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THE MEDICAL MEN OF ST. JOHN

IN ITS

FIRST HALF CENTURY.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE NEW BRUNSWICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 26TH, 1885.

BY JOSEPH W. LAWRENCE.

With the Loyalists who came from New York in 1783 were a number of medical men, among them Drs. Paine, Huggeford, Moore, Gamble, Prince, Earle, Emerson, Hammell, Dupnack, Clarke, Sharman, Lewis, Calef, Betts, Brown, Paddock and Smith—several of whom held commissions as surgeons in the war, in the Loyalist corps, and on the disbandment of their regiments at the peace were placed on half pay. A number located at St. John, others in the country, and some returned to their old homes. The one standing first with Governor Carleton and others in power in the newly established Province of New Branswick was

DR. WILLIAM PAINE.

Dr. Paine was born at Worcester, Mass., in 1750. One of his teachers before entering Harvard was John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, but at the time a student in the office of Attorney-General Putnam, the latter afterwards one of the first Bench of New Brunswick judges.

In 1774 Mr. Paine was in Scotland, and obtained from Marischal College, Aberdeen, Hon. M. D., followed by his appointment by the British Government as Apothecary to the British troops. In 1782 he was admitted a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and on returning to New York he was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton Physician to the Army. At the peace he went to Halifax, and was retired on half pay. While there he obtained from Governor Parr a grant of La Tete Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, and went there to

live. Writing from there in August, 1784, he says: "My situation I like very much; my lands are certainly well located, and if Mrs. Paine could content herself I should be well pleased. Her objection is that the children cannot be properly educated. The Island [now part of Charlotte County] will soon be a place of consequence, and ultimately the principal port in British North America. But to make my situation desirable requires capital. My Island must be stocked, boats must be employed in procuring lumber for the American and West India markets."

In 1785 Dr. Paine removed to St. John, and at the incorporation of the city that year was appointed by Governor Carleton an alderman for Sidney Ward. In the fall he wrote that Mrs. Paine was quite contented with their situation, and he was busy canvassing for a friend for a seat in the House of Assembly for St. John, and he expected himself to be elected one of the members for Charlotte County. In this his expectations were realized, and also in the return of his friend for St. John.

At the opening of the Legislature, in January, 1786, at St. John, Dr. Paine was appointed by the Governor Clerk of the House, at the same time retaining his seat as a member. See the following from the minutes of the Council:

"New Brunswick in Council, 3 January, 1786.

"His Excellency orders a Commission under the Great Seal to be made out appointing William Paine, Esq., Clerk of the Assembly. William Paine attended and took the oath of office required by law as

Clerk of the Assembly. By order of the Governor.

"THOMAS KNOX,
"Deputy Clerk of the Council."

Prior to the first meeting of the House of Assembly, Dr. Paine and others, on December 13, 1785, presented a memorial to the Governor-in-Council, praying that a Charter of incorporation might be granted for the institution of a Provincial Academy of Arts and Sciences. The memorial pleads: "The situation in which the Loyalist adventurers here find themselves, many of whom on removing here, had sons whose time of life and former hopes call for an immediate attention to their education." This was the initial step in the movement that led to the foundation of what is now our Provincial University.

Dr. Paine was appointed, June 14, 1786, one of the Commissioners of the New England Company (so called) for educating and christianizing the Indians of New Brunswick.

In 1785, Sir John Wentworth, Surveyor-General of Woods and

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Forests in the Province of Nova Scotia and other His Majesty's Territories in America, appointed Dr. Paine Principal Deputy for New Brunswick. He was to "Survey, inspect, and examine the lands and timber growing, and carefully register such white pine trees as may be now or hereafter fit for the use of the Royal Navy."

Consequent on the repeal of the Banishment Act by the United States in 1787, Dr. Paine returned to Massachusetts, after obtaining permission from the British Government. Under this sanction his half pay continued, and also his allegiance to the British Crown.

On the breaking out of the War of 1812, the British Government called on Dr. Paine to report for duty, on which he resigned his commission and with it his half pay; this was followed by his becoming naturalized and thus a citizen of the United States.

In the summer of 1883, Mrs. Sturgis, a granddaughter of Dr. Paine, visited St. John. Standing with her alongside the Putnam tomb in the "Old Burial Ground," she related to the writer an incident in the life of her great grandmother, the mother of Dr. Paine. Among the guests at a dinner party at Worcester, given by her husband shortly before the Revolutionary War, was John Adams. When the host gave the toast, "The King," some Whigs at the dinner refused to drink it. Mr. Adams requested them to comply, saying, we shall have an opportunity to return the compliment. When asked to propose a toast, he gave "The Devil." As the host was about to resent this indignity, Mrs. Paine turned the laugh on Mr. Adams, by saying to her husband, "My dear, as the gentleman has been so kind as to drink the health of the King, let us by no means refuse to drink to his friend."

Dr. Paine resided at Worcester, in the old homestead, until his death in 1833, in his 84th year, one-half century after leaving New York at the time of the evacuation by the Loyalists. Among the gifts to the New Brunswick Historical Society is a fine engraving of Dr. Paine, taken in the morning of his manhood, presented May 1, 1884, by his grandson, George Sturgis Paine.

DR. PETER HUGGEFORD.

This gentleman was a surgeon in the Loyal American Regiment, raised by Col. Beverley Robinson, of New York. In it were two lieutenants long known at St. John, John Robinson, who died in 1828, being at the time mayor of the city, and John Ward, who at his death in 1846, at the age of 92, was the oldest half pay officer in the British

service. Dr. Huggeford drew the lot at Parr Town opposite the Dufferin Hotel, on which the building occupied by Mr. John White now stands. The Rev. John Beardsley, who was chaplain in the same Loyalist Regiment, drew the lot adjoining. The daughter of Dr. Huggeford became the wife of Elias Hardy, second Common Clerk of St. John, and at the bar of New Brunswick without a peer. In 1800 Dr. Huggeford was residing at New York.

DR. JOHN GAMBLE.

On his arrival at Parr Town Dr. Gamble drew lot 610 Princess Street, south side, through which lot, since the fire of 1877, Canterbury Street was opened. Princess Street, when laid out in 1783, was called Tyng Street, after Commissary William Tyng, who had been fortunate enough to secure ten town lots on the north side, extending from Germain to Prince William Street. For over fifty years that section of the street was known as Rocky Hill, and was considered of little value. The first loaded cart went up 29th July, 1830. Dr. Gamble's residence on the lot which fell to him on his arrival is shown by the following:

TO BE LET.

To be let for one or more years, a two-story house in Tyng Street, formerly occupied by Dr. Gamble. Enquire of the Printer.

May, 1787.

As this is the last time Dr. Gamble's name appears, it is probable that, like Dr. Paine, he returned to his old home in the United States.

DR. JOHN HAMMELL.

This gentleman, during the Revolutionary War, was surgeon in the 4th Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Abraham Van Buskirk. He was one of the early practitioners at Parr Town; his lot was 1150 St. James Street, between Sidney and Carmarthen. He no doubt came to St. John with his regiment in the fall of 1783.

The following notice which appears in one of our first newspapers is of interest:

TO BE SOLD.

A House and Lot of ground, formerly belonging to and occupied by Dr. Hammell in St. James Street, in the City of St. John, and known as See Lav

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had man the serv as No. 1150. They are to be sold under a mortgage of Mr. John Seekels to Dr. Hammell. Enquire of William Wylly, Attorney at Law "

If this was not the first sale in the City of St. John under a mortgage, it was certainly one of the first.

Things were in a transition state at the time, not only among the doctors, but also among the lawyers, for in August, 1787, William Wylly, Dr. Hammell's attorney, was at the West Indies, with his family. Writing from there 12th September, 1787, he says:

"No turtles of any size at present are to be got here, but are brought every day into Nausa, and I have given orders for two very handsome fellows to be put on board the vessel which touches there for you. I hope they will be delivered to you in high health, and well loaded with green fat and other nice bits sufficient for a Recorder's feast for his Corporation. WM. WYLLY.

To WARD CHIPMAN, Esq., Recorder of St. John.

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DR. SAMUEL MOORE.

When John Mosley, a colored man, who drew lot 1084, east Saint James Street (then called Stormont Street), was killed by a blow from a fork, which he received at the hands of his wife in the fall of 1784, the Hon. George Leonard, one of the Justices of the Peace, called on Dr. Moore to make a post mortem examination of the head of Mosley. This was accordingly done, and the doctor reported as follows:

SIR — Agreeable to your request I examined the black man's head. I am perfectly satisfied he was murdered. After examining where the fork perforated the temporal bone of the skull, I sawed off the arch of the head and found the ventricles of the brain everywhere impacted with matter. The symptoms before death were also very obvious. All the jury were spectators. Your serv't,

October 6, 1784. GEORGE LEONARD, Esq. SAM'L MOORE.

In the report there is no intelligence as to whose skull Dr. Moore had been sawing, he says it was the "black man's." As to who the black man was he is silent, taking it for granted all interested knew. While the report is silent on that point, Dr. Moore is indebted to it as preserving his name from being lost in the debris of the century, for it is to the circumstance of being called on to make the post mortem examination that his name now appears among the physicians of New Brunswick in its first fifty years.

As this was the first murder after the landing of the Loyalists, the incident is entitled to a place in New Brunswick history, the more so, as Mosley was one of the grantees of Parr Town, and as such in the Revolution was loyal to his Sovereign. From the paper read before the New Brunswick Historical Society on the evening of its organization, November 25, 1874, on the "First Courts and Early Judges of New Brunswick," the following is taken:

February 3, 1785, a true bill was found by the grand jury against Nancy Mosley for the murder of John Mosley, her husband. The same day the prisoner was arraigned and tried, Chief Justice Ludlow, with Judge Putnam, on the bench, when the jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter against the prisoner, Nancy Mosley. The day following she was brought into court and placed at the bar. She prayed the benefit of clergy, which being granted, she was sentenced to be branded in open court with the letter M in the brawn of the thumb, and discharged.

The name of Dr. Moore will go down to posterity associated with the first post mortem examination at St. John and the first trial for murder.

DR. JOHN CALEF.

In the War Dr. John Calef was a Surgeon in a Provincial Regiment, and part of the time acted as Chaplain. He was with the army at Penobscot, where a post had been established under General McLean, at a place called Mega Bagaduce, now Castine. He has left us an excellent account of the siege of Penobscot by the Americans, and its gallant defence by the British, which is to be found in the library of Harvard College. Dr. Calef was in the legislature of Massachusetts about the date of the Revolution, and was one of the famous "Seven Rescinders." At the funeral of George Whitefield he was one of the pall-bearers. It is said that he was sent to England about the close of the war by the Penobscot associated Loyalists, to endeavour to have the international boundary fixed at the Penobscot. He had been hopeful of success all along, when one morning, on entering the foreign office, these hopes were blasted by Lord North saying to him, "Doctor, doctor, we cannot make the Penobscot the boundary; the pressure is too strong."

Dr. Calef was a man of learning and education. He came to St. John with his family, where he made his home until his removal to St.

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Andrews. He was appointed Surgeon to the forces in New Brunswick as will be seen below:

ARMY STAFF, NEW BRUNSWICK, 1785.

Brigadier-General — His Excellency Thomas Carleton.
Chaplain — Rev. Samuel Cooke.
Fort Major — Harris W. Hailes.
Surgeon — John Calef.
Assistant Surgeon — David Prown.
Barrack Master — William Lambton.
Storekeeper-General — George Sproule.

In 1794 Dr. Calef was residing at St. John, where his house was a well known landmark. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. Jedediah Rowley, of Massachusetts. Dr. Calef removed to St. Andrews, and died there in 1812, in his 88th year. A descendent in 1823, with others, purchased from Dr. Paine the island of La Tete, Charlotte

County, since called Calef's or Frye's Island.

Commissary of Stores — Samuel Hake.

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DR. DAVID BROWN.

From the roll of the New Branswick Army Staff in 1785, it appears that Dr. Brown was Assistant Surgeon to Dr. Calef. For many years he was Hospital mate at St. John, a position under the British Government. What the special duties were is not now apparent, for every regiment had its surgeon and assistants, but he was probably Medical Superintendent of the Hospital.

In 1821 the troops of the line were stationed on Fort Howe, the Barracks there overlooking the Portland Police Station. For the first two or three years after the arrival of the Loyalists criminals were confined in the Block House on Fort Howe, and the first executions were on the hill, overlooking the present Railway Grounds, then known as "Gallows Hill." The officers' mess was on Paradise Row, afterwards known as the Portland Brewery. The Artillery or Ordnance department down to 1822, occupied Hare's Wharf, with the rear of their Barracks on Smyth Street.

"The Times or True Briton" of St. John, 18th May, 1809, records the death of the wife of Dr. Brown.

DIED. Sunday evening, May 14, after a lingering illness, Mrs. Alicia McLean Brown, aged 45 years, wife of Dr. Brown of this city.

In the Old Burial Ground there is a fine slab of marble, on which is the following record:

Here lies interred the body of
MRS. ALICIA BROWN,
Wife of David Brown, M. D.,
A native of the Isle of Mull, in Scotland. Who departed this
life the 14 May, 1809, aged 45 years, after enduring a
year's painful sickness which she bore with fortitude.
She was pleasant and cheerful to all
acquaintances to the last.

"A thousand ways our troubles here increase, While care succeeding care destroys our peace; Why fly we then, What can such comfort give? We cease to suffer when we cease to live."

From the old newspapers we glean another interesting incident, however trivial it may seem to some of us today:

PIANO FORTE FOR SALE.

Dr. Brown has for sale an excellent Piano Forte, with two complete sets of strings.

August 10, 1810.

To be the owner of a piano in that day, was evidence of culture and comparative wealth.

Dr. Brown did not long survive his wife, for he died March 4, 1812, at the age of 60 years, having held the position of Hospital mate at St. John over 30 years. Although on the marble slab, on which is recorded the name of his wife, there is room for his name, no inscription records his death. His name is now recorded on the pages of the N. B. Historical Society. His residence at the corner of Germain and Duke streets, was afterwards the residence for many years of Lauchlan Donaldson.

DR. NEHEMIAH CLARKE

A Surgeon in Lt.-Col. Emerick's Chasseurs and Dragoons, a regiment in which Gabriel DeVeber was Major, and at the close of the war he came to St. John, where he drew a lot on the North Side of King Square. of flo cel St.

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The following advertisement refers to his residence in this locality:

TO BE SOLD OR LET.

The House and Lot belonging to Dr. Nehemiah Clarke, North Side of King Square, consisting of two rooms and a kitchen on the ground floor, and one room above. The lot has a well of good water, and a cellar. For particulars enquire of Mr. Samuel Randall, Merchant, St. John Street.

N. B.—Dr. Clarke requests all persons indebted to him to pay their respective debts immediately to Dr. Randall, who is desired, upon neglect thereof to sue them forthwith.

In place of returning to the States, Dr. Clarke removed to the County of York, opposite Fredericton. His daughter married Ross Currie, an Attorney at Law at Fredericton. Mr. Currie, in 1790, was drowned in the river opposite Government House. Another daughter married Capt. Eccles, a retired officer, by whom a monument was placed in the Fredericton Burial Ground, in memory of Dr. Clarke and Ross Currie. Dr. Clarke died in 1825, in the Parish of Douglas at the age of 86 years.

DR. JOSEPH CLARKE.

A Physician of Stratford, Connecticut. When the war commenced he went to New York with his family. At the peace he came to Parr Town and drew the lot adjoining Nehemiah Clarke's. He removed to Maugerville, where he died in 1813, aged 79 years.

In the Old Burial Ground, St. John, is a stone to a son of Dr. Clarke.

SACRED

To the Memory of
JOHN CLARKE, Esq.,
Son of late Dr. Joseph Clarke, of Maugerville,
Who departed this life, 10 June, 1828,
Aged 65 years.

DR. AMBROSE SHARMAN.

This gentleman served as Lieutenant in the Royal Fencible Americans during the Revolution, and in addition he held the position of Assistant Surgeon. He was stationed with the garrison at Fort Howe, commanded by Major Gilfred Studholme. One of his brother officers was Lieutenant Samuel Denny Street. Doctor Sharman is the first

medical man of whom any record is preserved who practised his profession in St. John. His services were doubtless acceptable to the inhabitants as well as to the garrison. Among the accounts kept by James White as Indian Agent on the St. John River, occur the following items:

"P'd Dr. Sharman inoculating self and family, £9 0 0."

"P'd Dr. Sharman for medicine and attendance to Pierre Thomas and four other sick Indians, £5 16 8."

Soon after the peace Dr. Sharman moved up the river to Burton and settled near his friend and comrade in arms, Samuel Denny Street. He was practising there in 1791, and among his patrons was Col. Abraham DePeyster, then Sheriff of Sunbury. The following is a medical bill of that day; in it attendance and medicines are mixed:

Col. DePeyster, To A. Sharman.			
To medicine and attendance for Miss Caroline, from oth	£3	1	$9\frac{1}{2}$
To medicine and attendance, from 13 to 17 May, for your child	1	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$
	£4	7	2

Received, 19 July, 1791, part of the above, Two Pounds.

Ambrose Sharman.

Dr. Sharman died December 17, 1793, and letters of administration were obtained, and the following notice published in the papers:

All persons having demands against the Estate of Dr. Ambrose Sharman, late of Maugerville, in the County of Sunbury, deceased, are requested to render the same to Samuel Denny Street, of Burton, and all persons indebted are requested to make payment without delay.

Burton, 3 January, 1794.

SAMUEL D. STREET, JOHN HAZEN, HUGH JOHNSTON,

A son of Mr. Street was named John Ambrose Sharman Street, in honor of his old friend. Mr. Street also brought up and educated three of the orphan children of Dr. Sharman.

DR. AZOR BETTS.

Dr. Betts was a New York physician, and strong in denouncing

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those opposed to King George III. In 1776 he was brought before the Committee of Safety for denouncing Congress and the Provincial Assembly as "A set of damned rascals, acting only to feather their nests and not to serve the country." After three months' confinement, the Committee of Safety released him, the doctor having acknowledged penitence, feeling discretion to be the better part of valor.

Dr. Betts was among the Loyalists at St. John, but at the urgent solicitation of the people moved to Kingston. In 1809 he died at Digby, Nova Scotia. His widow died shortly after at St. John. In the old grave yard a stone marks her grave. There were two sons resident in St. John, Hiram and James O. Betts. The former was the father of the late Capt. Betts, and the latter of Charles Betts, who for many years was crier of the courts, and in response to "God save the Queen," cried, "Oh, yes!! Oh, yes!!!"

DR. CHARLES EARLE

In the war was a Surgeon in the Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Morris, and afterwards, in the year 1793, Surgeon in the King's New Brunswick Regiment.

Dr. Earle removed to Fredericton, and fixed his residence at Mill Creek, below the town, and the limits of the capital city of the Province in olden days were commonly spoken of as "from Dr. Earle's to Phillis' Creek.

Dr. Earle resided at Fredericton until his death, 23 January, 1814, in his 62 year. He was universally esteemed. At his death he was Surgeon of the 104th New Brunswick Regiment.

A daughter of Dr. Earle married Lionel Anderson of the Engineer Department, St. John.

DR. THOMAS EMERSON.

Dr. Emerson had been attached to the Royal Fencible Americans during the war. At the formation of the King's New Brunswick Regiment, he was appointed Surgeon's mate, and afterwards held the same office in the 104th or New Brunswick Regiment. Among the Lieuts., were Barton Wallop and Andrew Rainsford. In the war of 1812 with the United States, the 104th made its great winter march through New Brunswick to Quebec.

Many years after, at the session of 1847, L. A. Wilmot moved for a grant to enable Charles Rainsford, late Captain 104th Reg., to purchase

500 acres of land. Mr.Wilmot said "Capt. Rainsford had rendered most valuable service to his country at the time the 104th marched through the woods on snowshoes to Quebec. He performed a journey such as had before never been undertaken by any man, and had thereby saved the whole Light Company of that Regiment from frost and starvation. This feat was spoken of among the Indians and French to this day." The grant passed. In later years the services of Capt. Rainsford were brought to the notice of the British Government and a life pension granted. Capt. Rainsford long lived to enjoy it, and to tell over the many scenes he passed through in New Brunswick's History, for he lived to 1882, and attained the age of 94 years.

While today little is known of the life of Dr. Emerson, three years ago every thing connected with it could have been learned from his

companion in the winter campaign of 1813.

That Dr. Emerson practised at St. John in 1806 is clear, for at the trial of John W. Smith, Schoolmaster and Lay Reader in the Carleton Church, it was largely on his evidence and Dr. Adino Paddock's, that Smith was convicted, and ordered to stand one hour in the Pillory at the foot of King Street. The day was a field day to the School Boys, for the sight of a School Teacher holding a levee in that character was something novel; what added to their enjoyment was he ruled them by the rod and not by moral suasion. Attorney-General Bliss and Solicitor-General Chipman had associated with them on the part of the Crown, Thomas Wetmore and Charles J. Peters. The evidence, covering many pages, is extant.

DR. ADINO PADDOCK.

Dr. Paddock, whose name was a household word at St. John, in the the first third of the century, was a son of Mayor Adino Paddock of Boston, best remembered from the trees he planted on Tremont Street, before the Revolution, known as the Paddock Elms.

At the evacuation of Boston in 1776, the family went to Halifax and from there to England, where young Adino studied medicine. He returned before the close of the War, having secured an appointment as surgeon in the King's American Dragoons, of which Joshua Upham, afterwards one of New Brunswick's first judges, was major.

In 1783, Dr. Paddock drew two lots in Carleton and one at Parr Town, and in 1786 he bought from Major Gilfred Studholme, the second lot on Prince William Street, south of Princess, 50 feet front and 200 deep, for five shillings. This is the lot on which the City Hall now

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stands. The building in which "The St. John Daily Telegraph" was printed at the time of the fire in 1877, stood on this lot and was built by Dr. Paddock, and there he resided for years. At the incorporation of the City of St. John, Dr. Paddock was appointed Assistant Alderman of Guy's Ward.

Doctor Adino Paddock's death was felt to be a public loss. Among references contained in the papers of the day is the following:

"DIED - Suddenly, 21 October, 1817, at the residence of his son-inlaw, Frederick P. Robinson, St. Marys, York, in the 58 year of his age, Adino Paddock, Esq., Surgeon to the Ordnance in this Province. One of the first Loyalists who came to this place in the year 1783, he has been a successful practitioner of Physic and Surgery from that time until last spring, when a paralytic stroke unexpectedly interrupted his useful labours. From this attack he appeared to have been rapidly recovering, when on the day above mentioned a second paralytic stroke at once deprived him of his faculties, and in six hours terminated his existence. Endeared to his numerous friends by his mild, cheerful disposition, and amiable manners, esteemed by the public for his skilful exertions in his profession, and beloved by the poor for his benevolent heart and readiness at all times to render them professional as well as other relief, his loss will be long and severely felt by all classes of the community. His children who sincerely loved him, and duly appreciated his worth, are by his death involved in the deepest affliction.

Dr. Paddock's practice was among the first families in St. John. The year after his death his heirs, in settlement of a medical bill against the estate of Hon. William Hazen for £144, received a block of land in the city, containing 5 acres and 3 roods, long known after as Paddock's Field, bounded on the north by Coburg Street, and on the east by Cliff, on the south by Waterloo Street, and west by Peters, Paddock Street running through the centre. To the Paddock heirs it proved a nugget, such as does not often fall to anyone in the settlement of an old account.

In 1837 John V. Thurgar, who had married a daughter of Dr. Paddock, built a residence at the corner of Coburg and Paddock streets. In doing so he set the house back from the street, and planted a number of trees. There were other daughters and three sons.

DR. NATHAN SMITH.

When the war commenced Dr. Smith was a physician at Rhode Island, and through it Surgeon in the First Battalion DeLancey's Brigade, and at its close settled at St. John. The disbanded officers of the first

and second battalions of DeLancey's Brigade were assigned lands for settlement upon the St. John river, in what is now the Parish of Woodstock. Surgeon Smith received a grant of 550 acres just below the site of the old Indian village of Meductic, and another grant of 350 acres just above. There is nothing to show that Dr. Smith ever did anything to improve his estate, and it is probable he disposed of it for a very small consideration to those who became actual settlers. Today it would be a valuable property indeed.

In addition to his medical practice in St. John, he had an apothecary shop in Lower Cove, as appears from his advertisement below:

JUST IMPORTED.

In the Brigantine Polly, Capt. Boyd, from London, a
General Assortment of Medicines,
To be sold by the subscriber in St. James' Street at the most
reasonable rate.

ALSO PATENT MEDICINES.

Godfrey's Cordials
Bateman's Drops
Balsam Honey
Jesuit Drops
Turbington Balsam
Pungent Smelling Bottles
Court Plaster
St. John, 9th July, 1795.

Friar's Balsam
Essence of Pepperment
Daffey's Elixer
James Powder
British Oil
Essence of Burgamont
Essence of Lemon
NATHAN SMITH.

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Opposite his store and residence was a pond, where in summer the boys caught frogs, and in winter skated. It was called "Dr. Smith's Pond." At the election for the House of Assembly, in 1790, Dr. Smith was elected one of the City members. During the session of 1798, being at the time a widower, he wrote the following, possibly the only letter of its kind of the last century to be found in New Brunswick. It certainly is not of the kind members are supposed to write to their constituents while in attendance on their "Parliamentary duties."

Fredericton, 10th February, 1798.

DEAR MADAM,-

This will acquaint you of my safe arrival at St. John, on the 7th January last in perfect health, and I had the happiness to find my family and friends in good health, I hope you and your little daughter are in the like good health. I hope you have been happy since I left you, and so continue until I have the happiness of once more seeing you,

and that I shall not have occasion of leaving you so long again, for I was not sensible of the attachment that I had for your person before I left you, for my anxiety and regard for you increases every hour since I left you, and never was I more sensible of a desire of seeing any person since my remembrance than of seeing you, and that for several reasons which you must well know. But I hope by the blessing of God, I shall see you in the spring, as I mentioned to you, when I left you; so must remain your sincere friend and very humble servant.

Mrs. Lucy Martin, NATHAN SMITH.

Cushing, District of Maine.

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Dr. Smith at this time was 61 years of age, and the Widow Martin 29 years younger.

"Within his heart unceasing tumults rolled, And various thoughts perplexed his anxious soul, Nor aught could soothe, nor aught his pains remove, Save the soft bands of Hymen and of Love."

The marriage took place, and the year following a son was born, Thomas M. Smith, for many years Chief of the Fire Department, and father of George F. Smith. Dr. Smith resided at his old home in St. James Street, Lower Cove, until his death in December, 1818, in his 82nd year. Eight years later his widow, then in her 57th year, entered wedlock the third time; the happy groom was Walter Bates, Sheriff of Kings County, then in his 67th year.

On the death of the Sheriff in 1842, his widow returned to the old home at St. John, it having been left to her by her second husband, Dr. Smith, enjoying at the same time a pension as his widow. Her death took place in December, 1864, at the age of 95 years.

In 1883 George F. Smith, Esq., placed in the "Old Grave Yard" a fountain in memoriam of his grandfather, Dr. Nathan Smith, and also planted a tree on Queen Square on Arbor Day to his memory.

The old homestead, a modest one-story wooden building, was one of the city landmarks up to the great fire of 1877. From it the old door, with its antique knocker, both brought from New York in 1783, was saved by a grandson, William O. Stewart, and at the exhibition of 1883 was seen in the department of old relics in charge of the Historical Society.

DR. WILLIAM HOWE SMITH.

This physician was a son of Dr. Nathan Smith, by his first wife; the mother of Nathan Smith DeMill, the Apostle of Temperance in New Brunswick, was a daughter. William Howe Smith was brought up to

the Apothecary business, preparing prescriptions for the patients of his father, and selling Friar's Balsam, Court Plaster, Daffey's Elixer, etc., to the residents of Lower Cove. In due time he graduated as a physician, and after the death of his father removed the Drug Store to the Market Square. His wife was a daughter of Col. Miles, of Sunbury, and did not long survive his father as he died in 1822, at the age of 45 years, leaving a widow, four sons and two daughters.

The residence of Dr. Smith at this time was in Prince William street, on the upper lot now occupied by W. H. Thorne & Co. It was a two story wooden building, and was destroyed in the first great fire in St. John, April 9, 1824, which burned 35 buildings, and extended to the water's edge. The fire originated in a tobacco factory on Merritt's wharf, the total loss was over \$100,000.

At the time of Dr. Smith's death, although his eldest son William O. Smith, was a lad of only eighteen, he successfully continued the business to his death in 1871, at the age of 67 years. Today the business of A. Chipman Smith & Co. is the oldest established business in New Brunswick, being in its second century. To the pestle and the mortar, this unique honor belongs.

DR. THOMAS PADDOCK

Was the second son of Dr. Adino Paddock: the elder son, also a disciple of the healing art, was in practice at Kingston. The brick building, now the Dufferin Hotel, was erected in 1821 by Dr. Thomas Paddock. Lot No. 500 on which it stands has always cut a central figure in St. John history. It was drawn by Samuel Mallard, and sold to Thomas Horsfield for £6 5 0. It had a frontage on the square of 40 feet, with 100 on Charlotte. Down to 1841 there was no street on its northern side, the rock being a continuation of the elevated ground on which the Dufferin flag staff stands, jutted out over 100 feet on the square. At its base was one of the public wells and pump. In 1798 Thomas Horsfield sold the lot for £5, to a company as a site for a windmill.

A few words may be said in this connection regarding the "Mechanics Association."

This, like many of the manufacturing and other associations of the present day, did not prove a commercial success. Its object was the

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grinding of corn. The story of its failure is contained in the following notice:

TO BE SOLD,

And immediate possession given. The CITY WINDMILL, with lot No. 500, on which it stands, with all its apparatus, consisting of part of two setts of Running Gear, single and double, with a pair of excellent Burr Stones, a Bolt, Reel and Chest, with almost every article necessary for either Wind or Water Mill. It will be sold either with or without its Gear, as may best suit the purchaser. For particulars enquire of William Melick, Tanner, King Street, or Asa Blakslee, Tallow Chandler, Duke Street. Should it not be sold before the first day of May, it will then be set up at Auction, and struck off to the highest bidder.

St. John, 1st March, 1800.

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The building was from this time used for the Poor House. In 1809, in prospect of a war between England and the United States, the Militia were called out for duty, and a battalion from Kings County occupied the Poor House for three months. This was called "The Wetmore War," for it was on Mr. Wetmore's representation (he being Colonel of St. John Militia) the Commander-in-Chief ordered preparations to be made. Happily for all, there was no war.*

Before break of day, February 15, 1819, the Poor House was on fire, and the flames reached the highest building which had been erected for a windmill twenty-five years before. The immense quantity of burning shingles and flakes of fire that flew in all directions endangered the surrounding buildings, but by the alacrity of the citizens, aided by the military, they were preserved. The cause of this unfortunate accident and heavy loss, proceeded from the negligence of leaving a quantity of dry oakum too near a stove pipe which passed through the floor, into the upper part of the building. The next Poor House was the brick building long on the corner of Carmarthen and King streets, above the present Police Court, overlooking the old burial ground.

^{*} The following reference to the so-called "Wetmore War" is contained in a letter written by Judge Winslow to his son April 26, 1808: "By the death of Col. Ludlow I succeeded, as senior member of the Council, to the office of President and Commander-in-Chief of the Province, and although the position continued but for a single quarter it afforded me an opportunity of effecting some objects of considerable importance. My predecessor, under the expectation of hostilities with the Americans, had called out 1000 of the Militia, and had officered them and formed them into two battalions, under the command of Col. Saunders and Lieut. Col. Wetmore; and a detachment was stationed at Fredericton, another at St. John, and a third at St. Andrews, under Col. Mackay. They were crammed into barracks, and drilled and disciplined in the true style of soldiers. At Predericton your old Theatre was converted into a famous barracks. Thus arranged I found them all. * * Never for a moment believing that the Americans had a design to invade this country, ing to their own homes. The gentlemen who have been employed as officers are disappointed by this measure, but I have the satisfaction to find that among the judicious and disinterested part

Dr. Thomas Paddock resided in his fine brick residence with his stable on the lot in the rear facing the square to 1832, when consequent on poor health he removed to Portland, Maine, where he married in 1816 Miss McLellan of that place, having sold his residence to Robert F. Hazen, with 3 lots adjoining on King Square for £2,200. In 1835 he returned to St. John and resumed practice to his death in 1838, in his 48th year, leaving two sons and three daughters, one of the latter is the wife of Rev. Canon DeVeber of St. John.

DR. JOHN BOYD.

In the "Old Grave Yard" is a tomb on which are the following inscriptions:

Sacred to the Memory of
Dr. John Boyd,
Late of the Medical Staff in this Province,
Died 27th December, 1818,
Aged 64 years.

Forty-one of which he served His Majesty in various

parts of the World;

Sacred to the Memory of JANE BOYD, Died 1st February, 1841, Aged 74 years.

Exemplary and affectionate in all the relations of private life, generous and disinterested in their friendship, strict and diligent in the fulfillments of every social duty, they lived respected, esteemed and sincerely beloved, and died deeply lamented. This monument is erected by their children to commemorate the virtues of departed worth.

In 1812 Dr. Boyd was "Hospital mate" at Windsor, Nova Scotia, and shortly after removed to St. John, holding the same position as successor to the late Dr. Brown. The residence of Dr. Boyd was in Prince William street, just south of the City Hall, the former dwelling of Dr. Adino Paddock.

Dr. Boyd had two sons Dr. John and James William Boyd, Attorneyat-Law, the latter died of the small pox at St. John in 1859, in his 50th year: his wife was a daughter of Attorney-General Peters. Dr. Boyd had several daughters, one married Chief Justice Jarvis of Prince Edward Island, a second Dr. Alex Boyd, a third William Jarvis, the father of Wm. M. Jarvis of St. John. Two unmarried daughters are now (1885) residing here, and at the tree planting in the Old Burial Ground, planted a family tree, assisted by their nephew Barclay Boyd, son of James William Boyd.

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Boyd,

This gentleman was the youngest son in a large family, which for many years occupied a foremost place in Halifax society. He was trained for his profession at Edinburgh Medical College, which has since then given to the British colonies so many men eminent in the medical profession. Dr. Head commenced practice in Fredericton in 1814, and the year following married a daughter of Attorney-General Wetmore. He afterwards practised at St. John with ability and success. He was a man possessed of a singularly attractive personality, and made many friends. The late Dr. Gove, of Andrews, who was a student in St. John when Dr. Head was in practice there, considered him a bright ornament to his profession. Dr. Head died very suddenly at his residence in Prince William Street, St. John, in March, 1823, aged 32 years. His widow survived him more than half a century, and lived with her son-in-law, the Rev. Canon Ketchum, D. D., at St. Andrews.

DR. LESLIE.

In the year 1817, Dr. Leslie began practice at St. John, and on the death of Dr. Boyd, 1818, succeeded him as Hospital mate. He married a daughter of Rev. Dr. Millidge of Annapolis, whose wife was a daughter of James Simonds of Portland Point.

Doctor Leslie was the first to advocate the erection of a Seaman's Hospital, and in the furtherance of this object wrote the following for the press:

"Amidst the various measures in this province, promoted either by the public or private individuals, for the benefit of their fellow creatures, one of the most essential importance seems to have escaped their attention. In a city like this, where the population and shipping have of late years much increased, and consequently accidents and diseases become proportionably numerous, the utility of a 'Merchant Seaman's Hospital' must be obvious. Many are the disadvantages under which the sick labour when kept on board a ship, the hasty visits which of necessity they must receive when their medical attendant, from his numerous and sometimes urgent engagements on shore is unable to observe the symptoms and closely to watch the phenomena of their disease, and the noise, and access to spirituous liquors and irregularity in the quantity and quality of their food when living at a boarding house, are causes which greatly retard the progress of cure, and oftentimes render cases apparently slight in themselves of extremely doubtful issue."

Dr. Leslie was to realize that while one sows another reaps for ere long a Merchant Seaman's Hospital was opened with a board appointed by the government, but with which in no way was the name of Dr. Leslie associated. Not long after this his name disappears from the roll of St. John's physicians.

DR. ALEXANDER BOYLE.

In 1817, Dr. Boyle was on the Army Staff as Surgeon. The following was the staff of the Army in 1817 in New Brunswick:

Brig.-Gen. George Stracey Smyth, Commander-in-Chief.

Thomas Price, Assistant Commissary General.

George Swinney and Thomas Harvy, Deputy Commissaries.

Robert Parker, Store Keeper.

John White, Assistant.

William Scovil, Clerk of the Cheque.

Alexander Boyle, Surgeon, Hospital Mate.

Through the efforts of Dr. Boyle a Provincial Vaccine establishment was organized in 1818, under the patronage of Lieut. Governor Smyth. The Central Station was at St. John. The directors were Hon. John Robinson, Hon. William Black, Rev. Robert Willis and Rev. George Burns. Vaccinating Surgeon, John Boyd, M. D.

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The Kent Provincial Marine Hospital was opened at St. John in 1821. The Commissioners were Hon. William Black, Alex Boyle, M. D., Hon. Edward J. Jarvis, Zalmon Wheeler and Thomas Heaviside. The Surgeon and Physician was John Boyd, M. D. In the fall of 1884, the fine brick erection on St. James street was opened, now under the control of the Dominion Government, with Dr. Botsford, Surgeon and Physician.*

Dr. Boyle from the first had the confidence of Governor Smyth, whose residence was at St. John, corner of Dock and Union streets. Like the members of the Legislature, the Governor went to Fredericton during the session.

In 1823, in the last week of the session, the Governor took sick, and Dr. Boyle was summond to attend; the illness was fatal, for he died 28 February, 1823. His last official act was the appointment of a commission authorizing Chief Justice Saunders, Judge Chipman and Judge Bliss, or any two of them, to close the Legislature then just finishing business, and his signature was attached to this document a few hours

^{*} Dr. Botsford died at his residence, Wellington Row, January 31st, 1888, aged 76 years.

before he died. Hon. George Shore and Dr. Boyle, were appointed by General Smyth, his executors.

In 1818 Dr. Boyle married a daughter of Dr. Boyd, and up to 1822, was on the army staff.

The following paragraph speaks for itself:

The undersigned, retiring from the Army is induced by his friends to reside in this city, and continue in practice of his profession. He therefore takes this method of making his intentions known.

April 30, 1822. Alex. Boyle, M. D.

His residence at this time was the Disbrow Brick Building, Germain street, head of Church street. His practice in later years was chiefly as consulting physician with his brother practitioners. In manners Dr. Boyle was reserved and courtly. In walking he had a habit of throwing his head back as if gazing at the heavens. He was on army half pay to his death, which took place September 1st, 1858, at his residence St. James street, near Reed's Point.

DR. JOHN BOYD.

Dr. Boyd was a graduate of Windsor College, N. S. In 1807 Andrew Cochran, Edward J. Jarvis, James Anthony Barclay, Hibbert Binney, Thomas Paddock and John Boyd were candidates for four vacant scholarships on the foundation: Cochran, Jarvis, Barclay and Boyd were elected. Dr. Boyd obtained the decree of M. D. from the Aberdeen Medical College. His father, dying a few months after his return to St. John, opened a fine field for practice. In 1821 he was appointed Surgeon to the Marine Hospital, a position he held to his death. In 1831 Dr. Boyd married a daughter of the late Henry Wright, Collector of Customs. For a number of years he was President of the Saint Andrew's Society and of the Sacred Music Society. Dr. Boyd was of a kind and benevolent disposition, tall and of fine appearance. While the members of the medical profession generally keep a horse to visit their patients, Dr. Boyd never was the possessor of one. His residence, from his marriage to his death, was in the southern end of the stone building m Prince William Street, near Reed's Point, known as the Wright building. In Trinity Church there is a stained glass window, on which is inscribed "John Boyd, M. D., born July 1, 1792, died 27 August, 1857."

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DR. THOMAS WALKER.

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Dr. Walker arrived from Scotland in 1819, presenting himself before the citizens of St. John in the following card:

THOMAS WALKER, SUBGEON. [Half Pay 40th Regiment.]

Begs to inform the inhabitants of the City of St. John and its vicinity that he intends following the different branches of his profession in this place; and hopes, from twelve years' practice and an unremitting attention to those who honor him with the care of their health, he will be enabled to meet a share of public favor.

T. W. will be happy to show those who favour him with a call at his apartments, Stanton's building, Dock Street, opposite the store of Hugh Johnston & Co., documents of a literary, philosophical and medial chaptering.

N. B. T. W. further begs to inform the public that as soon as Mr. Macara, his partner, arrives with the medicines, &c., &c., a Drug Shop will be opened.

St. John, June 5, 1819.

After the close of the Peninsular War, in 1815, the tide of emigration from the mother country began. In one week of June, 1819, the time when Dr. Walker arrived, there landed at St. John from Dumfries 150 passengers; from Cardigan, Wales, 180; from Falmouth 17; from London 38; from Ross, Ireland, 110, and from Londonderry 1,312; in all, 1807 from the four nationalities. The first medical gentleman at St. John who left the mother country to make it his home was Dr. Walker, and from the success which followed him in his profession, his choice was a wise one; and while it benefited himself, he was also a valuable accession to the roll of citizens. Before leaving Scotland the doctor married Miss Macara, a sister of his partner in the drug department. Of none could it more truly be said, "She did him good and not evil all the days of his life. Her children arise and call her blessed, her husband also, and he praiseth her."

In 1820 the drug store was on the Market Square, two doors south of the Coffee House. The building was a three story one, the two upper serving as the family residence.

In 1828 George Macara died, aged 27 years, and from that time the drug business was under the management of John M. Walker, the doctor's eldest son, then not seventeen. In 1840 the establishment was removed to the north side of Market Square, to a building erected after the great fire of the summer of 1839. The family residence was then

on Wellington Row. Dr. Walker at this time had retired from practice, having obtained a competency, such as falls to the lot of few medical men. No doubt for it he was largely indebted to the pestle and the mortar, for in those days there was more money in drugs and medicines than in medical practice.

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after then For years Dr. Walker was an elder of St. Andrew's Church — in his day, "The Kirk." He was a Presbyterian of the stamp of John Knox. In stature he was small, well built, greatly enjoying a talk, especially on religious subjects, also a laugh and pinch of snuff, from his silver snuff box.

Dr. Walker was born in Perthshire, Scotland, and died at his residence, Wellington Row, in the fall of 1852, in his 70th year. Mrs. Walker survived him to 1858. She attained the age of three score and ten years. There were three sons, John M., Thomas and James, the latter alone married, and through him, the name will be perpetuated, for on the 6th October, 1882, an heir was born to the house and to the large fortune of John M. Walker.

DR. HENRY COOK.

In 1822, the medical staff of St. John was increased by the arrival of Dr. Cook from Scotland. Although the tide of emigration had fallen off from that country and England, there was no abatement of the emigration from Ireland. In June, 1822, there arrived from Scotland, 50 passengers; from England, 55; from Wales, 66, and from Ireland, 1390, chiefly from Londonderry, numbers of the latter taking passage in the plaster schooners from Nova Scotia as far west as Philadelphia; this at the time being the most economic way for those with limited means to reach the United States, their objective point when leaving home.

In 1823 Dr. Cook with his brother John, opened a drug store in the Barlow Building, King Street. Among their clerks were Samuel Gove,* now in medical practice at St. Andrews, and after him Samuel Leonard Tilley. In 1835, Dr. Cook removed to Germain Street, between King and Church, conducting the drug business on a smaller scale, his clerk the year following going to the drug store of W. O. Smith, to complete his studies in pharmacy.

Dr. Cook married a daughter of Moses Vernon, then of St. George. Although enjoying a fair practice supplemented by the profits of a drug store he never accumulated wealth. Homeopathy or small doses were

^{*} Dr. Gove died at St. Andrews, April 22, 1897, aged 84 years.

then unknown. His was the era of Epsom salts, the blue pill, castor oil, court plaster and bleeding.

At the time of Dr. Cook's death, in 1845, at the age of 47 years he was associated in practice with Dr. Miller.

DR. SAMUEL G. HAMILTON.

It was in 1823 Ireland's first contribution to St. John's medical staff was made by the arrival of Samuel G. Hamilton, and long was that year remembered, for the ship Marcus Hill, Thomas Bryson, master, with a large number of passengers from Londonderry, arrived on Sunday, July 6, with small pox on board. In place of stopping at the Islandshe sailed to a wharf before the health officers knew of her arrival.

The vessel, on its being discovered that sickness was on board, was ordered to the quarantine grounds. It was said a number of passengers had landed and were sent to the country. Notwithstanding the care now taken it was too late. In the "Star," two months after, was the following editorial:

"We regret to state that the small pox continues in various parts of our city. It is our melancholy task this day to record in our obituary list, the death of a very promising young man, who was carried off by this malignant disorder, in the short space of one week, leaving a widowed mother, and many affectionate friends to deplore the loss which society has sustained. We tremble to think of the extent to which this loathsome disease may spread its ravages."

OBITUARY.

DIED — on Sunday morning, 9th September, 1823, of the Small Pox, ELIJAH MILES SMITH, son of the late Dr. William Howe Smith, in the 23 year of his age. Universally and sincerely regretted."

BY AUTHORITY.

In consequence of the continued prevalency of the "Small Pox" in this city, a meeting of the "Provincial Vaccine Institution," was held 31st December, at the Coffee House, which was attended by the medical gentlemen, civil and military, who expressed their unanimous confidence in the efficacy of vaccination against the contagion of Small Pox, and, consider it as complete a preventative as is the Small Pox against its own future occurrence.

Among his other qualifications, Dr. Hamilton must have had intellectual taste; see the following:

CYCLOPEDIAN SOCIETY.

"Those who have accounts against the Cyclopedian Society are requested to furnish them before 20th March, next, for payment to me. S. S. Hamilton,

February 14, 1824.

Medical Hall, Germain Street."

At that time, the City had two Libraries, The St. John Society Library, formed in 1811, and the Eclectic, formed in 1821. The former was a joint stock concern, limited in subscribers, first to fifty and afterwards to one hundred.

The Eclectic was the more democratic in its caste, and open to all wishing to subscribe. It was managed by twenty-five young men. In its prospectus, it is stated, the object of its formation was, to put it in the power of every class in the community to acquire knowledge on every interesting subject. The year Dr. Hamilton cast in his lot with the citizens of St. John, the officers of The Eclectic Library were James Patterson, President, William B. Kinnear, Vice-President. John Boyd, M. D., Treasurer, T. B. Millidge, Secretary, Moses H. Perley, Assistant Secretary, John Wesley McLeod, Librarian. In 1830, the St. John Society Library absorbed the Eclectic. In turn, the former disappeared, for in 1868, after a history of 57 years, its 6343 volumes, many of them rare and valuable, were scattered by the hammer of the patriarch of the St. John auctioneers, W. D. W. Hubbard. The last work on its catalogue was, "Running the Gauntlet," a fitting name for a library, scattered as it was. Had it been made the foundation for a Free Public Library, its proprietors would have secured a niche in the temple of fame, in place of the twenty-five cents per volume, distributed among them.

Dr. Hamilton, as a surgeon, stood high in the profession in days when operations were of a more heroic nature than today, for ether, by which amputation becomes painless, was then unknown. Of surgery, a distinguished doctor in Boston wrote: "It is a business which requires a combination of intellectual, physical and scientific qualities. To do do justice to surgical operations, a surgeon must not only be clear-headed, of indomitable courage, but of a fair mechanical turn." Whatever Dr. Hamilton's scientific attainments were, one thing is sure, he had no equal in the profession from the physical standpoint, for he was of the medical men of St. John the largest. For years he had a drug

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shop in the Coffee House, fronting Market Square, yet neither from it or his practice was he enabled to keep a horse or bank account. While he enjoyed a fair practice, it was largely among the poor. The doctor, like many of his countrymen, had a large heart, and as a consequence many debtors were on his books, and there were many whose names were never entered. He belonged to that class who will find their reward hereafter, in the words, "Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these My brethren, ye did it unto Me." In the last years of his life, Dr. Hamilton had his office and rooms in Cross Street (now Canterbury), where he died July 1, 1851, in his 54th year, leaving so little that no letters of administration were taken out. Dr. Hamilton was the only one of the medical men of the first half century of St. John who died unmarried. Possibly to that, in a measure, the want of success is chargeable!

DR. HUNT.

In 1823 Dr. Hunt, a graduate from an American college, came to St. John, anxious to take part in relieving the sufferer, as far as medical art and medicine could do it. His brother practitioners looked on him with distrust, for a diploma short of a medical college on the other side of the Atlantic wanted the genuine stamp. The consequence was, his practice was limited. Fortunately, the doctor had an artistic taste, and was a master of the pencil and the easel. He is best remembered by his views of St. John. Some of his sketches were taken from the tower of "Old Trinity." The view of the northern section of St. John in George Stewart's history of the fire of 1877 was from the studio of the doctor. His tastes were also literary and scientific, for he occasionally lectured; one theme was, "Geology." In those days wealth was not gathered from the easel or platform and the consequence was, Dr. Hunt had a hard fight keeping the wolf from his door, and as his fellow-practitioners had the monopoly of the healing business, the doctor gathered but little from his profession. As there are only two classes of practitioners that meet with assured success, the skilled physician and the quack, Dr. Hunt, being neither, was poor. The doctor long since went "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest," where the easel of the painter and the lancet of the doctor are unknown.

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DR. ROBERT BAYARD.

Among the old families of New York before the War the Bayards held a prominent place. The father of Dr. Bayard was Major Samuel Bayard of the King's Orange Rangers. At the close of the war he settled at Wilmot, N. S., where the son was born. Major Bayard was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment, and at its disbandment in 1802 was placed on half pay. The Duke of Kent was on terms of close intimacy with him. For many years before the close of his life, John Wesley had not a warmer follower in Nova Scotia than Samuel V. Bayard. The first appearance of the name of Bayard in New Brunswick was in the following card:

REMOVAL.

Dr. Bayard has removed to this city, intending to continue the practice of Medicine, Surgery, &c., Humbert's Building, north side of the Church, Germain Street.

November 27th, 1823.

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Prior to this Dr. Bayard was in practice at New York, also Professor of Midwifery in the medical college. In St. John he at once took a front place in the profession. In the advancement of agriculture Dr. Bayard derived great pleasure, through the press and platform. For controversial writing he had a liking, whether the subject was Polemic or Hygienic. When essential, could dip his pen in gall. In 1846 ${f J}$ udge Parker initiated a movement for a public hospital, as a memorial to the Loyalists. It was killed by the doctors quarrelling as to who should control its management. From the pen of Dr. Bayard it received its death blow. Had he supported it with half the zeal he opposed it, the movement would have culminated in success. In 1837 his eldest son, William, engaged in practice in St. John, receiving in 1839 from the Government the office of Coroner for St. John city and county, holding it over twenty years, when he resigned. Dr. Robert Bayard, not long after having associated with him in practice his son William, spent the summer months on his farm in the Annapolis Valley, and in the last years of his life, he resided on his farm on the Nerepis River, Welsford, and there died June 4th, 1868, at the age of 80 years. From 1823 to the present time, the name has held a front place in the profession at St. John.

DR. QUINN.

In 1825 Dr. Quinn landed at St. John, from Ireland. For years he was best remembered by his association with the "Lally" family; father, mother, son and daughter, the latter having awakened in the doctor feelings akin to those of old Dr. Smith, for young widow Martin.

In 1826 Mr. Lally purchased from George A. Nagle, the property in Germain street, opposite Trinity Church, known as the Mansion House, at the great fire of 1877, and then the property of George V. Nowlin. At this time the Lallys resided on a farm in the vicinity of the city, and sold milk. Lally having insured the property, the next step was to set it on fire. After making arrangements to make the work effective. through a distribution of tar, Mrs. Lally applied the torch at several points. As the building was three stories and could be seen from the North Market Wharf, a watchman there observed flames coming out of the north end. He at once gave the alarm, and the fire was soon extinguished, followed by the arrest of Mrs. Lally, who was found on the premises. She was tried in the Old Court Room, Market Square, found guilty and sentenced to stand in the Pillory, one hour on King Square. It is at this stage Dr. Quinn appears upon the scene, for on his certificate as her medical adviser that Mrs. Lally's health was such as to place her life in peril, should the sentence be carried out, the sentence was in consequence postponed, and in the end she was pardoned. Her husband no doubt must have been a party to the act. The family shortly after removed to the States, the daughter first jilting the doctor. The son attained distinction in the American Army in Mexico, and it has been said was with it in the Aroostook War, 1839. Not long after the departure of the Lallys Dr. Quinn left New Brunswick. Where his after lot was cast is unknown.

The Old Court House in which the trial took place, which also served as the City Hall, where the Common Council held their meetings, had also a butcher market in the first story, with basement, best known as "Hell's Kitchen." It was taken down in 1837, to make way for the large brick building burnt in the fire of 1841. Happily the Poet Laureate of that day has preserved it in song, entitled: "A Dirge on the Old Court and Market House."

So far, so good, the place where thou didst stand, A ship yard was whilom, all strewed with chips Where the huge hull moved boldly from the strand And took its station in the rank of ships, To wrestle with the winds and waves and bring Health to the rising city and the King.

And there thy fair proportions rose to view Thy modest worth the public mind confessed, Quadrangular thy form, thy stories two, With not much architectural beauty blest; Thy basement deep and gloomy as a cavern Was first enobled by the name of Tavern.

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A fancy store was next where pins and needles, Silks, thread and tapes, were rendered by the small; Bucksaws, buckram, anchors, caps and fiddles, Pots, pans, padlocks, pepper, pipes, and all The ordinary things a man might need, At "sterling cost," long as his purse could bleed.

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The shambles next demand a place and we Feel much inclined to answer the demand; Fat beef and mutton always did agree With us, whene'er they chanced to come to hand, For we in honesty are bound to own Its hard to live on poetry alone.

Within thy walls the King in judgment sat, With awful front to hear and to determine! Who now to this side leaned and then to that, Just as the maggot chanced to bite the vermin, Where points of law were little understood And if they were, how doubtful was the good.

But notwithstanding thou didst lend thy halls
For almost "every purpose under heaven,"
Yet nothing could secure thy sacred walls
From being with the very dust laid even,
And leave a name, at which all rogues grew pale,
"To point a moral or adorn a tale."

DR. GEORGE E. BALDWIN

Was a son of Thomas Baldwin, the tax collector of St. John fifty years ago, who also was enrolling officer in the first Battalion City Militia, when the Lieut. Col. was Charles Drury and Benjamin L. Peters, Major.

MILITIA NOTICE.

Those Persons who neglected to enrol! on the 9th August last and Train, (as announced in the Public Papers) in the St. John Militia, are called upon to pay their fines forthwith, as such defaulters who set the Laws at defiance will now be proceeded against.

Saint John, Dec. 17, 1842. Thomas Baldwin, Captain and Enrolling Officer.

In Mr. Baldwin's day, in place of the citizens calling at the office of the Chamberlain and paying their taxes, his duty was to receive them calling at the dwellings, stores and workshops with the bills.

Mr. Baldwin had several sons and daughters. One of the latter was married to Charles E Raymond of Lower Cove. His son, George, took the initial steps in the healing art, in the drug store of Dr. Hamilton, a fellow-countryman of his father. In 1827 he opened his office as a practitioner of medicine at St. John, but thinking Fredericton would be

a better field, he shortly after removed there, and in 1835 died, at the early age of 31 years, leaving a wife and three children.

DR. ALEXANDER PIDLER.

Dr. Pidler was the first English physician to take up permanent quarters at St. John, arriving in 1829 from Devonshire. He supplemented for a time his practice with teaching drawing and painting. He soon acquired a fair practice, chiefly among the working classes, often receiving his fee at each visit, avoiding thereby not only bookkeeping, but what is of more consequence, the making of bad debts, with which none are more familiar than physicians. He also speculated in real estate. The beautiful spot at the foot of the Reach, known as Harding's, Point he bought and lived there for a time. The building on the corner of Peel and Union, now the residence of Dr. Preston,* was built by Dr. Pidler and was his residence, with office adjoining. In the latter years of his life, having secured a competency, he withdrew from practice, residing at the end of King street east, where he died at the age of 69 years, April 2, 1873. His widow, to whom he was married in England, long survived him. Dr. Pidler was of medium size, with one eye crossed.

DR. GEORGE HARDING

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Was the eldest son of Alderman Thomas Harding, who died in 1854, at the age of 68 years. The alderman had a widowed sister, Mrs. Stenning, and having no children she educated two of her nephews, George and William S. Harding, for physicians. The property on the Market Square, long known as the London House, belonged to her. In 1818, the following card appeared:

Pastry Cook, Confectioner, and Loaf Bread Baker from Edinborough, A. Alexander, respectfully informs the Inhabitants of this City, he intends to commence the above business in its various branches in the House of the late Mr. William Stenning, Market Square. Hot Rolls may be had every morning at 8 o'clock, sundays excepted.

Mrs. Alexander, begs to inform the Public that she was regularly instructed in the knowledge of midwifery, and trusts her experience will obtain a share of patronage in that line. Satisfactory testimonials can be shown.

As to the measure of success that attended this enterprising couple, history is silent. Between the bakery and the midwifery their bread

^{*} But now (1897) occupied by the Rev. John deSoyres, rector of St. John's Church.

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should have been assured. As one of St. John's practitioners, in its first half century, Mrs. Alexander has a place. At the fire of 1839, Holdsworth and Daniel occupied one of the stores; the upper part of the building was kept as a first-class boarding house. After the fire, the lot with an entrance from Chipman's Hill, was purchased by the proprietors of the London House from Mrs. Stenning, for \$16,000. When coming down the river on the ice, in a winter stage, Hewitt, driver, near Millidgeville, on the Kennebecasis, the horses and stage broke through. One of the passengers was Mrs. Stenning, and being stout in person and aged, she was unable to get out, and consequently was drowned. Her nephew, Dr. George Harding, was a graduate of a Scotch University, who married before his return to St. John. Shortly after his arrival in 1830, he was appointed to the charge of the quarantine, with residence in the summer months on Partridge Island; in the winter his home was in Carleton. In 1831 the cholera was at St. John, causing 47 deaths. In 1847, the year of the Irish famine, there were large arrivals at St. John, bringing with them ship fever from which many died. This year Dr. Collins, a young physician, went to the island to assist Dr. Harding, who was aided by Dr. William S. Harding: he was taken down with the fever and died. His funeral was attended by an immense concourse of people. Dr. Harding, Dr. John Paddock and Dr. William Bayard also took the fever, and the life of the latter for a time hung in the balance. An emigrant's hospital, which stood alongside the Alms House at Courtenay Bay, was much used at this time. Many who died were buried just across the road. Dr. Harding died at Carleton, May, 1874, in his 64th year, having been health officer at the Island over 40 years.

DR. WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

This physician cast in his lot as a citizen in 1830, and like the Messrs. Boyd, Boyle, Walker and Cooke, was a native of Scotland. He opened a business establishment known as the "Apothecary Hall," under the Courier Office, adjoining Market Square. The two names best known connected with this institution are those of John G. Sharp and R. D. McArthur,* the latter now (1885) proprietor. In his profession, Dr. Livingston early took high rank. He found relief from practice in writing for the press. Politicians of forty years ago felt the point of his pen. It was a sharp one. While a dangerous foe

^{*} Mr. McArthur is since deceased.

he was a true friend. He was a Liberal of the advanced school, and among his friends was Hon. Joseph Howe.

In 1849, on the elevation of R. L. Hazen, one of the city members, to the Legislative Council, Dr. Livingston was a candidate. The other two were Barzillai Ansley and Charles Watters. Mr. Ansley was elected. In 1840 Dr. Livingston married the widow of Stephen Thorne, a member of the St. John bar. The doctor died at his residence, corner Duke and Charlotte Streets, January 1st, 1875, in his 72nd year. Of the medical men of St. John in its first fifty years he was the last survivor.

DR. JOHN PADDOCK.

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This gentleman was the youngest son of Dr. Adino Paddock, and of the medical men of the first half century the last to enter the profession in St. John. Consequent on his brother Thomas removing to Portland, Maine, in 1831, he fell into a fair share of his practice. In 1833 he married a sister of John V. Thurgar, his brother-in-law. Early in the fall of 1834 the Asiatic cholera made its second visit at St. John. On the 15th October Dr. Paddock acknowledged, through the press, the receipt of a letter, with no signature, enclosing a £5 bank note, with instruction: "For the poor cholera patients," which charity he states he will apply according to the benevolent intention of the donor. The cholera disappeared shortly after. The deaths at this time were happily few.

When Dr. Patterson took charge of the Grammar School, December, 1818, among his scholars were John Paddock, John M. Robinson, J.W. Boyd, R. F. Hazen, R. L. Hazen, George Partelow, John Black and

William Black.

In manners Dr. Paddock was kind and social. He early passed away, dying in 1853, at the age of 44 years, leaving a widow and one son, the latter today engaged in the drug business, the 4th generation inseparably connected with medicine in our city. When Dr. John Paddock died, there closed a continuous practice of father and two sons in St. John of seventy years.

On Arbor Day, October 4, 1883, Mr. M. V. Paddock planted in Queen Square an Elm, a scion of the old Paddock Elms of Tremont Street, Boston, in memory of his great grandfather Adino Paddock.*

By the last Dr. Adino Paddock's death, at Kingston, in August, 1893, there closed a continuous medical practice of the three Adino Paddocks, father, son and grandson, extending over a period of one hundred and ten years, that is from the formation of the province of New Brunswick almost to the present time.

Of the business of a physician, one who well knew, wrote: "Taken in all its branches, it is to be preferred to any other, so far as regards the amount of good to be done to his fellow creatures; for the physician, not only endeavors to alleviate their physical sufferings, but to learn their moral derangements, and to aid in removing them. Hence physicians, taken as a whole, are better liked than any other class of men.

Specialists in practice in the first fifty years of St. John, were unknown; the doctors of that period, like the country doctor of today, were ready to extract a tooth, to open the skull of a black or any other man, or amputate a limb. Today all is changed, for the eye and ear, the throat, and all important organs of the body have their specialists, and the work of the apothecary, dentist, physician and surgeon are largely divorced the one from the other, and this too in the best interests of suffering humanity.

Of the physicians of St. John, in its first half century, all are gone. Although theirs the healing art, to each the inexorable message came: "Go thou thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

It is through the grave and gate of death that city is entered where there shall be neither sorrow nor crying, neither any more pain: that city in the midst of the streets of which, and on either side of the river, is the Tree of Life, and the leaves of the Tree for the healing of the nations.

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SELECTIONS

FROM THE

PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

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JAMES WHITE, ESQUIRE

A. D. 1762-1783.

EDITED BY REV. W. O. KAYMOND.

INTRODUCTORY.

A number of letters and documents connected with the business transactions of James Simonds and his partners, Samuel Blodget, William Hazen and James White, at the mouth of the River St. John have been already printed in the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society,* and a good deal of information is to be found in them as regards the origin and progress of the first permanent English settlement at St. John. The Simonds letters and documents are now supplemented by a selection from the papers and correspondence of James White, which will be found of equal interest and value. Mr. White filed away amongst his correspondence copies of many of his own letters; these copies were evidently hastily written, and with the extravagant use of capital letters, formerly so common; the phraseology, while not always strictly grammatical, was in a great measure sanctioned by the usage of the day. Making due allowance on these points, it will be found that Mr. White's letters do him no discredit, and the writer has, therefore, no hesitation in giving them verbatim et literatim — the only safe rule to follow in such matters.

While not very much is known of the early life of James White, the following brief sketch may serve as an introduction to the letters and documents that follow: He was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, about the year 1738, and was a lineal descendant of the Worshipful William White, one of the well-known founders of Haverhill. His

See pp. 160-192, Vol. I., of the Society's Collections.

grandfather, John White, a grandson of the "Worshipful William," was also the grandfather, on the mother's side, of William Hazen, and the great grandfather of John Hazen, who came to New Brunswick with his uncle William in 1775, and settled at Burton, on the St. John River.*

In early manhood, James White held a commission as Ensign or Lieutenant in a Regiment of foot, but after the downfall of Quebec he seems to have retired from active service and to have entered the employ of William Tailer and Samuel Blodget, merchants of Boston, for whom he acted as agent in furnishing supplies to the garrisons at Fort George and Crown Point. He received a very modest salary as appears in the following:

"Memorandum of an agreement made this day between William Tailer & Co., with James White, that we, the said Tailer & Co., do allow him the said James White, twenty dollars pr. month as long as the said White is in their service at Crown Point as Clark.

"WILLIAM TAILER & Co."

"Test.: GEO. WILLMOT,

"Crown Point, July 1st, 1762."

The supplies delivered to the garrisons on Lake George and Lake Champlain were sent by Messrs. Tailer & Blodget via Albany. Mr. White seems to have had two negroes, "Scipio" and "Tom," in his employ, and Mr. Blodget writing from Boston December 3, 1762, says, "I would advise you by all means to keep up the Brewery and employ Sipio in the Business." He adds in the same letter that he is informed that "Capt. Turner is in command at Ticonderoga, and will perhaps deal out stores to his company in our behalf." White is directed to let such soldiers as are of age take out their full pay in supplies.

As Samuel Blodget was a partner in the firm which had the honor of planting the first trading post at St. John, the following letter written by him to James White is of some historic interest. It will be noted that it was not essential in those days for a successful Boston merchant to be an accomplished English scholar.

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^{*} The Hazen family in this province are all descendents of Moses Hazen of Haverhill, who was born May 17, 1701, and married March 7, 1727, Abigail, daughter of John White. Their oldest son, John, distinguished himself in the French and Indian wars, in which he rose to the rank of Captain, He married November 30, 1752, Annie Swett of Haverhill; their son John who accompanied his uncle William to New Brunswick and settled at Burton, on the St. John River, was born November 29, 1755. The second son of the family, Captain Moses Hazen, born June 1, 1733, served in the French war. He commanded the party of Rangers who went up the St. John River in the winter of 1759, and destroyed the French Settlement at St. Ann's Point, but afterwards more worthily distinguished himself under General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, where he was severly wounded. He was one of the original proprietors of the Township of Burton. William Hazen, the youngest son of the family, born July 17, 1738, engaged in business in Newburyport, but at the outbreak of the American revolution came to St. John, where his partners, Simonds and White, had been established since 1764. The subsequent history of William Hazen and his family in this Province is too well known to require further reference in this connection.

Boston, Dec'r 8th, 1762.

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Sir: Yesterday I Rec'd your fav'r of the 13th of Nov'r, also inform'd of your Draft on me for £30, which I shall onour.—Appley to Cap'n Blake to Enlist Sippeo, & that he make a Return to Gen'l Amherst as well as to the Gov'r & do you Receive the Bounty and advise

me of it. I confess I was a little surprised att your oppinion of Roderick Random, for it is allow'd by all that ever I heard Judg of it, that it is a well wrote Novell. I have enclos'd the * * * [name of book indecipherable] to Cap't Blake & have deseyr'd him to favour you with it after he has Red it.

I have enclos'd an almanake for the year 1763, the Better to helpe you in your Devotion, as well as to point out the Right Day, for the

flagg is not enfallable. I conclude this appisell with exhorting you to wright at all opportunitey and as as protickler as you shall Judg necessary. If any soldier wants his wages drawn for him I will do it, and send it by the First safe Conveyance to him, you wittnissing the order: this you may publicly acquant them.

A plesent winter to you. Adue.

Y'r H. Serv't SAM'L BLODGET.

To MR. Js. WHITE.

P. S. My Complements to the Gentlemen officers. I wish you was so handy as to send Sippeo for some Custards, Roast Turkey, &c., &c. tomorrow being the annuall Thanks giving.

I forgat to tell you, all your friends are well at Haverhill. Mr. Chandler of Bellircea is no more. Lidia White that kept house for her Brother Jn'o is married to Mr. Kidder of Bellircea.

James White's papers show that he was engaged in the business of Tailer and Blodget at Crown Point continuously from September, 1761, to July, 1763, consequently the statement contained in the late Moses H. Perley's well-known lecture on New Brunswick history, that Samuel Peabody, James Simonds and James White came to St. John in a small vessel from Newburyport in May, 1762, is a mistake so far as James White is concerned; and the late Joseph W. Lawrence, who fixes August 28, 1762, as the date of the arrival of the party,* is equally in error in including Mr. White amongst their number.

In the early part of the year 1764 James White was employed by Mr. Blodget in business transactions at Haverhill, New Salem and Bradford. He was at Haverhill as late as March, 1764, at which time the Messrs. Blodget, Hazen, Simonds, White and Peaslie formed a company to "enter upon and pursue with all speed and faithfulness the

^{*} See Lawrence's "Footprints," p. 4.

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ployed by Salem and which time ned a comfulness 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.'

Under the terms of this business contract Mr. White came to St. John early in 1764. The year following the St. John river region and all the western part of New Brunswick was organized as the County of Sunbury, and James White was one of the early magistrates. Later he held the office of Sheriff and was also first collector at the Port of St. John. Not long after his arrival he married Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Francis Peabody. His son James was the Sheriff of the County of Saint John from 1816 to 1848; one of his daughters married Sheriff DeVeber of Queens County, and another James Peters, Esq., of St. John.

The first house occupied by James White after his arrival at St. John was built at Portland Point.* He spent the closing years of his life on his farm on the Old Westmorland road, about three miles from the City of St. John, since known as the Crookshank farm, where he died in 1815.

The company first organized for business at the mouth of the river St. John had, at the expiration of two years, undergone a very considerable change as regards its membership.

In the autumn of the year 1764 Wm. Hazen had associated with him in his business at Newburyport, Leonard Jarvis, who became, by general consent, a partner in the business at St. John. Richard Simonds died Jan. 20, 1765, and a few months afterwards Robert Peaslie withdrew from the company. Samuel Blodget, the Boston partner, retired in May, 1766. In consequence of these changes a new "Contract or Articles of Partnership" was entered into on the 16th April, 1767, by Wm. Hazen, Leonard Jarvis, James Simonds and James White.

The business of Hazen and Jarvis included trading operations in the

Gentlemen,—At sight of this our second Bill (first of same tennor and date not paid) Please to pay to Messrs. William Hazen, James Simonds and James White or order forty one Spanish milled Dollars, for value Received of them.

EZEKIEL FOSTER, Lt. DAVID PRESCOTT, Lt. EDMUND STEVENS, Capt. DANIEL MESERVEY, Lt

Portland, Nova Scotia, Decem: 14th 1776. To the Hon'ble Councill of the Massachusetts States,

^{*}The earliest use of the name "Portland" as applied to this locality, is contained in the document given below. It appears to be (so far as I can gather from another old document among Mr. White's papers) a bill for supplies furnished to the parties named, but why Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White should have furnished supplies to these Massachusets officers during the Revolutionary war, or how, as British subjects, they expected to collect their money from the Massachusetts Council, is a mystery.

West Indies and at Penobscot, St. John and Passamaquoddy, as well as their local business at Newburyport. The West India trade in rum and molasses created a large demand for white oak barrel staves and hogshead staves, and this explains the following contract between Simonds and White and two of the inhabitants on the River St. John.

St. Johns River, Nov'r 10th, 1772.

It is agree'd between Simonds & White on the one part and Joseph Garrison & William Sanders on the other, that the said Garrison & Sanders make and lay at the Bank of the Said River at Convenient place to Load on Board a Vessel, Five Thousand of White Oak Barrel staves and the same number of white oak Hogshead Staves, the Hogshead Staves to be well shaved and both Merchantable according to the Laws of Massachusetts Bay, for which the said Simonds and White are to pay, for Barrel Staves twenty five shilling for each thousand and for the Hogshead forty shillings; the said staves to be ready by the Twentieth day of Aprill next and at farthest to be Received by the Twentieth day of June.

To the performance of the above agreement each of the partys hereby bind themselves to each other in the sum of Twenty pounds cur-

rency, to be paid in default of Fulfillment of either party.

Witness our Hands

JOSEPH GARRISON WM SAUNDERS. SIMONDS & WHITE

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The Company organized in 1764 carried on an extensive trade in furs and peltries, which led to Mr. White becoming intimately acquainted with the Indians, by whom he was familiarly called Quabeet, or "Beaver," probably from the fact that beaver skins were the staple article of Indian trade.

The savages of the River St. John were more peaceably disposed towards the English settlers after the fall of Quebec; yet they were sometimes restless and threatening, and were only restrained from molesting the white inhabitants by the tact and influence of James White and his associates. With the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775, matters assumed a more serious aspect. A number of Indians participated in the quixotic expedition led by Jonathan Eddy against Fort Cumberland, in the month of November, 1776, and in the year following, when Col. John Allan invaded the St. John River, many of the Indians espoused his cause. Allan's estimate of the Indian character was not particularly flattering; he says: "The Indians are generally actuated according to the importance or influence any one has who lives among them. They are credulous to a degree, will listen to every vell as m and hogsmonds

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report, and think everything true that is told them." Col. Allan's expedition started from Machias, and arrived in the vicinity of St. John on the 1st day of June, 1777, and the day following a party under Capt. West crossed the neck of land between Manawagonish Cove (about four miles west of St. John harbor) to the St. John River above the falls, whence they crossed the river in Indian canoes, landed on shore and stealthily advanced through scrubby woods and over limestone crags to Portland Point, where they surprised and took prisoners Wm. Hazen and James White, whom they afterwards carried with them up the river. Allan's operations on the St. John are detailed at length in his journal.* He claims that many of the Maugerville settlers sympathized warmly with the Americans, but some "were great zealots for Britain." Among the latter were Gervas Say, Esq., one of the old Sunbury County magistrates, Samuel Peabody and Lewis Mitchell, who managed to send information of the raid to the British authorities at Halifax, and in consequence a force was dispatched on board a man-of-war, which shortly after drove Allan's party in disorder from the river.

James Simonds seems to have been apprehended also by the invaders, and he, with Messrs. Hazen and White, appear to have been pretty outspoken in expressing their opinion of the invaders, for Allan states in his diary that "Hazen and Simmons jeered our officers, saying that they made breastworks of women and children." The captives were released on the arrival of the British forces, who chased one party of the Americans up the Oromocto, and then pursued Allan and his Indians to Meductic, whence they retired by the inland waters to Machias.

The audacity of the expeditions of Jonathan Eddy and John Allan led the British authorities to establish a post at the mouth of the river in the autumn of the year 1777, which was garrisoned by a detachment of the Royal Fencible Americans, under Major Gilfred Studholme, and named Fort Howe. Apart from its situation Fort Howe was not a very formidable work of defence. When Major Studholme went there he took with him a frame block house and four six-pounders. By December he had his post in a fairly complete state of defence; so that when the commander of a Yankee privateer, who bore the curious name of A. Green Crabtree, landed men out of his eight-gun vessel to destroy the little settlement at Portland Point, he was quickly obliged to retire. The post was reinforced the following spring and was never seriously threatened during the war.

On the 28th July, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton instructed Lt. Col. Robert

^{*} See Kidder's "Military operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution."

Morse, of the Royal Engineers, to prepare a report on the present state of the defences of the Province of Nova Scotia. In his report Col. Morse refers to Fort Howe as "a small irregular field-work at St. John's Harbour."

This little work, he says, was erected in the course of the late war, in preference to repairing a small square fort, thrown up during the former war (known as Fort Frederick), the situation of which was low and commanded by surrounding heights, and not so well adapted "for the protection of the few houses built in the cod of the bay, where two or three persons lived of a company to whom a large tract of land had been granted, and who carried on a considerable trade with the Indians and persons settled up the river. The ridge upon which the new fort stands was offered by them, and a work in which there are eight pieces of cannon, barracks for 100 men, and a small block house, were accordingly erected, together with a larger block house at the other end of the ridge. The block houses remain, but the work which was composed of fascines and sods is falling down, and the ridge upon which it stands is too narrow to admit of any useful works being constructed upon it."

It appears from Col. Morse's return that the Barracks at Fort Howe would accommodate 100 men, and there were twelve rooms for the officers. In addition to the four six-pounder guns originally brought by Major Studholme, there were at Fort Howe two eighteen-pounders, two four-pounders, and two five and a half inch brass mortars — ten guns in all.

Our illustration of Fort Howe in 1781 is from a sketch made in September of that year by Benjamin Marston* from the deck of his vessel, the *Britannia*, which lay wind-bound for a fortnight at St. John.

Early in the year 1777 Col. Michael Francklin was appointed Superintendent of Indian affairs, and he selected James White as his deputy on the river St. John. The correspondence and documents that follow, nearly all of which are now printed for the first time, will throw some light upon the course of events at St. John and its vicinity during the Revolutionary period:

Windson, 23 July, 1778.

SIR, Upon the Recommendation of Major Studholme & from what I know of your Zeal to serve Government and from your knowledge & acquaintance with the Indians of the River St John and its Environs I do hereby authorize and appoint you to act as my Deputy at and in the neighborhood of the s'd River St. John. You will therefore take under

^{*}Benjamin Marston was a Massachusetts Loyalist, who was obliged to seek refuge in Nova Scotia early in the war. His was a romantic and chequered career. He was a cousin of Col. Edward Winslow, and held the office of Sheriff of Northumberland in 1785.

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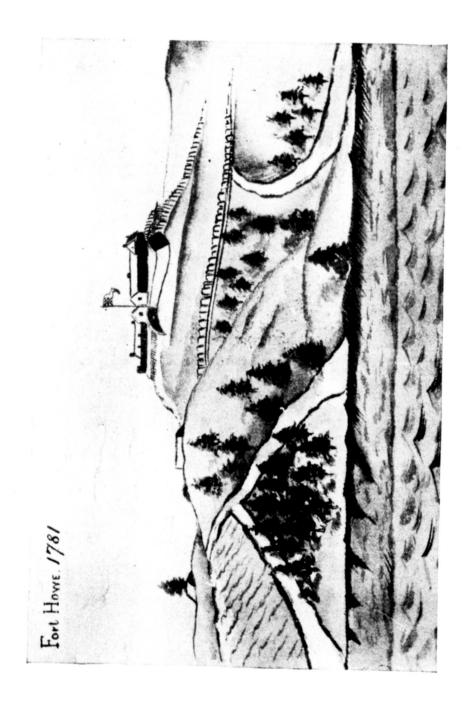
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your care the s'd Indians and inform me from time to time of their wants and wishes, and what measures you conceive may at any time be adopted to promote his majesty's interest to the end they may not be led astray by the machinations & Devices of His Majesty's Rebellious subjects or other the Kings Enemys. But in all your proceedings you are to consult with & follow the advice that shall be given you by Major Studholme who will be so obliging as to supply them at your Request now and then with some Provisions, but sparingly & when they shall be in absolute want of them.

I have no Salary to give or to promise you but as I have made a strong Representation to the King's minister of the necessity of a fund to defray the necessary expences, if my representation shall be approved of you may depend that I shall not fail of providing you with an annual allowance. You will not fail writing me by all opportunitys.

I am Sir

James White, Esq.

Your most Hu. Serv. Mich. Francklin.

Halifax, 30 Aug't, 1778.

Dear Sir, I have now inclosed you a receipt from Mr. Young for sundries shipped on board the Sloop Annapolis for Fort Howe consigned to you. Please to receive them and put them in a place of safety until I shall have the pleasure of seeing you via Annapolis. I shall not add more as I write this letter to inclose the receipt only, which is not yet signed, for fear I should not otherwise have an opportunity of sending you the receipt.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Hu. Serv't

James White, Esq.

MICH. FRANCKLIN,

SIR,— I have now the pleasure to tell you that I arrived last night from Annapolis in the Scarborough and I now send Lewis Mitchell and my own man up to you with this letter and another to Pierre Thomas to desire him and two or three other Principal Indians to come down without loss of time to this Place to speak to Mr. Bourg and myself, whom I have taken the pains to send for from the Bay De Chaleurs on purpose to serve them.

I am Sir

Your Most Hu. Serv't, MICH. FRANCKLIN.

P. S. You may assure them they may come down in great safety and I would have you come down with them. Pray send off a couple of Indians with Joseph Villerinish's letter from M. Bourg at or near Augpaak.

J. White.

Brethren:—According to my promise last fall I have brought with me M. Bourg your Priest to instruct you and to take care of your Eternal welfare.

BRETHREN:—I am come to heal and adjust every difference that may subsist between you and your Brethren the faithful Subjects of

King George your father, my master.

BRETHREN:—As my heart is good, my hands clean and my intentions as white as snow; I desire Pierre Thomas and two or three other Principal Indians do immediately come down to Fort Howe with Mr. White my Deputy to speak to me and to M. Bourg that we may settle in what manner to proceed to accomplish my good Intentions towards you, that your minds may be made easy, and I do hereby pledge myself that no harm shall happen to you from any of the King's Troops or others His Majesty's dutiful subjects.

I am, Your affectionate Brother

MICH. FRANCKLIN Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

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To Pierre Thomas and others the Indians of the River St. John.

The zeal and fidelity displayed by the French missionaries in the past gave them great influence over the St. John river Indians who complained loudly when, at the instance of Lord Wm. Campbell, their priest Father Charles Francois Bailly was removed about the year 1769 from Aukpaque to the peninsula of Nova Scotia — whence in May, 1722, he returned to Quebec. Now that there was a prospect of the Indians siding with the Americans, the Nova Scotia government saw the necessity of employing a policy of conciliation. Accordingly with the view of removing one of the principal grievances and at the same time bringing a powerful influence to bear upon the savages to restrain them from taking the war path, Col. Arthur Goold, the Secretary of Nova Scotia, wrote to the Indians a letter in French, dated May 11, 1777, informing them that they might have M. Bourg, then at the Bay of Chaleurs, for their priest, who would be put upon the same footing as their late missionary Bailly. Sir Guy Carleton (having, no doubt, consulted on the subject with the Bishop of Quebec) informed the N. S. government in February following that M. Bourg "has already orders to proceed to Halifax to receive instructions for the establishment of his mission." The influence of Father Bourg is very apparent in the negotiations detailed below.

TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

As a Grand Meeting of the Indians at Menaguashe* in the Harbour of the River St. John near Fort Howe on Thursday the 24th September 1778 -

Present on the part of King George the Third: —

Michael Francklin Esqr, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Major Studholme, Commanding His Majesty's Garrison at Fort Howe,



The Indian name for the peninsula on the east side of the harbor of St. John.

Capt. Mowatt, Commanding His Majesty's Ship Albany, ce that Rev. Mr. Bourg, Missionary to the Indians, jects of James White Esq'r, Agent for Indian Affairs at St. Johns, and Several other Officers and Gentlemen. entions e other ith Mr.

Present on the part of the Indians —

Pierre Thomas, Supreme Sachem or Chief of St. John's River. Francis Xavier, 2d Chief, Zackareen, Nicholas Ackmobish, Captains Francis St. Aubin, Jean Baptiste LaPorte, Pierre Turtou. Pierre Paul Neptan, Malecete Indians of the River St. John. Paulsis. Jeanwishe, Principal Indians Nicholas Gaudin, Pierre Paul, Pierre Joseph. Michael Alnowishe, Jean Baptiste Arimph, 2d Chief, Louis Augustin, Captain, Mickmacks Antoiness, Deacon, of Richebouctou. Francis Joseph Arimph, Captain. Antoine Arnau, Captain, Mickmacks Jean Baptiste Heart, Principal Indian of Mirimichi. Michael Argimau, Chief Mickmacks Pierre Bernard Cataup, Capt. Joseph Portis, Do. | Chignectou. Francis Joseph Istashe, Captain,—Mickmack of Pogmousche. Michael Sagaket, 1 Principal Indians Charles Nocout,

The Superintendent declared to them, that according to his Promise to the Malecetes the last year, he had now brought in his hand a Priest, (shewing Mr. Bourg), who would have Visited them sooner, but for the apprehension of being carried off by the Rebells.

That being about to set out from Chebouctou, he was greatly concerned to learn that the Malecetes had plundered one Vessell, taken and Ransomed another, Robbed and Disarmed many of the Inhabitants and killed several Cattle, belonging to the King's Loyal Subjects on the River St. John, whom they had stiled Torys; that they had even proceeded the length to return to Fort Howe the Kings Flag, accompanied with a Formal declaration of war in Writing.

That these unfortunate transactions had hastened him, and Mr. Bourg to St. John, to put a stop to them, and that he was disposed in behalf of the King, to settle and adjust amicably all differences between them and His Majesty's dutiful subjects.

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The Paper purporting to be the Declaration of War being read* [see foot note] and fully explained, the Malecetes declared they had been deceived by John Allan of Machias, who had not spoken their sentiments but his own, to answer his wicked and Rebellious purposes, that their eyes were now opened and they proposed to restore to the Inhabitants and others the Arms and all other articles now in their possession, not consumed or destroyed, which they had taken, particularly the three Swivel Guns. And that they would deliver to Mr. White in the Course of the Winter, Two hundred pounds of Beaver, or as many Moose Skins in lieu thereof, towards making good the damage sustained by Individuals: that they were poor and had been kept from Hunting by the Idle Storys of John Allan and other Rebells and disafected Subjects; and they hoped this would be accepted by the King to whom they were willing and desirous to take the following Oath, viz.,

"I do promise to bear faith and true allegiance to His Majesty

King George the Third.

"I do promise to make known to the King's Officers, and Magistrates, any designs of the Enemy, against his Garrisons, his Troops, or

good Subjects, that may come to my knowledge.

"I do promise to protect and keep safe from any Insult, Outrage or Captivity, the persons of Michael Francklin Esq'r, the King's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Mr. Bourg, the Priest, whom the King has been graciously pleased to appoint to Officiate to us.

"I do promise that I will not take part directly or indirectly against the King in the troubles now subsisting between Great Britain and His Majesty's Rebellious Subjects of America, but that I will follow my

hunting and Fishing in a peaceable and quiet manner.

"I do promise that I will not go to Machias, or hold any communication with the people of that Neighbourhood, or other the Rebellious Subjects of His Majesty.

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The Chiefs, Sechems & young men belonging to the River St Johns have duly considered the nature of this Great War between America & Old England. They are unanimous that America is right and Old England is wrong.

The River on which you are with your Soldiers belongs from the most antient times to our Ancestors, consequently is ours now & which we are bound to keep for our posterity.

You know we are Americans, that this is our Native Country: you know the King of England with his evil councillors has been trying to take away the Lands & Libertys of our Country, but God the King of Heaven Our King fights for us & says America shall be free, it is so now in spight of all Old England & his Comrades can do.

The great men of Old England in this Country told us, that the Americans would not let us enjoy our religion, this is false, not true, for America allows everybody to pray to God as they enjoy our religion, this is false, not true, for America allows everybody to pray is God as they enjoy our religion, this is false, not true, for America allows everybody to pray is God as they enjoy our religion, this is false, not true, for America allows everybody to pray is God as they enjoy our religion, this is false, not true, for America allows everybody to pray is God as they enjoy our religion, this is false, not true, for America allows everybody to pray is God as they enjoy our religion, this is false, and they are some in the state of the King and the word and the state of the King of France takes their part, he is their friend, he has taken the sword and will defend them. Americans is our Friends, our Brothers and Countrymen, what they do we do, what they say we say, for we are all one & the same family.

Now as the King of England has no business, nor never had any on this River, we desire you to Solve the King of England has no business, nor never had any on this River, we desire you to subjects on this River for if any or all of you are killed it is not our faults, for we give you warning time enough to escape.

time enough to escape.

Adieu for ever.

August Pawhaque, August 18th, 1778.

An Answer is required what you Intend doing respecting Capt. Dyer, Lieut. Delesdernier & the other four prisoners taken by the Howe Sloop at Passamaquoddy, as proposed in a Letter sent for the purpose of an exchange the 10th Ultimo.

To the British Commanding Officer at the mouth of the River St. John's:—
The Chiefs, Sechems & young men belonging to the River St Johns have duly considered the nature of this Great War between America & Old England. They are unanimous that America is not the control of the Cold Fordand in many.

"All these things I do promise on the Holy Scriptures, and before God, upon the faith of a good Christian, so help me God."

These proposals were accepted, and all the Indians before mentioned in behalf of themselves, and their several Tribes, took the oath in the most solemn manner, and delivered to the Superintendent a String of Wampum as their Act and Deed.*

The Rev'd Mr. Bourg then by permission produced a Letter lately received by him from the Bishop of Quebec, whereby he was forbid to suffer any Indian to enter his Church, who should in any manner Countenance, aid, or support, or hold any correspondence with His Majesty's Rebellious Subjects, and that a List of the Names of all those Indians who should disobey, were ordered to be transmitted to the Bishop to the end that he may be enabled to notify the Clergy of Canada to Act in Conformity, for that he should cast them out of the

Church as Disobedient and Undutifull Children.

After this Business was over the King's Health was drank, the Superintendent then equipped the Chiefs and Captains with his own hands and distributed to the rest a variety of Clothing and other presents. The evening and night altho' Rainy was spent in the open air with great mirth under the British Fiag.

The 25th the Indians visited His Majesty's Ship Albany, where they drank the King's Health and were presented with a pound of Gunpowder each, and concluded the afternoon and evening on shore with great Satisfaction and good humour.

The 26th the Indians being on their departure were saluted at 12 o'clock by the Cannon of Fort Howe and His Majesty's Ship Albany and it was returned by three Huzzas and an Indian Whoop. Then the Mickmack Chief made a Handsome Speech and delivered to the Superintendent a String of Wampum on behalf of the whole Mickmack Nation as their Seal of approbation and agreement to every thing that had been transacted, this being finished, the Superintendent, Major Studholme, and Rev. Mr. Bourg were desired to seat themselves, when a Malecete Captain began a Song and Dance in honor and praise of the Conference and those concerned therein; on his finishing a Mickmack Captain began another Song and Dance to the same purpose. The Superintendent then with Major Studholme and the Rev. Mr. Bourg and other Gentlemen marched off with the Indians to the portage above the Falls of the River St. John and stayed there until Mr. Bourg and the Indians embarked when the Gentlemen on the landing were saluted by the musquetry from the Indian Canoes. A true account of the Proceedings.

MICH. FRANCKLIN, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

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³ The Chiefs and other principal Indians on their knees in solemn manner took the oath of allegiance to King George III., and afterwards delivered up to Col. Francklin the presents which they had received from General Washington, together with the treaty they had made with the Massachusetts government on the 19th July, 1776, whereby it was agreed that Acadia should furnish 600 Indian warriors for Washington's army.

The St. John river Indians still possess a traditionary knowledge of the treaty made in September, 1778, and refer to it as the time when the white man and the Indian became "all one brother." Many of the Indians assert that in consequence of the understanding then arrived at the Indian has today the right to cut an ash tree to obtain splints for his baskets or take the bark from a birch tree for his canoes wherever he pleases, and without any necessity of asking permission from the present owner of the soil; also to encamp upon the shores of all rivers and streams for the purpose of fishing, etc. In many parts of the province there is an unwritten law to this effect, by virtue of which the Indian roams at pleasure through the white man's woods in quest of the materials for his simple avocations, and likewise in his peregrinations pitches his tent where he wishes without let or hindrance.

One of the immediate results of the treaty made in Sept., 1778, was the sending to John Allan the following official letter, a copy of which is appended to Col. Francklin's report.

To John Allan and his Associates at Machias:

The Chiefs and Great Men of the Malecete and Mickmack Indians

hereby give thee notice.

That their Eyes are now open and they see clearly that thou hast endeavoured to blind them to serve thy wicked purposes against thy Lawfull Sovereign, King George, our forgiving and affectionate Father.

We have this day settled all misunderstanding that thou didst

occasion between us and King George's men.

We now desire that thee and Preble, and thy Comrades, will remain in your wigwams at Machias, and not come to Passamaquadie to beguile and disturb our weak and young Brethern: We will have nothing to do with thee or them or with your Storys, for we have found you out; and if you persist in tempting us, we warn you to take care of yourselves. We shall not come to Machias to do you harm, but beware of Passamaquodie for we forbid you to come there.

At Menaguashe the 24th September, 1778.

Pierre Thomas + \ Chiefs of the Malecetes Francis Xavier +) and in their behalf.

Jean Baptiste Arimph +, Chief of Richebouctou and in behalf of the Mickmacks.

We desire you will return into the hands of Mr. White at Menaguashe the pledges belonging to us, which were plundered last Fall out of

sever

Crabt Hous Mr. Hazen's Store by A. Greene Crabtree, Capt. of one of your Privateers; * for if you dont send them we will come for them in a manner you wont like.

> Pierre Thomas + Francis Xavier + Jean Baptiste Arimph +

EXPENSES CONNECTED WITH THE TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

The Hon'ble Michael Franklin Esq'r, Superintendent of Indians for Sundrys paid and Supplies furnished by his Order for the use of the Indians assembled at Menaguashe near Fort Howe from the 13th Sept'r to 19th October 1778: Viz.

DR. TO WM. HAZEN.

To p'd Charles Nocout, Michel and Paul Neptan who	
were employed by Major Studholme to go to Resti-	
gouche after M. Bourg the Priest in * * last £ 11 15 19 Rlanketts 2000 Restriction 200 Restr	6
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6 oz. thread @ 6d	
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^{*} Referring to this incident Col. John Allan writes in his diary at Machias under date Nov. 17, 1777, "Capt. Crabtree came up to the falls and brought up a trunk he took at St. Johns with several pawns belonging to the Indians, and sundries belonging to the British Truck House on that Crabtree arrived here yesterday. He has been to the mouth of St. Johns where he found a Truck House erected by the Britains under the care of Messrs. Hazen, White Simonds, he took everysome payment. I cannot say how far this was Legal for a Privateer, But I am extremely glad it is

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	1 Small Gold Plated Cross with the figure of our Saviour on it 2 2½ lbs Beads at 3/ p lb	10 0 6 8 7 6	169 1	$4\frac{1}{2}$	
	pd Louis Goodine going express by Major Studholme's order £ 1 P'd Charles Nocout going to Aoupaag P'd John Heart, Ackmobish & Michel, couriers, 1 P'd M. Bourg for expenses p'd at Bay de Chaleurs 6	10 0 15 0 0 0 7 9	9 1:	2 9	
	P'd John Mack, Smiths work £ 2 Pd. Kendrick Do 1 Pd. Atwood Do 1	$\begin{array}{ccc} 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 \\ 12 & 6 \\ \end{array}$	4 1:	2 6	
	Pd. Henry Miller going up the River Pd. Mending a Birch Canoe Pd. Acmobish & Nocout for their going after two Deserters & their spirited attempt to Surprize a Rebell whale Boats crew Pd. Acknobish for 3 Beaver Traps Stolen last year by the Soldiers .	10 0 1 0 0 10 0 5 0 3 10 0 1 10 0	- 15	0	0
Г	Fo Sundrys delivered by your order to aged & In ple, viz. Magdalen Katpat, Magdalen Marie Barishe & others	firm peo LaPorte	. 13	10	0
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To p'd Dan'l Leavit going to Maugerville, . £ 1 3 4 Pd. Peabody & Brawn courierage 1 10 0 Pd. Mr. Atkins for Sundry writings & other services, 3 10 3 Pd. Doctor Sherman for attendance & medicines to Pierre Thomas & four other Sick Indians, 5 16 8 Pd. for Two Birch Canoes Bo't by your order for the Service of this Post. 6 0 0			
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Pd. Mitchell going up the River			3
Cash pu von vonriselt in monor		10	0
1 d Sundry Expenses attending Mr. Whiteg gains	10	0	0
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To cash pd. to James White Esq'r for his services among			
and with the Indians from the 2 April 1778 to			
this day the 20 October inclusive, part of which	•		
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Pd. Charles Nocout ten dollars pr. order to make up for an			
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A promise was made to the Indians, at the time the treaty of peace was consummated, that a trading house should be built for their accommodation at the landing above the Falls, where also the government presents and supplies might be conveniently distributed. The letters that follow give the history of the building of the Indian House. It was erected at the expense of the Nova Scotia government.

Dear Sir, Thirty Pounds is allowed for building the Indian House at the Landing above the Falls which we Looked on. Inclosed is Mr. Kelley's plan and estimate which return me hereafter. The land on which it is to stand should be cleared before the snow falls. I will write you more fully pr. my next.

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Nothing fixt or certain can be done for you as a Salary in my Department until the Lt. Governor hears from home but depend on my

Pray write by every opportunity about the Indians. I will pay for

the paper &c.

Compliments to Mrs. White & I am Dear Sir

Your most Obet. Servt.

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

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JAS. WHITE, Esq.

Windsor 8 Dec'r 1778.

Dear Sir,— I sent you via Annapolis the plan for the Indian House and Mr. Kelly's Estimate, the sum voted by the Council for it is Thirty pounds so that money must build it and I think it is full sufficient. The ground should be very well cleared all about or the Brush will sooner or later most assuredly burn it. The quantity of Boards required I should apprehend for every purpose about it cannot exceed one thousand feet, which may be sawed from the Spruces on the spot if you have a whip saw. The shingles can be made by any New England man in the neighborhood: however if any unforseen obstructions should arise the place may be cleared and the Body raised to the Eves and the Rafters placed this winter and the remainder finished in the Spring, which will show the Indians I have thought of them at least. When it is finished send me your certificate & one of Major Studholme's and I will obtain the money from the Treasury.

I have done everything I could to push Mr. Gray to ship all the articles you wrote for and I hope they are now all on board the schooner Menaguashe,* except the Powder and Flour, and I hope those two

articles are gone by the sloop Annapolis. It appears to me Pierre Toma's encamping on the Back of Maugerville with so many Indians indicates he is afraid he shall be insulted by Allan's People; if they do insult him, they will pay for it in a way they

little think of. I am very glad to find Gilman and the Penobscot Indians† made no impression on our Indians and their withdrawing so quietly I hope proceeded from hints given to the Indians by the St. John's people who was with us at Fort Howe. The coming in of Joseph (Pierre Toma's son) looks well and Nicholas Awanwest with 7 familys separating from Ambroise [St. Aubin] has also a good appearance.

^{*} This schooner was built by Jonathan Leavitt about the year 1770, at the upper cove in St. John harbor, now called the Market Slip. The schooner received the name applied by the Indians to the peninsula on which the principal part of the city is built, the modern Indian name of which is "Menahquesk."

[†] In the month of November, 1778 Col. John Allau, then at Machias, says he "ordered Lieut. Guilman from Penobscot with six or eight Indians to fall in about Medocktic (140 miles from the mouth of the River); sent some more Lower Down the River Spreading Intelligence at other Parts. By this maneuvre expected to Divert the Indians & others on the River to prevent any Solid matter being done by the Priest or Mr. Frauklin."

It would appear that this visit of the Penobscot Indians was the occasion of the "Alarm" at the Oromocto Block House, or Fort Hughes, referred to at page 108, N. B. Hist, Soc. Col., Vol I.

I have received my Box of Cloths, the pipes and the two Bags Oil nuts for which I thank you very kindly, they are good in kind. I find the Kenebekishishe people* forgot their promise for which Reason be so good as to tell them I will remember them when they want future favors.

Be so good as to let me hear from you by every conveyance how matters go on with the Indians. I have had here from thirty to sixty Indians about me continually and about fifty or sixty hunters from 12 to 15 miles off. They are very civil & quiet but very poor, and sickly from the wet weather we have had. I have nothing to give them, nor must you go to any expence until I hear from England which I expect daily. My best compliments attend Mrs. White & believe that I am, Dear Sir

Your most obed. Servt.

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

1779.

EXPENCES OF INDIAN HOUSE.

Paid Woodman† for laying foundation Clearing for house, roads, &c: hewing timber & the walls, Woodman 11 days £2 15: hi	laying up		0	0
			-	
The Mayo and Total Nathan II down to 12			5	
Dow 11 days £2 15, Nathan 11 days £2 15,		5	10	0
Boy 15s. Graves 5 days 25s		9	0	0
Then I could be universally and the Day 15.				
o days work clearing		2	0	
4 days work digging stone & Laying up Chimney p.			15	0
2 M Board Co. 21 Laying up Chimney p	lace	?	0	0
- La Louis (a, Oos., 2 hindred (a) 19a			12	_
3 M Sningles (a) 12/6	• • • •			
1 M 10d. Nails 12/6, 6 M 4d. Nails 30/		3	8	9
Paid Markon formail of 4d. Nails 30/,.		2	2	6
Paid Markee for nails for floor		_	10	-
Cash pd Campbell for work		-		-
The state of work		Ð	10	0
	-			
		£35	12	9
		200	19	0

The five letters that follow were addressed by Col. Francklin to his deputy at St. John, James White.

19 Feb'y 1779

Dear Sir, Two or three days ago I re'd your favor of the 26 Jan'y and I am glad the Indian House advances: no more money can be obtained from Government for the building so you must make it do.

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1778. n House s Thirty nt. The ooner or

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† made no hope proeople who rre Toma's ating from

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'Alarm" at the , Vol I.

^{*} The Acadians at French Village. The place yet retains the name of "French Village," although the French abandoned it soon after the arrival of the Loyalists.

[†] James Woodman was by trade a shipwright. He came to St. John at least as early as 1773. He wrote an excellent hand and seems to have been a man of considerable ability. He engaged during the Revolutionary war in small contracts for getting out masts on the St. John river and seem to have engaged in trading also for in a deed dated Jan. 2, 1781, he is described as "James Woodman of Mangerville, merchant," and it is known that he had a store on his property near Fairville. On Sept. 5, 1782, he bought from Wm. McKeen two lots at Mangerville, containing about 1,800 acres and he owned other lands at Mangerville.

I am very glad to find Pierre Thomas and my other Malecete Friends behaved well, and I will counterplot the letters that the Mickmacks passed through St. Johns with for their Tribe from Machias.

I must request that you and Mr. Hazen do secure for me, if possible to be sent for the Spring to Windsor, forty or fifty Bushells of Indian Corn to be charged by Mr. Hazen to my private account. I mention it thus early that it may be engaged before the river opens.

Tell Mr. Hazen I can't write him by this conveyance but Billy is well, comes on fast and is a good Boy: he began to learn to dance this

Present my compliments to Mrs. White, Mr. Hazen & Lady, Mr. & Mrs. Sharman and I am, Dear Sir

Your most Hu. Servt.

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

P. S. Tell the French at the Village if I dont receive the nuts they promised me I shall not forgive them.

WINDSOR, 24 Ap'l, 1779.

Dear Sir,-I thank you for the piece of Moose meat, it was the best

I have wrote Gen'l McLean about Fuel & candles & I think there is I ever saw. not much doubt of its being obtained.

Pray send me the Indian Corn as soon as possible & two Bushells of

St. John Pease, if to be had. How much provisions have the Indians had to 15 April? Giving my compliments to Mrs. White I am, Dr Sir

Your most Hu. Serv't

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

Halifax, 10 June 1779

Dr Sir,-Major Studholme will receive orders by this conveyance to supply you with Provisions for the Indians which I have promised shall be dealt out sparingly. I shall write you fully in a day or two.

I am, etc.,

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

De

HALIEAX 12, Sep. 1779.

Dear Sir,-Col. Rogers* comes to the River St. John with an intention to proceed to Quebec. I therefore beg of you to assist him as much as possible in his route by recommending some Indians or Acadians to conduct him. Supply Col. Rogers with some powder, shott & Tobacco to regale Pierre Thoma with. I am, etc MICH. FRANCKLIN.

Windsor, 17 Sep'r, 1779. Dear Sir — I have both your letters of the 1st & 8th Sep'r & I

The organizer of the famous Loyalist corps known as the Queen's Rangers, but at this time employed in recruiting another corps called the King's Rangers.

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Friends

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thank you for the pains you have taken & the acc't you give me. I have sent by Major Studholme's man a gold Laced Hatt; it was designed for Ackmobish for his exploit last year with Galispie but if he has not behaved well give it to whom Major Studholme shall think proper. I have Rec'd the barrel Salmon Mr. Hazen was so good as to send me.

I am Dr Sir

Your most obed't servt Mich. Francklin.

JAMES WHITE'S EXPENSES AS INDIAN AGENT.

1778	Hon'ble Michael Francklin to James White D	r.		
November.		n		
1779	15/	. £	4 1	0 0
June 20.	To Cash pd. a man to & from Aupahag, 9 day	s		
	© 4/ Expences for Self and Man.		1 1	
	Cash pd. for Carrying Letters	•	•	0 0
	Cash pd. James Woodman for mool & hand c			5 0
	Tierre Tomar and Tribe at Mangarvilla to	t.		
	oring min to Fort Howe		1/	
	Cash pd. J. Woodman for redemption of Di		1 (0 0
			1.0	
	I u. Mr. Simonds for ditto			0 6
Aug't 25.	Expenses to Aupahag	,		0 (
α	Cash pd. two Indians to bring me to Managuash		1 5 1 0	
September-	Expences to Aupanag			0
	- u. for a Negg for Mr Bourg 3/		12	6
	Do. for Do. Pierre Tomer 2/6 \ \cdots		5	6
	Cash pd. for a man to attend me to Oromoeto 4			
	aays(a/4)		10	0
ъ.			-	-
December —	Dapences going to Annuhag	1	$\frac{18}{12}$	
	Total and Good and the his con & o	1	12	U
	daughters attending on Court of Francisco			
	ac, ac, b davs	9	10	0
		-	6	
	as Agent to Indians from 99		O	O
	220 April 1780 in all			
	941 & days (a) 3/	82	2	C
	Dunuing a House for the Indiana	30		
	Laying a Double Floor at Indian House	30	U	U
	an additional expense from the plan			
	sent me of,	5	13	9
			10	ð
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	~	.00	•	0

MASTS FOR THE ROYAL NAVY.

The enormous lumbering operations carried on upon the St. John river and its tributaries in modern days had their small beginning about two centuries ago, when masts for the French navy were cut by order of the King of France. Monsieur Diereville states that in 1700 the French man-of-war Avenant, of 44 guns, entered the harbor of St. John with supplies for Governor Villebon, and after discharging her cargo, took on board some very fine masts for the French navy, which had been prepared for shipment by 14 carpenters and some mast makers. The vessel sailed for France on the 6th October, and arrived at her destination in 33 days.

During the Revolutionary War the English turned their attention to the St. John river as a place for procuring masts for their navy, and the Indians were solicited by annual presents to protect the mast cutters. This is shown in the letters that follow:

Windson, 29 November, 1779.

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My Brother,—Mr Davidson is now employed on the River St John for the King my Royal master. I am therefore to request you will afford him and all his people every assistance and Protection in your Power.

My Brother,—I request and flatter myself if any party of Rebells or Indians should attempt to disturb Mr. Davidson that you and your people will prevent it, and if necessary take arms for that purpose.

My Brother,—The Governor of Nova Scotia sends to Major Studholme some presents for you; they are intended to Encourage you to Protect Mr. Davidson; receive them and be true to the Trust that His Excellency reposes in you.

My Brother, — Major Studholme is your friend and your advocate and is desirous that all your late faults may be over looked and Buried, therefore they are all forgot and will be thought of no more.

My Brother,—Present my best compliments to all the Captains, Councillors, and other Indians of the River St. John and I do not forget their wives and their Children.

[SEAL.] MICH. FRANCKLIN.

To Pierre Thomas and others the Principals and Chiefs of the River St. John.

WINDSOR 18 May 1780.

Sir,—As I cannot meet the Indians of the River St. John in person on the 25 Instant as I intended I have wrote very fully on the

subject to Major Studholme to whom I beg you will give every assistance in your power to accomplish so good a work as the prevailing on them to Protect the persons employed in cutting and Providing masts for the King's navy, an object of very great importance to Great Britain.

You will not fail to transmit me an account of the Proceedings, together with a list of the Indians you meet, who receive any part of the presents, to the end we may in future mark them if they break their engagement.

I am Sir

Your most Humble Serv't

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

To James White, Esq'r

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Agent for Indian Affairs at the River St. John.

To the Chiefs, Captains & Principal Indians on the River St. John.

Brethren,—I am much concerned I cannot see you as I intended on the 25th of this month; but Major Studholme will meet you for me, who will tell you the sentiments of my heart.

Brethren,—King George wants masts for his ships, and has employed people to provide them on your river, depending on you to protect them in cutting them down and conveying them to Fort Howe.

Brethren,—The Governor sends you some presents which Major Studholme will deliver you. They are intended to bind fast your promise that you will protect the Mast Cutters.

Brethren,—King George, my gracious master, has sent me a large quantity of presents for you; they are on the water on the way to Halifax; when they arrive I will deliver them to you in person. These presents the King gives you for delivering up to me the treaty you had entered into with the Council of Boston.

I salute you, and am your affectionate Brother

MICHAEL FRANCKLIN.

Windsor, 18 May, 1780.

INVOICE OF PRESENTS.

Invoice of Sundry Articles shipped at Windsor the 4th instant, on the schooner Menaguash; Peter Doucett, Master, for Fort Howe, by order of Sir Richard Hughes, Commissioner of His Majesty's Navy, to be given as presents to the Indians of the River St. John and its neighbourhood, by Major Studholme in such manner and proportions as he shall think proper, to induce the said Indians to protect the workmen and others in providing masts for the King's Navy, viz.—

50 pair blankets, 40 shirts, 1 piece blue stroud, $6\frac{3}{4}$ yds blue and scarlet cloth, 100 rings, 200 flints, 54 yds ribbon, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. shot, 3 pieces blue stroud, 3 pieces white Kersey, 60 milled caps, 40 worsted do., 50 castor hats, $2\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. shot, 100 yds. embost serge, 1 barrel gunpowder,

100 hoes, 1 cask of wine sent by Mr. Francklin for the squaws, and such men as do not drink rum.

(Signed) MICHAEL FRANCKLIN.

WINDSOR, 18th May, 1780.

AUPAHAG, 26th June 1780.

Received from James White Esq'r, Agent to Indians (River St John) the Goods sent them by the Governor of Halifax for the Purpose of Protecting the Contractor, his people & masts from the Rebels &c, &c. [Signed] Francis Xavier, Nichola Nepton, Francis Joseph, Andrew Fransway, Joseph Pemehawitt, Peirre Meductsick.

DESERTIONS AT FORT HOWE.

Col. John Allan used every means in his power to render Major Studholme's post at Fort Howe untenable. In August, 1778, he dispatched Capt. Nicholas Hawawes with a party of Indians to St. John with directions "To destroy Cattle &c round the fort which are for the use of the Troops, take Prisoners and encourage Desertion." He adds that several letters were sent from deserters who had come to Machias to their comrades at Fort Howe.

Studholme took stern and to us terrible measures to repress desertions, which he deemed necessary in view of the difficult position in which he was placed. See his letter that follows.

FORT HOWE, 9 Aug't, 1780.

Sir, I shall esteem it as a favor if you will endeavour to get some Indians to pursue and bring in the three Deserters, for each of which I will give Ten Guineas. Should the soldiers make any opposition the Indians are to make use of Force, and if compelled to kill them, they are to bring in their Heads for each of which they will receive Ten Guineas.

I am Sir

Your most obedient Servant

G. STUDHOLME.

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JAS. WHITE, Esqr.

EXAMINATION OF ISRAEL PERLEY.

FORT HOWE, 4 Novem'r, 1780.

Sir, The Inclosed letter from Mr. Perley to Seth Noble of Newbury having fallen into my hands in the course of inspecting the Letters to be sent by the Cartel, I have thought it necessary instantly to secure the Person of Mr. Perley, and shall send Him to your house about 9 this morning, when I must request you will closely examine Him on the subject of the Inclosed Letter. Whatever explanation Mr. Perley may

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1780. $\mathbf{Newbury}$ ters to be ecure the out 9 this m on the erley may have in his power to give of the very extraordinary Paragraph in the conclusion of that letter, I cannot but think it will be very difficult for Him to reconcile His stiling Himself the Sincere Friend of a Notorious Rebel (and one equally Despicable in both His Publick and Private Character) with His own situation as one of His Majesty's Justices of

When you have gone thro' this Business you will oblige me with your opinion as a Magistrate what further steps are proper to be taken in this matter. I am sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,

Jas. White, Esq'r. G. STUDHOLME.

Examination of Mr Israel Perley taken before me James White Esq'r one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Sunbury in the Province of Nova Scotia, 1st November, 1780.

The Original, of which the letter annexed is an attested Coppy being produced to me by Lieut. Samuel Denny Street with a request from Major Studholme, commanding His Majesty's Garrison at Fort Howe, to examine the Prisoner Mr. Israel Perley relative to certain Paragraphs and Expressions in the annexed Letter, which seems to point out Mr. Perley as a Private Agent of the Rebels and as expecting a reward for his services performed, and also to examine into the motives for attempting a correspondence with Seth Noble a Declared and notorious Rebel to whom Mr. Perley in the annexed Letter subscribes himself a Sincere friend.

Question to Mr. Perley. What was your motive for attempting a Correspondence with Seth Noble and for writing to him the Letter of which the annexed is a Coppy?

Answer. I meant not to maintain any Correspondence with him. but as his wife was going to him in the Cartel I wrote that Letter now produced to acquaint him of the Broken Situation of the Church here, & that it would be no encouragement to him to think of returning to

Question to Mr. Perley. What Place is it you meant to describe by "the Brig," mentioned in the latter part of your Letter; or have you really been on board any Vessel lately which answers that description?

Answer. I have not been on board any vessel lately and all I meant by my description of "the brig" was an allusion to my being about two years since confined in Prison at Halifax; the Brig is an Expression for a Gaol in that part of New England I came from and what I have said on that subject in my Letter to Mr. Noble was only meant in Raillery and without any ill design whatever; nor was it meant to allude to a description of any Place except the Gaol at Halifax.

Question to Mr. Perley. What do you mean in the conclusion of your Letter to Mr. Noble by telling him that you are in expectation of a future Reward adequate to your Services, and what services in particular do you allude to?

Answer. I meant to allude to my former imprisonment, which I thought unjust and that when an end should be put to the present disturbances that I might expect from a civil court of Judicature such Recompence as the Injury I thought I had received should merit.

Question to Mr. Perley. Why do you Stile yourself in the conclusion

of your Letter to Mr. Noble his "Sincere Friend"?

Answer. He was an old acquaintance before the present disturbances arose and I had no reference (in stiling myself his friend) to any thing but his Person. I did not mean that I was a friend to his principles. I also wish to observe that at the time I wrote the Letter in question I meant it Should pass under the Inspection of the Commanding officer at Fort Howe or of any officer who might be directed to Inspect the Letters sent by the Cartel, and on that account I sent it open and unsealed.

Taken before me the day and date as above, JAS. WHITE, Jus. Peace.

LETTER FROM JOHN CURRY, ESQ.

CAMPOBELLO, July 1781.

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Gentlemen, Things hear is much more peasable Then I Expected, the Indians appear Verey frendly to me Which I think Detards others from Comiting aney Deprediations in the Neighbourhood. Have disposed of all the Goods I brought home and Want the Remender of my Goods much, Therefore if Hutchins and Archibald is Got to St. Johns Beg you would Desire them to prosceed hear Imeadiatly as Want to Dispose of ye Goods while the Weather is Calme Least another Storme should arise before I can Effecte it; must pospond my Voiage to your place till after Their Arrivall hear.

I have sent you a Tarce of Suger Containing 5ct, 1q, 7lb which is all I could get; you must Rise the price as I was obligid to give 12s. 6d. pr Cwt. more for this then the Last and know of no more to Bee

purchs'd at present.

As you Will see Graves, who is arrived from Head Quarters, shall Defair Writing you the News as he has as much to Deliver as his brains can contain. Please send me a Cask of flower as Bread begins to grow scarce; pray Hurrey Archibald along and Tell him to com in in the Night, least Sum Theife Should Bee lurking about the harbor. If you should not Want the Barral of Rum left in the Store you'll pleas Let it Please make my Compliments to Mrs Lie there till I Goo Down. Hazon & White and accept the Same your Selves from Gentlemen Your Most Hu'l Serv't,

JNO. CURRY.

Messrs. Hazon & White.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, HALIFAX, 19 April, 1780.

John Crabtree* having by memorial in March last, made application

^{*} John Crabtree was by trade a weaver. He came from New York in 1767 and settled on the St. John river. See N. B. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. 1, P. 103

to the Lieut. Governor for Licence to retail Spirituous Liquors gratis for the Benefit of Travellers passing the Road to and from Fort Howe on St. John's River and obtained the same; But as the said John Crabtree hath improperly and unduly behaved himself the Lieutenant Governor therefore directs that his Said Licence be Void, of which this is to give notice and signify the same to him.

RICH'D BULKELEY.

James Simonds and James White Esqrs. or any of the Magistrates on St. Johns River.

NOTICE.

Whereas complaint hath been made to me by the Commanding Officer of the King's Troops at this place that Several Irregularities have lately been committed here by his Troops proceeding from the quantity of Strong Liquors Sold them by the Inhabitants. To prevent any disturbance for the future I publickly forbid any person or persons at this place selling Strong Liquors under the penalty of the Law made and provided in such cases, except those who have Licence or Permits from authority for that purpose.

Given under my hand at Fort Howe this third day of July, 1781.

JAMES WHITE, J. P.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

Application having been made to the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Sunbury and Province of Nova Scotia, held at Maugerville on the Second Tuesday of October, A. D. 1781, setting forth the necessity of having a Publick House of Entertainment kept near the Harbour of the River St. Johns.

Therefore by virtue of the Authority vested in the said Court by the Laws of the said Province, License is hereby given to Philip Newton to Keep a Publick House of Entertainment and to Retail Spirituous Liquors for the space of one year at the place aforesaid, he the said Philip Newton keeping and maintaining good order agreeable to the Laws of this Province.

By order of the Said Court, BENJ. ATHERTON,* Clerk Peace.

LETTERS OF REV. JOSEPH M. BOURG.

Mr. Bourg, Priest & Missionary to the Justices of the Peace.

Sirs, I have been so astonished by what I have heard from the Kanabekechech [Kennebecasis] people in regard to the bad behavior of Joseph Terriot that I am obliged to write you at the present time informing you of his bad caracter by his wicked words; not in the least

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^{*} Benjamin Atherton settled at St. Anns about the year 1769 and the place seems to have been for a time called "Atherton." See N. B. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. 1, Pp. 109, 116, 183.

to make him paye anything or be punished, but only humble him and

make him hold his tongue.

Kanabekechech people deposition against Joseph Terriot: — We do declares before God - Francis Levecon, Charles Levecon, Joseph Bouche, Francis Robicho and Alex. Courmo; that we have heard Joseph Terriot said that Mr. Bourg our priest was a bad man and that if he was come in his house that he would send him out and leek him.

We declares after this that we have heard Joseph Terriot said that Col. Francklin, Mr. Bourg the Priest and Mr. White was the justices of

1 am sir, the Devil.

Your most &c.. JOSEPH M. BOURG. Priest, Miss'y.

[After the peace of 1783 the stipend paid by government to Mr. Bourg for his services as missionary to the St. John river Indians was discontinued and he returned to the Bay of Chaleur. Leonard seems to have communicated to him the plan of the Commissioners of the New England Company, so called, for educating and Christianising the Indians of New Brunswick and in answer Mr. Bourg wrote the following letter.

CARLETON, BAYE DES CHALEURS, 12 Fevrier, 1788.

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Monsieur, — J'ai eu l'honneur de Recevoir votre Lettre par laquelle J'ai été informé qu'il y avoit un certain revenu anuelle envoyé d'Angleterre pour Civiliser les Sauvages de la Riviere St. Jean et des environs ; c'est à dire les rendre eux même plus heureux et utiles a la société. C'est un bienfait insigne de la part de Sa Majesté Britannique envers ces pauvier gens qu'il faut tacher d'effectuer, mon opinion est que l'on peut avec le tems parvenir a cet fin et je suis disposé de faire pour y parvenir tout ce qui dépendra de moy, moyennant, comme vous le dittes en votre Lettre, que mes peines et travaux soient recompensés. Je crois qu'il seroit nécessaire, en premier lieu de faire batir de maisons D'école, une a Madawaska, L'autre a Restigouch, ou tous les sauvages dispersés dans toutes les differentes partie de la nouvelle Ecose pourvoient le rassembler, d'y avoir de bons maitres D'école Francois, qui apprendroient aux jeunes gens a parler a lire et a écrire, sur lesquels si, on le juge apropos, je pourvoit avoir L'œil et m'y transporter de tems a autre si ma présence y étoit necessaire.

Concéder a chaque famille un peu de terrain et pour les encourager d'y travaillier leurs fair dans le commencement quelque présents. J'attend a ce sujet une reponce de votre part ainsi que de la part de ces

Messieurs et suis avec Consideration.

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur, Joseph Mth. Bourg, Prétre Grand V.

GEORGE LEONARD, Esq., Pleasant Valley, Kennepacacis. CAPTAIN HASTING'S BILL LADEN.

F. H. & W.

No. 1, a Bale, 2, Hhd Sugar

3, a Cask Shot 4, a Cask

5, a Box

6, a Cask

8, a Box Shoes 9-11, three

boxes Chocolate

Seeds

13, a Bale 15, a Case

Barrels Pork, ment. 20 Firkins Butter

CHIPPED by the Grace of God, by John Butler Dight in and upon the good Ship called the Young William, Naval Store Ship, whereof is Master, under God, for this present Voyage, George Hastings and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Halifax, and by God's Grace bound for Fort Howe River St. John in the Bay Fundy.

To Say, One Hogshead, three Casks, One Case, 7, a Bag Coffee Three Bales, One Large Trunk, One Bag Coffee, Six Boxes, Twenty Barrels Pork, & twenty firkens Butter - by order of Mich'l Francklin Esq. for account and risque of himself, Wm Hazen & James White, consign'd to Messrs. Hazen & White at 12, Box Garden Fort Howe as aforesaid, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well Conditioned, at the 14, a large trunk Port of Fort Howe (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto the said Messrs. Hazen & White or to their assigns, he or they paying Freight for the No. 1-20 Twenty Said Goods Gratis being ship'd by Order of Govern-

In Witness whereof the Master of the Said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which three Bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void.

And so GOD Send the Good Ship to her desired

Port in safety. Amen.

Dated in Halifax 23rd April, 1782.

G. HASTINGS.

WARRANT TO APPREHEND THOMAS ARCHIBALD, SAILING MASTER.

NOVA SCOTIA

SUNBURY, Ss.

Whereas a Complaint hath been made in writing to me James White, Esq'r, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County by Gilfred Studholme of the County aforesaid Esq'r against one Thomas Archibald late of Cobequid in Said Province now in the County aforesaid Mariner: having good cause to suspect that the said Archibald hath been concerned (last Fall and this Spring) in an illegal and dangerous intercourse with his Majesty's enemies and by his going in Person to the Rebel Post at Machias and giving intelligence there of a Boat and Party commanded by Lieut. Street that was going from hence to the westward, which Boat and Party was in consequence of said information taken and the officer and crew made prisoners and carried into Machias some of whom are now lying in Boston Gaol, and hath applyed to me to Issue my Warrant for apprehending said Thos. Archibald.

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These are therefore in his Majesty's Name to command you forthwith to apprehend the said Thomas Archibald and to bring him before me or some other Justice of the Peace for the Said County to answer what is laid to his charge as aforesaid, and that you do require the said Archibald to bring with him sufficient suretys to enter into recognizance for his appearance at the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be held at Maugerville in the County aforesaid on the Second Tuesday in October next, and to abide and Perform such order or orders as shall be made in pursuance of the laws made and provided in such cases.

Given under my hand and seal at Fort Howe this thirtieth day of July in the twenty first year of His Majesty's reign — 1781. JAS. WHITE.

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To Mr. WM. Godsoe, Constable.

Dennis McCarty and William Ryan, Lance Corporals in the Royal Fencible Americans made Information on Oath:—

That they were taken prisoners with Lieut. Street on or about the 25th April 1781 and carryed Prisoners to Machias & landed at Capt. Smiths Wharf on or about the 27th of the same month, when and where we heard one Serjt. Runnels of Mechais say that he had four Gallons of Rum which was given him by one Thomas Archibald for taking our Party (he directing his speech to Lt. Street's party) which we drank part of; and further said Runnels said that the S'd Archibald told him the said Runnels that the aforesaid Party was well armed and unless he the said Runnels came upon them unawares they would not take them Prisoners. We was with the rest of the prisoners sent up to Mechias and when landed on the shore we saw said Archibald walking down towards us in company with Colo. Allan. As soon as said Archibald came near us, McCarty and one Gifford spoke to the said Archibald and asked him if he was not pleased to see us here (meaning us prisoners); Said Archibald answered he was glad to see his friends anywhere; directly after said Archibald walked from us. Several days after we saw Said Archibald walking about Mechias streets. We heard the Mechias People complain of the said Archibald for selling them Rotten Corn at the Price of two dollars Pr Bushell which he the said Archibald brot. from the River St. John—and further saith not.

County of Sunbury—Personally appeared the above named Dennis McCarty & William Ryan and made oath to the truth of the within this 30th day July 1781.

James White, Jus. Peace.

ARCHIBALD'S DEFENCE.

Said Archibald acknowledges he was at Machiae last Spring and declares he had a Pass from the Governor to go to New England which

he hath left at his home at Cobequid; declares he did not inform any thwith person or persons at or near Machias or Passamaquoddie of an armed me or Boat Sailing or intending to Sail from Fort Howe, nor did he know any what is boat intended to Sail on a Cruise. [Lieut] Graves he left at Annapolis Archince for about the 15th March. e to be

While at Machias one Farnsworth came to me and asked me if Graves was not out in an arm'd Boat from St. John. I answered no. Did you know of any Boat out from St. John? I answered I did not he told me directly he knowed of a boat being out from St. John and that Graves was on board her; he said he had his Intelligence from Little Mechias & would Lay 40s. he would bring Graves a Prisoner within three Days. Said Farnsworth declared he would pursue to Penobscot but that he would have him. Said Archibald declares Col. Allen is a great enemy to him and that he was detained by order of said Allan to the Committee who sat to enquire on my business two weeks. Said Allan gave it as his opinion to the Committee that Archibald ought to be treated as a Prisoner & be put on board the frigate with Mr. Street's men. Allan said further that he had intelligence from Graves that the said Archibald was often carrying Intelligence from Passamaquoddie back to his Government and that the said Archibald went volunteer to work at Halifax at the time a report prevailed that Halifax was to be attacked by the French fleet, which said Archibald acknowledges he did go volunteer but never knew that Graves was knowing of it.

Said Archibald did not expect to be permitted to return but after two weeks the Committee gave leave. Said Archibald applied to Col. Allan for leave to visit the Prisoners in Gaol but could not get leave.

Mr. Curry being out of money I lent him £8. 0. 0 for Mr. Street.

Campobello, Oct'r 5th, 1781.

SIR,—At the Request of Thos. Archibald I have Strictly Inquired into his Conduct Last Spring while hear and at Machias relative to the Capture of Mr. Street* and other matters that he stands accused of, and

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^{*}Brigadier General McLean endeavored on two occasions to effect Lieut. Street's liberation, offering in exchange two captains, but the offer was declined. It was afterwards learned that Col. John Allan and the Machias people had forwarded a memorial representing that Mr. Street was After several months spent on boeard the prison ship in Boston barbon, one sultry night in the month of August Lieut. Street, with the help of one of his men, seized the "rebel sentinel" on deck about an hour before day break. Having bound and gaaged their man and possessed themselves of his weapons they then, with the help of others of the party surprised and disarmed the guard, consisting of a corporal and twelve men. One of Street's party then swam ashore and brought of hardy beat in which all embarked. Mr. Street landed the rebel guard on an island and his own on, they were so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of a rebel detachment, by whom they were conveyed to Boston jail. Lt. Street was now measured for irons, but through the firmness of the manacles were never put on. After suifering in the jail from "the putrid and offensive provisions," more on board the prison ship. The guard, to prevent surprise, were placed in a boat moored under the ship's quarter. Shortly afterwards Lieut. Street found an opportunity to lower himself, one night about 11 o'clock, from the cabin window and swam off with the tide at flood undiscovered by the men in the guard boat. After swimming a mile up the harbor he landed on the shore and sought refuge in the house of an Englishman with whom he was acquainted, and by whom he was taken to a place of security. He soon afterwards returned in safety to the garrison at Fort Howe.

it appears very plain to me that he is Intirely Inosant of what is Lade to his Charge, this I Declare as my openion from the Evidencess have Exeman'd upon the mater, and my own Knowledge of the affaire.

I am Dear Sir with Esteem

Your Most Hul' Serv't JNO. CURRY,

Justice a Peace.

To Jas White Esq'r.

TRADE AT SAINT ANN'S.

St. Anns, June the 7th, 1872.

Dr. Sr.—I have just time enough to Acq't you that I Rec'd the twine & I Box from Mr. Smyth, which am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken. I wrote to you last Sunday by Lloyd and Acqt'd you I had 200 Moose skins more and about perhaps 60 lbs Bever or more. I wrote to you about Beef Cattle, pray let me know your opinion when you receive the other letter I sent you by Lloyd. When the Sloop comes up again I will send the rest of the skins down, they are as good as ever I Rec'd.

The bearer is much in a hurry and I cannot say much but would be obliged to you to send me 8 lbs more twine. I wrote by Lloyd for a Barrel of Rum as soone as Possible. The Bearer will carry up the twine and two Quires paper. S'r, Your Humb'l Serv't,

PHILIP WEADE.*

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James White, Esq'r.

St. Anns, October the 18th, 1782.

S'r,—I expected your Sloop would have come up before this time but as she is not I am determined to send what Peltry I have for you to Mr. Peabody's in ten days; that is if the Vessel does not come up sooner. Samuel Weymouth carrys this to you with 80 pair of Mogosins at 2s. pr pair. I will send you 200 more before the river is froze if you want them. I have some exceeding good now makeing.

If Weymouth can carry anything up in his Bark Canoe I would be glad you would let him have 3 Bolts osnabriggs and 3 pieces of Blankets, half a dozen pieces of Garters, a piece or two of White Baize and 6 lbs coloured beads. I would be glad of a Cagg of Powder and 56 lbs Shott of a small size, some flints & a few more knives. When your vessel comes up I would be glad of a Hogshead of your Low priced Rum. I will collect what furs I can against the River is froze; I have some small furs at Pres't. I would be glad of two or three hundred Needles of a large size & a piece of Strouds. If Weymouth wants any Provisions for his journey up let him have it on my acct.

S'r, Your Humble Serv't,

Philip Weade.

P. S. Please send me two pounds of Tea & 6 Do. of Coffee. If

^{*} Philip Weade established himself at St. Anns Point where he had, in 1783, "a good house and barn and about 36 acres of improved land, chiefly cleared by the French." He was a trader, as is shown by his letters, and appears to have acted for Messrs Hazen & White in purchasing furs from the Indians. He owned lands in some of the other townships. See pp. 104, 110, N. B. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. 1.

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Weymouth can carry a Barrel of Rum I would be glad of it. I want a piece of Green and ne Do Red Baize. James White, Esq 1.

Campobello, March, 22, 1782.

Gentlemen:—In my Last Refur'd you to Major Studholme for sum Inteligeance which was this; there is a small privateer at Machias that Expect will Sale every Day. She is own'd & man'd by a parcle of Cumberland Refugees who is Determined to Suply them selves with Beef for use of ye Crue at Your Expence by privately Going to ye Marsh and killing your Cattle; You may Look for them every Day after you receive this; they are Bound up ye Bay a plundering. Take Care of yourselves and pray keep this a prefound Secret.

Have sent you 3 full Barrl of Rum Containing 924 Gallons & 160 lb of Tobacco which is all I can Com at as ye Vessel makes no stay. Have sum hid away at sum Distance which I shall carrey down next week in a Whale Boat.

I am Gentlemen with much Esteem Your most Hu'le Serv't,

JNO. CURRY.

Campobello, Aug. 12, 1782.

Dear Sir,— I have about 40 Barrels of Rum, Suger, Molasses & Tobacco to send to your place and want Capt Lovate to Com with the Small Schooner and fetch it; at same time he may Bring up ye Grindstons; think it as Good a time as Can bee Expected as know of no privateear in ye Way. Want you to Send 200 lb of Beavor by return of ye Bearor and Dispatch him back as soon as possable and Lett Capt. Lovot Come ye first good wind.

Ayers & Eddey with 2 other men in a boat is Gon your way a plundring, I supose; they went from hear this morning, probably Bound to Cumberland. We have not a Sentance of News this way worthy of mentioning. Pray let ye Beavor be in Snug Bundls that a man can Easelly Carrey. You will heave more particular from me soon.

I am in heast, Dear Sir Your most Hu'le Serv't,

JNO. CURRY.

James White Esq'r.

Campobello, Nov'r 19th, 1783.

Gentlemen,- I Rec'd your favour of the 15th Instant and Note the Contents and shall defaire Giveing you my Candite opinion upon the mater until I see you, which will be in a fortnight from this Deat on my way to Hallifax at Which time shall be better able to advise on the most prudent Steps to be Taken respecting the Island; it is still Secured to the original Grantees and Cannot be regranted. Cheffey is still in

possetion of ye Island* and will do nothing to Injure your Clame; however shall see him upon the Subject Before I Goo Down and will Get him to Do aney thing you would wish to Do respecting the mater.

Mr. Stover informes me he is indebted to you and cannot at present Discharge S'd Debt, therefore pleas place it to my acct, and shall settle

it with you when I Go Down.

I am Gintlemen with much esteem in heast, Your Most Hul. Serv't,

JNO. CURRY.

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Messrs. Hazen & White.

Maugerville, Sept. 6th, 1782.

Gentlemen,- Please to Send me a Barrill of N. England Rum as that will answer to Pay what I have Borrowed to carry on the mill work—which is in a good way.† I expect to Raise next Tuesday, I should be glad of a Barrill of Good West India Rum for my own use, what Tea you can spair, a Barrill of good Tobacco, sum sugur, Powder & Shott if you have it Plenty.

I should be glad if you would send to Hallifax by the first opportunity for a Hundred good Guns to furnish our Meletia as it is determined that they shall be furnished according to Law and that will make a

sure sale for that No. of armes. I am with Respect,

Your Humble Serv't, SAM'L PEABODY.

Maugerville, 23rd Sept'r, 1782.

Dr. Sir, Rec'd Yours of the 16th inst. Hope Mrs. White will continue to recover her health. Mrs. Simonds has sent her by Corp'l Kelley a wild Root said to be excellent for a cough. † Hope that you can attend the Court and that there will be more members appointed as I would prosecute some abusive people if I could have the benefit of the

My conduct in delaying an inquiry into the designs of the Indians doubtless appears rather unaccountable, but my Views was to make

^{*}The island referred to has been called by a variety of names, all of which are more or less historic. It was visited by a Massachusetts surveying party under one John Mitchell in 1764 when it was known as L'atercel Island, the name being in all probability derived from one Moise La Treille, a Frenchman, who lived there at the close of the seventeenth century. The Indians, however, called it Jeganagoose, and it was their favorite place of resort at certain seasons, hence the whites gave it the pame of "Indian Island," a name it still retains. The first white settler there seems to have been James Boyd, who came in 1763. But it would appear that Messrs. Simonds and White had an eye to the convenience of the situation for trade and fishing, and it was probably in consequence or an application on their part that the island in question was included (under the name of "Perkins Island") in the grant made Oct. 18, 1765, of the township of Burton on the St. John river, in which township Messrs. Simonds, Hazen and White were interested. Probably the Island was the headquarters of the operations of Messrs. Simonds and White as long as they carried on business at Passamaquoddy, but during the Revolutionary war they left James Chaffey in possession and it subsequently passed into the hands of his heirs.

[†] The mill referred to was built by Samuel Peabody, on the Oromocto River, for the manufacture of lumber.

[!] Mrs. White and Mrs. Simonds were sisters: their maiden names Elizabeth and Hannah Peabody, daughters of Capt. Francis Peabody and sisters of Samuel Peabody. Another sister, Hepzibah, married Jonathan Leavitt. Mrs. White died Dec. 18, 1788, having been for a long time in

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n and Hannah mother sister, a long time in further Discoverys of the promoters of the Reports which originated among the Inhabitants and for which they deserve to be severely punished; the Indian Chiefs as well as the others have long known of the project to destroy me and are a set of infamous Rascals. They now appear to be alarmed at the danger that threatens them. A spirited resentment of the Magistrates and others would now have a good effect and without it they design to be hostile towards the Settlers of new grants upon the small rivers. I am by no means afraid of them if I am upon a proper footing, but cannot content myself to be a mark for them to shoot at upon the main Road in to the Lakes without protection.

In haste Yours &c.,

JA. SIMONDS.

Jas. White, Esq.

Brook Watson Esq'r, Commissary Gen'l, &c., &c. To James White Dr.

To 172 Cords & 4 feet of Wood for the Service of his Majesty's Troops at Fort Howe and the Post at Oromocto, Commencing 25th Septem'r & ending 24th December 1782 both days included at 2s. per cord,.................................£172 10 0

Received from Brook Watson Esq'r, Commissary Gen'l, &c. by the hand of Roger Johnson Esq'r, Ass, Commissary Gen'l, the sum of one hundred seventy-two pounds ten Shillings currency in full for the above acct. of wood, having signed three receipts of this tenor & Date.

CONVEYANCE OF LAND TO ISRAEL PERLEY ESQR.

Know all men by these Presents that I John Munroe, Captain of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York; Agent for the Proprietors of the Township of Burton in the County of Sunbury and Province of Nova Scotia. For and in consideration of Divers services done and for to be done for the proprietors of Burton aforesaid by Israel Perley of Maugerville in the County and Province aforesaid,—Have in behalf of said Proprietors given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, conveyed and confirmed to him the said Israel Perley his heirs, Executors, administrators and assigns for ever,-One hundred acres of land lying and being in the Town plot or Commons in Burton aforesaid. Beginning at a stake and stones being the lower bounds of lands granted to Major Studholme on the bank of the River St. Johns one chain below the Point of a Hill Commonly called the Green Hill opposite to the said Perley's House in Maugerville, and running down the river ten chains or more as the lots in that part of the Town shall be proportioned and extending back one hundred chains on such a course as shall be hereafter ascertained by a survey and division of said Commons, To have and to hold with all and singular privileges and appurtenances thereto

belonging in the same manner as the aforesaid Proprietors have held the same lands by virtue of the King's Patent. To him the said Israel Perley his heirs, Executors, administrators and assigns forever free from the lawfull claims or demands of any person or persons whatsoever.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at Sunbury aforesaid this ninth Day of October in the year 1783.

JOHN MUNRO, Agent for the Proprietors.

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of HENRY HOLLAND JOHN SINNOTT.

THE TOWN OF PARR.

The fact is not generally recognized, even by students of local history, that the name of "Parr" or "Parrtown" was not given to the town founded by the Loyalists on the east side of St. John harbor until some little time after the arrival of the "Fall fleet" in 1783. The following letter from James White to the Collector of Customs at Halifax shows this conclusively:—

FORT Howe, 1st November, 1783.

Dear Sir,—Your Letter of the 28th September came safe to hand. I am much obliged to you for the offer of the inclosed warrant for vendue master tho' the appointment is for Shelburne: surely can't be meant for Port Roseway. Wish your advice if it may be altered for those two Towns now settling at the Harbour of St. John,— names unknown—and the commission allowed. I have Inclosed the outward Report of the Ship Stanistan for London.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Yours most obed't humb'e serv't.

James White.

Hon'ble Henry Newton, Esq.

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LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLAND OF GRAND MANAN,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY JONAS HOWE.

The letters and documents that follow, and are now printed for the first time, were written in 1817 at the request of the Hon. Ward Chipman, agent to his Britannic majesty, under the fourth article of the Treaty of Ghent, to determine the disputed title to Grand Manan and the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. The importance which was then attached to the island of Grand Manan has not been in the least diminished by time, as it is the key to the valuable commerce and inexhaustible fisheries of the Bay of Fundy, and its loss would have greatly jeopardized British interests in Eastern North America. In 1808 the United States had taken armed possession of Moose Island, now Eastport, in Passamaquoddy Bay, which that country retained until 1814, when the island was captured by a British military and naval expedition, during hostilities between the two countries, and was still occupied by a British force when these letters were written. It was not, however, until 1842 that the disputed points in the boundary controversy were finally settled by the Ashburton Treaty, and the question ceased to agitate the people of the United States and British America.

During the controversy a vast amount of history relating to particular localities and places in dispute in New Brunswick was gathered through the efforts of the Hon. Ward Chipman, a great deal of which was unfortunately lost by the destruction or distribution of the papers so labouriously collected by that gentleman in his official capacity. Those now printed are a few among those that were preserved, and which give a reliable account of the early settlement of that important part of New Brunswick.

The island of Grand Manan is about twenty miles in length, and its greatest breath is almost eight miles,* its general trend is from southwest to northeast, and it is the most southerly part of New Brunswick. It lies nine miles from the nearest part of the State of Maine, and thirty-five miles from Brier Island, which is to it the nearest part of Nova Scotia†. From its position at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, it was obviously of importance in a political view, commanding a sight of all that passes to and fro, and possessing many places of natural strength, its retention by the British was most desirable and its loss incalculable.

Standing like a sentinel at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, Grand Manan must, at a very early period, have attracted the attention of European explorers. Sebastian Cabot in 1498, and Gaspar Cortereal in 1501 may very likely have sighted its rocky cliffs, which rise in places to the height of more than four hundred feet. A few years later the Breton fishermen explored the various bays and inlets of the North Atlantic in pursuit of the codfish; they could scarcely have failed to become acquainted with Grand Manan and the teeming fisheries which must have then surrounded it, and these daring mariners were probably the first Europeans who landed on its shores. It is generally supposed the Bretons began their fishing voyages to the shores of North America as early as 1504.

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Although the English were the discoverers of this portion of the North American continent, very little was done by that nation at that early period to explore the vast regions now ruled by the English race. The first Englishman known to have certainly visited this part of the continent was Master John Rut, who in the "Mary of Guilford," sailed from Bristol in 1527, during the reign of Henry VIII., in quest of the northwest passage, and after many disasters, sailed southward along the coasts of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Norembega (now the coast of Maine)—"entering the ports of those regions, landing men, and examining into the condition of the country."‡ This expedition may have entered the Bay of Fundy, and some of its members may have landed on the shores of Grand Manan.

A map of North America by Diego Homem, a Portuguese, published in 1558, displays a cape at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy called *C. de los muchas islas* (cape of many islands). The islands referred to included those of Passamaquoddy Bay and also Grand Manan. It thus is evident that

* Perley's Report on the Fisheries of the Bay of Fundy, 1852.

A History of the Discovery of Maine, by J. G. Kohl. Maine Historical Society, 1869.

[†] A Brief Description of Nova Scotia, including a particular account of the Island of Grand Manan, by Anthony Lockwood. London, 1818.

Grand Manan was known to the early voyagers by the middle of the sixteenth century. We have, however, no written account of the island prior to the narrative of Champlain. This famous explorer refers in his well known "Voyages," published at Paris in 1613, to Grand Manan as an island six leagues in length called by the savages Manthane. Champlain himself visited the island and passed a dreary night in a storm off Southern Head in 1606. The Jesuit relations mention a place termed La Pierre Blanche, or "the White Rock," twenty-two leagues from Port Royal directly west. This place, now known as White Head, was used at times as a rendezvous and shelter for French ships. The waters in the vicinity of La Pierre Blanche were a favorite fishing station for the St. Malo fishermen. M. de Poutrincourt found four vessels there from St. Malo and Rochelle in the summer of 1611, and procured from them provisions for his settlement at Port Royal (Annapolis).

The English of Virginia learning of the settlement of the French in Acadia, and claiming by right of discovery the northern portion of the continent, in 1613, sent Captain Samuel Argal with three vessels to destroy the settlements. Captain Argal entered the Bay of Fundy (named by the French La Baie Francoise) and burned the buildings erected by DeMonts in 1604 on St. Croix Island, and crossing the Bay of Fundy, he also destroyed the settlement at Port Royal. On many old English maps of that period the bay is named Argal's Bay.

In 1621, the territory now comprising the two provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was granted by James I. to Sir William Alexander and named New Scotland. The St. Croix River, which Sir William Alexander named the Tweed, was the western boundary of the grant, and the portion now forming the province of New Brunswick was named the province of Alexandria — Grand Manan was included. On the map that accompanied Sir William Alexander's tract, entitled "An Encouragement to Colonies," printed in 1624, and which was written to promote the settlement of New Scotland, the whole territory granted, with a portion of New England, is depicted. Three islands, one large and two small, but without names, are shown at the mouth of the St. Croix; the large island is intended no doubt for Grand Manan. Sir William Alexander's efforts to plant English settlements in New Scotland failed, but the roll of baronets of Nova Scotia remains to perpetuate his efforts for colonization.

Acadia again reverted to the French by the Treaty of Breda in 1667.

A grant of the Island of Grand Manan was made to Paul Dailleboust,

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Sieur de Perigny, on the 16th April, 1693, by Count Frontenac, governor of New France, and Champigny, the intendant. The island is described in the Concession "as about four or five leagues in circumference at the entrance of La Baie Francoise, in Acadia." The grant is stated to have been made "in consideration of the services which the said Sieur de Perigny has rendered His Majesty in the present war in this colony (Canada) and that of Acadia." The grantee was to enjoy all the privileges of hunting, fishing and trade with the savages within the limits of his grant, on condition of his rendering faithful homage to the French monarch at the Castle of St. Louis, in the City of Quebec. He was also to preserve all oak trees, suitable for the construction of vessels, that might be found on the island, and to notify the king if any mines or minerals should be discovered, and lands were to be reserved for necessary roads or highways. There is no evidence that the Sieur de Perigny ever lived upon his island, or even that he made any improvements or placed tenants there, and his title in the course of time lapsed to the crown.*

The capture of Port Royal in 1710 gave the command of the Bay of Fundy to the English, and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 restored Acadia again to the English Crown. No attempt to settle Grand Manan, or develop the fisheries in its neighborhood, was made, as the insecurity occasioned by marauding bands of French and Indians along the borders of Acadia and New England rendered settlement hazardous.

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In March, 1734, George Mitchell, deputy surveyor of crown lands in Nova Scotia, was ordered to survey the St. John river and harbour to Passamaquoddy Bay, and the island of Grand Manan.† This was probably the first survey made of Grand Manan.

Governor Bernard, of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1764, had a survey made of Passamaquoddy Bay and the islands at the mouth of the St. Croix, and proposed making grants of land there, as being within his government. The next year Governor Wilmot of Nova Scotia did the same. Governor Bernard was, however, so doubtful as to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts in the Passamaquoddy region that on the 31st October, 1765, he obtained a grant from the Government of Nova Scotia for himself and four associates of 100,000 acres of land, including Moose Island and all the territory between the mouths of the Cobscook and

^{* &}quot;The Island of Grand Manan." says Dr. Ganong, in his contribution to the St. Croix Courier series of Historical Articles, No. XXIX., "was granted in seigneurie to Paul Dailleboust, Sieur de Perigny. We know that he was a lieutenant in the French army, and some other facts about his life, which, however, are of little interest to us, since it is unlikely he ever saw his possessions, and he makes no appearance in our history."

⁺ History of Nova Scotia. By Beamish Murdock. Vol. I., p. 497.

Schoodic, or St Croix rivers. Grand Manan, however, was not granted, and remained in its primeval condition, and is only occasionally mentioned in the records of the period.

The fall of Quebec in 1759, and the consequent extinction of French power in North America, brought peace and security to the Colonies. The undeveloped wealth of forest and sea, that existed at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, attracted the enterprising from New England, and a large lumber trade had gradually grown up around Passamaquoddy Bay, and along the borders of the Schoodic (St. Croix) and Magaguadavic rivers. This commerce had become quite important in 1776.

On the 9th of August, 1770, Capt. William Owen, R. N., visited Grand Manan* and explored its shores. He found there a Captain Nicholls, who seems to have been employed in fishing and trading in the region about Passamaquoddy. Nicholls' sloop had been engaged by a Mr. Lane of Gouldsborough, Maine, who had sent down a party of men for the purpose of cutting and making hay. Captain Owen describes Grand Harbour where the "Hay Sloop" had anchored. On his return a day or two later to his own Island of Campobello, Captain Owen found his friend and patron, Lord William Campbell, had just arrived in His Majesty's Sloop Senegal on business with the Indians, and doubtless also to visit his friend Capt. Owen. Speaking of this incident, in his sworn testimony before the boundary commissioners, John Curry, one of the old pre-loyalist magistrates of Passamaquoddy, says: "Lord William Campbell arrived at Campo Bello in His Majesty's Sloop of War the Senegal, Sir Thomas Rich, Commander." After narrating an interview that Lord William had with the Passamaquoddy Indians, in which the former made a number of inquiries which were answered very fully by the Indians, Mr. Curry goes on to say: "That at the time there were disputes respecting the Boundary Line between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts which was the reason of his Lordships asking these particular questions — that the deponent (Curry) was unacquainted with his Lordship, but from the recommendation of Capt. William Owen of the Navy, who had been a Midshipman with him, was requested to give every information and assistance in ascertaining it."

It is altogether likely that this visit of Lord William Campbell led to his subsequent endeavor to secure a grant of Grand Manan. We find that at a meeting of His Majesty's Council at Halifax on the 5th day of November, 1773: Present, His Excellency the Governor, Hon. Messrs. Richard Bulkeley, Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, Arthur

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^{*}See N. B. Hist. Soc. Coll., pp. 199-201.

Goold and John Butler; there was read "The Memorial of Lord William Campbell, requesting that a reservation of the island formerly called Grand Manan be made until His Majesty's pleasure be known." Some years later an attempt was made by a son of Lord William Campbell to secure possession of the island by virtue of an alleged grant to his father, to which further allusion will presently be made.

The outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1776 threw the affairs of the colonies into confusion, and nothing important is recorded concerning Grand Manan until the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783. Machias on the main-land, in the District of Maine, early became a rendezvous for rebel sympathisers during the years of war that followed, and thither the disaffected from Nova Scotia fled for help and succour. Predatory expeditions from this place began to prey on the commerce of the feeble and scattered settlements that then existed around the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and the pirates from Machias are constantly referred to in the correspondence preserved of those years.

In 1779 Joel Bonny,* Abiel Sprague, and James Sprague, with their families, removed from Machias and sought peace and shelter on Grand Manan. These men remained loyal to the crown, and refused to abandon their allegiance. They had been engaged in the lumber industry at Magaguadavic river, and in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, caused by the cessation of intercourse with New England, had to remove to Machias to find support for their families. In consequence of their loyalty their residence at Machias became unpleasant, and they removed with their families to Grand Manan, where they built huts, and sought to sustain themselves as best they could. The place still retains the name of the leader, and is known as Bonny's Brook. During their enforced residence on Grand Manan, a communication (which is printed in this article) was received from Lewis Frederick Delesdernier. dated Machias, June 4th, 1779, who signed himself "A. D. C., and Acting Secretary to the Commanding officer of this Place, etc." The commanding officer at Machias was John Allan, the son of a British army sergeant who had emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1749 with Governor Cornwallis, and assisted in founding the City of Halifax, and was then a magistrate in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, and a worthy and respectable man. Lewis Frederick Delesdernier was also the son of a resident of Cumberland County-Moses Delesdernier-and both had been engaged with Jonathan Eddy, another Cumberland man whose military career is interwoven with the history of Machias, in an abortive

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^{*} See Joel Bonny's deposition. Joel Bonny's wife was a sister of Abiel and James Sprague.

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attempt in 1776 to capture Fort Cumberland, a fortress at the head of the Bay of Fundy.* Joel Bonny had been an ensign in a provincial corps in early manhood, during the war with the French, and tradition says carried the colors of his corps at the storming of Detroit, and from experience was probably better able than his companions to judge of the importance of the contents of Mr. Delesdernier's letter. Without delay he and his companions returned to Machias, and had a conference with the Indians who claimed the island, and who agreed to allow them to remain unmolested on payment of ten dollars and a heifer which they had taken to the island with them;. But Grand Manan did not at that time prove a desirable place of residence, and the year following the three Loyalists, with their families, returned to Digdeguash, their former residence. Alexander Bonny, one of Joel Bonny's children, is said to have been born on Grand Manan, and was the first white child born on the Island.

The acknowledgement by Great Britain of the independence of the revolted colonies in 1783, brought to a close the war of the Revolution, and a new era dawned on the remaining British North American colonies. The influx of Loyalists that followed was one of the most remarkable episodes in American history. During that year fleet after fleet of sailing vessels, bearing their living freights of Loyalist refugees, passed the rock-bound shores of Grand Manan and entered the Bay of Fundy — pioneers destined to found a new nationality under the British flag. These loyal pioneers founded numerous settlements around the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and along the banks of the rivers that flow into the Bay.

On the 30th day of December, 1783, license was granted, under the seal of the Governor-in-Chief of the province of Nova Scotia, "to John Jones, Thomas Oxnard, Thomas Ross, Peter Jones, and Moses Gerrish, and others, being fifty families, to occupy during pleasure the Island of Grand Manan, and the small islands adjacent in the fishery, with liberty of cutting frame stuff and timber for building."§

These men and their associates were prominent Loyalists, and the community they founded assisted to establish the British claim to the island in the long controversy that followed years after. Only two of those

^{*}The correspondence and journals of Colonel John Allan, the commander at Machias, and Colonel Jonathan Eddy, have been collected and published in a volume by Frederick Kidder, that bears the dignified title of "Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the

[†] Statement of Joel Bonny's grandson, —— Bonny, of Kings County, N. B.

t History of the Island and Islets in the Bay of Fundy. By J. G. Lorimer, Esq., St. Stephen,

^{§.}Extract from the argument of Hon. Ward Chipman before the Boundary Commissioners.

mentioned, Moses Gerrish and Thomas Ross, remained and assisted in developing the latent resources of the island. Thomas Ross made his home on Grand Manan, but followed the sea as master-mariner, and died in 1804.* Moses Gerrish, who was a graduate of Harvard University and a man of acknowledged ability, became the most prominent resident on the island, and used his talents for the advancement of the sea-girt community in which he ended his days. For many years he was collector of customs for the island, and a justice of the peace, and he was also given special license to solemnize marriages. He was a Loyalist of the most pronounced type, and the fear he expressed in his letter to-Hon. Ward Chipman, that the British might fail to prove their claim to Grand Manan, and he, at the close of life, have to find another home under the British flag, is pathetic, and reveals the spirit that animated those old United Empire Loyalists. Most of the pioneer settlers of Grand Manan appear to have resided at Penobscot during the closing years of the Revolution, as that place was held by the British forces until the end of the year 1783.

The first account of Grand Manan published after the arrival of the Loyalists, occurs in an anonymous book printed in Edinburgh in 1786, entitled "An account of the present state of Nova Scotia." This description states: "The island is everywhere covered with good timber, but is entirely destitute of inhabitants, except some Indians, who land upon it occasionally. It is about fourteen miles in length and nine in breadth, very steep and craggy on all sides, but covered with an excellent soil, capable of amply rewarding the labours that are necessary for its cultivation. However, it is not yet known whether it is to belong to Great Britain or to America."

The isolated position of Grand Manan retarded its development, and settlement proceeded slowly. Some uncertainty seems to have been entertained for some years after the settlement of the island regarding the validity of the early grants, and on the 6th day of July, 1804, an order was entered in the minutes of the Governor-in-Council at Fredericton that a Deputy Surveyor be sent into the County of Charlotte with instructions to make particular inquiry into the state of settlement on the island of Grand Manan. Not very long after, viz: on the 12th February, 1806, an application of Moses Gerrish in behalf of himself and the other inhabitants of Grand Manan praying that a grant might pass confirming to the respective settlers their several possessions and allotments, and also for

Ross Island, which is just to the east of Grand Manan, and which was granted to Thomas Ross, perpetuates his name. On this island Moses Gerrish is buried.

a Glebe and a Lot for public uses, conformably to the Report of the Deputy Surveyor, was read in council and complied with, and on the same day an allotment of 500 acres was ordered in council to Daniel McMaster.

On the 25th February, 1807, an allotment of 400 acres was ordered in council to be made to Neil Morrison and 200 acres to William Green, 200 acres to David Quigley and 400 acres to William Burk, Senior.

On the 18th of August, 1807, additional allotments were ordered in council to sundry applicants on the island, and grants confirming the allotments pursuant to these orders were afterwards passed, dated the first of November, 1810. Among those who were early grantees were John Sprague, John Faxon, and Barbara Ross.

In the year 1806 William Campbell, of Savannah, but then residing at Charleston, South Carolina, son and heir at law to Lord William Campbell,* claimed the Island of Grand Manan and engaged eminent counsel to establish his claim, among the number Hon. Ward Chipman. The result was utter failure, however, to establish any kind of title. Henry Goldsmith wrote from Halifax, December 21, 1806, that having been desired so to do he had "examined all the books of records in the Secretary's office, as likewise all the books of records in the Registrar's office in which there might be a possibility of finding the grant you are in search of, which grant does not exist. I then went," he says, "to the Council chamber where I examined the records there during the years of Lord William's administration and found what I now enclose you [that is the minute reserving the island till his Majesty's pleasure should be known] which is everything that can be obtained here on that particular point, and which possibly may answer the end designed, although it is but a lame business unless Mr. Campbell, heir to Lord William, may acquire his Majesty's sanction thereto, and if he should succeed so far what insuperable difficulties will be have to surmount with those inhabitants who have been, as I believe, peaceably settled there these twenty years." Nothing more was heard of William Campbell and his claim.

In the early years of the present century Moses Gerrish placed a

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^{*}Lord William Campbell was the third brother of the Duke of Argyle, and was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia in 1766. He served many years in the royal navy, and was a man of ability and courage. Lady Campbell was a native of South Carolina, and a member of the Lard family, the richest family in that province. In 1773 Lord Campbell was appointed governor of South Carolina, and removed to that province at the beginning of the revolutionary troubles. In his efforts to stem the tide of revolution in that province, he incurred the hard of the revolutionary adherents, and in 1775 had to take refuge on board a man-of-war in Charleston harbour. The following year he returned with the fleet, under Sir Peter Parker, and while serving as a volunteer on the quarter-deck of the Bristol, in an attack on the forts in Charleston harbour, was badly wounded, and died from the effect two years afterward.

pair of moose on the island which increased and multiplied, and in the year 1810 an act of the provincial legislature was passed to prevent their destruction. The preamble reads as follows:—"Whereas the preservation of the breed of moose on the Island of Grand Manan may be beneficial to those who carried the first pair of moose to said Island, and also highly useful, not only to the inhabitants of said Island but of the whole Province; Be it therefore enacted," etc. A fine of £15 was fixed as the penalty for killing or wounding a moose on the Island. Mr. Gerrish himself was, however, allowed to kill a limited number. Twelve animals were killed in the winter of 1817, and the last in 1834 or '35. The act was repealed.

During the war between Great Britain and the United States, from 1812 to 1814, the Bay of Fundy was infested with American privateers, and the commerce of the provinces suffered in consequence. The waters surrounding Grand Manan were a famous lurking place for these rapacious corsairs until British cruisers became numerous on the seas, when their occupation ceased. The return of peace was hailed with joy by the people of both countries, but the boundary controversy began, and for years threatened to involve the two countries again in war.

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In 1817 Grand Manan, and other islands in Passamaquoddy Bay claimed by the British, were declared part of Great Britain.* In 1819 it was decided to fortify Grand Manan, for which purpose £40,000 was voted by the imperial parliament, and on September 14th, 1819, Colonel Lord, with two officers of the Royal Engineers, proceeded to the island to select a suitable position. In reference to this matter the St. John Courier of November 6th, 1819, contained the tollowing:

"The intended fortifications on Grand Manan are, we understand, to be immediately commenced at that point of the island called "Swallow Tail," being the spot most approved for that purpose, and establishing a depot, in the vicinity of which there is a spacious bay and safe anchorage for ships, secure from all winds except the eastward."

The commanding situation of Grand Manan, and the many places of natural strength it possesses, made the retention of the island by the British of great importance, hence the determination to fortify and defend it if necessary. But fortifications were fortunately not required on Grand Manan, the rightful claims of Great Britain to the island were peacefully conceded, and the key to the entrance of the Bay of Fundy remained under the British flag.

⁵ St. John Courier, Nov. 24, 1817.

On the 8th of February, 1824, Hon. Ward Chipman, the British agent on the boundary commission, died, and was succeeded as British agent by his son, Ward Chipman, Junior. At his death Mr. Chipman was President and Commander-in-Chief of the province, having assumed the administration of the government the year previous on the death of Major General George Stracey Smyth, the late Lieutenant Governor. The life history of this remarkable man and eminent Loyalist has yet to be written; his grave in the Rural Cemetery, near St. John, is marked by a plain slab on which is cut this epitaph:—

This Monument is Erected over the Remains of the

HONOURABLE WARD CHIPMAN, ESQUIRE,

who was born in the province of Massachusetts Bay on the 30th of July, 1754, and died at Fredericton, in this province, on the 8th February, 1824. He was a graduate of Harvard University and educated to the profession of the law. Retaining his loyalty to his sovereign, he was obliged to abandon his native land on the evacuation of Boston in the year 1776. Having repaired to England, the royal bounty bestowed on him a pension, in common with a long list of his suffering fellow-countrymen. But a state of inaction being ill-suited to his ardent mind, in less than a year he relinquished his pension and rejoined the king's troops at New York, where he was employed in a military department and in the practice of the court of admiralty until the peace of 1783. On the first erection of this province in 1784 he was appointed Solicitor General, and continually afterwards bore a conspicious and most useful part in its affairs as an advocate at the bar, a member of the House of Assembly, a member of his Majesty's Council, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and agent on the part of his majesty before several commissions for settling disputed points of boundary with the United States, until he closed his mortal career, while administering the government of this province as President and Commander-in-Chief during a vacancy in the office of lieutenant governor. Distinguished during the whole of his varied and active life for superior abilities and unweariable zeal, for genuine integrity and singular humanity and benevolence, his loss was universally deplored; and this frail tribute from his nearest connections affords but a feeble expression of the affectionate respect with which they cherish the memory of his virtues.

The St. John City Gazette of February 12th, 1824, contained the following editorial announcement of the death of Mr. Chipman, and, though short, expressed the feelings of the community in which he passed the greater part of an honourable and eventful life:

"It is with feelings of the deepest concern that we have to apprize

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our readers of the lamented death of that distinguished Individual who has lately been administering the Government of this Province,

THE HON. WARD CHIPMAN.

This melancholy event took place at Fredericton about 3 o'clock on Monday last, after an illness of only a few days, brought on, we fear, by the intense application which he has been compelled to bestow on public affairs. As a Member of Society, a Friend and a Man, his loss will be alike deplored. In him the Province has lost a Father, and Society one of its brightest ornaments. And while through a long life his private character has justly entitled him to the appellation of good, his public conduct and brilliant talents compel us to add that of great."

LETTER OF MOSES GERRISH TO HON. WARD CHAPMAN.

GRAND MANAN, Feb'y 20th, 1817.

Dear Sir,—I do myself the honor of returning your paper of interrogatories with my answers to them. My delay has been occasioned by my waiting for the evidence of an ancient person who formerly resided in Passamaquoddy, which I have at length obtained; and now send you every information respecting the former state of Grand Manan that I have been able to procure, though it is not so material or satisfactory as I could wish.

In the spring of the year 1763 Messrs. Vose & Miller, two men belonging to Cape Forçu,* moved to this Island with their families; the men were charged with having plundered a Vessel that had been stranded on that shore; and through fear of being arrested they moved here, built themselves huts and planted some potatoes; but at the close of the following summer they moved to Machias, and left their potatoes for fishermen to eat. These were the first families that ever attempted to make a settlement on this Island.

In 1766 a Mr. Robert Boyd† came to Passamaquoddy on speculation, having failed as a Merchant in Newbury, and being a Scotchman he was of course patronized by Lord Wm. Campbell who appointed him a Magistrate, and promised him a grant of 1000 acres of land including Saint Andrews, on condition of his placing 100 families in that vicinity. Mr. Boyd accompanied Lord Wm. Campbell to this Island, and was promised a part of it, in case he would settle on it. In 1778 Mr. Boyd returned to New England, and finally died a dancing master in Boston. Mr. Boyd's eldest son, Robert Boyd, a respectable man, was above twenty years of age when the family moved from Passamaquoddy, and now lives in Portland, and might give you some useful information, if his political principles did not prevent it.

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[&]quot;Usually spelled "Fourchu" the name signifying "Forked Cape ;" it lay on the westward side of Yarmouth Harbor.

[†] This should be James Boyd and the date 1763.

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In 1773 Messrs. Abiel Sprague, James Sprague, Moses Sprague, and Joel Bonny moved from Machias to this Island, probably with a view of continuing here; but in 1774 they were ordered to move off the Island by the Indians, on account, it is said, of the injury the Indians supposed they did to their hunting; though I have had different accounts of the cause of their removal, but they complied with the order of the Indians and moved over to Passamaquoddy, instead of returning to Machias.

The only survivor of the four men before mentioned is Joel Bonny, who now lives on Magaugadavic River, whose testimony 1 recommend your obtaining, if possible. Mr. Bonny is an old man, but would doubtless wait on you by the first of April or sooner at your request.

It is not impossible but that Mr. Bonny or one of the Spragues, during their residence here, might have attended a Justice's Court either as plaintiff, defendant, or witness, at Campobello — a material point in proof of the exercise of an act of Jurisdiction over Grand Manan from the Government of Nova Scotia.

As I am arrived so near the close of life it would be a serious mortification to lose Grand Manan and be compelled by my Countrymen to move again, or live under their Government, merely because we are not able to prove some act of Jurisdiction from the Government of Nova Scotia has not been exercised over the Island before the peace of 1783.

The American claims being admitted, they will not only hold Grand Manan but several other Islands in this Bay; but relinquish our claims to this Island only, and they will be satisfied, on account of the fishery about it; for it is that they covet more than the Island.

Any further commands you may have respecting this Island, I shall be happy to execute; and regret that it is not in my power to prove that Grand Manan was under the Jurisdiction of Nova Scotia before the peace of 1783.

I have the honor to be

Sir, with great respect, Your most obd't Serv't,

Moses Gerrish.

Hon. Ward Chipman, Esquire, St. John. Favor'd by Mr. Jackson.

INTERROGATORIES TO MOSES, GERRISH AND HIS ANSWERS.

1. How long have you been acquainted with the Island of Grand Manan?

Ans. I had no knowledge of Grand Manan only by sight and report previous to our landing here to make a permanent settlement on the 6th day of May, 1784.

2. Did you reside there at any time and how long before you procured the licence of occupation of that Island for yourself and others from the Government of Nova Scotia in the year 1783?

We procured the license of occupation of this Island in the Autumn of 1783; but none of the Licensees had been on the Island before that period.

3. Were there any and how many Inhabitants upon that Island at

or before the peace of 1783?

Ans. At the time we landed here there was not a human being on

the Island, except a few Indians. 4. Did such Inhabitants consider themselves as under the Govern-

ment of Nova Scotia? Ans. Answered by the preceding.

5. Did such Inhabitants formerly attend the Courts held on the Island of Campo Bello under the Government of Nova Scotia?

Ans. I cannot learn that there were ever any Courts held at Campo Bello, except a Magistrate's Court occasionally, and there were no

inhabitants of this Island to attend any Court.

6. Were there any Settlers placed upon the Island of Grand Manan by Lord William Campbell in consequence of the reservation of that Island to him by a minute of the Council of the Province of Nova Scotia in November 1773?

Ans. Lord William Campbell did not place any Settlers upon the

Island of Grand Manan, though he was here in person in 1767.

7. Was any right or claim to this Island ever pretended or advanced by the Province of Massachusetts Bay before the Revolution, or before

the peace of 1783?

Ans. No right or claim to this Island was ever pretended or advanced by Massachusetts Bay before the Peace of 1783, that ever came to my knowledge; and at the time I applied to the Government of Nova Scotia for this Island, it was publicly known, and, it being after the peace, we were crowded with Americans from various parts of Massachusetts; but I never heard the least insinuation that Grand Manan belonged to the United States; otherwise I should have withdrawn my petition. I then resided at Penobscot.

8. Are there any, and how many persons and who are they, that are now on the Island who resided there before the American Revolution, or before the peace of 1783, and did they always consider themselves

as being under the Government of Nova Scotia?

Ans. No person or persons resided on this Island before 1784,

except some temporary ones, whom I have noticed in my letter.

9. Were there any magistrates or other officers appointed by the Government of Nova Scotia on that Island before the peace of 1783?

Ans. It was impossible for the Government of Nova Scotia to appoint officers on this Island before 1784, for no person resided here to accept of an office.

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10. Were there any and what acts of jurisdiction exercised by the Government of Nova Scotia over that Island before the peace of 1783?

Ans. Grand Manan was not granted or inhabited until 1784, and therefore no Act of Jurisdiction from the Government of Nova Scotia could be exercised over it before that time.

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11. Did the American Privateers commit any acts of plunder or depredation upon the Island as being British, during the war of the

Ans. The American Privateers seldom visited this Island during the Revolution because there was nothing here to plunder.

12. Do you know any other matter or thing that can tend to establish his Majesty's claim to this Island as being formerly a part of the Province of Nova Scotia?

Ans. I know of no other particular matter or thing that can tend to establish his Majesty's claim to this Island, than what is universally known and acknowledged, that Grand Manan did formerly lie within the limits of Nova Scotia, and does now lie within the limits of New

Do you know any person, and whom, that can give material 13. testimony upon any of the points inquired into by these Interrogatories? Ans. The testimony of Mr. Joel Bonny, respecting the former state of Grand Manan, would, in my opinion, be as material as any you will be able to procure, for this man once lived here. See my letter.

What was the state of the Island with regard to Inhabitants

or cultivation before the peace of 1783?

Ans. When we took possession of this Island, it was uninhabited, uncultivated, and in a state of nature, except some small pieces of land that had been cleared by transient settlers and fishermen for firewood.

[The interrogatories in the above are in Ward Chipman's hand writing and the answers in the hand writing of Moses Gerrish. Judge Chipman has put his pen through the following interrogatories and answers as not material to his argument, viz.: Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, as appears by the following memorandum made upon the back of the papers, "Within is the statement in this argument respecting Grand Manan to be proved by Mr. Gerrish. The material parts of Mr. Gerrish's answers will be seen by the residue being struck out."]

MOSES GERRISH.

Moses Gerrish was born at Newburyport, Massachussetts, and entered Harvard University at the age of fourteen. After graduating he taught school for some years. During the Revolution he was attached to the commissary department of the British army, and was stationed at Penobscot, until that post was evacuated by the British forces in 1783. He was one of the Penobscot Associated Loyalists, and had a grant of land at Oak Bay, Charlotte County. Moses Gerrish was an able man, and the leading spirit in the settlement of Grand Manan. For many years he was the only magistrate residing on the island, and, although authorized by license to solemnize marriage, he remained himself a

bachelor. Life on Grand Manan must have had a peculiar charm for this solitary man, who could have filled with honour a much higher place in society than the island community he had chosen for a home could ever have given him. But he at least seems to have been well satisfied with his choice, and dreaded having to leave it. When he felt the infirmities of old age creeping on him, he deeded his property to a triend in whose honour he had confidence and on whose friendship he could rely, and with these kind and tried friends the old Loyalist passed the last years of his life.

Some years before he died he selected a lonely spot on Ross Island, where he desired to be buried, and at his death, which occurred in 1830, his friends complied with his request. For many years his old neighbours cared for the lonely grave, but it has long been neglected, and the wooden railing that once inclosed it has rotted down and disappeared, and the grave is now overgrown with brambles.

The Gerrish family, of which Moses Gerrish was a scion, is one of the old historic families of New England, some of whom came to Nova Scotia, and held positions of trust and honour in that province, previous to the Revolution.

NOTES ON JAMES BOYD OF PASSAMAQUODDY.

There is in the Lennox Library, New York, a valuable collection of papers known as the Chalmers MSS. Geo. Chalmers was at one time an official in the office of Trade and Plantations and his "Papers relating to Nova Scotia" bear date from 1745 to 1817. Many of the facts that follow are taken from the Chalmers papers:

About the year 1760 William Boyd, a manufacturer in Kilmarnock, sent out his younger brother, James Boyd, to sell goods for him in America. At the expiration of three years, namely in May, 1763, James Boyd came to Indian Island in Passamaquoddy Bay, called by the natives Jeganagoose, where he built a trading house. There were at this time no framed houses in that region, nor indeed any white residents nearer than Machias. Early in 1767 Mr. Boyd went to Halifax to make application for lands. The following minute of the Governor-in-Council shows that he succeeded to some extent in his design:

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Nova Scotia: At a council holden at Halifax on the 13th March, 1767.

On the memorial of James Boyd praying for liberty to occupy an Island, called Isle Lutterel or Fish Island, whereon he has erected several Buildings and Flakes for carrying on the fishery, and that he

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s erected that he may have a Reservation of Land to the eastern head of Scoodick River, he proposing to introduce fifty Families thereon. . . . Ordered that a License of Occupation be granted to the memorialist and that fifty Thousand acres of land lying & situate on the River Scoodick, the Lands alloted to Major Gorham and others, be reserved (and laid out agreeable to his majesty's Instructions) for one year from the first Day of June next. (Signed) R'D BULKELEY.

It appears that about the same date Mr. Boyd was gazetted a Justice of the Peace for "a District from the river Saint Johns to the western boundary of this province"—i. e. of Nova Scotia. The commission was issued by Lord William Campbell, March 17, 1767, and it thus appears that James Boyd was the first magistrate at Passamaquoddy. On March 28th, 1767, a grant of 1000 acres of land was made to Boyd at what is now known as Bocabec in the County of Charlotte. He seems to have also exercised some authority over the land on the Schoodic reserved by order of the Governor-in-Council as in the minute just referred to. He called the rocky headland, near the mouth of Chamcook harbor, Kilmarnock Head, in honour of his native place in Scotland. Mr. Boyd was concerned in the establishment of some of the first mills at Passamaquoddy and with some of the first successful attempts to bring in New England settlers. He at one time had as a copartner in business, John Curry, who came to Passamaquoddy in 1770, and was one of the early magistrates there. James Boyd accompanied Capt. Wm. Owen on his visit to Grand Manan in August, 1770, and is frequently referred to by Capt. Owen in his journal. (See N. B. Hist. Soc. Coll. pp. 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205). William Nesbitt, Attorney General of Nova Scotia says in a letter, dated November 12, 1773, that James Boyd had settled 26 families, consisting of 125 persons, on the lands reserved at Passamaquoddy, and had engaged others to come there the next summer. Lord Wm. Campbell returned to England, and this, with the issuing of new instructions by the Home Government relative to granting lands in America, appears to have blighted Mr. Boyd's prospects of securing an estate of 50,000 acres as he had hoped. He thereupon wrote to his brother William in Scotland to apply to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, in their joint names and in that of Lord James Erroll their patron, for a confirmation of the grant applied for in 1767. It is said that a favourable answer was received, but before anything was done, the breaking out of the American Revolution threw everything into disorder, and James Boyd himself sought the protection of the American Government. His nephew the

Rev. Wm. Boyd, Minister of Crimond near Peterhead, North Britain, in a letter written at Aberdeen, Jan. 20, 1815, says, "As the Lands and Islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy are now under the British Government, I have been advised by some Friends whom I have consulted that this might be a proper time for me to recover the part of the Estate which belonged to my Father, or at any rate to recover the money with interest which my Father had paid for the Goods carried out by my Uncle, and which was by him applied to cultivate this Ground." In the letter from which these words are quoted, Rev. Wm. Boyd says that a son of his uncle James Boyd, James Erroll Boyd, was at that time (1815) "a General in the American Army, and is mentioned as having trained the Canadian Army of the States."

It need scarcely be added, that all rights held by James Boyd at Passamaquoddy had long since been forfeited to the crown and the lands granted to bona fide and loyal settlers, and it would scarcely appear from Moses Gerrish's letter, that there was any foundation for the notion Rev. Mr. Boyd entertained as to the opulence of his uncle's family.

DEPOSITION OF JOEL BONNEY.

Joel Bonney of the Parish of St. George in the County of Charlotte in the Province of New Brunswick aged seventy seven years, deposeth and saith, that at the commencement of the American Revolutionary War he resided at Diggedeguash in the said County and finding it very difficult there to procure support and provisions for his family he removed at an early period of the War to Machias where he resided for some years, but being a loyal subject of His Majesty and having in the old French War, which was terminated in the year 1763, held the Commission of Ensign in His Majesty's Service, he constantly refused to bear arms or to take part with the Americans, in consequence of which he was so much disturbed and harrassed that early in the year 1779 he removed to the Island of Grand Manan in order to be within the British Government and protection, under which he conceived the said Island to remain as being a part of the Province of Nova Scotia. That his brothers-in-law Abiel Sprague and James Sprague, who are both since dead, accompanied him with their families to the said Island, which was at that time altogether uninhabited except by Indians. That soon after their arrival on the said Island they received notification to quit the said Island, which the Deponent now retains in his custody and exhibits at the time of taking this Deposition to which the same is annexed being marked A. That after receiving the said notification the Deponent and his companions came to Passamaquoddy, where they had a conference with the Indians, who agreed to let them remain and winter on the said Island on condition of their paying ten dollars each to the said Indians — that they accordingly remained on the said Island

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during that year and left it in the Spring of 1780, when the Deponent removed to Diggedeguash aforesaid then also and still remaining under the British Government and protection, under which he has resided within the said County of Charlotte ever since.

JOEL BONNEY.

New Brunswick, Charlotte, SS.

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Be it remembered that on the thirteenth day of May in the year of our Lord 1817 before me Donald McLauchlan, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Charlotte in the Province of New Brunswick, personally appeared the above named Joel Bonney and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God made oath that the matters contained in the foregoing deposition by him subscribed are just and true; the said Joel Bonney being at the time of full and sound memory and understanding.

Don. McLauchlan, J. P.

On Public Service. MECHIAS, June 4th, 1779.

Gentlemen,—At a Conference with the Merrisheete, Penobscot, and Passamaquody Tribes of Indians, on the 28th May past, complaint was made by said Indians, That a Number of Inhabitants, Subjects of America, had Taken possession, & where makeing Improvements on an Island call'd Grand Manan the property of said Indians.

Upon Examination It was found you & Familys had Done This & the most Evil Consiquences might be Expected from such proceedings.

You must know Gentlemen, That this Island has Accation'd much Dispute between the Court of France, & the Court of Great Britain, in Former times, and now the Court of Great Britain claims it as theres as they say it Belongs to Accadia or Nova Scotia contrary to their Former claims. However let this be as it will, it was Left for the Benefit of the Indians, who had no Concern in the Dispute and who had the original right, in this Case it was Guaranteed to them by promise in Behalf of the United States, till a further Ditermanation of Congress or any other Sutable authority.

I do therefore Warn you to leave without Delay the said Island, as you will answer the Consiquence at your Peril, for a Breech of Treaty between the United States and said Tribes of Indians, and I have farther to Warn you That the Greatiest Threats is thrown out against you by said Indians, The Execution of which will not be in the power of the Superintendent & Agent to prevent.

Therefore if any difficulty befalls you or your Familys it will be your own faults as you now have Sufficient Notice.

I am, In behalf of the Continantal Agent, Your verry humble Sarvent,

Lew's Fred'k DeLesdernier,

A. D. C. and acting Secretary to the Commanding officer of this Place, &c.

To Messrs. Abial & James Spragues and Joel Bonny now Inhabitants of the Island of Grand Mannan.

JOEL BONNEY.

From his grandson, Mr. Chas. Jamieson,* of St. Stephen, we learn that Joel Bonney was born in Pembroke, Conn., (now Mass.), and was of Welsh descent. He was a very stout and able man, six feet and one inch in height and remarkably fine looking. He fought in the French and Indian wars, and was present as an ensign at the taking of Detroit, and tradition says that it was he who pulled down the French colors when the British entered the fort. As a carpenter and millwright he came to Machias in 1763 to help in building the first mill there. By the year 1770 the settlements in that neighborhood had greatly increased and seven saw mills had been built. He lived for a time on Grand-Manan, where one of his children was born, who is said to have been the first white child born on the island. At Digdeguash Joel Bonney assisted in the building of a mill for John Curry and also a residence. His own house stood on the east side of the river, some distance south of the highway road that now leads to St. George. Bonny River in the vicinity preserves his name. He received his grant of land at Digdeguash, March 29, 1784. As stated in his deposition, Joel Bonney was obliged to leave his place at Digdeguash for a time on account of circumstances arising out of the war. He returned in 1780 and, some years later, took up a new place at the mouth of Digdeguash. McDonald, in the year 1804, says "Joel Bonney, senior, settled on the Head in 1790, which he cleared all up and then moved back in the rear of the other settlers on the county road in 1796, where he now resides." After living some years at Digdeguash he removed to Portland, Maine, where he died about the year 1824 at the age of 84 years.

LEWIS FREDERICK DELESDERNIER, A. D. C., ETC.

Lewis Frederick Delesdernier was a nephew (not a son as previously stated) of Moses Delesdernier. The elder Delesderniers were natives of Switzerland, and came to Nova Scotia about 1752, and were intelligent and well educated men. In November, 1776, Jonathan Eddy, a former resident of Cumberland who had obtained the commission of colonel in the Continental army, led an armed force, which he had collected on the St. John, against Fort Cumberland, and attempted the capture of that important post. A number of the residents of Cumberland joined Eddy's force, and among them was Lewis Delesdernier. As the garrison

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^{*} See Article LXXX., St. Croix Courier Series.

^{*} Haldim t I am in

was small, Eddy anticipated an easy capture, but Colonel Joseph Gorham, the commander, and his garrison made a brave resistance, and the assault by Eddy's force failed, and with his followers Eddy retreated to Nearly all the residents of Cumberland who had assisted Eddy in this enterprise followed him on his retreat.

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Moses Delesdernier, writing to his patron, General Haldimand,* in October, 1778, after relating his own misfortunes, makes this statement in reference to his nephew: "But to mine and my family's great sorrow, they (the rebels) prevailed upon my nephew by threats to take arms and join them." Subsequent events, however, show that Lewis Frederick Delesdernier was not an unwilling follower under Eddy.

At Machias Lewis Delesdernier appears to have attached himself to the fortunes of Colonel John Allan, who had been appointed superintendent of the Indians with the rank of colonel, and who gave Delesdernier a lieutenant's commission, and also appointed him "A. D. C., and acting secretary to the commanding officer" at Machias. Delesdernier accompanied Colonel Allan on all the predatory enterprises in which Allan was engaged, and his pen recorded many of the occurrences that Mr. Kidder has collected in the volume entitled "Military Operations." In August, 1778, Delesdernier, with several others, was captured by an armed vessel and taken to Halifax. But in September, 1779, he was again at Machias, and on the 28th of that month wrote to Dr. Avery, as follows, in reference to an occurrence in which members of his own family were interested:

"I write addressed jointly to you and Esq'r Shaw, enclosing a letter to the owners of a privateer that had fallen in with a small schooner, owned by my brother Frank and Dr. Head, wherein all my father's effects were embarked to be conveyed from Cumberland to Windsor, but were taken by Capt. Weston, commander of said privateer. McKenzie, master of said Schooner, having a fair opportunity, stole away from Pemiquid, and in six days brought her back to Windsor by himself. This accident, or anything you may please to stile it, was the means of my father repossessing the remainder of his effects; as all not taken out and spoiled and destroyed, as happened to the greater part. In hopes of getting recompence for what is gone, he embarked the remains, with my mother and brother John, are come to this place with Littlefield, via Passamaquoddy. My hopes of their getting any more than chance has returned to them are small.";

To the credit of Colonel Allan, he was greatly opposed to the villianous system of privateering, and the occurrence related shows that friends

^{*} Haldimand Collection. Moses Delesdernier's letter to Gen. Haldimand. October, 1778.

[†] I am indebted to W. C. Milner, of Sackville, N. B., for a copy of Lewis Delesdernier's letter.

as well as foes often suffered by the operations of the privateers that infested the Bay of Fundy during the American Revolution.

In 1790, Albert Gallatin, who afterwards became eminent in the political history of the United States, arrived at Machias and linked his fortunes with the revolutionists. Lowis Delesdernier shared his home with Gallatin, and a friendship that continued through life was formed. The story, as related by John Austin Stevens, in the Life of Albert Gallatin,* has in it a tinge of romance. Another version of the story mentions Moses Delesdernier as the Lesdernier who met Gallatin in the streets of Boston, and induced him to proceed to Machias. It was probably the father of Lewis Delesdernier who met Gallatin, and as they were countrymen of Gallatin's, may have unconsciously placed that celebrity on the road to fame and fortune.

After the close of the Revolutionary war Delesdernier resided at Eastport, Maine, and was the first United States collector of customs for that port — a position he obtained through the influence of Gallatin. But in the evil days of the embargo, prior to the war of 1812, his own friends proved to be his greatest enemies, and Delesdernier's honesty caused his downfall. He died at Eastport in 1830.

Moses Delesdernier, with his brother, the father of Lewis Delesdernier, first settled at Windsor, and received lots in the Falmouth Grant, in 1772. Moses early acquired some prominence in the province, and was sent by Governor Francklin of Nova Scotia to Pennsylyania to invite emigrants to Cumberland to settle a tract of land called Francklin Manor,† It was there he met a young Irish gentlemen named Richard J. Uniacke, whom he induced to go to Cumberland with him, and act as his clerk. Uniacke married Moses Delesdernier's daughter, and shared his fatherin-law's misfortunates during the troubles in Cumberland, but afterwards became Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, and a leading politician in the province. Delesdernier became, for a time, agent for General Frederick Haldimand in the settlement of lands bordering the Shepody river, now in Albert County, New Brunswick, and his residence was at Hopewell. In 1775, in partnership with a Mr. Dewitt, he brought from New York a considerable cargo of merchandise, and built a house and established a business at Shepody Hill. The following year this establishment was plundered by a party of rebels and Indians connected with Eddy's expedition, and Delesdernier with his family was forced to remove to Fort Cumberland for protection. At Cumberland, after the invaside loyalty of that time.
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3. Find Jurors suraforesaid,

^{*} American Statesmen Series. Life of Albert Gallatin, by John Austin Stevens.

[†] The late Thos. B. Akins, of Halifax, to the writer,

^{*} History

invasion by Eddy's party, he was, with his son-in-law, accused of disloyalty, but Colonel Gorham's letter to General Haldimand releases him

of that suspician, and mentions his services to the government at that

time. After the arrival of the Loyalists the grants of lands given

General Haldimand were escheated to the crown, and Delesdernier's

services were consequently dispensed with. In 1798 he petitioned the Nova Scotia Assembly for compensation, stating his visits to Holland,

Germany and Switzerland by order of the board of trade, and for losses

caused by the Indians and Acadians in 1758, but his claim was dismissed.

INTERROGATORIES TO COL. WYER AND HIS ANSWERS.

He died in Nova Scotia in 1811, at the venerable age of 95 years.*

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1. Whether or not were you at any time and when Sheriff of the County of Charlotte, at what time were you appointed to that office and how long did you hold the same? Ans. I was appointed Sheriff of the County of Charlotte in the Spring of 1785, and I continued in that office untill the Spring of 1790, when John Dunn, Esq'r, was appointed.

Whether or not, while you held the said office, were Jurors summoned by you or by your direction from Moose Island and the Island of Grand Manan to attend the Courts at St. Andrews? Were any Jurors so summoned from the said Islands, or either and which of them, to attend the Court there in the month of September, 1785, and how long did you continue to summon Jurors from the said Islands? Were there, during that time, any Inhabitants upon Dudley Island & Frederick

Island, and if yea, were they so summoned?

Ans. By a panell of Jurors returned to September Term, 1786, I find Moses Gerrish, of Grand Manan, returned as a Grand Juror. I cannot find the Panell for Jurors for 1785, but I find a copy of return made on an Execution for levying fines on delinquent Jurors returnable to September term, 1786, those delinquents were Petit Jurors, three of them Inhabitants of Moose Island, and old Settlers, their names are as follows: James Cofran, Joseph Clark and William Ricker. I attached a quantity of Hay to satisfy their part of the Execution, which I sold for fourty Shillings. I think these Jurors must have been summoned to attend at September term, 1785, as the Court generally allows a term to show cause why they should not be fined. I continued to summon Jurors from Moose Island all the time I was in office, and put notices up for holding the Courts on the most Public Store, at that time on the Island; Col. Allen lived on Dudley Island and Mr. Le Derney on Frederick Island, I cannot say that either of them were summoned

3. From what other Islands, if any, in Passamaquoddy Bay were Jurors summoned to attend the said Courts while you were Sheriff as aforesaid, and when were they first summoned?

^{*} History of Nova Scotia, by Beamish Murdock, Vol. 3, p. 315.

Ans. They were also Summoned to appear as Jurors from Campo-Bello, Deer Island, India Island, and an Island called Le Tete Island and I am confident that I summoned them from all the above mentioned Islands to appear at September Term, 1785.

4. At what time did Moose Island, Dudley Island and Frederick Island become subject to the jurisdiction of the State of Massachusetts, and how and in what manner was such jurisdiction obtained? Relate all that you know respecting that transaction, and the circumstances

attending the same.

Ans. After my resigning the office of Sherriff in the Spring of 1790 I took charge of a vessel and went to Europe, was absent upwards of twelve months; on my return I found Moose Island was called East Port and contained a number of American Cytizens; when and how long it had become subject to the State of Massachusetts I cannot give any Information, Rob't Pagan, Esq'r, I think is the most likest Person to answer this Interrogatory.

SAINT ANDREWS, 12th February, 1817.

Dear Sir,—I herewith take the liberty of returning the Interrogatories you did me the honor to send me, and I have anexed such answers as I trust will be useful to you for your Examination in the spring. In looking over my Court Papers I find a great many of them missing, many of them so much defaced by being Eat by the mice, that I am prevented from giving you the Information I had antissapated. herewith Inclose two notes for the release of Sam'l Tuttle an old Inhabitant of Moose Island who I committed to Gaol while I was Sherriff. I took him from Moose Island, he was an Inhabitant of Moose Isl'd when the Loyallists first came to this Country. Bowen the Plaintiff in one Action is likewise an Inhabitant of Moose Island and one of the old Settlers, the other Plaintiff Batson lived on Grand Manan. Tuttle immediately on his release brings an Action against both Bowen and Batson, which Actions are recorded on my Dockett returnable to Sept'r term 1787. I have taken the liberty of Inclosing these two Papers presuming they might be serviceable.

Should you stand in need of any further Information, please favor me with a line and I shall, with great pleasure, attend to your request.

I have the honor to be, with great full acknowledgement for past favors, dear Sir Your most obedient and very hm'ble Servant, Tho's Wyer.*

The Hon'ble Ward Chipman, Esq'r, Fredericton.

INTERROGATORIES TO MR. DUNN AND HIS ANSWERS.

1. Were you at any time Sheriff of the County of Charlotte, at what time were your appointed to that office, who was your immediate Predecessor in the same, and how long did you hold the same?

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^{*}Thomas Wyer had been, prior to the American Revolution, customs officer at Falmouth (now Portland), Maine. He married a daughter of Jeremiah Pote, a merchant of Falmouth, who was proscribed and banished for his loyalty. Mr. Wyer was the first Sheriff of Charlotte County, and died in 1824 in the 80th year of his age. He was interested in trade and lumbering and a prominent man at St. Andrews in his day.

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dmouth th, who County, and a Ans. I was sheriff of the County of Charlotte, my Commission was dated at Fredericton the 6th day of October, 1789. Sworn into office at Saint Andrews, January the 19th, 1790; held the same until April, 1803. Thomas Wyer was my immediate Predecessor.

2. Whether or not while you held the said office were Jurors summoned by you or by your direction from the Island of Grand Manan, CampoBello Island, Deer Island, or any, how many and what other Islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy to attend the Courts at Saint Andrews?

Ans. Whilst I was in office I summoned Jurors from Grand Manan Island, Campobello Island, Deer Island, and Indian Island, which attended the Courts at Saint Andrews regularly, and from no other Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay.

3. Were Moose Island, Dudley Island and Frederick Island then under his Majesty's protection and Government, or under the Government of the state of Massachusetts? At what time did these Islands become subject to the State of Massachusetts, and how and in what manner was the jurisdiction of that State over these Islands obtained? Relate all that you know respecting that transaction and the circumstances attending the same.

Ans. I considered Moose Island, Dudley Island and Frederick Island under my jurisdiction. The first year I was sheriff I served Processes on Moose Island and Dudley without any opposition, after which I never received any Process against any of the Inhabitants of these Islands. Shortly after, I think in the year 1791, Mr. Cooper, then Sheriff of the County of Washington went on Moose Island and promised the Inhabitants if they would become subjects of the United States that he would obtain for them Grants of such parts of the Island as they then occupied, which they agreed to do, since which the Island remained under the jurisdiction of the State of Massachusetts.

Saint Andrews, Feb'y 10th, 1817.

JOHN DUNN.

Hon'd Sir,—Your letter of the 31st ult. I have rec'd inclosing Interrogatories for me to answer which I have done to the best of my recollection; the two first are perfectly Correct, but the third, as I observed before, is as far as my memory serves me, tho' I believe as far as I have said is pretty Correct. I presume you will not meet with much difficulty in obtaining sufficient vouchers to substantiate your first Claim to these Islands, though I must confess I don't see much benefit arising from their being attached to this Provinc, Grand Manan excepted, as it would be better to have real enemies than partial friends, we never will be able to make these fellows good British subjects. There's by nature a boundary line, and if we had other lands in lieu of them it would probibly be better.

I am Sir, very respectfully

Your obliged Humble Serv't,

JOHN DUNN.

Hon. Judge Chipman.

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