon Nicholson (Miss Ann Vernon), of St. John. After his marriage he lived at St. John, where he died in 1857. An oil portrait<sup>3</sup> of him along with many other relics is preserved by the company at Campobello. His tomb is in the churchyard at Campobello, and its inscription reads thus :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
ADMIRAL WILLIAM FITZ WILLIAM OWEN,

*Born 17th Sept., 1774, Died 3rd Nov., 1857.<sup>4</sup>*

The Admiral's family one by one removed from Campobello; records of them are contained in the following inscription in their family bible, now owned by Mr. Arthur Hill of St. Stephen, N. B.

This bible was given to Mary Baker, her maiden name being Mary Elcegood in 1827, in remembrance of her having been attached to him as his housekeeper from 1797: when he was a Lieut. in H. M. Navy, by William Fitz William Owen, who was married to Martha Evans in January, 1818, and by her he had two daughters. Portia born at Deal 9th May 1819 and Cornelia born in Camden Town, St. Pancras 6 Oct'r 1820, the former married at Campobello, New Brunswick 7 September 1836 to Clement Hernery, Wine Merchant of Jersey, and the latter to

<sup>1</sup> The Quoddy Hermit, Atlantic Monthly, 1885, 821-826. The Brass Cannon of Campobello, New England Magazine, Sept. 1891. Campobello, privately printed pamphlet, 47 pp., Boston, 1833.

<sup>2</sup> The Quoddy Hermit, or Conversations at Fairfield on Religion and Superstition. Printed by S. N. Dickinson, for the Author, 1842, 197 pp. The address to the reader is signed Wm. Fitzwilliam of Fairfield, and calls the work an "introduction to more elaborate matter." In the Halifax Christian Gleaner for 1837 is a debate between him and a Mr. Campbell on religious questions.

<sup>3</sup> Reproduced by Mrs. Wells in "The Brass Cannon of Campobello" in New England Magazine, Sept. 1891, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The Campo Bello Reviewers states that he was born on Campobello about 1771. But the probably confounds him with his brother Edward W. C. R. Owen. (See p. 213). His book "The Quoddy Hermit," states that he was born in England.

John James Robinson a Lieutenant Royal Navy on the 9th<sup>1</sup> day of July 1838(9) To whom (Cornelia) This book is given by Mary Elcegood in token of her regard and love.

Mary Elcegood born 21 March 1770 in Essex

Will. Fitz Wm Owen born 17 September 1774 at Manchester

Martha Evans born in Bedfordshire 21 March 1787 or 1796

Portia Owen born at Deal in Kent 9 May 1819

Cornelia Owen born in London 6 Oct 1820

W. F. W. OWEN.

This record was written in London all the parties being living 17 March 1848 by Gods Grace.<sup>2</sup>

In the same Bible with the record given above, but upon the first page, occurs the following in pencil :

Written 1860

Mrs. Robinson had four children

Owen Campobello, 1840, born Campobello

Portia Owen, 1842, Campobello

John Herbert, 1845, Portsmouth

Cornelia Ramsay, 1847 [or 9], Campobello

These are the children of John and Cornelia Robinson-Owen. Of Owen I know nothing, probably he died young. Portia entered an Episcopal Sisterhood in New York. A tablet to her memory in the Parish Church at Campobello, reads : "In Memory of Sister Portia, community of St. John Baptist A. D. 1889." John Herbert died at sea, while Lieut. on H. M. S. Endymion, April 3, 1870, aged 25. A stone is erected to his memory in the churchyard at Campobello and a tablet in the Church. Cornelia, now Mrs. C. W. Cochrane, the wife of an officer of the Royal Navy, is living at Bagshot, Surrey, England. Her son, also in the Royal Navy, visited Campobello in 1890, as Mrs. Wells describes (Campobello, p. 30, and The Brass Cannon of Campobello, New England Magazine, Sept. 1891.)

After Admiral Owen's death, the affairs of the Island were administered for his heirs by his son-in-law, Captain Robinson-Owen. In 1874 it was offered for sale as a pamphlet in that year shows.<sup>3</sup> In June, 1881, it was bought by a company of Boston and New York gentlemen, the third "Campobello Company,"<sup>4</sup> and a new era in its history was inaugurated. By them it is being made not a Summer Resort, but a Summer Home, and good judgment, liberality and taste have marked their proceedings.

<sup>1</sup> The words and figures underlined are written in later in pencil. The date 1787 is partially erased and made to read 96, and the last figure of 1796 has been written over with a 4 and a 5.

<sup>2</sup> Of these mentioned in this record, his wife Martha is buried beside him in Campobello; she died April 15th, 1852, aged 57. Portia died in Jersey, 12th Sept., 1862, aged 45; there is a tablet to her memory in the Parish Church at Campobello. Cornelia, Mrs. Robinson-Owen, died in England in the spring of this year, 1896. Her husband, who took her name, was a member of the Legislative Council in New Brunswick, and died April 14th, 1874, aged 65, and is buried in the churchyard at Campobello.

<sup>3</sup> A description of the Island of Campobello, mentioned on p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> President, Mr. Samuel Wells; General Manager, Mr. Alex. S. Porter, both of Boston; Capital one million dollars. They have issued several small circulars and pamphlets, including an album of 7 Heliogravure views, and an excellent map, about 2 inches to the mile, published in 1887.

## THE OLD MEDUCTIC FORT.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE NEW BRUNSWICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

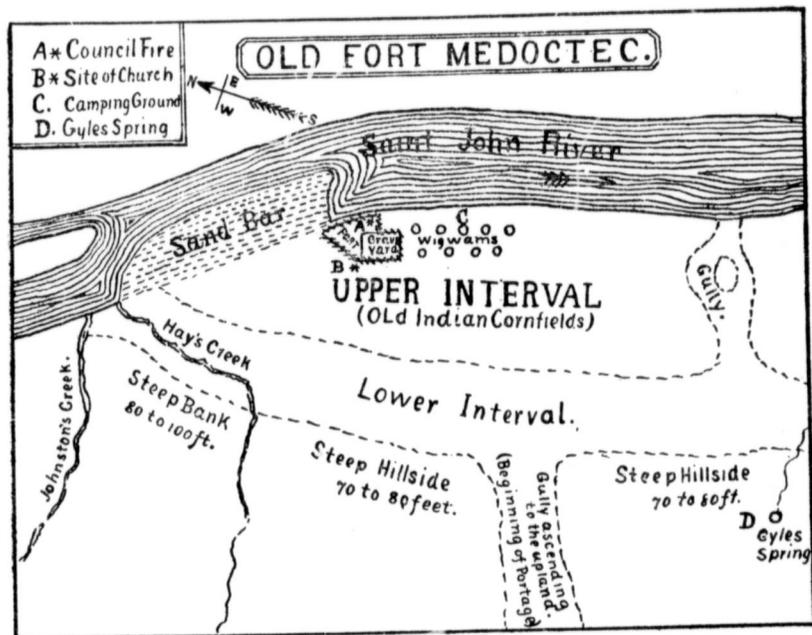
\* "To dry corn when in the milk, they gather it in large kettles and boil it on the ears till it is pretty hard, then shell it from the cob with clam shells, and dry it on bark in the sun. When it is thoroughly dry, a kernel is no bigger than a pea and would keep years, and when it is boiled again it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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

\* The reference is to James Alexander, a Jersey man, who was captured at the taking of Falmouth, Maine, by a band of about 300 Indians, many of them belonging to the river St. John, on the 20th May, 1690. More than 100 prisoners were taken, and the number of killed was very large.

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

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

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

The position of the spring mentioned by Gyles as the scene of the Mohawk scare, is given in the lower right-hand corner of the plan, (see page 226). Its distance from the old fort is about half a mile, and the situation and surroundings correspond so exactly with Gyles description

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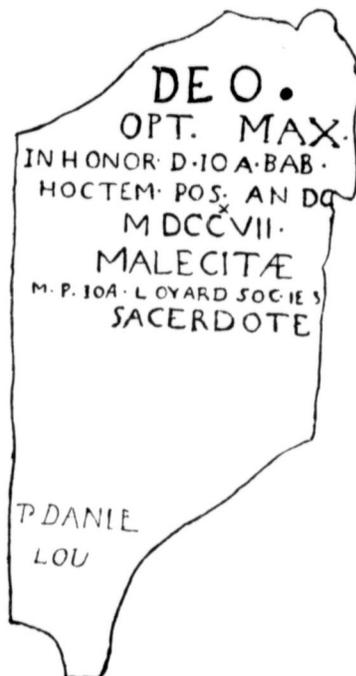
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that there is not the slightest doubt as to the identity of the spring. The water that flows from it never fails and is very pure and cool.

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



Without abbreviation the inscription reads :

DEO  
Optimo Maximo  
In honorem Divi Ioannis Baptista  
Hoc Templum posuerunt Anno Domini  
MDCCVII.  
MALECITÆ  
Missionis Procurator Ioanne Loyard Societatis Iesu  
SACERDOTE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* This policy had been followed, however, from the first. Amongst the presents sent out by the French government in the year 1693, by the frigate *La Suzanne*, for the savages in Acadia were the following articles for the Malecites:— Bayonets; 575 lbs good powder; muskets, 5 excellent and 30 ordinary; shirts, 10 at 50s. and 60 at 29s., 1 pair of stockings, 1 gold laced hat, 1 Rouen blanket, 500 lbs of lead in bullets, 100 lbs of lead in bars.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After a short absence Father Loyard again returned to his mission,

*Jean Loyard*

[Fac simile in 1708.]

where he laboured until his death, which occurred on the night of the 24th or 25th June, 1731. The obituary letter\* in which the other missionaries were informed of the decease of Father Loyard, contains a glowing eulogy of his life and character. He is described as a man of great talents and rare virtues, esteemed and beloved by all classes, and in his death universally lamented both by the French and the Indians. He had devoted nearly twenty-four years of his life to the conversion and improvement of the savages, and had filled all the requirements of a perfect missionary. Called to Quebec for the benefit of his health, which had become seriously impaired, he had hardly recovered from the fatigue of the journey before he requested leave to return to his ancient mission of Medoctec, where his presence appeared necessary. It was in the faithful discharge of his duties among the sick that he contracted the disease, of which he died, in the midst of his flock, over which, as a good pastor, he had watched incessantly, with the satisfaction of seeing abundantly the fruit of his care and toil. The memory of so excellent a missionary would serve for a long time as a benediction upon his people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* See appendix.

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

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

**MEMORIAL TABLET.**  
DISCOVERED AT MEDUCTIC, IN JUNE, 1890.  
A relic of the Indian Chapel of Saint Jean Baptiste.

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

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

Our illustration on the opposite page is taken from a photograph of the memorial tablet kindly supplied by Mr. Hay.

The position of the old grave yard is shown in the plan of the Meductic Fort and its surroundings, which appears at page 226. The ground here has never been disturbed with the plough, the owners showing a proper regard for the spot as the resting place of the dead. Many holes are found, however, that have been dug from time to time by relic hunters and seekers of buried treasure, some of them since filled with stones carried from the beach. The relics brought to light here and on the site of the old camping ground below include such things as spear heads, flint arrow heads, stone pipes, large stones hollowed out as if for grinding corn, stone corn-crushers, celts, French coins (copper), knives, hatchets, flint-locks, beads, flints, clay pipes (about half the size of the modern), silver rings and buttons. Probably many more such articles may some day be found beneath the roots of some good-sized trees that have grown up in several places. The whole grave-yard is so thickly overgrown with hawthorns as to be a perfect jungle, difficult even to penetrate. On the site of the old camping ground, just below the grave yard, Mr. A. R. Hay has found the remains of wigwam fire places, sometimes in a very perfect state of preservation. There is usually a

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

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

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

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

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

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

We gain some knowledge of the condition of *Medoctec* and its inhabitants upwards of two hundred years ago, from the narrative of *John Gyles*,\* an English lad, who was captured at *Pemaquid*, west of *Penobscot*, on the coast of *Maine*, in the year 1689, and brought by his Indian master to *Medoctec*, where he lived nearly six years a captive. The war in which *Gyles* was taken captive is known in history as *King William's war*,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The brothers d'Amour were charged by Villebon with being "wholly spoiled by prolonged lawlessness and the manners they had acquired among the Indians." Elsewhere he says: "They carry on no tillage, keep no cattle, but live in trading with the Indians and debauch among them, making large profits thereby, but injuring the public good." However, as Mr. Hannay observes, Acadia was so full of cabals that even these positive statements of Villebon must be taken with allowance. Three of the brothers, Bernard, Mathieu and Louis, had not only goods and cattle, but wives also, as is shown by the census of 1686, and by the narrative of John Gyles. We have also the statement of the Intendant, M. Champigny, in 1695, that: "The sons of the Sieur d'Amour, Councillor at Quebec, who are settled on the river St. John apply themselves chiefly to the cultivation of their lands and to raising of cattle. It is very unfortunate, my lord, that anyone should have informed you that they live a life of lawlessness with the savages, since I have reliable testimony that their conduct is very good."

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

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

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

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

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

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

bear skin (large and in good season), 1½ do.; red fox, ½ do.; black fox, 2 do.; silver fox, 2½ do.; 10 musquash skins, 1 do.; large moose skin, 1½ do.; large luciffee, 2 do.; 5lbs deer skin, 1 do.; 10 ermine skins, 1 do.; 6lbs feathers, 1 do.

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

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

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

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

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

\* Eel River. † The River St. Croix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOODSTOCK, 4th Jan., 1790.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HON. COL. ALLEN.

FRED'K DIBBLEE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bishop Inglis goes on to say :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## APPENDIX.

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

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* Pote's schooner taken at Annapolis, and which had been sent up the river St. John.  
 † Meaning the Huron Indians by whom Pote and his companions were taken captive.

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

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

\* Probably the Meductic Falls are here referred to.

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

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

\* i. e. Meductic Village.

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

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

\* That is 18 leagues from Aukpaque ; general course North-west.  
 † Words italicized are partially erased in the original manuscript.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## OBITUARY LETTER

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

[Translation].

REVEREND FATHER, P. C.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your Reverence's very humble and obedient Servant,

(Signed)

J. B. DU'PARC, S. J.

## MEMORANDUM.

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

NAMES.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Corn.	Powder.	Lead.	Flints.	Pork.	Salt.	Blankets.	Stroud.	Linen.	Hats.
Augustin, . . . . .	1				1	4				1			
Francis Joseph, . . . . .	1	1	6		2	8				4			
Barzil (sick, since dead), . . . . .	1	1		2	2	8			5	2			
Pellacola, . . . . .	1	1	3		2		3			3			
Thomas, . . . . .	1	1	2		4					2			
Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	1		3	4				2			
Gov'r Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	4	1	3	4			6	2			
Peter Joe, . . . . .	1				4	4				2			
Ellazonpa (widow), . . . . .		1	2							2			
Francis Regis, . . . . .	1	1	5							3			
Joseph Murray, . . . . .	1	1	3		3	12	9			5			
Joe Murray, . . . . .	1	1	3		3	8	2			3			
Joe Murray Sis, . . . . .	1				5	10	4			1			
Joseph Murray (old), . . . . .	1	1	6		5	12	6			4			
Joseph Lugorstai (dead), . . . . .	1	1	2	2	7	12	9	5½		4		4	
Bartis, . . . . .	1	1	2							2			
Pemmyhawick, . . . . .	1	1	5	3	3	12	12	4	6	9	6	2½	1
Pemmacola, . . . . .	1	1	3		2	8	8			4			
Joseph Martin (sick), . . . . .	1	1	1	1½	3	8	10	10	1	4	2		
Tobec (widow), . . . . .		1		½						1			
John Tobec, . . . . .	1	1			1	4				4			
Grand John, . . . . .	1	1	4		2	8	23			2			
Pierre Peter, . . . . .	1	1	1		5	12				2			
John Manduelmet, . . . . .	1	1	9	1	6	22	8	4		5			
Pierre, . . . . .	1				2	4	5			1			
Pelip, . . . . .	1	1	1		2	4	6			1			
Manduane (widow), . . . . .		1	3	½	5	20	8		2	1	8		
Nuel Priest, . . . . .	1	1	4	1	3	16	5		2	2			
Burtis Rahis, . . . . .	1				2	4	4						
Joseph Persis, . . . . .	1				2	4	4						
Joseph Lua, . . . . .	1	1	1	1	9	8	9			2			
Madalencis (widow), . . . . .		1		1½						1	2		
Pierre Missel, . . . . .	1				2		3						
Sabatis, . . . . .	1	1	3	1	5	12	5			4			
Joseph, . . . . .	1		1		2	4	3			2			
Joseph Pierdeny, . . . . .	1	1	5		3	4	4			2			
Pierdeny, . . . . .	1				3		3						
Nuil, . . . . .	1				2								
Rola, . . . . .	1	1	2		5	16	4		2	2			
Piel Sack, . . . . .	1	1	1		4	4	3		1	2			
Joe Jack, . . . . .	1	1	3		5	12	5			4			
Nicolas, . . . . .	1	1	2		4	4	4			2			
Molly (widow), . . . . .		1	2	1	2	4	4	5		1			
Missel, . . . . .	1				2	4				1			

Lua, .  
 Framea  
 Francis  
 Thomas  
 Nuellis  
 Andrew  
 Nicola  
 Nuel, .  
 Nuel B  
 Sunum  
 Molly C  
 Sermac  
 Nuel S  
 Sabatis  
 Joseph  
 Pierre T  
 Little J  
 Succatu  
 Joe Jep  
 Joseph  
 Sallo, .  
 Lobilis,  
 Pier Jos  
 Lua Zon  
 Obluis,  
 Earsong  
 Joseph  
 Swatson  
 Asselma  
 Piel Ale  
 Mitchel  
 Lomai,  
 Pennel,  
 Joseph T  
 Piel Sac  
 Joseph C  
 Molly M  
 Peter T  
 Ethon, .  
 Lua Neg  
 Sisuly, .  
 Mary (w  
 Molly D  
 Sabatis S  
 Molly B  
 Sciotlin  
 Lannet  
 Molly Ga

NAMES.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Corn.	Powder.	Lead.	Flints.	Pork.	Salt.	Blankets.	Stroud.	Linen.	Hats.
<i>Continued.</i>													
Lua, . . . . .	1				7	18	3			1			
Framea, . . . . .	1				4	12	5			1			
Francis, . . . . .	1				6	16	3						
Thomas Quodpan, . . . . .	1	1	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	16	4		1	2			1
Nuellis, . . . . .	1				3								
Andrew Major, . . . . .	1	1	4		7	20	18			3	2		
Nicola Nephon, . . . . .	1	1	2		2	8	6			2			
Nuel, . . . . .	1				2	8	2		2	1			
Nuel Benar, . . . . .	1	1	5		1	4				2			
Sunum Benar, . . . . .	1				1	4				1			
Molly Geary, . . . . .		1	2		1	4				2			
Sermacola, . . . . .	1	1	1		1	4				2			
Nuel Sermacola, . . . . .	1				1	4				1			
Sabatis Tobec, . . . . .	1	1	2		1	4				2			
Joseph Wilmot, . . . . .	1	1	4		1	4				2			
Pierre Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	3		4	18							
Little Joe, . . . . .	1				6	18							
Succatur, . . . . .	1	1			2	8							
Joe Jepsis, . . . . .	1	1	3		3	12	6						
Joseph Barselote, . . . . .	1	1		4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	17	3	4	5	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	1
Sallo, . . . . .	1				2	4							
Lobilis, . . . . .	1				2	4							
Pier Joseph, . . . . .	1	1	1		3	7				1			
Lua Zontes, . . . . .	1	1	5	3	6	12	9		4	3			
Obluis, . . . . .	1				2								
Earson, . . . . .	1				2								
Joseph Sabatis, . . . . .	1				2								
Swatson, . . . . .	1	1	2		4	12	5			2			
Asselma, . . . . .	1				5	8	2			1			
Piel Alcomai, . . . . .	1				2								
Mitchel Lua, . . . . .	1	1			4	8	6						
Lomai, . . . . .	1	1	2		3	8	3		2	2			
Penuel, . . . . .	1	1			3								
Joseph Tomah, . . . . .	1	1	1		7	8	3						
Piel Sack Gomar, . . . . .	1				2								
Joseph Obruis, . . . . .	1	1	2	1	3	14	6			2			
Joseph (sick, since dead), . . . . .	1			1	1	4	4		1	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Molly Missy, . . . . .		1	3							1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Peter Tear, . . . . .	1				2		2						
Ethon, . . . . .	1				2		2						
Lua Nequin, . . . . .	1				2		2						
Sisuly, . . . . .	1									1			
Mary (widow), . . . . .	1		1						1		2		
Molly Derlis, . . . . .	1	2			3	6					2	4	
Sabatis Sano, . . . . .	1				2	12	5				2		
Molly Bisket (widow), . . . . .	1	1		1	4						2		
Sciotlin (widow), . . . . .	1										2		
Lannet (widow), . . . . .	1										2		
Molly Gatlin (widow), . . . . .	1										2		

Order  
ttled at  
he 15th

	Linen.	Hats.
	4	1
6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
2		
8		
2		

NAMES.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Corn.	Powder.	Lead.	Flints.	Pork.	Salt.	Blankets.	Stroud.	Linen.	Hats.
<i>Continued.</i>													
Atwin, .....	1				12	4	3						
Atanis, .....	1				4	8							
Franwaton, .....	1	1	2		4	8	3						
Pelip, .....	1				3	8	3						
Francis Joseph, .....	1				4	16	6						
Rola (widow), .....		1									12		
Franwagemic, .....	1				3	8	3						
Monopos, .....	1	1			2	8	3						
Francis Joe, .....	1	1			4	12	3						
Francis Xavier, .....	1	1	5	2	4	16	6			3	12	7	2
Nicola, .....	1	1	1		3	8	6						
Jack, .....	1	1	1		4	8	6				12		
Tomah, .....	1				1	4	3						
Andrew, .....	1	1	1		2	8	3				12		
Nephton, .....	1	1			2	8	6				12	2	
Mitchel, .....	1	1	3		2	8	6			12			
Joseph Pemmyhawit, .....	1	1	4		6	24	9						
Pierre Pool, .....	1				2	8	6						
Mitchel M, .....	1	1	4		6	24	18						
Alosel, .....	1	1	4		2	8							
Total, .....	98	74	165		322	790	365			152			

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

Men 98, Women 74, Children 165.

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

Thomas Quodpan, two axes & two hows.

Pemmyhawick, two axes & two hows.

Lua Sontes, two axes & two hows.

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

W. O. R.