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June 1913*

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

NEW BRUNSWICK

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

No. 4.

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New Brunswick Historical Society.

No. 4.

SAINT JOHN, N. B. :
THE SUN PRINTING COMPANY, LIMITED.
1899.

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INTRODUCTORY.

Since the commencement of the present series of the Society's publications several of the old members who took an active interest in the proceedings of the Society and its objects have died.

Gilbert Murdoch, C. E., a former vice-president, died on the 28th May, 1894. Mr. Murdoch took great interest in historical research. He was for many years chief engineer of the water and sewerage department of the city, and was a very valuable member of the community.

Alfred H. DeMille, barrister, died December 4, 1895. Mr. DeMille was interested in old city history, and a contributor to our Historical records. Shortly before his death he read before the Society a very interesting paper on the "Martello Tower," in Carleton.

G. Ludlow Robinson, died February 13, 1896. Mr. Robinson was a descendant of a prominent old Loyalist family—his paper in the "Loyalist Centennial Souvenir," issued by the Society—on the "Mayor who died in office" (Hon. John Robinson), is a valuable contribution to city history.

Robert W. Crookshank, died October 17, 1897. He was one of the founders of the N. B. Historical Society. Universally respected and esteemed by his fellow citizens. He was greatly interested in the objects of our Society, and in its early days was most diligent in endeavouring to place it on a successful footing.

Wm. K Crawford died March, 1898. Mr. Crawford was a very worthy citizen—descendant of a Loyalist family in Kings County, but engaged in business in St. John from his early youth. He was for many years treasurer of the Society, and did much to place its finances on a substantial basis.

During the past few years the Society has increased its membership, and has actively carried out the purposes for which it was organized.

Many papers of valuable historical reference have been read at their meetings—a list of which is given herewith, and which will be published from time to time as circumstances will permit.

The members have also interested themselves in all subjects of a historical nature in the city and elsewhere in the province.

At the celebration of the Sexagenary of H. M. Queen Victoria, in connection with other societies, they held a public meeting in St. Andrew's Rink, at which addresses were made by prominent citizens in reference to the long and prosperous reign of Her Majesty.

On the 20th January, 1898, Sir John G. Bourinot, by invitation of the Society, delivered a lecture in the School-room of Trinity Church on the "United Empire Loyalists," which was listened to by a large and deeply interested audience. Dr. Wm. Bayard, the venerable president of the Loyalist Society presided.

Delegates have been regularly appointed to the meetings of the Royal Society of Canada. In 1895 Messrs. S. D. Scott and Hurd Peters were chosen; in 1896, Mr. Jas. Hannay; in 1897, Mr. Hannay; in 1898, Mr. S. D. Scott.

The Old Burial Ground, the last resting place of the Loyalist founders of the city, has had special attention; remonstrance has been made to the Common Council touching the destruction of Tomb Stones, the desecration of the old burial place by needless walks opened by the public over old burial lots, and the indifference and neglect of the public caretaker in the preservation of the few monuments remaining in the grounds.

The attention of the Society was called to the dilapidated condition of Fort Cumberland, a place intimately associated with stirring events in the early history of the province. It was stated that the neighbouring farmers, and others, were gradually taking away what remained of the structure for the purpose of building fences, cellars, &c., and shortly little would be left but the bare site of what was once the scene of a great and successful effort to free the country from French domination. It is the intention of the Society to call the attention of the Minister of Militia to this condition of affairs, and request his active interference, to preserve what remains of the famous old historic structure from further destruction.

The Historical Society has much pleasure in recording that the Provincial Government has generously restored their annual grant, which has been and continues to be of material assistance to them in publishing their transactions and papers.

Since our last list of papers was published the following contributions have been read at the meetings of the Society:

30 January, 1894.—A list of Settlers who were on the St. John river on the arrival of the Loyalists, with their claims, dated July 8, 1783, by Mr. James Hannay.

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- 27 February, 1894.—Services of Elias Hardy in connection with settling Loyalist Claims on the River St. John, by Rev. W. O. Raymond.
- 27 March, 1894.—Account of a Winter Journey made in 1825 from Halifax to Quebec by way of Annapolis, St. John and Fredericton, by Sir George Head, by Clarence Ward.
- 24 April, 1894.—Reminiscences of Early Times in Bathurst, N. B., by E. B. Biggar.
- 29 May, 1894.—The Old Westmorland Road, and the state of the Roads in the Province from 1790-1806. Rev. W. O. Raymond.
- 30 October, 1894.—Description of a boulder stone, showing Tool Marks, at Hill Point, St. Davids, Charlotte County. James Vroom.
- 29 January, 1895.—Martello Tower, Carleton. A. H. DeMille.
- 28 October, 1895.—Old Indian Fort, Meductic. Rev. W. O. Raymond.
- 7 January, 1896.—Diary of John Quincy Adams, during a visit to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1840, presented to Society through E. L. Prince, of Milltown, Mass.
- 28 April, 1896.—Lieut. Adam Allen, and Old Presque Isle. Rev. W. O. Raymond.
- 26 May, 1896.—Diary of John Quincy Adams with a Sketch of his Life and Services. W. P. Dole.
- 15 December, 1896.—Journal of Captain Owen, describing Settlement, Grant, &c., of Campobello. Contributed by W. F. Ganong, Ph. D.
- 23 February, 1897.—Militia of the Province during the last 30 years. Read by L.-Col. Maunsell.
- 26 October, 1897.—Letters and Memoranda relating to the Loyalist Settlers on the St. John River. Rev. W. O. Raymond.
- 30 November, 1897.—Letters written by Simonds, Hazen, Peabody, giving details of the mode of getting Masts for the Royal Navy—being the commencement of Lumbering in the Province. Rev. W. O. Raymond.
- 14 December, 1897.—Letters and Historical Documents in connection with the Early History of Grand Manan. Jonas Howe.
- 22 February, 1898.—Penobscot Loyalists, contributed by Mr. Jas. Vroom.
- 29 March, 1898.—Diary of Admiral Owen of Campobello. Contributed by W. F. Ganong, Ph. D.
- 31 May, 1898.—Notes for a life of Governor Carleton. Contributed by W. F. Ganong, Ph. D.
- 27 December, 1898.—The Pennfield Records, contributed by J. Vroom.

THE JOURNAL OF
CAPTAIN WILLIAM OWEN, R. N.,

DURING HIS RESIDENCE ON CAMPOBELLO, 1770-71.

EDITED BY W. F. GANONG.

SECOND PAPER.

In Volume I of the Collections of this Society there was published what was then thought to be practically the complete Journal of Captain Owen during his residence of a year on Campobello. It was printed from a manuscript copy made by his Granddaughter, Mrs. Robinson-Owen, who believed she had transcribed everything of importance. I made every effort to obtain the use of the original journal, but, naturally, it was considered too precious to be allowed out of the possession of the family. The Journal was published after Mrs. Robinson-Owen's death, and since then her daughter, Mrs. C. N. Cochrane, of Windlesham House, Bagshot, Surrey, England, has been so kind as to risk the dangers of transportation and to entrust the original to me for a time, in order that anything it may contain of value not already published may be made available to all interested in the subject. For this liberal spirit and its practical expression, we are all much indebted to Mrs. Cochrane, to whom it is my pleasant duty here to express my sincere thanks.

I found that the original Journal does contain matter scarcely less in amount and value than that already published. Of particular importance is its account of the formation of the Campobello Company, the preparations for the settlement, and the journey out to the Island, the subsequent fate of part of the settlers, and the report of the twelve jurors describing the exact improvements made by the settlers during the first year on the Island. I need hardly add how great is my regret that the entire journal could not have been published at one time, but under the

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circumstances there is nothing better to be done than to add here the new parts and to arrange them in such a way that students, with both parts before them, can, by a system of cross-references, read through the journal consecutively.

Some compensation for the necessity of publishing a second paper on this subject is to be found in the opportunity to add some notes on Campobello which I have gathered since the appearance of the first part. In particular the large quantity of papers left on the Island by the Owen family, and now in possession of the Campobello Company, have yielded some important points to an examination I was able to make of them in Sept. 1897, through the kind assistance of Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, who not only had the papers put at my disposal, but gave me the very best of facilities for their examination. Though they do not contain much upon the period covered by the journal, they are of the greatest importance on the subsequent history of that region. In particular the voluminous letter-books of David Owen from about 1797 to 1820 contain materials of much local interest, especially relating to the times of the boundary disputes and the war of 1812, and there is here a good opportunity for some local historian. No doubt the Company would permit the use of the papers to a competent student, especially as the great influence of Mrs. Wells would surely favor any scholarly effort to make better known the history of the Island, in which she has so deep an interest.

The photograph of Captain Owen, presented herewith, is from the painting in the ancestral home at Glansevern, Wales, and was obtained and presented to me by Mrs. Cochrane, but too late for insertion in the first paper. That of David Owen is from a painting also at Glansevern, and has been generously given me by Miss Humphreys-Owen, daughter of the present possessor of the family seat. (It is interesting to note that portraits of all four of the Owens connected directly with Campobello are in existence, for there is a published steel engraving of Admiral Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen, and an oil portrait of Admiral W. F. W. Owen is preserved at Campobello.. Ultimately all four portraits are to be placed in the Public Library at Welshpool, already built through the efforts and generosity of Mrs. Wells.)

Among the papers in possession of the Campobello Company are several which relate to Captain Owen and to Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen. A few of these are drafts of petitions of Captain Owen to the Admiralty, of which the following is most complete, and gives some additional facts as to his history.

To the First Lord of the Admiralty,
The Petition of Lieutenant William Owen, humbly sheweth,

That the said Lieutenant immediately after his return in His Majesty's ship Assistance from the Coast of Guinea & the West Indies, sails for the East Indies in the beginning of the year 1754 in the squadron commanded by Admiral Watson, that he serv'd at the taking of Geriah, Bouge a Bougee, Tama, Fort William, Hughley, Chandernagore and the whole series of actions that accomplished the reestablishment of the East India Company's Affairs in the Kingdom of Bengall wherein any of his Majesty's Ships, Boats or Seamen were employ'd, in one of which actions he was wounded with a musket Ball that lodged in his Body above three Years and a half.

That he serv'd as a Lieutenant in the three General Actions between his Majesty's Squadron commanded by Adml. Pocock: and that of the French King commanded by Comte D'Ache—he serv'd at the taking of Suratt, a shore at the seige of Kerral, and at the Blockade & Surrender of Pondicherry.

That in the night of the seventh of Octr 1760 he had the honor of commanding one of the Divisions of Boats order'd by Admiral Stevens to cut out the two French Ships La Baleine & Hermione from under the Guns of Pondicherry, in executing which service, after he had boarded and got possession of the latter, he had the misfortune to have his right arm shot off & to receive a violent contusion & lasseration on his side by a Cannon Ball from that Fortress.

That by his behaviour on this occasion he gain'd the general approbation of the officers of the Fleet there, the particular thanks of the Admiral, & a promise of future favors etc.

Another petition of his, of similar import, is given by Mrs. Wells in her "Campobello," p. 8.

The several papers of this character, and many references to the subject in different parts of his Journal, both before and after his residence on Campobello, give a vivid impression of the favoritism which prevailed at that day in the Naval Service in England, and how essential were persistence and influence for securing promotion. There could have been nothing unusual in such a petition as Captain Owen's, strange though it may sound to our ears.

Amongst the same papers is one which shows that Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen, then a widower, was married Feb. 28, 1829, to Selina Elizabeth Hay at St. Martins in the Fields Middlesex. That he was born at Campobello, in 1771, and not in Wales in 1763 as the Biographie universelle states, is not only attested by the full and excellent Biography of him in the Dictionary of National Biography, and by the

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*See page 218.

other evidence already given,* but is also implied in the following extract from a letter preserved at Campobello, written by Captain Owen to Sir Thomas Rich, dated Shrewsbury, 9th June, 1775, which is also of interest as presenting to us the hero of Pondicherry in the more familiar aspect of a doting father. He writes:

The hereditary Prince of C. B. [Campobello] has not forgotten his Godpapa. I assure you he often speaks of you, and now desires his duty to you—he is universally caressed by all degrees of people in this proud town, they all pronounce him the finest boy they ever beheld, but what is infinitely more estimable to me—he is really a very good boy and makes a rapid progress already at school.

In Mrs. Wells' "Campobello," others of these papers are referred to. The Journal of Island events kept by David Owen, mentioned by her on page 10, was not a distinct journal, Mrs. Wells tells me, but is the same as his letter-books above referred to. The "Survey Book" mentioned on page 24 is chiefly a book of leases of property on the Island and is very local in its value.



The probable approximate location of the principal buildings in Captain Owen's settlement of New Warrington is shown on the accompanying map, which has been compiled from references in the *Journal*, and from DesBarres picture of 1777, checked by a careful examination of the locality.

Captain Owen's original *Journal* is in two thick folio volumes, of which

*See page 213, 214 of the first paper (page 21, 22 of the reprint).

I have seen only the second. Mrs. Cochrane tells me the first relates to his travels in India and elsewhere. Volume two is entitled:

**NARRATIVE.—VOYAGES, TRAVELS ETC.
VOLUME 2D. BY WILLIAM OWEN.**

It contains 276 large foolscap pages (8 1-4 by 13 1-4 inches) closely written in a clear, almost a beautiful hand, so that hardly a letter is obscure. It begins with the date July 20, 1761. It is not properly a journal, for it was not written up from time to time as events occurred, but all in a short time, though, of course, with notes or diaries as a basis. This is shown by the large size and good condition of the journal itself, which could not have seen service by field and flood; by the arrangement of matter in it, which is not always chronological; by the fact that a small pocket note-book is among the papers at Campobello, which contains a diary of his trip to France in 1768, which is plainly the original of his description of that trip in the Journal; and finally and most satisfactorily by this note by himself in his letter to Sir Thomas Rich, already referred to, under date, 1775, "I am busily employed in writing my voyages and travels in all parts of the world." Whether or not he expected to publish it, I do not know.

From a literary point of view the Journal is a good piece of work, and simply as a narrative of travel and adventure is most attractive. This fact, together with its most valuable observations upon life and events in different parts of the world, make these volumes well worth publication at this day. They show that their author possessed a good education, keen powers of observation, well developed sense of humor, and strong English prejudices. He speaks once of his rambling, restless, unsettled disposition, to which his work bears abundant testimony.

From 1761 until 1766 the Journal shows that he was living in England in different places, and I judge that his descriptions of English life at that time would prove of great importance to students of that subject. The first reference in the journal which in any way relates to his future connection with Campobello is under date July 26th, 1766, on which day he received a letter from Lord William Campbell containing an invitation to go as his secretary to "a very healthy part of the world not a great way off," which he promptly accepted. August 16th he waited on Sir William Campbell in London, and agreed to go, conjointly with Captain Goold, as one of his secretaries, he as a volunteer, Captain Goold to receive the emoluments. On October 8th, 1766, they embarked on the *Glasgow* for Halifax, which they reached Nov. 26th. There he spent the winter, which

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he says was severe, but "compensated by the enjoyment of every domestic rational social or convivial comfort and blessing that a virtuous, a wise, or a prudent man could wish for or desire."

On the 29th of May he set out with Sir William Campbell for a tour of Cape Breton and St. John's (now Prince Edward) Islands, and his full account of this trip must be of very much value to the historians of those Islands. On June 6th (1767) they spoke a brigantine with emigrants from Philadelphia for Pictou. They reached Halifax on June 19th. "The Provincial House of Assembly having had summons to meet on the 24th of this month, was an indispensable cause for our so speedy return; we should, had time permitted, have visited Gaspee & Chaleur Bay with several other places." July 2nd he set out for New York on the *Garland*. On July 12th, somewhere off the coast of Massachusetts, they cast a trawl and dragged it in 25 and 26 fathoms. "The trawl-net brought up a variety of flat fish, and among the shell-fish a great number of scallops of an extraordinary size and rich flavor; together with abundance of sea-eggs, starfish, coral, weeds and other curious sub-marine productions." July 14th, he reached New York, of which he gives a description, with much other matter of local interest. August 6th, he went by schooner to Newport, where he remained some time, and his comments show that it was even then a resort for wealthy people of fashion. He went by stage to Boston, which he reached August 25th. An entry under date August 27th (1767), is of interest as containing the first direct reference to Campobello: "My Plan at this time for returning to Halifax was to go up the Bay of Fundy, to visit an Island at Passamaquoddy, granted me by the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia; thence to Annapolis Royal, etc." He gives a full and appreciative account of Boston. "The country round about it is exceedingly delightful; and from Beacon Hill, which stands close at the back of the town within the peninsula, there is one of the finest, most beautifully variegated, and richly grouped prospects, it is possible for the human mind to conceive of." And again, "Arts and Sciences seem to have made a greater progress here than in any other part of America. Harvard College has been founded above a hundred years; and although it is not upon a perfect plan, yet it has produced a very good effect. The Arts are undeniably much forwarder in Massachusetts Bay than either in Pennsylvania or New York. The public buildings are more elegant; and there is a more general turn for music, painting & the belles lettres." He left Boston September 2nd and went direct to Halifax, which he reached on

the 6th. On the 14th he set out with Sir Thomas Rich for a tour of Nova Scotia. They went along the route of the present Shubenacadie canal to Minas Basin, which they examined, and of which he gives a very full account, and on the 30th he returned to Halifax. October 1st, he sailed with Sir William Campbell for New York, which they reached on the 10th and whence they went to Philadelphia by stage, where Sir William Campbell visited relatives of his wife. The journal describes Philadelphia. They returned to New York and sailed for England, and on Dec. 1st reached Falmouth. I have no doubt that the parts of his journal describing these leading American cities would be prized by their historians.

Until August 1768 he roamed about England, leading a very unsettled life, and in that month he went with a friend for a tour through parts of France and Belgium, which he saw with an Englishman's eyes. In October, in an election affray, he received injuries which lost him the sight of one eye and disfigured his face. He continued to live in England, frequently visiting his brother at Warrington, until August, 1769, when there was held a meeting at the Warrington Coffee house, with which the modern history of Campobello begins. From this time on we shall let the extracts from the journal tell their own story. They will show the exact formation of the Campobello Company, the preparations for forming a settlement on the Island, the journey out, some additional particulars as to the events during the year on the Island, the names of several other residents of Passamaquoddy, the Report of the twelve Jurors summoned to view the improvements made during the year, which are minutely described, the meteorological observations made during the year, the plans for an examination into the natural productions of the country, and the fate of a part of the settlement which attempted to return to England. The figures prefixed to the extracts refer to the pages of the first paper on which the passages should occur, the higher figures being the pages of the volume of the Collections, and the smaller of the pamphlet reprint. A few corrections of slight errors in the first paper are also made in their proper places.

The 28th (Aug., 1769), in the evening, there was a meeting of my friends held at the coffee-house* to consider about a plan of settling, cultivating and improving the outer or great island of Passamaquoddy, situated in the Bay of Fundy, Nova Scotia, which had been granted me when in North America. The following scheme was proposed, which I closed with, and proper instructions were given to our Attorney to draw up

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the necessary writings; after previously signing the articles or heads thereof. Suppose the whole property to consist of sixteen parts or shares; thirteen of them were to be at all expenses in carrying on the plan, and I, as lord of the soil or principal proprietary, to be at no expense whatever, and to have 3-16th of the net produce. The shares to be transferable if the parties were approved of by a majority of the proprietors, and any person growing tired of the plan, refusing or neglecting to pay into the hands of the treasurer or chief manager, when properly demanded, his quota for carrying on the undertaking, to forfeit his share in the island, as well as in the fund for its trade, settlement, cultivation or improvement. A Vessel was agreed to be bought, I was solicited to go to take possession of the island, and many other material points were discussed and finally settled. The subscribing proprietors were, Roger Rogerson of Warrington Esqr., two shares; Mr. Hodson of Wigan, two do; John Lyons Esq., Ed'd Pemberton M. D., Rev. Edward Owen, A. M., and William Turner, Esq., all of Warrington, one share each; Messrs. Lloyd and Kerfoot of do one do, Thomas Hayward of the Royal Navy, one share; Messrs. Samuel Johnson and Rowland Hunter, merchants of Liverpool, and Plato Denny, mariner and ship-master of do, three shares; making in all thirteen shares, or 13-16ths of the whole.

September the 2nd, I sent my servant John to Tyncoed; who five days after returned with my eldest brother and his 2nd son David

28th Dec. The next day I took a post chaise for myself and servant and went to Liverpool on the Passamaquoddy business.

Feb. 8, 1770. Went to Liverpool . . . Next day went to see a Snow of about 200 tons burden in the Salt house dock, bought up and called [her] the Owen, for my intended American voyage; gave some necessary directions relative to the accommodations.

Mar. 23. Went to Liverpool with Mr. Rogerson on business relative to the island, and the next day returned to Warrington.

28th. Took post Chaises and went to Liverpool with my servt. and baggage. The 29th, hauled the Owen out of the South Dock, turned up to Slyne and moored her there.

30th. The indentured servants and artificers were marched from Warrington, and most of them embarked on board the Owen.

31. The rest of the people were embarked; a party of my friends went on board the Owen with me to dine, and returned in the evening.

Apr. 1. Sunday, the 1st of April, in the morning I went on board the Owen at Slyne for good, a report being made that the people were riotous and disorderly.

6th. In the morning a pilot came on board, weighed and dropped down abreast of the north part of the town, where we anchored and took on board 8 barrels of powder.

[On the seventh they sailed.] The Pilotage now devolved on Captain Plato Denny, who was the master, but in all cases subject to my orders.

[There was nothing of especial interest to us on the voyage, which is minutely described. May 21st they reached Halifax].

The 21st, in the morning, having a breeze of wind about W. N. W., at 8 o'clock weigh'd and worked up the Harbour. A Pilot came on board, who I dispatched with a letter to Lord William Campbell, the Chief mate and I undertaking the pilotage of the vessel in. We worked to the eastward of George's Island; at 11 anchored with the best bower in 12 fathom water in Halifax harbour, veered away and moored, George's Island S. S.E., and the flagstaff on Citadel hill W. b S. 1-2 S. Found here his Majesty's Ship Romney, Commodore Samuel Hood, with the Hussar and Rose Frigates; the Magdalen, Hope, St. John's and Betsey schooners, a store-ship from England, &c. As soon as I landed on the slip at Halifax I was met by many of the principal inhabitants, and by the Collector and Controller of the Customs, as managers, to invite me to a ball and supper which the town was going to give the Gentlemen of the Army and Navy on the evening of the following day. I assisted Denny in the business at the Customhouse, got the debenture bonds cancelled, and indeed, I met with the utmost facility and dispatch in all the Public offices; the people seeming to vie with each other in rendering me every act of friendship and kindness to enable me to prosecute my plans, except the Commodore, who, tho' he invited me to dinner the next day, shewed himself rather inimical, by taking from me one Dogget, a pilot who I had engaged; but he wanted him to go in the Rose to Quebec; this poor fellow was, the following winter, lost off the lighthouse in the Grandby tender. I could not conceive how I displeased this *grca ma* unless it was by giving the Governor the first perusal of my Magazines and Newspapers. The Provincial Surveyor* furnished me with a sketch of my island and a good chart of the Bay of Fundy; a Commission of the peace was passed under the Province seal appointing me quorum unus,** and Plato Denny Master of the Owen, with William Isherwood, my clerk, justices of the peace for the County of Sunbury; The Governor gave me a special license to trade with the Indian tribes; Mr. Bulkeley the Provincial Secretary, a deputation to grant passes to Vessels & people departing the Province; a deputation was promised to be applied for to the new board of Customs at Boston; and, in short, everything that could be done, to strengthen my hands, and to make me formidable and respectable in my island and its neighbourhood.*** Denny disposed of 1500 bushels of salt and some other articles here on account of the proprietary, and our business being all completed by Sunday the 27th, I ordered the signal for sailing to be made that morning, but was prevented by the Commodore's sending on board and taking away one Lunt, a pilot I had engaged, who, it seems, he was pleased to want for one of the King's schooners. How-

* Charles Morris. He had made a survey of Passamaquoddy Bay in 1765.

** The Court of the quorum is now extinct.

*** The Province was very anxious to secure genuine settlers, and Captain Owen's vigorous effort to establish a settlement was a great contrast to the languid conduct of most other grantees.

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DAVID OWEN, A.M.
 Trinity College Cambridge.
 Died in 1829 at Campobello,
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ever, about one o'clock, I picked up one Captain Black,* a native of Old York, acquainted with the Bay of Fundy, tho' not with my Island, who I engaged and took on board with me. We weighed at two o'clock and stood down the harbour between George's Island and the town, with a fine breeze at N. N.E. & N. b W., but under an easy sail, while the Yawl carried the pass to the Island guard & returned. At 5 o'clock the Lighthouse on Sambro' Island bore N. W. distant 2 miles, when we hauled up W. S.W. round the ledges. At 8 Sambro' lighthouse bore N. E. b E. distant 6 Leagues, and Cape La Heve at the same time W. b S. distance 8 or 9 leagues

[The voyage to Campobello was uneventful; he visited Machias Bay on the way, and bought a quantity of lumber, 5555 feet of boards, 1000 clapboards, 1100 shingles.**]

4th. At 8 the N. E. End of Grand Manan S. E. b S., the N. E. end of Passamaquoddy N. by W, and extremes of the Wolves E. b N. and N.E. About 10 saw three fishing schooners off Havre de temps,*** and sent Captain Denny in the yawl to endeavor to get a pilot

Here begins the Journal as published in Vol. I of the Collections.

P. 195 (p. 3) For L'Outre read Loutre. Note 3 is in error; it occurs in Mitchel's Ms. Field Book of 1764 as Harbor delute. For Campo-Bello, read CampoBello.

Note 5. The three families, as shown by the jurors report to be given later, were those of Robert Wilson, William Clark and William Ricker.

P. 196 (p. 4). Words "38 people" to "Owen," not in original. Read 11, Cha. Whitnell . . . Brickmoulder . . . also shoemaker.

P.197 (p. 5). For Gendergrass, read Pendergrass. Under Note 1 I have the following additional information: John Montgomery was an East Indian servant as the Journal tells us under Dec. 6, 1761. Mr. N. W. Marston of South Lubec writes me that the name Mulineaux now occurs in Eastport, possibly descended from Wm. Mollineux.

Mr. George Batson, of Welshpool, writes me there was a Grigson on Campobello, who, 65 years ago bought and moved to Treat's Island and is buried at Lubec; there was a Green on Campobello seventy years ago, whose descendents now live at Letete and Eastport; a Bates lived on the Island long ago, whose descendents now live at Eastport.

[P. 198 (p. 6). Line 16 after "Halifax," insert:]

I shall, in the meantime, only introduce a few cursory remarks relative to our proceedings, the arrival and departure of vessels, my own rambles

* Explains note 8 page 200, (p. 8).

** There are other references later to the purchase of lumber showing that his settlement was by no means a collection of log houses.

*** I have no clue to the identity of this harbour, and know of no other reference to it. Possibly it is an error for Letang.

and peregrinations, and shall then conclude this part of this miscellaneous hodgepodge, with an exact copy of a meteorological Journal, which at the request of two very eminent members, my friends Mr. Pennant and Doctor Forster, I partly prepared to send in to the Royal Society, but as I had no great desire to appear in *print* or was I anywise solicitous to have F. R. S. annexed to my name; and, moreover, other business intervening, I did not put myself to the trouble of transcribing a fair copy of it for that Learned Body.

Sunday 10th, having no better place yet, I performed Divine Service in the Shed, both morning and evening, at which attended most of the Inhabitants of this, Indian, and Casco Bay Islands.

The 14th, anchored in the Cove a Sloop from Annapolis Royal, and another from Mount Desart.

The 16th, erected a flag staff 44 feet high on the summit of the hill near the centre of the intended town. William Clarke of this Island swore an assault, battery and breach of the peace against William Dolland* of Deer Island; granted a Warrant and sent a party to apprehend him, who seized and brought him over hand-cuffed about midnight. Sunday the 17th, Divine service morning and evening; and ordered extracts of the Province Laws, after reading them, to be posted up here, at Indian and Casco Bay Islands, for the information of the inhabitants, Indians & migratory fishermen.

The 18th, examined evidence in the action of assault Clark against Dolland; the latter expressing a sincere contrition, and in future due obedience to the laws, at the request of the plaintiff was released, paying the constable's fee, only. This vigorous enforcing of the laws, and blending lenity with justice had a good effect on the banditti. The 19th having chartered the Polly schooner, I sent Captain Denny, the Pilot, the 2nd mate and two Seamen of the Owen, in her to Meechias for lumber. The two sloops sailed out of the Cove. The 21st, went over in the Yawl to Point Pleasant, and married Philip Newton and Mary Cartney, widow, James Boyd, Esq., a justice of the peace appearing, personally and giving a certificate of his having published their bans three Sundays in time of Divine Worship, agreeable to act of the Province Assembly. Returned in the evening. The 23d, the Polly schooner returned from Meechias with 6600 feet of boards, and 1000 clap-boards; discharged her & in the evening sent her round to Cross-Eddy Cove,** and delivered her to the owner.

The 24th, performed divine service morning and evening. The 26th, discharged the Pilot, & he sailed for Annapolis in an Old York schooner.

Sunday the 1st July, performed Divine Service morning and evening, and baptized a son of William & Susanna Clark by the name of William-Owen-Denny; Captain Denny, myself, and Catherine Lawless being sponsors.

* Clearly written Dolland, but later as clearly written Dollard.

** Probably the Cove at Wilson's Beach.

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[P. 198 (p. 6), Line 16, words (who . . . Owen) not in original; line 22, after "store," insert:]

The 9th, the Old Colony sloop sailed to the westward; and having bought the Kingfisher sloop's cargo of lumber, hauled her ashore and discharged her of 10,315 feet of board, and 9 1-4 thousands of shingles, received also 3000 shingles from Indian Island. Sailed a schooner.

[P. 199 (p. 7) line 6, after "friends," insert:]

The 13th, sent two new salmon-nets up to Seoodic falls by James Cochran to fish upon shares; whilst our own fishermen are daily employed in the Cod, Haddock and Pollock fishery.

Sunday 15th, performed Divine service morning and evening & baptized a child of Wm. Dollard, lately drowned, and Hannah, his wife, by the name of Thomas-Matthew; Myself, James & Hannah Chafey, sponsors.

The 16th, arrived here the Sally schooner, Newman, from Halifax, with our pilot, Captain Black, in her.

Sunday the 22d, I was visited by M. Baille the French Missionary, and about thirty of the principal Indians of the Passamaquoddy and St. John's tribes. Divine Service and preached a sermon.

The 24th, visited by Mr. Preble, the French priest, and seven or eight of the leaders of our tribe; and the 26th, Captain Denny and I returned their visit, in form, at their Camp at Point Pleasant. Received some smoked Salmon, and two cask of salted ones from the falls.

Sunday 29th, Divine service twice and a sermon in the evening.

[P. 199 (p. 7) Line 8, for Baille, read Bailie; after line 17, insert:]

Sunday the 5th, in the morning I read Divine Service, an Act of 32 George II, for punishing criminal offenders, and an Act of 1, Geo. III for the better observation and keeping of the Lord's Day. In the evening performed Divine service and preached a Sermon. The 6th, bought a quantity of flower and Indian meal out of the Polly schooner, and by her received sundry articles from my correspondent John Rowe Esqr. at Boston.

[P. 200 (p. 8), line 18, after "sloop," insert "from Gouldsborough;" P. 201 (p. 11), line 15 add:]

The 24th, at high water the Province schooner hauled off the beach and the next morning the Governor sailed in her for Annapolis Royal, attended by the Slipper Cutter with the Acting Lieutenant, Mr. Fortescue, of the Senegal, and the chiefmate of the Owen on board; the latter being sent to Halifax to clear the snow at the custom house, the Senegal saluted his Excellency with 13 guns at his departure.

Sunday 26th, a Sermon in the morning; Divine service twice.

Sunday 2nd September, Divine service morning and evening.

The 5th, Sir Thomas Rich and I made a party to West Passamaquoddy, and the East Bay of Copscook; re'd late.

Sunday the 9th, performed divine service and preached a sermon in the morning—prayers again in the evening. Arrived here a schooner from Chignecto or Fort Cumberland.

The 11th, anchored in the Harbour his Majesty's schooner the Halifax from Halifax with orders for Sir Thomas Rich.

The 12th, the Slipper Cutter returned from Annapolis Royal, & in her returned Archibald Brown, chief mate of the Owen.

[P. 201 (p. 11) line 20, before "sailed" insert "and Halifax Schooner;" line 21 add:]

Sunday the 16th, preached a sermon; Divine service twice.

The 17th, at 10 in the morning sailed hence the Snow Owen for England, and saluted the settlement with 11 guns and three cheers, which was returned with a like number of guns and cheers from flagstaff mount at Warrington. I went out with her in the Campo-Bello packet, and in the dusk of the evening parted with her about a mile S. E. of Conway Harbour,* a fine breeze at W. S. W., with which I turned back and at 9 o'clock anchored in the Cove at Port Owen.

Sunday the 23rd, performed Divine service and read the reciprocal duties of Masters and Servants.

The 28th, having given a deputation to James Boyd, Esqr., to grant passes to Vessels and people departing the province, merely to save the parties concerned the trouble of coming over to my office, disputes arose between him and the Skippers and fishermen of all the New England Schooners, and I this day went over in the whale boat to Indian Island to adjust matters. They, all to a man, vowed they would have nothing to do with Squire Boyd, but would come to me if I was even on Grand Manan, upon which I cancelled Boyd's deputation, drank Kellibogus,** parted good friends, and I returned home in the evening.

[P. 201 (p. 11) line 31, after "board" insert:]

Made here two hauls of the trawl but took nothing material except a few curious shells and other sub-marine productions.***

[P. 204 (p. 12) line 8 after "westerly" insert:]

Sent the whale boat up the creek to search for hay, and at 3 o'clock afternoon she returned, the people having cut about half a ton.

P. 204 (p. 12). On this page several passages were omitted by the copyist, but are merely details of personal matters showing nothing of consequence.

P. 205 (p. 13), line 5, in an unimportant passage omitted by the copyist occurs the name Bocquobect, also other unimportant passages omitted. [Line 18, add] Went immediately on shore, and after breakfast I sent the whaleboat to Indian Island with Mr. Boyd to perform divine worship to his congregation of Dissenters, whilst I rendered that good office to the people on my side agreeable to the Liturgy of the Church of England.

P. 206 (p. 14.) The account of the voyage along the Maine Coast fills 14 pages or more, and must be of considerable historical value for that region. He refers to Treat's Island as the Small Island of St. Croix.

* Conway was not only then prominent in England but he had married a sister of Sir William Campbell, as the Journal at one place tells us.

** Calibogus. An American cant name for a drink made of rum and spruce beer.—*Century Dict.*

*** Undoubtedly the earliest reference to dredging in New Brunswick waters.

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[P. 207 (p. 15), line 18, add:]

28 Sunday, Divine Service as usual, about 7 o'clock in the evening began an eclipse of the moon, which increas'd to 5 digits.

[Line 20, add:]

The 10th, anchored here the Romney, sloop from St. Andrew's Point.

[P. 208 (p. 16) line 12, add:]

Sunday 9th, I performed divine service both morning and evening and preached my farewell sermon to the People.

[Line 17, after "Skins," add the following Report:]

County of Sunbury

Nova Scotia, iss.

At a Justices Meeting or
Special Session of the Peace

holden at Warrington in the Island of CampoBello and County aforesaid on the fourth day of June 1771, and in the eleventh year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, George the third of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, defender of the faith, and so forth, Before William Owen, Plato Denney and William Isherwood Esqrs, Justices of the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, assigned to keep the Peace in the said County, and also to hear and determine divers trespasses, felonies, and other misdemeanors in the said county comitted, and the first named of the Quorum, and so forth.

We the underwritten Jurors of our said Sovereign Lord the King, having viewed and inspected into the Work and Improvements made on the said Island of Campo Bello under the directions of William Owen Esqr., do testify the same upon Oath to the best of our judgment as follows, viz:

1. A point of Wood-land lying between Port Owen commonly called Harbour de Loutre and Cross-Eddy Cove,* fronting the main street of Warrington,** containing about 80 Acres: Wood felled and burnt, the whole completely fenced with a Virginia log-fence,*** and the major part of it sowed with wheat, oats, barley, rye, peas, clover, hemp, flax, and Lancashire potatoes: of the latter a sufficient quantity to yield a crop of 1000 bushels.

2. A field in the occupation of William Clark, fenced and set with potatoes, peas, and turnips, containing about 8 acres.

3. A tract of Land, subdivided into ten fenced inclosures, most of it now sowed with sundry sorts of grain and potatoes, extending from said Clark's Eastward to Pollock Cove, in the occupation of Robert Wilson & Wm. Ricker, containing about 50 Acres;—****

4. Two Kitchen Gardens at Warrington aforesaid, in a forward state of cultivation and improvement, completely fenced and set with a great

* i. e. All of Windmill Point.

** Warrington, it will be remembered (first paper, p. 198, p. 6 of reprint) stood on the neck of land between the present Curry's Cove and Wilson's Beach; its front street must have coincided nearly with the present highway road.

*** The ordinary zig-zag or snake fence of logs familiar in New Brunswick.

**** This Report signed by Wilson, Clark and Ricker shows how perfectly the families acknowledged the right of Captain Owen to the lands occupied by them, though later this right was denied and successfully resisted in the Courts. Compare p. 195 (p. 3) Note 5.

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William Campbell.
-Century Dict.

variety of European and American plants, shrubs and roots, containing one Acre.

5. Eastward of the largest Garden, a tract intended for an Orchard with 200 Apple-trees and some plumb-trees already planted, completely Virginia fenced, containing 8 acres.

6. Adjoining to the two last numbers, a salt marsh effectually dammed from the highest tides, trenched and drained; the dead wood cleared and burnt off it, and completely Virginia fenced all round; containing about 8 acres.¹

7. Eastward of the said marsh, a Park partly stocked with deer, fenced with a Virginia fence 10 & 11 logs high; containing about 25 acres.²

8. A tract of wood-land lying to the southward and eastward of the said marsh, the wood felled, a great part of it totally cleared, houghs,³ & intended for a crop of winter turnips; containing about 7 or 8 acres.

9. A tract of woodland extending from the last lot southward to Brick Cove⁴ and round the Brick-yard; entirely cleared, containing about 8 acres.

10. A tract in the rear of the houses at Warrington; trees felled, brush burnt, and the wood reserved for fuel, containing 10 acres.

11. A fresh marsh lying to the North-Eastward of Warrington flagstaff about a mile,⁵ cleared and fenced for hay; containing about 15 acres.

12. A fresh marsh lying to the Sowd of do and about 1-4 of a mile from the head of Port Owen commonly called Harbour de Loutre; the Beaver dams cut down, drained, and wood cleared off it for hay; containing about 20 Acres.

13. A fresh marsh lying about S. b W.⁶ from do and about a mile from the head of Port Owen, Beaver dams cut, wood cleared, and otherwise improved for hay; containing about 50 Acres.

14. A salt marsh lying about a mile Eastward of Warrington aforesaid, cleared, fenced, & improved for hay; containing about 40 acres.⁷

15. A salt marsh lying in the south part of the Island, in a place called Herring Cove; improved and hay cut on it; containing 12 Acres.

16. A piece of Salt marsh lying in Friars Bay in said Island, improved and hay cut; containing 2 Acres.

17. A salt marsh lying in the West part of the Island, cleared, improved, and hay cut on it;⁸ containing about 8 acres.

18. Fifteen houses built of various dimensions, but three of them less than 20 feet by 16:—others going to be built, with a Wind Grist-mill.

¹ That at head of Curry's Cove.

² There is still a tradition of this Park.

³ Hough, to cut with a hoe.—*Standard Dictionary*.

⁴ Still so called.

⁵ At head of Head Harbor.

⁶ There must be an error in this direction.

⁷ Head of Mill Cove.

⁸ Probably at Eastern Pond.

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* The Windmill

and a Chapel of 30 feet by 24, to be called George Chapel, in honour of his Majesty and in commemoration of the Proprietor's arrival on the Island last year on his Majesty's birthday;* besides Out-houses, Potashhouse, Smithy, Fish stages, &c.

19. Thirty-six people from England—Indented Servants; four couple of them married and on the Island; others, their wives and families in England, but intend sending for them and settling after the expiration of their term of Servitude.

20. Three families settled on the peninsula westward of the Harbour and have cleared Land about 4 acres.

21. Seven New-England families settled.

22. Twenty-nine head of Neat-Cattle on the Island.

23. Number of Souls on the Island. Males 51 Females 22. In all 73.

24. Sixty thousand Brick burnt last summer.

25. Clay cast for making, and 100 Cord of Wood cut and hauled for burning 100 thousand Brick this summer.

26. Sent home last Summer by the Snow Owen 110 Tons of Timber, and 700 Tons engaged for this summer.

27. A quantity of Pot Ash made for the English Market.

28. A quantity of Shingles and Cord-wood exported to Boston.

Sworn in Court before us.

WILL OWEN (L. s.)

PLATO DENNEY (L. s.)

WM. ISHERWOOD (L. s.)

Justices of the Peace & one of the Quorum.

JOHN PREBLE, Foreman.

ROBERT WILSON

SAMUEL BLACK

SAMUEL GILES

ARCHD BROWN

THOMAS NAYLOR

WILLIAM CLARK

JOHN LAWLESS

WILLIAM MOLYNEUX

JOHN BARKER

ADAM KINGSLEY

his

WM. X RICKER

mark.

Jurors.

(A Copy.

Nova Scotia. }
Halifax, ss }

Registered the 25th day of June, 1771.

Lib. 8. Fo 226

ARTHUR GOOLD, Regr.

A true Copy, the Original lodged in the Secretary's office at Halifax this 26th June 1771.

(Copy of the Copy)

RICH BULKELEY.

* The Windmill, as DesBarres' picture of 1777 shows, was built, but probably the Chapel was not.

Meteorological.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

made in the Year 1770 and 1771, on the Island of Campo Bello; situated in Latitude 44dgs. 50 N. and about Longitude 63dgs. 45 W. of the meridian of London:

Variation of the Compass 13 dgs. W.

By William Owen Esqr. Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, and Proprietary of that, and other Islands in North-America.

Note. It may not be improper to premise that in the following tables, the first column contains the day of the month; the second, the state of the Thermometer (upon Farenheit's scale); the third, the winds; the fourth and last, the weather in general, and other remarks, and for the sake of conciseness, the degree of force or velocity of the wind is expressed by figures, in the following manner, viz: For light breezes of wind, perhaps intermixt with calms, 1; For moderate gales, 2; For fresh gales, 3; and for a hard gale or storm, 4.

In general, the extreme degree of the rise and fall of the Thermometer is taken each day; but when only one number is expressed in the column, if in summer, it denotes the highest degree to which the mercury rose that day, which generally happened about two o'clock, afternoon; but, if in winter, it shews the lowest degree the quicksilver fell to in the preceding night or morning of that day. And, as it sometimes happened that it never deviated from one certain point in the whole twenty four hours, in such case, the degree the Thermometer stood at will be laid down in the middle part of the column.

June 1770.

M D	Therm.	Wind.	Weather in general, & other remarks.
4	60	Variable.	fair. arrived at Campo Bello.
5	57	S. S. W. 3	foggy. heavy rain in the evening.
6	61	N. W. 2	fair.
7	60	So'y 2	do
8	57	do 2	morning hazy: afternoon constant rain.
9	57 to 60	Variable. 1	thick fog and heavy rain.
10	58 to 62	N. W. 1	fair.

and so on for every day from June 4th, 1770, to June 14th, 1771, without a break.

The highest temperature registered during that time was 82 dgs. on Aug. 5, though Aug. 4 has 114 dgs. with note saying "Thermometer hung out of doors might probably in some measure tho' in the shade, be affected by the Sun's rays." On the 5th Feb. it seems to have fallen to 10 dgs. below zero, and the next lowest was 4 dgs below zero on Feb. 7th. During the entire year it fell eleven times below 10 dgs., and only twice was 80 dgs. or higher.

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There can be no doubt these were the first systematic meteorological tables made in the present Province of New Brunswick.

The Author of the foregoing Memoir, conscious as he is of its barrenness of interesting events in the various phenomena of nature, can, however, venture to affirm that what he has laid down hath been done with the utmost accuracy and precision, which he was peculiarly enabled to do from the nature of his situation; at the head of an infant Colony, with seldom less than half an hundred indentured servants and labourers to superintend; which, together with his other necessary avocations in establishing, regulating and maintaining a police among a warlike and bigotted tribe of Indians, not many years ago fighting and Scalping under the banners of the French Monarch; imigratory New England fishermen, hunters, and puritanic Settlers, often amounting to above a thousand in number; this enforced him into the habit of early rising, and a life of vigilance, activity, and close attention, amidst which he made his journal and Meteorological remarks a kind of speculative amusement and relaxation. It was his intention (and some time before he left the Island he began) to make very particular observations on the quantity of rain and snow that fell; the greatest depth of the snow upon a plain; the depth the frost penetrated into the earth; the nature and quality of the soil, and the different strata under; some remarks in the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, and mineral; the progress of vegetation; the migration of birds and fish; the seasons for the spermaceti whale; cod, haddock and pollock fisheries; as well as the river fisheries of sturgeon, salmon, chad, bass, and ale-wives; the mode and time of killing seals; the Indians' seasons and manner of hunting for their furs and peltries; their fishing and fowling; the mode and best season for hunting the moose or orignal; the cariboo, and fallow deer; and every other miscellaneous matter or event that might occur. This work he left to be carried on by a sober and ingenious young man he left there, who was unfortunately lost in the Owen (with all her crew and passengers) on his return to England eighteen months after.*

Should this Coup d'Essai convey in the smallest degree either amusement or information to the learned, curious, or speculative naturalists on this side the Atlantic the author will think himself happy, his time well-spent, and his labour well employed; it may stimulate and encourage him in his future peregrinations, to attempt something that may do *himself* more credit, and afford *them* more satisfaction."

Warrington, August, 1771.

W. O.

P. 208 (p. 16) line 21, after "English" occurs a passage relating to the efforts of his brother to secure his promotion, without definite result.

* This explains the disappearance from Campobello of so many of the settlers. This remarkable attempt of Lieutenant Owen to prepare a Natural History of Campobello is commented upon in Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. XVI, p. 56.

While at the Island he was a Lieutenant, but he was a Captain later. The Journal ends with June 17th.

P. 209 (p. 17). Note 4.—This work refers to a statement published about Campobello by Roderick Burt; I have not been able to find this. A Report on Geology and Mining prospects of the Island by August Partz occupies pp. 11-36.

P. 213 (p. 21). Without this settlement of Campobello by Captain Owen and attendant circumstances, it is doubtful whether the Island would today belong to Great Britain, for at the time the ownership of the Island of Passamaquoddy was being adjusted by the two governments, this unquestionable jurisdiction of Nova Scotia over it gave it to Great Britain.

P. 217 (p. 25). The Eastport Sentinel, vol. I, 1818 (a set in the Eastport Public Library) contains articles by David Owen upon historical and religious subjects.

P. 219 (p. 27), last line for Hernery read Hemery.

The view of Campobello given on Plate III. of this paper is from Des Barres great book of charts, entitled, "The Atlantic Neptune," but is not contained in all copies of that work. It bears the date 1777. It is taken from "Flagstaff Hill," near the Meeting House at Curry's Cove, looking south-west along Eastport Harbor. The houses are those of New Warrington. A more particular account of their location is given on page 198 (p 6) of the First Paper, supplemented by the cut contained earlier in this paper.

The following very interesting addition to Campobello literature is in the library of the New York Historical Society, and I am indebted to the courtesy of the librarian for the opportunity to reproduce it here. It is a one page folio (printed) broadside, in good condition. It was no doubt circulated in Liverpool and Warrington. Probably it contains the first appearance in print of the name Campobello.

LIVERPOOL, 20th Feb., 1772.

TEN OR TWELVE
INDUSTRIOUS FARMERS

Are wanted to settle upon the Lands belonging to
WILLIAM OWEN, ESQ. AND CO.,
at New Warrington, On the Island of Campo Bello, the Province of
Nova Scotia.

To prevent unnecessary Application, the following Terms are offered:

The Proprietors will grant a Lease to every Farmer and his Heirs, that go over to settle at New Warrington, of a House, Outbuildings, and a Lot of 50 Acres of Land, for the Term of 99 Years.



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And will also agree to carry every Farmer and his Family from Liverpool to New Warrington, passage free (to sail about the 20th of March next); and will, if required, lend to each Farmer, on his Bond, as much Money as will purchase 6 Cows, 2 Oxen, and 1 Sow Pig; to be repaid with Interest after the rate of 5 per Cent. per Ann. in 5 Years.

Each Farmer to covenant to pay to the Proprietors, after the first year 5s. per Ann. for every Cow, Bull or Ox, of Three years old, which are kept upon the Lot of Land Twelve Months; and half the Produce of all Grain of what kind soever; and also one half of all Cattle, Pigs and Swine that are sold or slaughtered during the Term of the said Lease.

Every Farmer to covenant to plow and sow with grain the 2nd year 2 acres, the 3rd year 3 acres, the 4th year 4 acres, the 5th year 5 acres, the 6th year 6 acres, the 7th year 7 acres, the 8th year 8 acres, the 9th year 9 acres, the 10th year 10 acres; and during the continuance of his Lease to have 10 acres in Tillage every year.

The Proprietors reserve to themselves all Timber 12 Inches square and upwards, also Mill Streams, Mines of Ore and Minerals, all Stone Quarries, Beds of Marl or Clay, making a reasonable satisfaction to the settlers for Damage by working the same. The settlers, nevertheless, to have full and free Liberty to make use of Stone, Marl, and all Timber under 12 Inches square for their own Use.

New Warrington is situated in Latitude 45, and surrounded by Settlements already made.

The Rivers abound with great Plenty of Fish, and the woods with Game and Fowl in abundance. The soil produces Wheat, Rye, Barley and Potatoes in great plenty, and Fruit Trees much the same as in England.

Every Farmer to deposite at Liverpool 20s. before he sails, for which he shall have an Order upon the Proprietor's Agent at New Warrington for that amount in Provisions or other Goods out of their stores, as wanted, at Prime cost.

There are no Game Laws, Tythe, or Land Tax in the Province.

For further Particulars apply to William Owen, Esq., at Munday's Coffee House, Round Court, Strand, London; Mr. Rogerson, Warrington; or Mr. Thomas Kerfoot, Liverpool.

A Return of the State of the Township of Conway on western side of the Harbour and River St. John,
on First of August, 1775.

*Transcribed from the Original in Provincial Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia, by Isaiah W. Wilson,
Author "HISTORY COUNTY DIGBY, NOVA SCOTIA."*

No.	Name of Master or Mistress of the family.	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Total	Prot. Religion	English	American	Horses	Oxen and Bulls	Cows	Young Neat Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1.	Hugh Quantain. [Quinton]	2.	2.	2.	4.	10.	10	1.	9.	2.	4.	5.	6.	13.	5.
2.	Johnathan Leavitt.	1.	1.	1.	1.	3.	3.	1.	3.			3.	3.	1.	1.
3.	Daniel Leavitt.	1.	1.	1.	2.	5.	5.	1.	5.		4.	5.	13.	15.	1.
4.	Samuel Peabody.	1.	5.	1.	1.	9.	9.	5.	9.		2.	2.	2.	6.	1.
5.	William McKeen.	2.	3.	1.	1.	5.	5.	9.	5.		2.	5.	9.		
6.	Thomas Jenkins.	1.	3.	1.	1.	2.	2.	2.	2.						
7.	Moses Kimball.	1.	3.	1.	3.	8.	8.	8.	8.			1.	2.		2.
8.	Elijah Estabrooks	1.	2.	1.	4.	8.	8.	8.	8.			1.	1.		2.
9.	John Bradley	1.	2.	1.	2.	6.	6.	2.	2.		2.	2.	2.		1.
10.	James Woodman.	2.	2.	1.	1.	6.	6.	5.	5.			5.	3.		1.
11.	Zebedee Ring	2.	2.	1.	1.	2.	2.	2.	2.						
12.	Gervas Say.	1.	1.	1.	1.	2.	2.	1.	1.						1.
13.	Samuel Abbot	1.	1.	1.	2.	5.	5.	2.	2.			2.	2.		
14.	Christopher Cross.	1.	1.	1.	1.	4.	4.	1.	1.						
15.	John Nap [Knap].	1.	1.	1.	2.	5.	5.	2.	2.			1.	2.	6.	2.
16.	Eliakim Ayre.	1.	1.	1.	2.	5.	5.	5.	5.		1.	1.	2.		
17.	Joseph Rowe.	1.	1.	1.	2.	5.	5.	5.	5.						
	Grand Totals,	21.	20.	13.	18.	72.	72.	2.	70.	2.	13.	32.	44.	40.	17.

16. Eliakim Ayre.	1.	1.	1.	2.	2.	1.	1.	2.	6.	2.
17. Joseph Rowe.	1.	1.	1.	2.	5.					
Grand Totals,	21.	20.	13.	18.	72.	2.	70.	32.	44.	17.

A Return of the State of the Settlement at the mouth of the Harbour of the River St. John, the First day of August, A. D. 1775. Enumerated by James Simonds.

Transcribed from the Original in Provincial Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia, by Isaiah W. Wilson, Author "HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF DIGBY, NOVA SCOTIA."

No.	Name of Master or Mistress of the family.	Men.	Boys	Women	Girls.	Total.	Prot. Religion	English.	Irish.	Ameri-can.	Horses & Mules	Oxen & Bulls.	Cows.	Young Neat	Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.
1.	James Simonds,	4.	4.	1.	3.	12.	12.		1.	11.	57	18.	30.	35.		40.	6.
2.	James White.	4.	1.	1.	4.	10.	10.			10.							1.
3.	William Hazen.	4.	3.	3.	2.	12.	12.			12.							1.
4.	George De Blois.	1.	1.	1.	7.	10.	10.			3.			1.				1.
5.	Robert Cram.	1.	1.	1.	2.	4.	4.			10.			1.				1.
6.	Zebulon Rowe.	1.	1.	1.	3.	4.	4.			4.							1.
7.	John Nason.	1.	2.	1.	3.	7.	7.			7.							1.
8.	John Mack.	1.	1.	1.	1.	4.	4.			1.							1.
9.	Lemuel Cleaveland.	1.	1.	1.	2.	4.	4.			4.			2.	2.		3.	1.
10.	Christopher Blake.	1.	1.	1.	1.	4.	4.			4.			1.	2.		1.	
11.	Moses Greenough.	1.	1.	1.	1.	3.	3.			3.			2.	2.			2.
	Grand Total,	20.	14.	12.	24.	70.	70.		1.	69.	57.	18.	38.	39.	44.	44.	12.

NOTE.—There are about 30 families of Acadians in the County of Sunbury.

THE JAMES WHITE PAPERS.

CONTINUED.

A. D. 1781--1788.

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

In the last number of the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society were printed some selections from the papers and correspondence of James White, which contain much interesting information respecting the history of the settlements on the River St. John during the pre-loyalist period. Among the more interesting topics on which light is shed by the papers already published, are the circumstances attending the founding of the first English settlement at the mouth of the river, the establishment of Fort Howe, various transactions with the Indians—including the final treaty of peace made with them in September, 1778—and many local incidents that occurred during the period of the American Revolution.

In the month of May, 1778, James Simonds (to whom unquestionably appertains the honor of being the pioneer of the first permanent English Settlement at the mouth of the St. John river), removed with his family to LowerMaugerville, now Sheffield, where he built himself a log house on the bank of the river, just above the mouth of Loder's Creek—formerly known as Simonds Creek. Here he remained until the year 1787, when he returned to his former residence at Portland Point. William Hazen and James White continued to engage in mercantile affairs, and being men of ability and education, they were by the force of circumstances brought into intimate relationship with the military and governmental authorities. Their associations with Colonel Michael Francklin and Major Gilfred Studholme were particularly intimate. A few words may be said relative to these two gentlemen.

Michael Francklin was a native of the South of England, who came to

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Halifax in 1752, and engaged in mercantile pursuits. He was elected to the House of Assembly a few years later, and appointed to His Majesty's Council May 3, 1762. He received the appointment of Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1766, and seems to have been very popular in that office, but, in consequence of disagreements with Governor Legge, he was superseded by Admiral Arbuthnot in 1776. He was appointed Superintendent of Indian affairs in 1777, and his services in that capacity up to his death, on November 8, 1782, were exceedingly valuable.

Gilfred Studholme was stationed at Fort Frederick with the garrison there, as early at least as May, 1765. He is referred to by Lieut.-Governor Arbuthnot in a letter to the English Secretary of State, dated Aug. 15, 1776, as an experienced and capable officer. He, about that time, received a captain's commission in Governor Legge's regiment of Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, but was soon after transferred to the Royal Fencible Americans, under Lt. Colonel Joseph Gorham. In November, 1777, Studholme—now advanced to the rank of Brigade Major—established a military post at Fort Howe, which he commanded until the close of the war. This is not the place to speak in detail of the important services rendered by Gilfred Studholme in protecting the St. John river against foreign invaders and maintaining law and order there, or of his later invaluable assistance in the settlement of the loyalist exiles in their new homes at the peace in 1783. Major Studholme, after the disbanding of his regiment, retired to his estate in the Parish of Studholm, Kings County, where he died in October, 1792.

Various official positions were filled by William Hazen and James White during the period of the Revolutionary War. Mr. Hazen was commissary to the garrison at Fort Howe, and Mr. White was Justice of the Peace, Deputy Sheriff, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Deputy Collector of Customs.

The presents and supplies provided from time to time for the Indians were, in part, shipped from Windsor by Colonel Francklin, and in part furnished by Hazen and White, from their store at Portland Point. Some of the supplies for the garrison were furnished by William Hazen, acting for himself and James White. These supplies included lumber, cord-wood, fresh meat, vegetables, etc. We learn from James White's memoranda that at the time of the arrival of the troops at Fort Howe he made a trip up the river to Maugerville, where in the course of five days he bought nine yoke of oxen from as many settlers on terms similar to those contained in the following agreement:

"MAUGERVILLE, November 16, 1777.

I promise to deliver to Mr. James White, or his order, two oxen, coming five years old, when the ice is strong sufficient to bear them to drive to the mouth of this River, said White paying me on delivery fifty-five dollars.

Witness my hand,

ASA PERLEY.

As early as the year 1779 a contract had been entered into with government by William Davidson to provide masts for the Royal Navy. The friendship of the Indians was considered essential to the protection of the mast cutters, the Machias rebels having threatened to destroy the masts and having endeavored to induce the Indians to co-operate with them in their designs. The correspondence of Colonel Michael Francklin, printed in the last number of the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, shows the steps taken by Francklin and White to retain the friendship of the Indians in which they were successful.

The first cargo of masts from the River St. John arrived at Halifax on the way to England in one of the navy transports November 22nd, 1780, and the fact was duly announced by the Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia to the British Secretary of State. The River St. John now assumed an importance in the eyes of British statesmen it had not heretofore possessed. British supremacy then, as now, centered in the navy. An efficient navy needed an abundant supply of masts, and the larger ships of war required such tall masts that trees suitable for the purpose were rarely found save in the depths of the primeval forest. Only the largest pines would answer, and these, sound, perfectly straight, and free from shakes. The rebellion of the old colonies had cut off the supply in that quarter and the reservation of suitable trees in the remaining colonies became a matter of national concern. The masting business was a very important one in the early days of New Brunswick. Vessels were built expressly for carrying the masts to England, and, being of large size, and usually sailing under convoy of a man-of-war, they ere long became the favorite passenger ships. The pine tree was for years the pride of the New Brunswick forest and the chief source of our forest wealth. It, no doubt, is the tree meant to be represented in the great seal of the province, adopted in 1784; nor is there any good reason why this province should abdicate its right to the pine tree as an emblem because the neighbouring State of Maine, at the time of its organization in 1820 (thirty-six years after the establishment of the Province of New Brunswick), made choice of the pine tree as its emblem.

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The Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Richard Hughes, on the 30th of April, 1781, wrote to Lord George Germaine that upwards of 200 sticks for masts, yards and browsprits had been cut, squared and approved by the King's purveyor at the River St. John in the course of the last fall and winter, and one of the navy transports was then at Fort Howe loading a cargo of masts.

The rapid development of the masting industry is shown by the following statement contained in a report of the state of settlement of the St. John river in 1783, submitted by Captain John Munro to General Haldimand:

"On the River St. John's are the finest Masts and Spars that I have ever seen. I saw at Fort Howe about six thousand pounds worth. Two ships were loading when I left that place [the 26th September]. I suppose there were masts sufficient there to load ten ships. * * * The proprietors of the lands sell the Pines standing for 8 dollars each tree."

The demand for masts for the Royal Navy, and the political influence of Colonel Francklin, probably suggested to Messrs. Hazen and White the advantages that might be derived from associating themselves in business with that gentleman. A co-partnership was accordingly formed in 1781, under the name of Francklin, Hazen and White, and through the efforts of the senior member of the firm a large contract was secured for getting out masts and other timber. Later the company secured the following license from the Lieutenant Governor:

[L. S.]. By Sir Andrew Snape Hamond Knight, Lieut. Governor and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas the Honorable Michael Francklin, William Hazen and James White, Esquires, have contracted for the supply of masts and other Timber necessary and fitting for the use and service of his Majesty's Royal Navy,

This is therefore hereby to empower and authorize the said Michael Francklin, William Hazen and James White, their Agents or People employed by them, to cut down and bring away from all ungranted Lands or from Lands Reserved for that purpose on St. John's River or elsewhere, all Masts and Timber fitting for the purposes afore recited.

Given under my hand and Seal, at Halifax, this Seventh day of August, 1782.

By Command of the Lt. Governor.

Signed RICHARD BULKELEY.

The partnership of Francklin, Hazen and White was for trading purposes as well as "masting." In the month of August, 1781, a first

consignment of goods was sent by Colonel Francklin from Halifax to Hazen and White at Fort Howe, on board the ship Recovery, Robert Jackson, master, and during the course of the next few months two other consignments were forwarded, the value of the whole amounting to about \$6,000. Messrs. Hazen and White sent by the "Recovery," on her return voyage, the articles named below, which shows that trade in furs and peltries with the Indians and Acadians had not entirely ceased:

Shipt by Messrs. Hazen & White, on Board the Ship Recovery, George Jackson, Commander, on account and risque of Michael Francklin, Esqr., and the Shippers, and goes consigned to the Hon'ble Michael Francklin, Esqr, at Halifax, viz., to be shipt for England for sale:

571 Moose Skins, 11 Carriboo do., 11 Deer do., 3621 Musquash Skins, 61 Otter do, 77 Mink do, 152 Sable do, 40 Fishers do, 6 Catts do, 11 Lucervers do, 17 Red Foxes do, 6 Cross Fox do, 9 Bear do.

Fort Howe, River St. John, 21 Nov'r, 1781.

James Proud, for Messrs. Francklin, Hazen & White.

The following is a specimen of a bill of lading in connection with the business of Francklin, Hazen and White:

F. H. W.

No.			
5	}	2 Chests	Tea
8			
13.	a	Trunk	
4.	a	Box	
11	}	3 boxes	
7			
3.	a	Bale	
18.	a	Cask	
6.	a	Box	
26.	a	Bale	
21	}	2 Boxes	
20			
22	}	2 Bales	
23			
27.	a	Barrell	
28.	a	Trunk	
30	}	2 Boxes	
31			

Shipped on board the Schooner Managuash whereof I am Master, by George Deschamps Esqr, By order and for account and risk of Michael Franklin, William Hazen and James White Esqrs, Contractors for Masts for His Majesty's Navy, nineteen Chests, Trunks, Boxes, Bales and Casks of Merchandize marked and numbered as in the margin, all in good order and well conditioned, which Packages I promise to deliver to William Hazen or James White or their assigns at Fort Howe, River St. John (danger of the Seas and Enemy excepted) having signed three receipts of same Tenor and Date.

Windsor December 6th, 1781.

ANDREW LOYD.

It was essential to the success of the masting business that a good, practical man should be at the head of the work, and Mr. White's brother-in-law, Samuel Peabody, was accordingly chosen for the position. Mr.

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Peabody had a good knowledge of wood-craft, and his experience as a land surveyor was a further qualification.

It is a curious circumstance that the new contractors speedily found themselves at logger heads with William Davidson, whose masting operations Francklin and White had for two years been endeavoring to protect from the interference of the "rebels" and Indians. In point of fact Mr. Davidson was destined to experience greater annoyance from the rival operations of Samuel Peabody and his party than he ever experienced from rebels or Indians.

Having said this much by way of introduction, we shall now let the correspondence that follows in a great measure speak for itself.

[LETTER OF SAMUEL PEABODY.]

MAUGERVILLE, 2d, Nov'r, 1781.

Messrs. Hazen & White,
Merchants, at Fort Howe.

Gen'n, Since I wrote to you by John Hart, giving you account of the Badness of the Pine Lumber back of Saint Anns, I sent 3 hands up Nash walk to try the timber in that place, and find timber to be small near the Water side. Upon Davidson's understanding I was determined to try that Place, he immediately sent a party of French up that River, commanded by Israel Perley, to cut all the Timber that fell in his way, among which was a large Tree that, I suppose, was marked by Mr. Hayes, as he tells People that it had Several Broad Arrows on it. At the same time that Davidson dispatched this mentioned Party he sent another Party back of Tho. Langin's, upon the Groath of Pine that Mr. Hayes had pitched upon, and has his small Party sallying out upon all Quarters, and bids Definance to any Proprietors stoping him from such proceeding. Now if he is allowed to cut Timber upon the Society's Land* it will be impossible for me to furnish half the Quantity of sticks as I could if I had the Priviledge of all the above mentioned lands.

Tomorrow morning I am a going with 8 or 10 hands to Cut Sum fine Trees up Oromocto, near whear Davidson is Stearing his course, as he should be Paid in his Own Coin. I have imployed sum men to Cut Trees by the Jobb up Oromocto, &, by searching, they say that there may be had Sum fine Lengthy Trees, but not the greatest Diameter. I hope one of you will come up soone & reside a few days, for as I mentioned to you in my last Letter it is very difficult for me to procure hands at Suitable times, as I am in the woods the cheaf of the times, and at Present there is no Prospect of the Business being in one Place, as we expected when Mr. Francklin left this Place, for at Present I have given up trying at Saint Anns, for Pine proves so Rotten that it never will Pay the expense of cutting a Road in to where it groes.

* The Canada Company's townships of Burton, New Town and Sunbury.

There is sum that Pertended to undertake to ingage to get us sum sticks; by what I can learn has ingaged them to Davidson, Especially that scoundril, John Tibbits, all tho' he gave Mr. Francklin good incuragement as I thought that he should have all the sticks that he could Procure, &c.
I am with Respect, Your Humble Serv't,

SAM'L PEABODY.

Mr. Peabody seems to have been a bit aggressive by nature as will appear from the tenor of some of his letters. In their reply to the letter above, Hazen and White speak of the importance of maintaining friendly relations with Lieut. Constant Connor, of the Royal Fencible Americans, who commanded the small party posted at the Oromocto block house, or "Fort Hughes." It may be noted in passing that Lieut Connor went to Nova Scotia at the disbandment of his corps, where he afterwards fought a duel and killed his antagonist. He died at Halifax.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO PEABODY.]

NOVEMBER 14, 1781.

Dear Sir, This moment we received your Lettter of the 2d inst. We are hourly expecting Mr. Hayes from Halifax, who will proceed direct to Maugerville; by whom you will be advised concerning Davidson & his limits.

Your friends here are very sorry to hear there is still some misunderstanding between you & Mr. Connor. Pray be advised to do all in your power to have a good understanding between you; You will not only see the advantage yourself, but you will greatly oblige your friends here. Why need you concern about his giving bonds to provide for his girl or child? It is no more your or the town of Maugerville's Business than it is to see he Provides for the future for the other part of the Garrison; therefore beg you will endeavor to have every matter settled and be on good terms for the future is the hearty wish of,

Sir, Your most obedient Humble Serv'ts,

Sam'l Peabody, Esq.

HAZEN & WHITE.

P. S. As a great loss of Hay is at Maugerville, we imagine you may have what beef is necessary, and have Wasson's Oxen for work if you buy them. See that Mr. McKeen doth not disappoint us of the ten Tons Hay. Send Francis to him as Soon as he arrives.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO FRANCKLIN]

FORT HOWE, 17 Dec'r, 1781.

Dear Sir,—Your Letters of first and second Instant by the Managuash, with a number of parcels, came to hand the 10th, some of which was wet, but not much damaged, except the Teas, which we fear will be some loss. We are hourly expecting the remainder of the Goods by Archibald, which

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we hope will arrive safe. The three broad axe men, which came from Windsor, will sett off for Maugerville tomorrow; no passing before by water or Ice. Have not heard from Mr. Peabody since we wrote you.

Tarrio this day from Kenibicashes saith the French People are cutting masts, &c., many of which proves Rotten. The ship Belisarius is not arrived, or any news from her.

We are, Sir,

Your most obed't

Humble Serv'ts,

HAZEN & WHITE.

[FRANCKLIN TO HAZEN & WHITE.]

WINDSOR, 24 Dec., 1781.

Dear Sirs,—I now inclose your Duplicate of the Invoice of Goods designed to be sent per the Menaguashe, but which I find on my arrival she could not take all on board, & therefore the remainder were shipt on the Schooner Rosanna, William Hutchings, master; the whole amounts to £864. 15. 2 1-2, prime cost at Halifax. The land carriage of these Goods amounts to £35 12. 9.

I have a letter from Kavanagh, dated yesterday, at Partridge Island, so that the Rosanna must be there still, waiting for a wind. She is supposed to have sailed on the evening of the 23d.

The Belisarius is returned to Halifax, having met with and taken a Rebell ship of Twenty Guns, by which, and the bad weather having opened her upper works, she requires caulking, therefore neither her or any ship of war will go to Fort Howe until the Spring, as Sir Andrew writes me. In consequence of this I have sent for the Chains and they are arrived here this evening, and shall be sent you via Annapolis.

M. Henley, the Priest, [for the St. John River] came passenger from Spanish River Coal mines, [now Sidney] on Cape Breton Island, in Major Handfield's schooner, and we understand she is taken by the Enemy and carried to Boston. After the first cartel from thence I shall write to Francis Xavier.

Mr. James Proud offering himself as a clerk to keep Books or act as overseer, &c., both of which he is very capable of, and being a most Industrious, Sober, good Tempered Lad, I thought it was proper to engage him, and the Copy of the argeement shall be sent you, he has a duplicate with him.

I shall write you again in a few days; to Major Studholme I write news. My compliments & those of the Season attend your ladies & families, and I am,

Dear Sirs,

Your Most Obed Serv't,

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

Messrs. Hazen & White.

The contract entered into by Messrs. Francklin, Hazen and White with the Imperial government required them to furnish a certain quantity of masts, spars, anchor stocks (of birch and rock maple) and ton timber, the whole to be delivered at the mast pond, near Fort Howe, by the last of May, 1782. The masts, spars and timber were prepared in the woods by the workmen and "bowsed," or hauled with block and tackle, by oxen to the river's bank. In the month of March the King's purveyor was permitted to certify the number and sizes of the sticks that had been brought to the river's banks, "trimmed four-square and fit for rafting," and on receipt of the purveyor's certificate Colonel Francklin was at liberty to draw a certain proportion of the money due on fulfilment of the contract from the naval store keeper at Halifax. The masts were rafted and floated or towed by sloops down the river to Fort Howe, where they were stored for shipment in the mast pond. The mast pond was a little cove a short distance to the westward of Portland Point. It was closed and fenced in for the purpose of receiving the masts at the expense of the British government.

John Hayes was appointed purveyor to attend to the survey of the masts procured by Francklin, Hazen and White. The following letter was addressed by Mr. Hayes to Hazen and White on his arrival at the scene of operations in the woods. William Davidson had, as his purveyor, one George Andrew, who is mentioned in the letters to be quoted shortly.

RIVER ST. JOHNS, Jan'y 21st, 1782.

D'r Sirs,—Have just time to inform you we are all well & going on in the woods midling well. I am happy in informing you my appearance here has been of much use respecting the Masting Business. Mr. Peabody is really a verry proper person for the present employ; have been in the Woods with him, his people, in Number about 16, are all good men and deserve all the Encouragement in your Powers to give them. I must beg you to supply them with the following Articles at their risque if lost or willfully Dstroy'd, and pleas to send them pr Mr. Wade; viz., 2 Small Iron Potts, 2 Tin Kettles, 24 tin potts or mugs to drink out of, Blanketts, Canvas, 50 yds; Axes—if any—1 dozen. As to the full amount of these articles for the people I will be answerable for the care off—they are verry bad of for Bread, & people can not work without good food, besides it takes much time in Bakeing Indian Cakes for them in the woods, one hand continually employ'd. The only method I can point out to is to have hard Bread, a sort of Biscuit baked with you & sent hear, it certainly will be much cheaper & the people much better satisfied.

We are verry badly off indeed for Chalk lines, having nothing of that kind to make use of but twine. King turns out well as being a good Broad

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Axe man—the other two good men as any, but not with a Broad axe. Mr. Connor is well and exceeding obliging. I have some of his men going with me tomorrow in the Woods, wish, for Particular Reasons, the Major [Studholme] will be so kind as to desire Mr. Connor to give me all the assistance in his power. Tho' he is very willing to do any service in his power, yett in case he has such Orders he cannot, with Propriety, assist others. (Private.—I want all the men he can spare, Davidson wants some of them). Owing to not having the runners of ye Slay shod they wore out in coming up; the horse turns out midlying.

My best Respects to Messrs. Hazen, White, Smith, Street, Major Studholme, Mr. Tonge and Capt. Jackson, Reed & Sharman.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours to Oblige,

JNO HAYES

Messrs. Hazen & White.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO HAYES]

FORT HOWE, 28 January, 1782.

Sir,—We Received your Letter of the 21st Instant, are happy to hear you arrived safe and found Mr. Peabody and party agreeable. Have sent what articles we have that you mentioned for the People to Mr. Peabody. Hard Bread is not to be purchased here.

Have mentioned to Major Studholme what you desired, who will write you by this opportunity.

We are much surprised that you stoped the Particular pair of oxen, which we desired Last Fall to be stall fed for the use of the officers of the Garrison here and ourselves, which hath left them & us without a good slice of Beef.

Enclosed you have a Coppy of what spars, anchor stocks & Ton Timber agreed for with two People at or opposite Long Island, to be delivered by the first of August.

Yours, &c.,

HAZEN & WHITE.

P. S.—Your unpolite Letter of the 22d inst. we don't think worth notice.
Mr. John Hayes.

[FRANCKLIN TO HAZEN & WHITE.]

WINDSOR, 31 Jan'y, 1782.

Dear Sirs,—I have both of your letters before me of the 17 Dec'r and 16 Jan'y, and I am heartily rejoiced at the arrival of the Menaguashe and the Rosanna, for I was in some pain about the latter . . .

I wrote you that the Belisarius was returned to Halifax, that I had sent two Top chains rec'd from the Navy Yard & twelve I bought here (common Ox chains), to Annapolis by land. I hope you will receive them by return of the Rosanna, now at Annapolis. Mr. Proud will also join

you, whom I have engaged as a Book Keeper & Overseer. You will find him a very clever Fellow for the woods; quiet and sober.

The Atalanta attempted to get to St. Johns, via Halifax, but returned extremely sickly, so that when you will have a ship to convoy the Mast Ships is very uncertain. Two Frigates will be assigned for the Protection of the Bay in the Spring, of which the Atalanta is to be one.

I long to hear of one of you Gentlemen making an Excursion up the River, that I might know the particulars of our success, and pray do not forget in March, when you have a large quantity of sticks hauled out, to obtain Mr. Hayes' certificate that I may be enabled to receive money at the Navy Yard to pay off our debts contracted at Halifax.

MICH. FRANKLIN.

Messrs. Hazen & White.

[LETTERS OF HAYES AND PEABODY TO HAZEN & WHITE.

MAUGERVILLE, Febr. 4th, 1782.

Gent'n,—I Rec'd your favor by Mr. Waide; the goods you sent was much wanted & large Quantity of other kind, Especially West India goods. & Salt Pork, if it can be procured at your Place, for almost all the People that has undertaken to cut masts in the Grand Lake wants to be supplied with Provisions. Those People promis to git 60 or 70 Sticks in that Part & sum of them Very Principal Sticks—but I only expect about 50 from them—I have 45 sticks four squared, and a large number allready cut. Last week I sent Sum hands to make a tryal for timber in Sunbury; they bring a report of Sum Principal Sticks they have cut, & discovered many Others, which they are a going to cut tomorrow. Mr. Hays will wright to you Respecting Davidson, who is still Troublesome. I hope you will collect and send all the salt Provisions you can. and other stores that is necessary for the Business. I have sent Samuel Waymouth for a load of Stores, for which I inclose a memorandum of such things as is called for.

I am, with Respect,

Your Humble Serv't,

SAM'L PEABODY

Messrs. Hazen & White.

MAJORVILLEA, Febr'y 5th, 1782.

Gentlemen,—I beg leave to inform you that having been out with 12 hands on the land of Mr. Oliver Pearley, we, with his permission, and according to his agreement with Mr. Peabody, cutt several sticks and work'd 11 of them, being midling good, having heard Mr. Davidson was endeavoring to enterecept us, I whent off early on Monday Morning, found he had felled several trees, which I had before Purveyed, I sett my people to work on one Stick, 22 inch yard, when Davidson and Andrew arrived, we had sided it. They forbid my people from working, as they had prior right. Davison having an agreement of longer date than ours. We pursued our work, unluckily, on canting found it rotten; have, however, now given

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them the preference of the ground and some worthless sticks, the others we are going to haul directly, shall give up no point to either them; have now 120 sticks and expect to gett 100 more in the course of 3 weeks, as we have had good luck in finding large trees up by Wade's [at St. Anns], I am going off to view it. Have had persons out cutting it down; intend turning our whole aim there; am certain we shall give you a good account of them. Davison is almost Done—his situation is this: No workmen, No Rum, No Provision, verry ill Beloved; he's nearly possesst of Pandora's Box. The great Necessity of the work not being Neglected will, I hope, be an excuse for Stopping Wade's Oxen.

I think, and Mr. Peabody also, that in sending up stores, a team fixed at Fort Howe would come much cheaper. Will be much obliged to you for a few candles.

Yours to command,

JNO. HAYES.

Messrs. Hazen & White.

MAUGERVILLE, Feby 9th, 1782.

Gentlemen,—I take this opportunity of acquainting you that I have the offer of about 20 Sticks from Sam'l Nevers & Mr. Tapley. The sticks is well sized, one mast of 30 Inches & one 23 Inch Yard, the others of lower sizes. They was found last winter for Davidson, and was expected to have floated out. Now if you are disposed to take them let me know by the return of this Bairer, so that the men may have time to haul them. They offer the sticks with a Discount of 30 pr. cent, which gives you a good profit, but poor profit to me.

I finished hauling masts as Roosagwanis last thursday. Got out 37 sticks without any misfortunes, & tomorrow morning shall move our Teams to Glazier's, where I expect to git out 40 or 45 sticks.

Men's wair is much wanted, such as thick Cloaths, a few Blankets, if you can procure them, as sum men are obliged to Sleep without Blankits in the Camp. I should advise to have a good Tackle fall & runner sent up, blocks can be had hear, for I shall want to bouse in a few sticks before the Ice Brakes.

I am Your Obed't Serv't,

SAM'L PEABODY.

Messrs. Hazen & White.

February 19, 1782.

Gentlemen,—Sence closing my letter of 11th Instant I beg leave to mention that thro Dissapointment of the watter not flowing the mill our people was much in want of meal. I mean they were Intirely out. Mr. Peabody consulted me on the matter & I Borough'd a Barrell of Flower of Mr. Connor, have allso purchaced a Barrell of Pork of him
(Private.—Am sorry to say that Lieut. Connor is much attached to Davison & Andrews; his Orders from Sr. R'd Hughes, specifying to give Davison all the assistance in his power, on that acc't only Davison carrys much more

sway than if my former advice had been attended to. I am fully determined to do my Duty both for Government & you, and am Gentlemen.

Yours to Command,

Messrs. Hazen & White.

JNO HAYES.

MAUGERVILLE, March 25, 1782.

Gentlemen,—I arrived from the Grand Lake in five days after my parting with you, but the Timber did not answer the description I had of it; it is not likely that thair will be more than one 30 Inch Mast and one 24 Inch Yard, & three 22 Inch yards; the others will be smaller sizes. The men that has been up Oramoctoe gives out that they have fell 5 or six 29 & 30 Inch Masts, which I am going to hew tomorrow.

I am, Gent., Your most Humble Serv't,

Messrs. Hazen & White.

SAM'L PEABODY.

The letters which are signed "Hazen & White" are in the hand-writing of James White and are evidently his composition. The correspondence which follows is interesting, not only for the light thrown upon the first lumbering operations (for such they were) attempted on the St. John river, but also for other incidental references. In the letter that follows, for example, mention is made of the arrival of Captain Simon Baxter and his family at St. John. Mr. Baxter was a New Hampshire Loyalist who was proscribed and banished, and his property confiscated by his old neighbours. During the Revolution he was captured by the enemy and condemned to be hanged, but, when brought out for execution, broke from his captors and fled with the rope about his neck to Burgoyne's army. Captain Baxter and his family were probably the first to arrive of the thousands of loyal refugees who came to New Brunswick at the close of the war.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO FRANCKLIN]

FORT HOWE, 23rd March, 1782.

Dear Sir,—Since our last we have been at Maugerville viewing the masts, &c., &c. Mr. Peabody hath cut down and procured as many sticks as could be expected under the disadvantage of having the other Contractor at his elbow.

You will find inclosed Mr. Hayes acct & certificates of the number and sizes of sticks on the banks trimmed four square fit for rafting; they have about 120 more fell, many of which cannot be got out this season.

Mr. Peabody sett off the 14th Inst. to view a Glade of Pines on the Grand Lake, about 40 miles distant from Mr. Simonds House, where he hath a number of men to work. His intention is not to cut any but what can be Bowed out where they will float in the Spring freshets. No doubt but what he will be able to compleat our Contract by that method by the time limited tho' under many disadvantages.

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The French people at Kanibikashes have about 100 sticks cut; they say shall be able to get out & bring here this Spring about 40 sticks, the others they can get out in Summer. Pork, beef & corn is very scarce and dear, the two former not to be got. Have engaged what wheat and Indian corn we could on the River. . . . Mr. Baxter is here with his family, and appears to be in distress. Please to let him have forty Pounds on our acct.

Davidson expects to have 200 sticks out this season, and near as many more cut in the woods; he gives the people larger price for sticks (and takes them at Maugerville or elsewhere afloat) than we give Mr. Peabody delivered here. Mr. Baxter is in search after Land; we wish your advice to him if we had not better take our tract with him. I shall write you by Archibald in a few days. We must have two or three hundred Pounds in cash here by the first safe conveyance.

Yours, &c.,

HAZEN & WHITE.

Hon. Col. Michael Francklin.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO FRANCKLIN]

FORT HOWE, March 30, 1782.

D'r Sir,—Inclosed you have a duplicate of our Letter, Mr. Hayes Certificate, & memorandum sent by Mr. Baxter—have added several articles to the memorandum, which are much wanted. Have sent by Mr. Curry the nine Silver watches bought of Mr. Sparrow, to be returned, as they are not worth accepting. Please to look at them—two cristals broken and one face when they came.

We mentioned that Davidson will have about 200 sticks out this season and near as many more fell in the woods, having employed almost half the Inhabitants in cutting. I should not be surprised to hear that he, with many of the Inhabitants, should memorialise the Commissioner for orders to have all his sticks received; if so, & he should succeed, another contract for us would be but of little advantage, as he hath raised the Price of Provision and men & Ox Labour (Oxen at 7s. 6d. pr pair pr day & men in Proportion). We can't believe he will be allowed to proceed in getting any more than to fulfill his Contract.

We should be glad to have an order to get out the sticks which we have cut over & above the Contract, as Mr. Peabody is of oppinion they may be got out much cheaper in summer than in winter, and may be ready to ship in the fall.

The sooner we know if we can have another Contract the better, as we may be preparing to carry on the Business to advantage. Indian Corn we believe will be 10s. pr Bushell this Spring on the River; we were told the day we left Maugerville that Davidson had given that Price. If you could send us 30 or 40 Bushell wheat meal by Archibald we shall be exceeding glad, if not too high a Price.

We refer you to Mr. Curry for information of what Privateers, Vessels

& Boats will be in the Bay at the time [Capt.] Archibald returns. You then will be the best judge of the Risque and send goods according by him. We are, Your Obed't Humb'e Servants,

HAZEN & WHITE.

[FRANCKLIN TO HAZEN & WHITE.]

WINDSOR, 24 April, 1782.

Dear Sirs,—I rec'd your favor of the 28th Feb'y by the Mast Ships. Inclosed I send you the account of the money, £1029. 19s. 8 1-4d., Halifax currency, rec'd of Mr. Thomas, Naval Storekeeper, in consequence of Mr. Hayes' Certificate of the 12th March last of sticks being drawn to the Banks of the River.

I have p'd Mr. Baxter Fifty pounds upon your account, as per his receipt inclosed. I have also directed Mr. Dight to ship per the Convoy with the "Young William," or to deliver to Capt. Hastings, two hundred pounds in money. . . . I shall send by Capt. Archibald 20 bbls Flour, or put it into this Garrison and transmit to Mr. Hazen an order from Messrs. Deschamps to take as much from the King's Flour that he will receive pr the Mast Ship to be forwarded to Fort Edward [at Windsor]. I pay for this 40s. It sells at Halifax for 54s. pr bbl.

I rec'd the watches, they are now in my house, and when I go to Halifax I shall see about settling with Sparrow.

It will be advisable to Transmit me as soon as possible other certificates of Mr. Hayes of what masts are got out, that I may draw the money to enable me to pay for goods sent. As soon as the annual ships arrive from England I shall be obliged to make large payments. And I also expect there will be a variety of Prizes brought in, as we have many Cruisers out, and until the annual ships are sailed the whole Town will be short of money to lay out at auctions. It will also be necessary you should send me a List of Goods that you think will be vendable, specifying what you are in immediate want of, and what you wish to have on speculation.

I will send you more Flour pr next conveyance from hence, or Cumberland, or get exchanged as I mentioned to you above. Flour will be very little under 40s. at Halifax when the expected quantity arrives from England, and I suppose Pork will not be to be bought for less than £5. 10s. 0d., unless large quantities arrives in Prizes. It sold last fall at that Price, and it is now become scarce; it must rise to £6. 10s. or £7. unless some comes in soon. . . . Mr. Butler arrived safe in England after a passage of 24 days, and Messrs. Rashleigh's ships were to sail in March for Halifax.

I am, Dear Sirs,
Your Most Humb. Serv't,

MICH FRANCKLIN.

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[FRANCKLIN TO HAZEN & WHITE.]

WINDSOR, 25th April, 1782.

Dear Sirs,—I am sorry to learn Mr. Davidson has been so troublesome to our Mast cutting, and I have had several conversations with Sir Andrew upon it, who assures me that he shall have no other Contract, but as your letters are vague upon the subject of his conduct, and intermixed with other matters, they neither amount to much, nor can I at any time shew the letters themselves.

It will be highly proper that you should write me a strong letter upon the subject, taking time to set forth the matters complained of, and let any atrocious matters be supported by affidavits, which last Sir Andrew desired might be done; in particular that he has cut down sticks marked by Mr. Hayes [as King's Purveyor], that he authorizes a number of injudicious people to cut sticks all over the Country, many of which are destroyed by felling them improperly & others are now rotting & not likely to be got—in short, you must prove properly that his conduct is such that the Service in general is much hurt by him.

There is no doubt of another contract, or of Sir Andrew's Friendship to me, therefore go on and get out as many sticks as you can and throw down as many as you are sure of getting out between this and Xmas at least, for, be assured of it, we shall have another Contract, and I mean to apply for a standing one when I go to Town again, which I expect will be in ten days, or a fortnight, or even sooner if the annual ships arrive

With respect to Lands, Mr. Baxter has a plan from the Surveyor's Office of the Township granted to Sir John St. Clair & others, which reaches on Kennebekishish River. Such of them as are American Proprietors, and not in the King's Service, will have their Shares forfeited. Mr. Baxter has orders to Run the Lines that we may know where they fall. In this Major Studholme & others may be accomodated, but Mr. Chas. Morris says that you (Mr. White & Mr. Simonds, I think) have already had lands as reduced Officers; I think he told me near Fort Howe, so that when it comes to the point your old memorials will be produced. Mr. Bulkeley said something to the same purpose last fall, but Mr. Baxter will give you further information.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Most Hum. Serv't,

MICH. FRANCKLIN.

Messrs. Hazen & White.

Simon Baxter certainly derived substantial advantage from being early on the ground, and his application for lands seems to have suggested the partitioning of other ungranted lands on the Kennebecasis river. On August 15, 1782, there was granted to Major Gilfred Studholme, Simon Baxter, William Baxter, Benjamin Baxter, Benjamin Snow, Duncan Campbell and John Hazen a tract of 9,500 acres in what is now the Parish

of Norton. This grant was made by Lt. Governor Hamond pursuant to the Royal proclamation, bearing date October 7, 1763, for granting lands to officers, soldiers and seamen who had served his Majesty in arms in the late French War and agreeable to his Majesty's directions of July 1, 1775, for granting lands to loyal Refugees who had fled from the colonies in rebellion. Major Studholme received as a reduced, or disbanded, subaltern in the old French War 2,000 acres; Capt. Baxter, as a reduced subaltern and as a refugee, 5,000 acres, the other five grantees 500 acres each. In December of the same year it was ordered by Governor Parr and his Council that 10,000 acres should be laid out for Sir Andrew Snape Hamond. This tract was assigned to him in what is now the Parish of Hammond, where his name is perpetuated by that of the parish and also by Hammond River.

Major Studholme afterwards secured a tract of 5,000 acres opposite Apohaqui railway station, to which he gave the name of Studville. He retired to this property, as before stated, shortly afterwards on the disbandment of his regiment. Tradition seems to have credited Major Studholme with being the possessor of hoarded wealth, and many seekers of buried treasure have from time to time spent considerable time and trouble fruitlessly in digging on the old Studholme estate at various spots. Unfortunately for tradition, however, Ward Chipman's professional letters show that Major Studholme's finances were much embarrassed in the later years of his life. His estate, valuable as it would be to-day, was not remunerative in his lifetime, and he was frequently hard pressed for the wherewithal to pay his debts.

[FRANCKLIN TO HAZEN & WHITE.]

WINDSOR, 25 April, 1782.

Gentlemen,—Inclosed is invoice and bill of Lading of Sundries I have Shipt on the Schooner Rosanna, Wm. Hutchings, Master, from hence for Fort Howe for our account and risque. The master asks 7s. 6d. per Barrel freight, a most exorbitant Price, but he says it is customary. Invoice amounts to £163. 19. 8. You have therewith four coils of rope for getting out sticks. However high Indian Corn may be, I wish you would send twenty bushels to Sir Andrew for his Poultry, in which Lady Hamond takes great delight, and pray don't omit getting her some wood Ducks in the approaching season.

I am, Gentlemen, Your Most Humb'e Serv't,

Messrs Hazen & White.

MICH. FRANCKLIN

The closing paragraph of the above affords an amusing illustration of Colonel Francklin's diplomacy. Evidently his quarrel with Governor

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Legge did not prevent his keeping on the most friendly terms with the Lieutenant Governors who now were at the head of affairs in Nova Scotia. Sir Richard Hughes was succeeded as Lieutenant Governor by Sir Andrew Snape Hamond in 1781. Both Hughes and Hamond held in turn the office of Commissioner of the naval yard at Halifax.

The supplies for the masting business commanded high prices. Flour retailed at Halifax at \$11.00 per bbl., and the freight to Fort Howe was \$1.50 additional per bbl. Pork sold at Halifax at \$25.00 per bbl. and upwards. At this time the population resident on the River St. John was small, and men and oxen were in demand both in winter and summer. As a consequence, the cultivation and improvement of farms was retarded, and an unhealthy spirit of speculation introduced into the Country, destined in the end to bear pernicious fruit.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO PEABODY.]

FORT HOWE, 26 April, 1782.

Sir,—This will be handed to you by Lloyd, master of the Sloop, who we wish you would dispatch as soon as possible with such load as you have to bring down here, and such rafts, masts, &c., as you have ready and think best to send in tow. You will please to send as many men on board the Vessel as you think necessary to take care of the Rafts. Inclosed you have a bill of such articles as we have. No vessels from Halifax or Windsor; they are hourly expected from both places.

We recommend you would not sell the salt except for Corn, at two for one. If the Sloop should wait for the Rafts to be ready we wish to have her sent to St. Anns to take our moose skins from Mr. Weade's, and if you think best, send half the salt to him, who saith he can exchange it for Corn. If possible procure & send by the vessel 3 or 4 thousand of boards, & as many long shingles or clapboards. As the vessel will be kept to carry freights up and down this River and to assist in getting down the Rafts, we beg she may be dispatched.

We are, Sir,

Your Humble Serv'ts,

HAZEN & WHITE.

Mr. Peabody.

P. S.—The Barrell of Salmon, Bass & Shad is but Indifferent; must sell for its value.

FORT HOWE, 24 May, 1782.

Dear Sir,—Inclosed you have a Bill of things sent you by the Sloop. The Pork comes high; costs at Halifax £6 5s. per Barrel. Have sent the Sloop to your care; if you think it best to use her in getting down masts do so, otherwise send her after a Load of Coal or a full Load of Lumber, which ever you think best. We think a Load of Coals might be got better

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now than Later, the Lumber as well bro't next Trip as this—however will leave that matter with you. We wish to know if you saw any white oak crooked Timber on the Grand Lake & if likely to get any from there.

Yours, etc.,

HAZEN & WHITE

Mr. Sam'l Peabody.

[PEABODY TO HAZEN & WHITE]

MAUGERVILLE, May 14, 1782.

Gent'n,—Your Sloop is falling down with Mr. Hayes to receive Oar Rafters, and by the time she is loaded I shall send about twenty-five masts. You may wonder I don't send more, the cause is this, I am employ'd at Bousing Sticks which I have suckseeded in as well as can be expected. I have got out one of the best Yards that ever was carry'd down this River. the length 110 feet, diameter 26 inches, the distance hauled about 1-4 mile. I have Boused 14 sticks at Oromocto, & expect this week to get 7 or 8 more from that place. Next weak purpose to go back of Whitney's to git 8 or 10 more. You wrote that you Expected the Mast Business wass like to go on, if that is the case you may send up sum goods. Let the case be as it will you must send sum Provisions. Respecting giting Land granted I highly recommend the Land at Oromocto branch, called Roosogwanish, the Place that Mr. Beckwith got surveyed. I am at work at that place, & find it valuable for soil, mills, & masts & Board timber. I beg you would not let any oportunity slip for securing that important place.

I am with respect,

Your Humble Servt,

SAM'L PEABODY.

To Messrs. Hazen & White.

P. S.—Mr. Suil, that goes with Mr. Bradley, wants Sum Provisions: he is concerned in the Sticks that that Comp'y has cut Back of Oak Park [Aukpaque]. You may let him have the value of four or five Pounds. I should not have given him this incouragement of giting Provisions on the above aect, had you not desired me to buy what sticks I could.

An application was made by Messrs. Hazen and White for a tract of land at Rushagonis, as recommended by Samuel Peabody, and Sir Andrew Snape Hamond and the Nova Scotia Council very obligingly, on August 3, 1782, granted 8,000 acres to William Hazen, James White, Jacob Barker and Tamberlane Campbell as reduced subaltern officers serving in America during the last French war. Tamberlane Campbell immediately conveyed his share to Samuel Peabody for a small consideration.

Here a mill was built by Mr. Peabody for himself and partners during the year 1782; they had another mill somewhere on the Oromocto built a short time before this date.

The conflicting interests of the rival mast cutters was still a cause of

trouble, Davidson his wife t ing busin tract whi mentione these stic unnatural follows:

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trouble, and Samuel Peabody wrote in August of this year that William Davidson was expected every day to appear on the scene and had written his wife to procure what oxen and hay she could for prosecuting the masting business. Mr. Davidson had cut certain trees for masts, etc., on the tract which was granted to Hazen, White, Barker, and Campbell, as just mentioned. Samuel Peabody, conceiving the grant gave him a claim to these sticks, concluded to appropriate them, a proceeding which, not unnaturally, aroused the ire of Mr. Davidson, who wrote to Peabody as follows:

MAGERVILLE, 9th Decen'r, 1782.

Sir,—I'm not a little Surpris'd at a piece of your conduct that has lately come to my knowledge; which is your trimming my masts, &c., upon streame of Rushaganes & its vicinity. I cannot conjecture upon what principle you pretend to have acted. I had, & have, a speciall order from Government to cutt masts, yards, &c., for His Majesty's use wherever I could find them when I cutt these sticks, which constitutes as good a right in them to me as any could be given. If (by some kind of means) the people you're concerned with afterwards got a Grant of the Lands on which they were, it could not be suposed to extend to a prior right any other person had deriv'd from as good authority. But in the mean time I shall not take the truble to say any more on the subject than desire you will from this time desist from meddling with any sticks that have been cut for me, and also relinquish what you have already medl'd with.

I wish to live peaceably, but I have lately experienced so many instances of your most bare-faced and wanton oppression, to my prejudise, that there's no longer a doubt with me what course I must be under the disagreeable necessaty to take that I may obtain redress & do justice to myself and family. I shall expect your immediate answer for my future government and am,

Sir,

Your Hum'le Serv't,

WM. DAVIDSON.

Mr. Sam'l Peabody.

During the continuance of the masting operations of Francklin, Hazen and White, the commissioner of his Majesty's navy yard at Halifax was Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, who, in 1781, had succeeded Sir Richard Hughes as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia. Sir Andrew arrived from England with his wife and two children, July 30, 1781, and was sworn into office the next day. He had previously been a captain in the Royal Navy, and had on several occasions been in Nova Scotia. He seems to have been of an amiable disposition, and was popular with his subordinates and the people in general. Lieut. Governor Hamond wrote a beautifully neat and clear hand, and was evidently an educated and cultured gentleman. The

Honorable Arthur Goold, who is referred to in the letter below, had been commander of marines on the Romney man-of-war. He resided chiefly at Halifax after the peace of 1763, and was private secretary to Governors Hon. Montagu Wilmot and Lord William Campbell. He was appointed in April, 1769, a member of Council and registrar for the Province. On the 23rd July, 1767, Colonel Goold received a grant of a tract of land containing 3,000 acres, fronting on the River St. John, just above the mouth of the Oromocto river. This property in 1781 was known as "Gooldsborough." About the same period Charles Morris, jr., was granted 10,000 acres adjoining, extending from Goold's grant to the old St. Anne plain (the site of Fredericton). This property was called "Morrisania," and was purchased by James Simonds about the year 1770, and by him sold to other parties from time to time.

[SIR A. S. HAMOND TO HAZEN & WHITE]

HALIFAX, 25 Dec'r, 1782.

Gentlemen,—The Hon'ble Mr. Goold of this place, having shewn me a letter he has received from Mr. Constant Conner, informing him (Mr. Goold) that there are one hundred & fifty sticks, from a 30 Inch mast to an 18 Inch yard, with a number of browsprits on Mr. Goold's Estate on the River St. Johns that are fit for His Majesty's service; I think it necessary to acquaint you thereof, and that in case your contract shall not be already completed with Government, or it being so that your proposals for a new one should be accepted, to desire that you would give the Timber on Mr. Goold's Estate the preference, provided it is equally good & convenient for water carriage, and that Mr. Goold's agent shall be equally as reasonable in his demands for providing the sticks as others on the River.

As having more than one contract for supplying Government with masts on the River St. Johns, at one time, has been proved to injure the Country by enhancing the Price of Labour, and of no benefit to His Majesty's service, it has determined me against that measure in future. You are also to take notice that all compensations that are necessary to be made to the Inhabitants for damages done to their estates in procuring masts for the Navy are to be made by the Contractors who undertake to deliver them free of all charge at Fort Howe.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

A. S. HAMOND

Messrs. White, Hazen & Co.

[SAM'L PEABODY TO WM. HAZEN]

Sep'r 27, 1782.

Sir, . . . The Mill I have got up and sent Hands this week to build the dam & flumes, but was drove off by the great flow of water.

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Petter Long can tell you the particulars. I have agreed with Mr. Woodman for his two yoke of Oxen and one of Bragdin upon different terms, the particulars of which Mr. Leavitt can give you. You may act your judgment in Regard of sending oxen from your place. Mr. White will be up to Court* before it will be to Late to bring oxen up, & he will see the state of affairs better than I can now.

I am, Sir, Your Humble Serv't,

SAM'L PEABODY.

[PEABODY TO HAZEN & WHITE.]

MAUGERVILLE, Dec'r 25, 1782.

Messrs. Hazen & White.

Gents:—I Rec'd your favor last night by the Carpenters that you sent to Hew masts, with whom I shall set out tomorrow to Hew about 20 sticks I have 15 miles up Oromocto. The sticks I have lays in deferand Places, so that it is impossible for me to imploy so many hands as is necessary to compleat the work that must be done. I never got Black Petter to work one day, but have the promise of him to set out with me tomorrow and to stand by the work 3 weeks — then return to his old master, Davidson. You mentioned that you could send some narrow axe men; they may be well imployed if one of you could come to assist in overseeing them and lay out their work. Our Common Labourers value their hire very High, as there is so many mast cutting, Running from Place to Place to git sticks for the Highest Bidder, & no Restrant could be laid, as Davidson's latitude has bin so Large.

I expect you will be disapinted by E. Whitney, I understood that he Promised Mr. Francklin all the sticks that he could git, and he has now engaged Davidson 40 with the Roads cut, & 30 to me, and I Expect that he will not git 40 in the whole, and them not of so Large size as he engaged.

I am Your Humble Serv't,

SAM'L PEABODY.

P. S.—Remember to send sum chalk lines, Blankets & other winter goods is much wanted & Tea.

After the decease of Colonel Michael Francklin, Nov. 8, 1782, the masting business was carried on by Hazen, White and Peabody for several years. The mills built by them on the Oromocto did not at first prove a paying investment, but after the arrival of the Loyalists, and the consequent demand for lumber, they proved more valuable. The letter of Samuel Peabody, which now follows, gives a good idea of the splendid dimensions of the pines that once grew on the St. John river. The con-

* The Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace for the old County of Sunbury met at Maucerville at stated intervals, James White and James Simonds usually attended in their capacities as Justice of the Peace.

tract of Francklin, Hazen and White specified that in measurements of mast sticks the diameter was to be taken one third from the but; whether Mr. Peabody's measurements, mentioned in his letter, are of this description or not it is impossible to tell. If so, the size of the trees referred to is still more remarkable.

MAUGERVILLE, Feb. 2, 1783.

Gentlemen,—Mr. Whitney is a going to you for large stores; giving to him by whole sail will prove detrimental, as Extravagance abounds in many Houses. Provisions, I expect, will be very scarce. Thos Langin is a going down, wants me to Loade him up. If you can send by him some Tea it may assist me to get Corn by way of extorting it from the Corn men; some chocolate is wanted for our Masting Camp, for at Present we use Spruce Tea, which causes sum Murmuring. I have hauled 27 sticks at Rosagwanis, amongst which is two of largest size. Have three 32 Inch masts to cut, and one of 34 inches, besides sum small ones, which I expect to compleat in 4 Days. I am in haste, other ways would write more, and more correct, it being 4 o'clock and am this minute setting off with our Main Chain, which we broak Last Saturday evening with hauling our Largest Stick of 38 Inch Diameter.

I am, with Respect,
Your Obed't Serv't,

Messrs. Hazen & White.

SAM'L. PEABODY.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO PEABODY.]

FORT HOWE, 14th Febr'y, 1783.

Sir,—We received your Letter by Mr. Brawn and note its contents. We think it will be best to buy all the Pine Sticks fit for the Contract, that was cut last year, and at as cheap a price as you can. The sticks you mentioned, offered at 30 pr cent. discount, we suppose, are to be delivered here free of charge. John Tibbits wrote us about masts, &c., that he hath. We referred him to you; if his sticks are of good size it will be best to agree for them. Have inclosed a Bill of Cloth, Blankets, &c.; have sent them by Mr. Brawn.

We shall be glad to have 15 or 20 bushels corn sent down in the first slays; we suppose they will bring it for little freight, as we will give them a full load up. Will send you a takel fall if possible, and are, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

Mr. Sam'l Peabody.

HAZEN & WHITE.

A deed, registered in the old Sunbury book of Records shows that on Jan. 21, 1783, Simon Baxter (who is described as "an Inhabitant on the River Kennebecatious in the County of Sunbury, Nova Scotia") for the sum of £2. 6. 8. in hand and £700 assured to him, sold to John Hayes,

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"inhabitant in Sunbury County," 700 acres on the said river. The bounds are described as "beginning at a large Elm Tree on the South side of said river, a few rods below a log house, built and occupied at present by Caleb Finney." The great interest of Mr. Hayes in his new purchase possibly led him to grow careless of the interests of his former employers, and may have been the occasion of the following spirited remonstrance:

FORT HOWE, 1st March, 1783.

Sir,—We received your Letter dated 26th ult.; are much surprised to find by the Contents of said letter that you are putting off the surveying the masts, yards, &c., that are now out at the water's edge (for the fulfilling of our Contract with Sir Andrew S. Hamond, Kn't, &c., &c.) for near three months to come. We imagine it is highly necessary that the sticks should be surveyed, and report made of the same to the Store Keeper at Halifax, as soon as possible, of the number and sizes of them, &c. Have just sent two men to assist and attend you up the River for that purpose, and will meet you at Mr. Price's (at the head of the Long Reach) on Wednesday next. If you refuse surveying the said sticks we shall proceed directly up the River and get some Carpenter to survey them. Likewise shall be under the disagreeable necessity of Reporting the same to his Majesty's Naval Store Keeper at Halifax.

We are, Sir,
Your Humble Servants,

Signed. WM. HAZEN.
JAMES WHITE.

Mr. John Hayes, Purveyor of Masts, &c.

[PEABODY TO HAZEN & WHITE.]

MAUGERVILLE, March 5th, 1783.

Gentlemen,—I send this by Waymouth and others that I have sent with slays to bring up necessary stores; the articles are sugar, tobacco, if good; Rum is much called for. Part of that you sent last I sent among the French in expectation of giting Corn in return, which is much wanted by numbers that we have engaged. A Tackle fall & Runner don't omitt sending. I should be glad if you would send 4 or 5 Barrils Rum, part of which let be the West India Rum of the same kind you sent me last, as sum of it is for Mr. Glayser and others that is upon Contract work. If you can send sum Pork, so as to make up the slay load, I should think it best, as great numbers is in need, and I fear I shall have to discharge hands before the Ice breaks for want of supplis, which will be very Determental to the Business now that the Days lengthens. We have hauled about 140 sticks, the best ever collected on this River. Mr. Hayes hath got a Cask of Salmon hear which I wish you would ingage, which I suppose may be done by giving another at your Place, as he haith sent to have this transported to Kenebecashes. I expect to see you soon, otherwise would have stated our present affairs, &c.

I am, Your obed't Serv't,

SAM'L. PEABODY.

In the preceding letter Samuel Peabody mentions a Mr. "Glaysier;" the reference is to Benjamin Glasier, who purchased, October 17, 1782, from Benjamin Bubier, for £200, a tract of 1,000 acres "lying at a place called Morrisania," situate about six miles below Fredericton, in what is now the Parish of Lincoln. Mr. Glasier is described in the deed of conveyance as a "Shipwright." He came to St. John from Massachusetts in the year 1779, and after a short sojourn at the mouth of the river settled on the property in Lincoln, which has ever since been in possession of his descendants. Benjamin Glasier held a lieutenants commission in a Massachusetts infantry corps, which is yet preserved in the Glasier family. It bears the signature of Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, the last Royal Governor of Massachusetts. Lieutenant Glasier served in the French and Indian wars, and was taken prisoner at the siege of Fort William Henry. He is believed to have been a brother of Lieutenant Colonel Beamsley P. Glasier of the Royal American or 60th regiment of foot, who, in 1765, and the years immediately following, was employed as agent for the Canada Company, so called in an attempt to effect the settlement of the townships on the St. John River. While acting in this capacity Colonel Glasier and Captain Thomas Falconer were elected the first representatives of the then newly established County of Sunbury in the Nova Scotia legislature. Colonel Glasier had a grant of 5,000 acres at the mouth of the Nerepis, which afterwards became the property of General John Coffin, and was called Coffin's Manor, or Alwington Manor. He also had a controlling interest in the township of New Town, which included Marysville and much of the adjoining country in the Parishes of St. Marys and Douglas. He is said to have been at one time military governor of Pensacola, Florida. He died on his way to England about the year 1786, and Hon. Joshua Upham, judge of the Supreme Court, was one of his executors.

Benjamin Glasier was the progenitor of the well known family of which the late Senator John Glasier (familiarily termed "the main John Glasier") and his brothers, Stephen, Duncan and Benjamin were members. The operations of the Glasier family in lumbering and shipbuilding may be said to have extended over well nigh a century. At one time they were undoubtedly the largest operators in New Brunswick, employing over 600 men. Their production for many years was principally pine timber, which was shipped to Liverpool, England.

The late Senator Glasier began his lumbering operations on the Shogomoc, in York County, and afterwards in company with his brother

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Sam'l Peabody

Stephen, extended them to the waters of the upper St. John. He was the first lumberman to bring a "drive" over the Grand Falls, and is said to have been the first white man to explore the Squattook lakes. He died at Ottawa in his 84th year during the session of 1894 while engaged in the discharge of his parliamentary duties.

The arrival of the loyalists in 1783 greatly increased the demand for lumber. The letter which follows shows how ready Messrs. Hazen and White were to avail themselves of increased opportunities for business. The two "schooners, or boats" constructed to bring wood to market, were probably the pioneers of the "Wood Boats" of the present day.

[HAZEN & WHITE TO PEABODY]

FORT HOWE, 17th Novem'r, 1783.

Dear Sir,—With respect to Lumber this winter, you, no doubt, will endeavour to saw as many boards as Possible and some Long Plank; whatever Shingles & Clapboards you engage, let them be of the very best kind or quality. They will no doubt sell, while those of an Indifferent kind would lay on hand. Small masts, yards & browsprits we think best at present, & to convert such Timber as is fit & easily hewed, such as can be wrought at a small expense and done by a workman. Morgan understands what will answer; we must request that they be thoroughly examined and not one sent down that is rotten or has any defect, or that is not converted by a man that is master of his Profession. We think that five or six Gundalos of different sizes, if they can be built on easy terms, might sell very well at this place next Spring. We shall want to get built two schooners or boats, such as they make use of to bring wood to Halifax market. We have sent to get the proper dimentions. We think they carry about eight cords; they are managed by two men and are not Deckt.

We have fifty or sixty head of young Cattle and Cows that we should like to sell as soon as we can find a good market for them. Please to let us know whether you want any of them at the mill, or if you think that they will sell if they are drove up on the Ice this winter. You must be as cautious as possible about engaging money, for it will not be in our power to pay any at present. We hope the Mill will neat some Profit very soon. We wish, if possible for you to leave your Business, that you would come down as soon as the River is passable on the Ice, and bring your Surveying Instruments with you, as we want to get a Plan and the Lines Run of our Lands about this Place and Conway. If possible get the accounts of the Masts Concern made out, and likewise the expence of the mills ready to bring with you; if it is possible we must have them settled this winter, and we think you had better collect what Debts you can. As their masts were so Rotten & Bad we should think Whitney and others must be largely in Debt.

We are, Sir,

Your most-obedient, Humble Servants,

HAZEN & WHITE.

Sam'l Peabody, Esq'r.

Two letters from John Hazen to his uncle William are found among the White papers, and are given below. John Hazen was born at Haverhill, Mass., November 29, 1755. He received a good education in his youth. His father having died before the outbreak of the Revolution, his uncle seems to have become his natural guardian. At the time of his arrival at St. John with his uncle William, John Hazen was a lad of nineteen years. After a short residence at St. John he went up the river to Mauderville, where he lived until his removal to Oromocto, as detailed in his letter. John Hazen is classed by Sabine as a loyalist, and as he came from Massachusetts to this country during the war, and was always loyal to the crown, he has perhaps as good a claim to be considered as such as many others whose title to be so considered is undisputed. He married September 2, 1787, Priscilla McKinstry, daughter of Dr. William McKinstry, a well known loyalist, by whom he had a family of twelve children. Probably the best known of his descendants now living is J. Douglas Hazen, ex-mayor of Fredericton, and lately member for St. John in the Dominion Parliament.

Nehemiah Beckwith, it will be seen, is mentioned in John Hazen's letter as one of the old inhabitants. He is erroneously classed as a loyalist by Sabine. The exact date of his arrival at Mauderville is rather uncertain, but the old Sunbury County records show that on December 16, 1780, Joseph Dunphy, of Mauderville, sold half of lot No. 78 to Nehemiah Beckwith for the sum of £100. Mr. Beckwith is described in the deed as "late of Cornwallis, but now of Mauderville, Trader." He was quite an enterprising man in the early days of the province, and is credited with being the first to make an attempt to establish regular communication by water between Parr Town and St. Anns. This was in August, 1784. Nehemiah Beckwith was grandfather of the late Hon. John A. Beckwith. He died at Fredericton in the year 1815.

[JOHN HAZEN TO WILLIAM HAZEN]

MAUGERVILLE, 11th Nov'r, 1785.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Leavitt has arrived with his vessel, he tells me, up as far as Stickney's, & has brought for me two casks Rum, which I purpose going after Tomorrow with a Wagon, as the wind will not permit the Vessel to come up higher.

I received sundry articles by Mr. Tapley, but no account with them, & whether I have rec'd all that was sent for me is a matter of doubt, for part of the things he carried to Mr. Bliss, supposing they were for him, but he would not own them; then Mr. Tapley supposed they were for me.

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If Electioneering is ever (which I hope it is before this will come to you) I shall be very happy to hear from you. Be so good as to send an account of all the articles you have sent by Messrs. Tapley & Leavitt, with the cost of them, that I shall know how to sell them when I get the other side of the water, which I hope will be (if I meet with no more dissapointments for Plank Boards &c) some time next week. The House I shall not have ready I am fearful so soon, but so soon as the store is done I shall move, Bag & Bagage, & live in the Blocke House for a few days.

I find West India goods are very scarce here, and if you can augment the quantity you have sent up, most probably it may turn to a good account before Spring.

Mr. Davidson has employed Sundry People in getting masts for him on this River. Geo. Howard, one of the men he has employed, has been to me for supplies for the Business, I wish to have your opinion whether best to give him credit on the promise of payment by Govern't Bill next Spring. If you wish I should give him credit be so good as to acquaint me as early as convenient.

Vanschaack is now up at your mill, & has been this fortnight past, collecting all the Boards and has made a very great Raft, I am told, near one Hundred Thousand. He sets off with it for the City the end of this week. I am sorry you could not have had them, but I believe they are for supplies Mr. Peabody has had from him, & he still supplies him.

I wish your Mills may prove of better account to you another year.

I have sold all the shoes I brought up, and if you can send more this fall, I shall be glad of them; & some Iron, if it is only one Barr, which I was obliged to borrow of Mr. Bliss and promised to replace it this fall; I hope I shall not disappoint him. Inclos'd is a Memo'm of Sundries, if you can conveniently send, is wanted.

Compliments to Mrs. Hazen & Miss H., Mr. Chipman & our friend, Major Hailes.

I am, dear Sir,

Your Affec'e,

JOHN HAZEN.

P. S.—I expected to have got a line before this from Mr. William; out of sight out of mind.

I wish, if possible, to have my Birch canoe & paddles sent up to me by the very first opportunity, for I find it very difficult to go the shortest distance here without a Boat.

The Nails I bought of Mr. Rogers, to pay Case for the Oxen, I gave my note for, payable in two months from the Date, which will be out in Decem'r, about the first of that month; I hope it will be in your power to make it up when it is out; the sum is about thirty-two pounds.

Our Election goes on, I am told, very rapid in favor of Messrs. Hubbard and Vandeburgh. The old Inhabitants have quite over shott their mark by giving their votes the first day in favor of the inclosed candidates

Names. I have not had time to attend the meetings since the first day. I rather think that not one old inhabitant gets in, by their wishing to have the two, Simonds and Beckwith. Tomorrow decides. Mr. Simonds would, without doubt, have been one of those elected if the old inhabitants had voted for him & Hubbard or Vandeburg, but it grew quite a party matter with them.

J. H.

MAUGERVILLE, 14th Nov'r, 1785.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Peabody returned last evening from the Mills, and thinks it best, if you can possibly, to send 6 or 8 yoke of oxen before the river freezes. If they can get only as far up as Grimross Mr. Peabody has hay for them at Thos. Jenkins'—you will not be able to hire Oxen this winter from the Inhabitants to haul masts for less than 5s. pr Day & the driver 4s. or 5s. more, which will bring the Ox labour very high. Mr. Peabody has not any Iron; he tells me Chains are much wanted. If you send Iron they can be made at the Mills I have not been able to get Boards & plank sufficient yet from the Mills to repair the house, but have spoke to Vanschaak for some of his, which are expected down this day; he has a very Large Raft, between one Hundred and thirty & forty Thousand, but will not bring them down to the Mouth of the river this Fall.

I am, Dr Sir, Yours, &c.,

JOHN HAZEN.

W. Hazen, Esq'r.

We have no further mention in the White Papers of the masting business. It is clear, however, that William Davidson continued to be a rival to Hazen and White in the business. That he had many friends and supporters amongst the inhabitants is evident from the fact that early in 1783 he was elected to represent the old County of Sunbury in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. That there was a contest seems evident from the fact that there was a remonstrance from some of the Freeholders complaining of his election as being undue, but Mr. Davidson attended the session of the House and took his seat.

It appears from the White Papers and kindred documents that Benjamin Atherton and Philip Weade were traders at St. Anns prior to the arrival of the loyalists, and both had intimate business relations with Hazen and White. An abortive attempt was made at one time to call the little English settlement there by the name of "Atherton," but the place retained the name of St. Anns until Governor Carleton fixed upon it as the site of the capital city of the province, and this fact leads to a few remarks in passing, on the origin of the name of Fredericton. It was on the 22^d of February, 1785, that the Governor in Council formulated a series

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JOHN HAZEN.

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regulations "For the speedy building and orderly settlement of a town at St. Anne's Point, on the River St. John, to be called Frederick Town, after His Royal Highness the Bishop of Osnaburg."

The decision to name the town in honor of Prince Frederick evidently did not originate with Governor Carleton, for we find that prior to his arrival in New Brunswick the settlement at St. Anne's Point was called Osnaburg. There is ample documentary evidence to substantiate this assertion, but the following, taken from the records of the old County of Sunbury (then comprising nearly all New Brunswick), will suffice.

To the Honorable, the Justices of the court of Quarter sessions of the Peace for the County of Sunbury:

The Petition of Daniel Sickles, of Moncton,* opposite the town of Oznaburg, humbly sheweth: That your petitioner has, at a very considerable expence, built a ferry boat, and has for a long time, without any advantage ferried people backwards and forwards across the Nashwak and River St. Johns to and from the town of Oznaburg; that at present your petitioner finds it takes up the whole time of one man to attend the crossing and re-crossing of people who daily pass; he therefore humbly prays your honors will be pleased to grant him a license and an exclusive priviledge to keep the ferry across the Rivers S. Johns and Nashwak aforesaid, and direct what ferriage shall be taken for each person's fare; and your petitioner shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Signed, By request of the Petitioner,

20th Oct'r, 1784.

DAN'L SICKLES.

As Governor Carleton did not arrive at St. John until the 21st November, 1784, it is clear that the town at St. Anne's Point had been named Oznaburg by the Loyalists who had lately arrived there. Among them were many prominent officers of Loyalist Regiments lately disbanded in the province.

A few words now about Oznaburg. There is in Hanover a well known town called Osnabruck, or Osnaburg. Here a bishopric was founded by Charlemagne, A.D. 783. By the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, it was agreed that the ancient bishopric should be occupied alternately by a Roman Catholic prelate and a Protestant secular prince of the House of Brunswick. Through the influence of George III, who was Elector of Hanover, his second son, Prince Frederick Augustus was, on Feb. 27, 1764, elected to the valuable bishopric of Osnaburg, although at the time he was but six months old.** Prince Frederick was generally styled "His Royal Highness, the

* The village of Gibson occupies the site of what was then known as Moncton.

** The Prince was born at St. James Palace, August 16, 1763.

Bishop of Osnaburg" until he was created Duke of York and Albany and Earl of Ulster, Nov. 27, 1784, when he abandoned the Episcopal title. Frederick Duke of York was the last Bishop of Osnaburg under the terms of the treaty of Westphalia, for in the year 1803 the district of Osnaburg was ceded to Hanover and the bishopric secularized.

From what has been stated we draw the following conclusions, namely, that Frederick, Duke of York, was until the close of the year 1784 generally styled "the Bishop of Osnaburg," hence the attempt to give to the Loyalist town then rising on the old St. Anne's plains the name of "Osnaburg. Not very long after Governor Carleton's arrival it became known that the official title of His Royal Highness had been altered to Duke of York and Albany, and so it was decided that the capital city of the province should not be called Osnaburg, but "Frederick-Town," or Fredericton. For several years, however, the old historic name of St. Annes clung to the locality, and was not supplanted without a struggle.

Returning from this digression to the further consideration of the "James White papers," it may be observed that the letters which are now printed in the collections of the Society, while not dealing with events in themselves of very great importance, nevertheless are possessed of peculiar interest to the inhabitants of this province, as affording a glimpse of lumbering in its infancy.

Mr. James Vroom, of St. Stephen, who is one of the corresponding members of the N. B. Historical Society, in concluding an admirable plea in behalf of the preservation of the forest, uses the following words, "By its trees this province has lived for a century. By its care for trees and their products New Brunswick must yet stand or fall. Save the forest!"

It is literally true that this province has been mainly dependent for its prosperity upon its forests and their products. This fact lends additional interest to the correspondence of Francklin, Hazen, White and Peabody, containing, as it does, valuable information about the modest beginning of that which was ere long to prove the staple industry of the province.

During the first forty years of our provincial history there was a prodigious increase in the magnitude of lumbering operations on the St. John river, the Miramichi and elsewhere. This rapid development is shown very strikingly by the Custom House returns of the year 1824* in which, while the total value of exports is estimated at a sum equivalent to \$3,036,000, the value of the lumber exported amounts to very nearly two thirds of the

* See Fisher's "Sketches of New Brunswick," pp. 63-67.

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whole. The varieties of lumber shipped were chiefly pine and birch timber, pine boards and plank, hoghead shooks, pine shingles, lathwood, masts and spars, handspikes, oars and oar rafters, oak, ash and spruce staves. The following table will give some idea of the relative proportions of these exports in the year 1824.

PORT.	Pine & Birch Timber. No. of Tons.	Pine Boards and Planks.	Staves.	Pine Shingles.	Masts and Spars.	Hand- spikes, Oars and Oar Rafters.	Lathwood — No. of Cords.
St. John.	114,116	11,534,000	1,923,000	491,000	1,918	2,698	1,435
Miramichi.	141,384	1,256,000	304,000	8,000	1,400	1,590	3,080
St. Peters*.....	8,308	52,000	8,000	....	191	159	274
Richibucto	24,269	134,000	36,000	....	545	1,622	625
Shediac	5,851	12,000	....	....	327	280	184
Restigouche.....	3,062	7,000	....	....	47	32	30
Dorchester.....	1,246	2,000	....	....	5	484	29
St. Andrews.....	25,975	8,386,000	284,000	2,412,000	1,559	1,093	753
Totals.....	324,211	21,383,000	2,555,000	2,911,000	5,992	7,958	6,410

* Now called Bathurst.

The great Miramichi fire in 1825 gave the trade of that port a blow from which it was long in recovering.

It will be noticed that in the above table there is no mention made of spruce deals, although the latter are now our great staple. The first spruce deals ever made in New Brunswick were cut in 1819, and the first cargo, which consisted of only 100,000 superficial feet, was shipped to England in 1822, but for many years the dimensions of the deal trade were extremely small.

The proportion of birch timber in early times was small compared with pine, probably not more than ten or fifteen per cent of the whole, so that it is altogether likely that in the year 1824 one half of the total exports of the province consisted of pine timber. The boards, planks, shingles, masts and lathwood also were almost entirely pine. The pine tree was easily king of the forest. Mr. Peter Fisher writes in 1825 in his little work on New Brunswick History:

"In this country there is no article, or articles, that can in any degree furnish exports equal to the pine which is manufactured in the simplest manner with but little trouble. So simple is the process that most settlers who have the use of the axe can manufacture it; the woods furnishing a sort of simple manufactory for the inhabitants, from which, after attending

to their farms in the summer, they can draw returns during the winter for those supplies which are necessary for the comfort of their families.

Most of the lands in this province where pine is found are intermixed with other timber, and although the precise spots on which the pine grows are unfit for agriculture without much labor, yet there are always spots adjoining where a settler may cultivate with success, so that in a lot of two or three hundred acres there is generally enough for tillage, and a man settling on such land can always choose his spot for farming and keep his lumber to cut at his leisure. . . . A man settling on a wilderness lot, like most settlers, has but little dependence save his own labour—perhaps he has a small family; he commences with cutting down a small spot and erecting a hut—say in the summer or fall—he then moves on his family, and looks round for sustenance till he can raise his first crop. In doing this his funds are exhausted and he wants by his own labour to replenish them during the winter and provide a few implements of husbandry, and nails &c. for building a barn. Now supposing his lot to be back from the river, and at a distance from old settlements where labour is wanted, what does he do? Why he resorts to his pine—to the simple manufactory before noticed and makes a few tons, say twenty, thirty, forty or fifty, according to his ability—this timber probably he gets hauled to the water on shares, if he is very poor and has no team: the returns for which the next spring furnish him with supplies and enable him to continue on his land and prosecute his farming."

Mr. Fisher enters a strong protest against what was even in his day a growing evil, namely, the cutting of lumber by persons who were mere speculators, by whom much valuable young timber was wantonly destroyed. He is equally emphatic in his denunciation of the inordinate consumption of ardent spirits, rum, gin and brandy, of which there was then consumed by the inhabitants in the course of a single year, rather more than twenty gallons, on an average, for every male over sixteen years of age. It was supposed in those times that lumbering could not be carried on without rum.

The letters, etc., selected from Mr. White's papers, which have been printed in this number of the Collections, have been chiefly connected with the masting operations of Franklin, Hazen and White. Those that follow will be found to deal with a variety of topics, and are printed more for the sake of preservation than because there is any special connection between one and another. Taking them in the order of time, the first that claims our attention is an old account, showing Hazen and White's claim against government for rental of buildings and wharfage in connection with the coming of the Loyalists. Colonel Wm. Tyng, whose name appears in the

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account was Deputy Commissary in charge of the provisioning of the Loyalists. The wharf at Portland Point and the buildings of Simonds, Hazen and White supplied the only facilities available at this time.

[Indorsed] Col. Tyng's Acct. of Store Hire, &c., November, 1783.

	Wm. Tyng, Esq.,	Dr.	
To 14 days use of a large flatt for unloading Provisions at 10s.			£ 7. 0. 0.
No. 1. To hire of Large Store from 20th May to 20 October,			
5 months @ £11.....			55. 0. 0.
No. 2. To hire of store from 20 May to 20th October, 5 mo.			
@ £6.....			30. 0. 0.
No. 3. To hire from 1st July to 20th Octo. 2 2-3 months @ £4.			10. 13. 4.
To wharfage of the Transport Ship "Spring" unloading Provisions, 20 days @ 5s.....			5. 0. 0.
To wharfage of the Transport Brigg unloading Provisions, 28 days @ 5s.....			7. 0. 0.
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The facilities for landing supplies were not of the best. The work was done by the crews of the vessels with, perhaps, a little assistance from the garrison at Fort Howe. There came with the "fall fleet," which arrived on September 27th, 1783, a number of provision ships. Colonel Tyng, in consequence, addressed the following letter to General Fox,* the commander in chief of the forces in Nova Scotia, who had come to St. John to receive the Loyalist regiments on their arrival from New York:

FORT HOWE, 1 Oct. 1783.

Sir,—It being your wish that the Victualling Ships should be unloaded with all possible dispatch, and this garrison being insufficient to afford a working party, I take the liberty to request you will recommend to the Commanding Officer of the British American Troops** to furnish such parties to assist in unloading them as may be necessary. Lt. Col. Hewlett has promised to order a party, but I apprehend your recommendation will have full influence.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most Obed't Serv't,

Hon. Brig. Gen'l Fox.

WM. TYNG.

Governor Parr directed Major Studholme to provide, if possible, sufficient lumber to enable the Loyalists to shelter themselves in rough habitations during the approaching winter. To this end every settler was

* Brigadier-General Henry E. Fox was a brother to the celebrated English statesman of the same name.

** The commander of the British-American, or Loyalist regiments was Lieut.-Col. Richard Hewlett.

furnished with five hundred feet of boards, a fair proportion of shingles and some bricks. Major Studholme provided in all 1,664,110 feet of boards and 1,449,919 shingles.*

A considerable portion of the lumber needed was obtained at the mills built on the Oromocto by Hazen, White and Peabody. Lieut. Constant Connor acted as agent for Major Studholme, and this fact will explain the letter that follows:

Parr 1: 1st November 1784

Sir,—I wrote you already in answer to yours of the 6th October last, mentioning the impropriety of inserting in my accounts with Government a charge which my zeal to comply with the Governor's instructions has, it seems in your opinion made necessary.

I am certain you must have had trouble in collecting the Lumber you sent down, and I think His Excellency the Governor would be willing to make you a compensation on being informed of it, which purpose the production of this letter to His Excellency will, I think, effect, and I shall be happy to hear that your trouble has been recompensed. But as at the time you rendered this service your situation was a military one and not a mercantile one, I think it would be improper to state any account for commission, but rather to make use of this letter as a certificate of your services to His Excellency, who, I doubt not, will recompence them agreeable to your wishes. At the foot of my Contingent Account I will note this circumstance for His Excellency's information.

As to your Provisions, I shall settle with Mr. Hazen in a few days, and will pay into his hands whatever may appear due to you, but what it is I cannot at present exactly tell; Innes, who kept the Provision Accts., having been for some time past out of his senses. He is, I am told, recovering, and I shall avail myself of the opportunity to close and settle the accounts.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient Humble Servant,

Lieut. Connor.

C. Connor

Two points are worthy of note in connection with the above letter, one that in public letters and other documents the name applied to the town

* See Lawrence's Foot Prints, p. 5. Many of the original receipts for lumber furnished at this time are contained in a bound volume in the Secretary's office in Halifax. One of these headed "Parr, on the River St. John's, 31 August, 1783," is perhaps the earliest mention of Parr or Parr Town extant.

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built by the Loyalists on the east side of St. John harbor was more commonly written "Parr" than "Parr Town;" the other, that Major Studholme always uses the final letter "e" in writing his signature.

In the work of settling the Loyalists Studholme was assisted by Lieut. Samuel Denny Street, of the Royal Fencible American Regiment, and the period specified in the following receipt indirectly confirms a statement in the narrative of Walter Bates, that the spring fleet with the first consignment of Loyalists from New York arrived in St. John harbour on the 10th day of May.

River St. John, 30 September, 1783.

Rec'd from Gilfred Studholme, Esq., the sum of £72. 10. 0. Halifax currency for superintending his office for conducting the settlement of and issuing Lumber to the Loyalists within the district of St. John from the 9th May to 30th September, 1783, both days being included, being 145 days, at 10 shillings pr day, for which I have signed three receipts of the same Tenor and Date.

SAM'L DENNY STREET.

The writer of the letter which follows was the Rev. James Sayre, brother of Rev. John Sayre, first S. P. G. missionary at Maugerville. He was chaplain at one time in a Loyalist regiment, and came to St. John at the peace. His sojourn was brief. He was for two years rector at Newport, Rhode Island. He died at Fairfield in 1798.

[REV. JAMES SAYRE TO JAMES WHITE.]

Fairfield, Nov'r 25th, 1784.

Dear Sir.—Altho I found no oppor'ty of writing to any of my Friends soon after my arrival here, yet I presume you heard from other quarters that we were, by the Lord's Goodness, preserved in Safety to our Haven and our Friends in this Place. I have not yet had the Gratification of hearing of you and yours, especially how it goes with our dear Friend, Mrs. White, whether she has less or more bodily comfort with regard to her disorder than when we left her.

We feel ourselves much indebted to your House for the frequent instances of kindness to us when in your neighbourhood & wish to have it in our power to testify it more strongly than in words.

It gave us great concern to be informed that any Person about you could be so wicked as to accomplish the Shocking Deed—attempted before we left the Country; I mean the Burning of Mr. Hazen's Barn. Besides the great Loss he must have sustained, it is justly to be feared it must have occasioned great Terror & Trouble to both your Families. I should be glad to be informed that Mrs. White in particular did not suffer materially in her Health by the flagitious Deed. We have had our Health & been civilly

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treated since we have been in this Country. Our little Folks are well; & little Betsy speaks now & then of Sally White, whom she still remembers. Be pleased to mention our Love to Mrs. White & the Children, & our Respects to Mr. Hazen & Family, & let us hear from you as soon & as often as you can. Please to commit your Letter to Mr. Fitch Rogers's care with a request to him to forward it to his Brother Moses in New York.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged Friend & Serv't,

JAMES SAYRE.

P. S. I hope you will soon have such an effectual Polity amongst you as will be some Defence against unlawful actions.
James White, Esq'r.

Rev. James Sayre seems to have succeeded Rev. George Bisset as rector at Newport. The latter came to St. John in 1786, and is usually regarded as the first Rector of Trinity Church. He was a scholarly man, and in addition to his clerical duties instructed the sons of the more well to do citizens of St. John in the higher branches of education. The late Sheriff White, of St. John County, was one of his pupils. See the following:

Mr. Bisset's Receipt for Qr. Schooling.
For Master White.

To one Quarter's Instruction beginning the 17th September, & ending
the 17th December, 1787, £1. 9. 2.
Received the Contents in full.

GEO. BISSETT.

In connection with this subject it may be of some interest to note in passing that the Rev. James Fraser, who came to St. John in the autumn of 1786, and was the first Presbyterian minister to officiate there, upon the decease of "the worthy Mr. Bisset" undertook the work of teaching at the solicitation of several of the inhabitants. On the 3 May, 1788, he writes of his failure to find in teaching a means of livelihood. "My motives," he says, "for taking up a school in this City where chiefly compassion for the youths, who had been left destitute of a Teacher by the death of the Rev'd Mr. Bisset, and to see what encouragement would be given to Education here, but it by no means seems to answer my expectation."

The long letter of James Simonds to his old partners, Hazen and White, which follows next is explained by the fact that serious difficulties had arisen in connection with the settlement of the accounts of the old partnership, and with respect to the division of the lands that had from time to time been granted to the members of the company. The relations of the old

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partners evidently were strained at this time. Litigation ensued shortly afterwards, which lasted with little intermission for many years.

[JAMES SIMONDS TO WM. HAZEN.]

Portland, 28 January, 1788.

Gentlemen,—It may appear (as it really is) very extraordinary that I am now under the necessity to address you upon the subject of a Settlement of the Acct's between Messrs. Blodget & Hazen (afterwards Hazen & Jarvis) and Simonds & White & Co., near Twenty years after the commencement of business, which, by articles of agreement, was only to subsist one year, although the business was continued by the assent of the parties some years after without any written alteration.

To avoid the pernicious consequences of Quarrels and Suits it is my present design to convince you, if possible, of the unreasonableness of your claims to two thirds of the lands granted to me, which has for some time been the greatest and, I believe, the only obstacle to an amicable settlement of our Acct's. In order to this it will be needful to point out the time when and the manner in which my Grants were obtained, as well as the ground of your claim to them.

In the year 1759 and 1760, Proclamations were published by his Majesty's order through the Colonies (some of which I can now produce) which promised all the lands and possessions of the Accadians who had been removed, or any other vacant lands lying within the Province of Nova Scotia, to such as would become settlers there. In consequence of those proclamations I went through the greatest part of Nova Scotia in time of War, at very great expence and at the risque of my life, in search of the best lands and situations, and having at length determined to settle at the River St. John, obtained a promise from Government of large tracts of lands for myself and Brother [Richard], who was with me in several of my tours. The best parts of the land contained in the first and second Grants were the places pointed out, and considerable Improvements were made, at my expence, on them in the year 1762.

The accounts which I gave to my friends in New England of the abundance of Fish in the River and the convenience of taking them, of the extensive Fur trade of the country, and the natural convenience of burning Lime, caused numbers of them to make proposals to be concerned with me in those branches of business, among whom Mr. Hazen was the first that joined me in a trial. Afterwards, in the year 1764, although I was unwilling that any should be sharers with me in the certain benefits of the furr trade, which I had acquired some knowledge of, yet by representations that superior advantage could be derived from a Cod fishery on the Banks, and other branches of commerce which I was altogether unacquainted with, I joined in a contract for carrying it on for that year upon an extensive plan with Messrs, Blodget, Hazen, White, Peaslie and R. Simonds; and for particular reasons the business was continued by consent of the parties

another year, in the course of which Gov't gave out the first Grant to the earliest petitioners, when at my especial request the name of James White was inserted for a third part of the first grant of two thousand acres, otherwise he would not have had any part of that tract.

A report of such a grant soon reached Mr. Blodget, and he repeatedly requested that the proprietors would admit him to be interested in it, and that they would send him their terms. He was informed that they were determined not to dispose of any part of their lands on any terms whatsoever. This Mr. Jarvis well knew before he purchased Blodget's stock in the Concern.

Early in the year 1767, Messrs. Hazen & Jarvis wrote to Simonds & White that it was their desire that one of them would attend with their acc'ts to a final settlement at Newburyport; this was complied with in the month of March in that year, but upon my arriving at the place I was informed by Mr. Hazen that their acc'ts were not in readiness for inspection, and could not be made so before the fishery and furr trade would require my return to St. John's, but that Mr. Jarvis would positively attend to a settlement at this place in the course of the summer. It was at the same time observed that it would be proper to renew the articles of agreement that they might be in the name of those who were then concerned in the business.* To this I readily agreed with some alteration in the proportion of my own share. But Hazen & Jarvis further observed that it was their wish to have part of the land that had been granted to Simonds & White, in the same manner that Mr. Blodget had before, and as a consideration proposed that two shares in the grant of the Canada Company should be purchased at about fifty pounds each, and two shares more, which I understood was granted to them with the same company, was to be added to the lands of Simonds & White as an equivalent, and the whole to be the joint property of both parties. They offered as a further consideration to pay me sixty pounds for my expence in procuring the said Grant.

To these proposals, made at different times. I did not consent so far as to have them inserted in the intended agreement, and did not expect to hear any more of the matter, at least before the acc'ts were settled and I had more time to think of the value of their offer, and went into the country to visit my friends, from whence I did not return till just before the vessel in which I was to take passage sailed. The notice of her sailing was so short and unexpected, that I repaired to her in such haste that I forgot some of my most necessary wearing apparel, and on my way called at the store of Messrs. Hazen & Jarvis on a wharf a few paces from the vessel to sign the intended agreement, and upon a slight reading of it found that my Lands was inserted contrary to my expectation, without a syllable of any promise to bind them to a performance of any part of their proposals. I informed them that I would not sign it; immediately they, or one of them, announced that the vessel should not sail before it was executed as that clause stood

*See Collections of N. B. Historical Society, Vol. I, pp. 187-190, where the "First Contract or Business Agreement" of the Company is given in full.

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[The letter proceeds to narrate the circumstances under which Mr. Simonds signed the document. He claims he signed it under duress and intimidation, and that it had no force or validity in law or equity. Hazen and Jarvis, in their evidence, subsequently given in the chancery court, deny that Mr. Simonds was coerced or intimidated.]

With respect to the Accounts it was and now is my wish that they should be adjusted in the most equitable manner, but the length of their standing and a variety of occurrences may render such a close of them difficult if not impossible.

At the close of the business I thought it had at least paid for its expence and that about four hundred pounds, which I put into the company's stock over and above what I have received from it was due to me with the Interest accrued thereon; You seem to think the contrary.

What I conceive to be the sum of the whole matter is that the lands granted to me are my property, made so by early applications and exertions, attended with many difficulties and great expenses—and what is granted to you is in like manner your estates altho' obtained later and at less expence, and that the Company's Debts ought to be paid wherever they are due, and all the improvements made upon the lands at their joint expence carefully considered and equitably paid for. If you differ from me in opinion you will explain the principle upon which you so differ, for I now declare (whether you believe me or not) that I am as solicitous to do you justice as I am to myself—but unless you can enlighten me or that I can you, our affairs must be determined by others less interested or less blind than some of us are.

But first to do to you as (perhaps) I should wish you to do to me, was I placed in your situation and you in mine, and to establish that harmony and good understanding between us that should always subsist between good members of Society, and especially such as have connected interests, and to avoid the vexation of suits, quarrels, &c., I shall now make such proposals to effect an amicable, speedy and final settlement of all disputed matters, as I really think to be a valuable cession of property on my part, and hope that they will appear in the same light to you:

[The proposals of Mr. Simonds may be briefly summarized as follows:—

1. All lands granted to the members of the Company, individually or collectively, to be made common and divided one third to Simonds; remainder to Hazen, Jarvis and White.
2. A tract of 2,000 acres (including the chief part of the marsh east of the city) the ownership of which Simonds claimed as his by right, although the grant of it was secured by Hazen and White, to be divided in the same proportions as the other lands, or the equity of their respective claims referred to arbitration.
3. Expenses of procuring grants to be paid by the respective grantees.
4. All accounts between the partners to be considered as balanced and cancelled.

5. All stock in trade to be divided in the same proportions as the land.
6. All rents and profits since 1778 received by Hazen and White to be accounted for to Simonds in same proportions with interest.
7. Buildings erected and improvements effected to be allowed for to the person or persons who made them.
8. All lands to be divided within three months from 15th January, or sooner if possible.

9. The parties to give to each other good and sufficient conveyances in law of the lands that fall to the share of each on a division, and also full acquittances and discharges from all obligations, contracts, accounts and demands whatsoever. Any points of dispute in connection with the carrying out of the proposals submitted to be referred to arbitration.]

By these outlines of a compromise of all our dealings and concerns it must appear to every one that I have given up every point that any reasonable man could wish. There is nothing withheld that you yourselves can say is selfish or calculated for a separate advantage against you, unless it is the mode of balancing the old accounts; they leave an opening for you to say there is thousands due one way and for me to say there is as much due another—but I do assure you that I should rather have them examined and settled, was it not that I foresee the almost endless disputes that would arise and the numerous Witnesses that must be sought for in every part of the States and perhaps in other parts of the world.

It is remarkable that nothing was heard of any debt for many years, even while the remaining stock in Trade was dividing between the owners, nor till my Lands became an object. You have received the most of the benefits of them from first to last, and the sole advantages of the situation for the last ten years, since I was persecuted and driven into the wilderness, without any opportunity of carrying on any profitable business and appointment, and I left the business in your hands without a Rival, although I otherwise stood as fair for a share at least in its benefits as you.

If I am forced to be the first mover in disagreeable steps I shall be far from thinking myself the aggressor, and must now once for all desire your answer to these proposals within three days, this inclusive, as I shall after that time set out upon a long journey, and as a longer time for your consideration will be unnecessary—nearly the same offers having been made in conversation.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble Serv't,

J. A. SIMONDS

William Hazen

&

James White, Esquires.

On the next day after Mr. Simond's letter was written he received an answer from Messrs. Hazen and White, which contained a positive refusal to accept the 2nd article of his proposals, Hazen and White contending that they had received their grant of the 2,000 acres east of St. John after the

partnership session.

This

made in J time Mr. received t

Sir.—

answer wh over with your indec as the year and persec matters we of them we should mer nation.

We ha Hay which ing we hav in repairin building en no legal cla made ourse division ma obtain of y right to one made and b you at prese old improve

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We have letter. & sinc to effect a mo

James Simon

partnership was dissolved, and that they were entitled to undisputed possession.

This, of course, did not tend to harmonize matters, but an attempt was made in July following to effect a settlement by arbitration. In the meantime Mr. Simonds again wrote to Hazen and White a letter to which he received the following reply.

Portland, 7th August, 1788.

Sir.—We received your letter last evening, and shall now endeavor to answer what we suppose to be the purport of your offers. We shall pass over with equal indifference, as being totally unconnected with the business, your indecent reflections upon “one who removed into the country as late as the year 1775;” & your obscure and trite story of the “insults, injuries and persecutions” you pretend to have “suffered in those times.” These matters we conceive to be only ideal, and were it not that our sentiments of them would appear too mortifying and rather ludicrous upon paper, we should mention some real facts to induce you to trust less to your imagination.

We have not the least objection to your cutting one third part of the Hay which is within the limits of the first and second grants, notwithstanding we have been at very great expence and trouble in keeping possession, in repairing from time to time the old aboideau and dyke, and lately in building entire new ones to protect and improve them. You certainly have no legal claim to the other part of the marsh, nor to the buildings we have made ourselves since the partnership was dissolved, until there is a final division made of all the property, which we have ineffectually tried to obtain of you for many years past. You have at present an undoubted right to one third part of all the improvements and buildings which were made and built prior to the dissolution of the partnership. We conceive you at present to be in actual possession of more than one third part of the old improvements.

We again repeat to you that we are ready at a moments warning to attend the arbitrators and evince our several titles to the Lands, &c., in question. The investigation of this part of our dispute we cannot suppose would take two days, and since this is most surely the only regular and effectual method we have left us to settle the business, we cannot see the propriety of entering into the intermediate and dilatory compromise you propose.

We have thus, Sir, comprised in a few words our ideas in answer to your letter, & sincerely hope they will govern your business in such a degree as to effect a more speedy and effectual settlement than you seem to desire.

We remain, Sir,

Your most humble servants,

WM. HAZEN,
JAMES WHITE.

James Simonds, Esq'r.

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The first Collector of Customs on the St. John river was probably Captain Francis Peabody. He was in office as early as 1772. A letter written by Captain Jadis, who then lived at Grimross, to Lord Dartmouth March 31, 1773, complains of the prevalence of smuggling at "Major Ville"—(See Canadian Archives for 1894, p. 312). The Council minutes at Halifax shew that in June 1775, Jno. Butler, J. Burrows, John Day, Chas. Morris, jr., and Thomas Bridge, the committee to whom was entrusted the farming of the duties, impost and excise in the outposts of the Province of Nova Scotia, reported that on March 30th a public auction was held at St. John river for £20, and at Passamaquoddy for £15. Copies of the laws relative to impost, excise, etc., were sent to James Simonds, of St. John; Israel Perley, of Maugerville, and Benjamin Yoxhall, of Passamaquoddy, for public information.

In 1782 James White was deputy collector at St. John, under Henry Newton, collector at Halifax. The emoluments he derived from the office were small, for in this year the tonnage that entered was only 144 tons and that cleared 165 tons—a dozen vessels entered and cleared, the largest 30 tons burden.

William Wanton was St. John's first collector, and Mr. Newton's letter to James White, which follows, is of interest in connection with the new regime:

Halifax, 14th Jan'y, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I wrote you lately by the Ship *Hermoine*, packet, & the directed you how to manage in case of the Collector's arrival, or your being superceded by the Governor, till which time the accounts & half the Papers were to be transmitted to me, and no papers or Books delivered to any person without application being first made to me & my consent obtained altho' at the same time I would have you give every advice & assistance possible for the good of His Majesty's service.

Mr. Wanton, your new Collector, who takes charge of this will, I hope give satisfaction to the people of your Province; he is surprized to find that an intercourse with the States is prohibited, perhaps your Proclamations don't intend it.

I hope soon to have the pleasure of hearing from you, in the meantime wishing you health and the Compliments of the Season. I am,

Dr Sir,

Yr most obedient
& very H'ble Serv't,

HENRY NEWTON

James White, Esq'r.

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THE PENNFIELD RECORDS.

EDITED BY J. VROOM

A BOOK OF RECORDS

OF THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, WHO HAVE AGREED TO SETTLE THEMSELVES
ON THE RIVER ST. JOHNS IN NOVASCOTIA. *

At a meeting of some friends it was agreed, that, the following advertisement should be published.

Notice is hereby given to those Belonging to the Society of people commonly called Quakers, and to those who have had a Birthright among them, and now wish to promote that Society, and have made A Return of their names in Order to be removed to the river St. Johns in Novascotia, that it is the request of some of that Society that they will call at No. 188

*The old Pennfield record book, the MS. title page of which reads as above, was saved from destruction a few years ago by Mr. Charles Johnson, jr., of St. George. The records are generally without signature, and cover a period of three years, 1783-1786, with a later entry in 1789. The book was afterwards used by Joshua Knight, surveyor, (presumably the Joshua Knight, jr., of the grant of 1787,) to add his records of lumber shipped at Stang; and still later by the same person, as

Records for the Parrish of Pennfield

beginning by Joshua Knight Town Clerk in the Year Eighteen hundred and Twenty."

Some time after 1824, when the par-

ish records end, it became a school-boy's writing book; and, although the name of the boy does not appear, the following curious inscription and doggerel preserve the name of his teacher:

In my Beginning may
God be my guide.

Began January The 5th
With Jno. Pevey A Scribbling
Schoolmaster.

Hic Liber pertinet Me
Deny it if you Can
Ad me Joannes Pevey
An Unfortunate young Man
Easto Liber Meus.
He is to be found
Sedreptem Hoc
Or Else in the Ground.

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1772. A letter
Lord Dartmouth
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ble Serv't,
HENRY NEWTON

in Water street between the Coffee house Bridge and the fly market,* where a mode of proceeding will be Proposed to them, which it is expected will be agreeable to them: in so doing they will oblige Several Well wishers to that Society.**

Upon Which the following agreement*** was entered into,—

*A corruption of the Dutch name, Vlei Market (Valley Market). The Fly Market was near the foot of what is now called Maiden Lane, New York.

**Another advertisement, which does not appear on the records, read as follows:

"Notice is hereby given to those of the people called Quakers who have entered into an agreement to settle together in Nova-Scotia that they are requested to meet at the house of Joshua Knight, No. 36 in Chatham-street, a little above the Tea-Water Pump, on Seventh Day next, the 5th of July, at four o'Clock Afternoon, in order to conclude upon some matters of importance to them; and those who mean to join the above-mentioned body are requested to call at No. 188, Water-street, between the Coffee-House Bridge and the Fly-Market, and have their names entered as soon as possible.

New York, July 2, 1783."

***This agreement, a reduced fac simile of which is given, occupied a full page of the record book. The words "No slave master admitted," which are emphasized by larger letters, make it a remarkable document when time and place are considered. It appears to be in the hand-

writing of Joshua Knight, whose name reads one of the columns of signatures, and who was apparently the leader of the colony.

Knight came from Abbington, a suburb of Philadelphia. With other members of the society of Friends, he had sought protection in New York, and his property had been confiscated by the Whig authorities.

Gideon Vernon, another of the signers, also of Pennsylvania, was captain in a Loyalist corps. He was for some years a leading man in the affairs of Charlotte County. Evan Thomas was also captain of a Loyalist corps. It would appear that Vernon and Thomas were not orthodox Quakers, or that the possession of a birthright in the society of Friends did not prevent their taking up arms in defence of the empire. The Woodwards belonged to an old Quaker family prominent in New Jersey before the Revolution.

The following persons, named in a grant of 1787, seem to have joined the company later:

John Knight, Caleb Paul, Elias Wright, Moses Foulk, Benjamin Field, Brown, John Gill, John Horner, James Harris, Joseph Parker, Richard Mead, Jacob Buffington, Freeman Smith, Joshua Knight, jr., George Bennison, Jesse Woodward, jr., Evan Thomas, Robert Robbins, Samuel Woodward.

Handwritten signatures and names on the right margin:
 No. 6
 J. P.
 W. A.
 J. G.
 Am.
 Evan
 J. J.
 John
 Peter
 Sam.
 Dan.
 Sam.
 Peter
 Abram
 Samu.
 Joseph
 J. W.
 Wm.
 Thoma.
 John
 Sam.
 Andrew

We whose names are hereunto subscribed do agree
to settle ourselves together on the swampy grounds in
Nova Scotia —

No slave master admitted

<p> Joshua Knight John Rankin John Loofbourrow Sam. Fairbank Gid. Vernon Amos Strickland Evan Griffith Joseph Tomlinson John Strickland Peter Price Nathaniel Loofbourrow Daniel Keytten Samuel Tomlinson Peter Wolton Abram Rankin Samuel Matthews Joseph. Shove Jeremiah Fitts Moses Winder Thomas Buckley junior Thomas Buckley John Burk Edward Burk Andrew hamton </p>	<p> Benj. Boring Richard Buffington Jonathan Paul John Dennis Mathias Sijm Richard Lawrence Nimrod Woodward Isaac Woodward Ju. Hinehman Dracil Done ^{widow} Joseph Way Daniel Southwick Jon^r. Remington Gershom Remington Richard Matthews Abraham Wood Mard Amos White Jesse Walton Anthony Incegarard Anthony Woodward Jun^r Honor Hamton W^m Brown O. S. Robert Woodward Jacob Woodward George Fielder </p>
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 jr., George Bennison,
 jr., Evan Thomas
 Samuel Woodward.

Rules and regulations for the Government of the society of people called Quakers, who settle together on the river St. Johns Novascotia, to be entered in their book of records as a standing rule to them, and Kept inviolate by every Member of Said society—

Article 1st. that a proper Book be procured by said society in which their proceedings shall be recorded, and that a Clark be appointed annually to make a fair entry of the Same—

2nd. that every publick matter which concerns the society in general, shall be Determined by a Majority of votes of the members of the society who are arived to the age of Twenty one years.

3rd. that five persons belonging to said Society shall be appointed annually by the members of the Society, to hear and determine all complaints and controversities which May arise in Said society, and that any three of the Aforesaid persons meeting Shall be a sufficient number to hear and determine in those cases—

4th. that no slaves be either Bought or sold nor kept by any person belonging to Said society on any pretence whatsoever—

5th. that in case any dispute or complaint shall be Brought before the committee appointed for Settling complaints and Disputes by a person not Belonging to said society, it Shall be their duty to See Justice done to the Complainants as Soon as possible—

6th. that no person belonging to the Said Society Shall be permitted or have a right to Sell or Convey the lands aloted to him in said society to any person which the said Society Shall not approve of—
those regulations to remain in force until some others may take place—*

At a meeting of the society on the 5th day of June 1783 it was agreed that three agents Should be appointed to locate their lands granted in Novascotia and to transact all Such Bussiness on their Acct. as Shall be necessary for Setling them—

That Samuel Fairlamb, John Rankin and George Brown be appointed agents to transact the above mentioned Bussiness—

That Joshua Knight, John Lofborough, Gideon Vernon, Thomas Hartshorn, jr., and Hastings Stackhouse, are appointed a Committee to examine hear and determine Between all parties who may have any Complaints, Controversies, or Disputes in Said Society, as also to examine into

*These regulations, with the advertisement and agreement, as above, appear in the St. Croix Courier historical

series entitled "Glimpses of the Past" (1892-5). The remaining portions of the records are hitherto unpublished.

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the conduct of the above mentioned agents appointed to locate the land granted to the Society, to whom Said agents are to render an account.*

Jany. 16th, 1785.

Due Jno. Rankin on Acct. of the Quaker Company
On A Settlement York Currency

£1:19:0

JNO. DENNIS
JNO. HORNOR †
ELIAS WRIGHT.

Jany. 16. 1785. Settled Accts. with Saml. Fairlamb
And there is Due him New York Curey.

£16.0..10

JNO. DENNIS
JOHN HORNOR
ELIAS WRIGHT. †

Proceedings of the Company of Friends, at Bever Harbour, in the County of Sunbury, and Province of New Brunswick** _____ from the 11th Day of the 6 Month, 1785.

At a General Election held on the 11 Day of the 6 Month, 1785, for Choosing five Directors, to settle all business for Said Company for the space of one year, agreeable to the articles before mentioned;

*Instead of locating on the river St. John, it would seem that the agents thought it advisable to plant their settlement at Beaver Harbor. The exact date of the coming of these Quaker Loyalists is not known; but a letter written in October of the same year mentions a settlement of Quakers at Passamaquoddy. The town at Beaver Harbor was to be called Belle View, or Belle Vue. An old map in the British Museum shows fifteen streets and about 950 lots in the town proper, with large tracts laid out in farm and garden lots beyond; while Samuel Fairlamb's plan, in the Crown Land office at Fredericton, shows other tracts reserved for settlement. But Belle View, or Penn's Field, as it was named by the Quaker colonists, was not a town on paper only. There were 15 lots included in the original grant; and a contemporary writer, shortly after its foundation, estimates the number of its inhabitants at 800.

† This peculiar spelling of the surname occurs again in the last entry of the records. Elsewhere it is spelled in the usual English way, Horner. It will be noticed, also, that the name written Loofbourrow in the signatures suggestive of a home among the Dutch people of New Jersey or Long Island (perhaps originally Lougborough) takes a much more English form under the pen of the Company's clerks.

‡ This seems to be the official record of the final settlement of accounts with the agents. The next succeeding entries are the work of Benjamin Brown, a good penman, who makes "fair entry" of his official records.

**New Brunswick, before included in the Province of Nova Scotia, became a separate province in 1784. The County of Charlotte was established by warrant of Governor Carleton, dated at St. John, on the 4th of June, 1785, just a week before the date of this entry; but the fact it seems, was not known at Beaver Harbor.

These were Chosen, viz: Directors Names,

ANTHONY WOODWARD.
JOHN LOOFBOROUGH.

ELIAS WRIGHT.
JOHN GILL, and
JOSEPH TOMLINSON.

At the beforementioned time also, was Chosen, Richard Mead, and John Horner, to be Masters of the Roads & Highways for the Ensuing year: As also, Benjamin Brown, Clerk, for the abovementioned time.

The Five Directors being chosen and seated, Proceeded to business, when it was moved, that the town was in Danger of being burnt Daily, on account of the large quantities of brush, rubbish, &c. laying round about the town. Ordered, that the Company do appear on the fourth day of the Week, and fifteenth day of the Sixth Month, in order to burn all such Stuff as should be thought Dangerous. to avoid any Mischief arising therefrom. and ordered also, that the Seventh day of the same Week and the second day following be appointed for the clearing of the Ground for the Meetinghouse and Burying Ground that the Company be Divided equally, the one half to work on the place above mentioned on Seventhday, the other half on the Secondday following those who work first to be under the care and Direction of John Horner, the others under Richard Mead. Application also was made for Plantations to be given to such of the Company as had got such as were not fit for Improving, and for such as had Drawn so far back that it is not possible to go thither to settle. Ordered that the directors With Samuel Fairlamb, the Agent, do Inspect the Draught, and give all such lots as are fit for Improvement Drawn by persons not here, nor never was here, and such as had been here and gone away again, and are not likely to return this Season, to those beforementioned, as soon as possible in order for them to settle the same and Improve them, the Numbers to be put in a Box and Drawn Fairly, that all may have an equal chance.—

And also to produce the Numbers to the Clerk and the Names of the Person who shall now Draw such lots, as also to give a list of the Names who drew them before, to prevent any dispute hereafter.

At a meeting of the Directors on the 20th of the 6 month it was moved that some People had Drew more Provisions than others since the 24th of the 10th Month, until the 1. of the 5 Month following. Ordered that William Cook and Thomas Leonard do make enquiry into the quantity Drawn in the before mentioned time and find out each Persons equal Share in order that all may fare alike, and make report thereof to said Directors

Proceedings of the Company of Friends in the Township of Penns Field and County of Charlotte, in the Province of New Brunswick, from the 17th of the 6 Mo. 1786.—

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At a General Election held at said place, the time above mentioned, the following were Chosen, Viz—

JOHN LOFFBOROUGH,
ANTHONY WOODWARD,
JOSHUA KNIGHT.

RICHARD BUFFINGTON,
GIDEON VERNON.

At the same time also was chosen Benj. F. Brown, Clark, for the Ensuing year.

At a General Meeting of said Company, on the 8th Day of the 7 Month, 1786, it was agreed that the two Lots laid out for Amos Stricklin, & Robert Robbins known by the following Numbers, Viz., Amos Sticklin's No. and Robbin's No. both ten Acre lots—*

At a General Meeting of said Company, it was agreed; that the Directors of said Company, should be invested with full power, and Authority to make Distribution of Lands and Alotments, assigned to said Company, to the Different Members of said Company, as hath been heretofore practised—

Agreed also, by the said Company, that they do Meet, on the Seventh Day, of the Week and 16th of the 7 Month, 1786, to Build a House, for a place to Meet together on the Day, or Days, they may please, in order for Worship for said Company, on the ground allotted for the said purpose. The house to be 25 feet long, 20 feet Broad, and 11 foot High—†

At A Meeting of friends, at the Meeting House At Beaver Harbour for Settling the Business of the Society, on the 10th. 3mo. 1789, Jacob Buffington, Jno. Dennis, Daniel Register, Richard Mead and John Horner were appointed A committee to examine the accounts and proceedings of the committee who Distributed the Donations which were received from

*This sentence is left unfinished. In it and the next we catch a glimpse of the uncertainty of title to the lots which possibly led to the new grant from the provincial government in the following year, mentioned in another note. With this new grant to individual land holders, probably, the Company of Friends, as a political organization, ceased to exist.

†Rather small dimensions for the accommodation of all the worshippers in a town said to have contained at that time about 300 houses. Either the number of inhabitants in 1786 has been greatly over estimated, or a large proportion of them must have been "persons not Belonging to said society."

friends in England for this place, and to Report thereon the last 5th Day of ye 4th Mo.*

This latest entry in the old records, written by an unknown hand, nearly two years later than the letter above quoted, tells its story of continued want. What little wealth the Friends had taken with them, when they were driven from their Pennsylvania and New Jersey homes, had been long since exhausted in their sojourn in New York and their struggle with the hardships of the New Brunswick wilderness. The town at Beaver Harbor, like other Loyalist towns, had arisen in the expectation of a trade that never came. And yet they had remained, and kept up their struggle and perhaps tried to hope for better times. But the end was near. A forest fire swept over the place in 1790, leaving only one dwelling house, that of Elias Wright. A few of the inhabitants, including the family of Joshua Knight, remained or came back to rebuild their dwellings at or near the old sites; but Pennfield was no longer a Quaker colony, and the highways and landmarks of to-day bear no relation to the plans of the old town of Belle View.

*Privation and suffering had fallen upon the little colony. We have earlier evidence of this in the following extract from a letter written from St. John by Mather Byles, jr. (son of the rector of Trinity), to Col. Edward Winslow, dated Aug. 2, 1787, (for which I am indebted to Rev. W. O. Raymond):

"I don't know whether you recollect the two Quaker gentlemen who were here last year as preachers from Philadelphia. In the course of their tour they visited Beaver Harbour and observing the great poverty of the settlers, they on their return raised a

subscription among the Quakers and with the produce of it purchased and shipped a donation of 240 barrels of coarse flour and Indian meal with some other necessaries to be distributed among them. It has arrived safe and will probably save large numbers of them from starving. Of all the private actions that ever have fallen under my observation, I recollect none so extensively benevolent, so genuinely disinterested. To make use of an expression of your own, it puts one in mind of the times when Human Nature stood upon its legs."

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THE NORTH SHORE.

INCIDENTS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF EASTERN AND
NORTHERN NEW BRUNSWICK.

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

INTRODUCTORY.

The early history of eastern and northern New Brunswick can scarcely be said to have received due recognition in the publications of our Historical Society. This fact is the more to be regretted since that part of our province, which is commonly called "the North Shore," has special claims to our consideration, both on the ground of priority of discovery and of abundance of historic materials. As regards the Bay of Fundy, we have no definite information until the voyage of deMonts and Champlain in 1604, but the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay of Chaleur were discovered, and to some extent explored, by Jacques Cartier early in the year 1534. This intrepid navigator had sighted the mouth of the Miramichi fully seventy years before the discovery of the River St. John by Samuel de Champlain. On the occasion of his voyage Cartier, after rounding Point Miscou, explored the Bay of Chaleur, landed on its shores, and made the acquaintance of the natives. These were evidently of the Micmac tribe, for the visit of Cartier was remembered long years after by the aged Sachem Membertou, who made mention of it to the French colony established at Port Royal in 1605. Thus on the ground of priority of discovery the North Shore has its especial claim upon our attention.

Nor are the charms of Acadian romance lacking in the story of the founding of the ancient settlements of that region. Allusions to these early settlements are found in Cooney's well known work, entitled "A Compendious History of the Northern Part of the Province of New Brunswick, etc." Unfortunately Cooney is not always reliable as to his dates and statements, some of which have been shown by later investigators to be erroneous, nevertheless he is entitled to honor as a pioneer in the

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field of local history, and we are indebted to him for the preservation of a good deal of valuable information that might otherwise have been lost. His book was published in 1832, and copies are now exceedingly rare and command correspondingly high prices. However, an excellent reprint has lately appeared, for which we are indebted to the enterprise of Mr. D. G. Smith, of the Chatham Advance.

In connection with the history of the early Acadian families, some very interesting articles from the pen of M. Placide P. Gaudet have from time to time appeared in the columns of the Bathurst Courrier, the *Moniteur Acadien* and other newspapers. These contributions supply valuable information, and it is to be hoped that the New Brunswick Historical Society may shortly have the privilege of obtaining from M. Gaudet, or some equally competent student of Acadian times, fuller details respecting the history of the first French settlements on the Gulf shore.

Owing to the limited space at the disposal of the writer of this paper, it will be impossible to give anything more than a bare outline of the history of the North Shore during the period that ante-dates the arrival of its English speaking inhabitants. The greater portion of the paper will be devoted to incidents that have occurred since the close of the old French war, in 1763, when Acadia may be said to have finally passed into undisputed possession of Great Britain. Most of the letters, documents, etc., that will be used in the latter portion of the paper have been preserved among the Edward Winslow and Ward Chipman papers, and have not hitherto been printed. Though not all of equal importance, students of our local history will find in them much that is useful and interesting. No attempt will be made to weave from such a variety of materials anything like a consecutive narration. The character of the paper of necessity is essentially documentary, and the writer might say with Montaigne: "I have here made only a nosegay of culled flowers and have brought nothing of my own but the string that ties them."

MISCOU AND NIPISIGUIT.

A very excellent account of ancient Miscou by Doctor N. E. Dionne, librarian of the Quebec legislative library, appeared in *Canada Francais* in 1889. The principal part of this very interesting narrative was reprinted in the *Bathurst Courrier* in 1894. Other sources of information of which the writer is able to avail himself are Nicolas Deny's well known narrative, published in Paris in 1672, and the "Relations" of the Jesuit fathers.

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From these sources we learn that the Recollet missionaries were at Nipisiguit from 1620 to 1624. They were succeeded by the Capuchins for a time, and the latter in turn by the Jesuits, who labored there from 1642 to 1661; still later the Recollets again took up the work, which they carried on till near the close of the seventeenth century.

Father Christian LeClerq gives quite an enthusiastic description of Nipisiguit; he says:

"Nipisiguit has a most delightful situation on the great bay of Saint Lawrence; it is not more than twelve or fifteen leagues distant from Isle Percee. The soil here is fertile and abundant in everything, the atmosphere is pure and healthy. Three fine rivers, that have their outlet here, form a beautiful basin, the waters of which mingle with those of the sea through a strait at the entrance of the basin.

The Recollet fathers of the province of Aquitaine began a mission here in 1620, and Father Bernardin, one of these illustrious missionaries, died of hunger and fatigue while travelling through the woods from Miscou and Nipissiguit to the River St. John, where the Reverend Fathers had their headquarters. The Capuchin Fathers—and more particularly the Jesuit Fathers, have manifested their zeal and love for the conversion of the heathen; they have built here a chapel dedicated to the holy Virgin; and it is to be noted that if one of the fathers quitted this mission he left his cap over the altar, saying that he would come again to seek it when he pleased—a token that the company had the right of settlement in this place."

The final chapter of the "Relation" of the doings of the Jesuits in New France in the year 1647, by Father Lalemant,* contains an extremely interesting account of Miscou, from which the extracts that follow are taken:—

"The Island of Miskou is about 7 leagues round; it is situated in the great Gulf of Saint Lawrence, upon the 48th degree of latitude and the 307th of longitude. Its soil is not good; the waters are not wholesome there; the woods there are neither as tall nor as beautiful as on the main land; it abounds in partridges and in hares; there were formerly Elks (moose), but they have all been exterminated. It seems that it is important only for the trade in Elk skins; these are obtained in abundance from the savages, who inhabit three great bays of the mainland, not far distant from this island. Fishing is plentiful here; cod are found in abundance, and here every year (as also in the neighboring harbors) many ships are laden with these fish, carrying them to France, Portugal, Italy, and many other regions.

* This has lately been reprinted in the series of "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" now being published by the Burrows Bros. of Cleveland, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. See Vol. xxxii. p. 35.

We began in the year 1635 to build a settlement there, and Father Charles Turgis and Charles du Marche were sent thither in order to administer the sacraments to twenty-three Frenchmen, who were to lay its foundations, and to observe the prospects that we might have for the conversion of the savages. Sufferings were almost the only experience of all these poor people; sickness prostrated them and death removed a great part of them."

The narrative goes on to mention that Father du Marche was compelled to go to France, but Father Turgis stood manfully at his post of duty, consoling his little flock and administering to them the rites of his church and burying "those whom death was slaying."

Lalemant gives a touching account of the death of Father Turgis:

"Finally toil and infection, that he contracted beside those poor languishing people, prostrated him as well as the others, yet he must resist even to the last sigh. He has himself ministered to the sick and beside the dying, he animates, strengthens and encourages them; and, after having buried the Captain, the Agent, and the Surgeon—in a word all the officers and eight or nine workmen besides, he died there himself, leaving only one person, sick unto death; whom he holily prepared for that passage before yielding up his spirit.

Father Jacques de la Place and Father Nicolas Goudoin, who were sent the following year into those quarters for the purpose of establishing a mission on the mainland, to which a part of the savages might retire, found the French settlement quite desolated; there were left in it only nine persons out of twenty-three, and those so weak that the Fathers must remain there in order to assist them. We have been told that some savages, touched with compassion, took the dead bodies from their beds in order to give them burial—the French not having the strength to do so. Others, more wicked and barbarous, seeing every one prostrated, tried to plunder the store house, but the energy and cleverness of those who had recovered from the malady prevented them from doing this. Now whatever be the cause of these maladies, it is not long since they were banished from that island. Father Goudoin was compelled to leave it; Father Claude Quentin lost his health there, which he came to seek at Quebec, after having buried a young lad who assisted him; Father Jean Dolbeau became crippled there in all his limbs, and when they carried him back to France, in order to find a milder air, he encountered Paradise on the way—fire having caught in the powder of the vessel which bore him, sent him to Heaven."

This extract from Lalemant's "Relation" very well illustrates the sufferings of the first French settlers at Miscou, which were not dissimilar to those endured on the island of St. Croix in the winter of 1604-5, by those

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who accompanied de Monts and Champlain. The devotion and courage of the French missionaries is worthy of all admiration. Their post at Miscou was not yet to be abandoned, for we learn from Lalemants "Relation" that in the year 1643 Father Andre Richard, who had remained alone after the departure of his companion, who had become a paralytic, was joined by Father Martin Lyonnes, and shortly afterwards by Father de la Place. Andre Richard proved himself the hardiest of all the missionaries. He applied himself with energy to the study of the savages' language, he associated with them, followed them, and showed them so much good will that they conceived an affection for him. Through the kindness of a good friend at Paris the priests were able ere long to build themselves a house at the "Port of Nipigigwi," or Nipisiguit, which they had chosen as their residence in order to be near the natives, who made it their camping ground. The snow not being deep enough in the winter of 1644 to obstruct the wild animals, the savages were unsuccessful in the chase and presently were in dire distress. The inmates of three cabins, comprising twenty-five persons claimed the compassion of the Fathers, who were barely able, from their own scanty stores, to save these poor people from dying of starvation. This proved the beginning of a successful mission. The missionaries built small habitations, after the French fashion, to lodge those whom they had instructed and baptized, and Lalemant, in his "Relation," speaks gratefully of the results that had attended the work among the savages of the Bay of Chaleur. He enumerates special mercies bestowed by heaven upon many of the converts, claiming that since their conversion the success of these savages in the chase and their freedom from diseases had notably increased, so much so that the French inhabitants and the Pagan Indians were alike astonished, and the attitude of the latter towards the missionaries had become more favorable.

The natives usually dispersed during the winter season for the purpose of moose hunting, and in other seasons in quest of beavers. They had retained, up to this time, their cruel custom of killing or abandoning the old helpless people and incurables, who could not accompany them in their expeditions, and one of the first undertakings of the Jesuit fathers was to establish for these unfortunates a home called a "cabin of charity." From their mission centre at Nipisiguit the priests extended their labors and in 1646, Father Martin Lyonnes held a successful mission at the Bay of Miramichi.

In the second volume of the "Relations des Jesuits" there is a

description of the general condition of the North Shore region in 1659, which reads as follows:

"The English have usurped all the coast from Canseau as far as New England. They have left the French the coast on the north, the principal names of which are Miscou, Rigibouctou, and Cape Breton. The district of Miscou is the most populous, the best disposed, and where there are the most Christians. It comprehends the savages of Gaspé, those of Miramichi and those of Nepigiguit. Rigibouctou is a fine river, important for the trade it has with the savages of St. John river. Cape Breton is one of the finest islands one meets in coming from France. It is well enough peopled with savages for its size. Monsieur Denys commands the principal settlement which the French have in these quarters. This is the country our Fathers have cultivated since 1629, and where now labor father Andre Richard, father Martin Lionne and father Jacques Fremin."

The name of Nicolas Denys is intimately connected with the early history of the Gulf Shore of New Brunswick. Denys was born in Tours in 1588, and came to Acadia with the celebrated commander, Isaac de Razilly about the year 1632. On the death of de Razilly, in 1636, he was made governor by authority of the Company of New France of the whole coast of the Bay of St. Lawrence and the isles adjacent, from Cape Canso to Cape Rosiers. The headquarters of Nicolas Denys were at St. Peters, in the Island of Cape Breton, but he early established a fishing station at Miscou. His commission as governor on the Gulf Shore was renewed in 1654 and received the royal sanction. It is foreign to the scope of this paper to dwell upon the chequered career of Nicolas Denys in connection with the settlements attempted at Canso and Chedabouctou, or to speak of his quarrel with Charnisay, by which he was forced to retire from St. Peters in Cape Breton. Denys published, at Paris, in the year 1672, a work entitled "Description Geographique et Historique des costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale." It is a remarkable circumstance that this exceedingly interesting and valuable book should not be available to the ordinary English reader. An English edition of the work, with explanatory notes and editorial comments, is much needed. Denys is considered an exact observer and faithful narrator. Charlevoix claims he has not recorded anything except what he has seen—"qu'il ne dit rien qu'il n'a pas vu."

Nicolas Denys some time after the destruction of his establishment on the Island of Cape Breton took up his abode with his family at Nipisiguit. He had also a residence at Miscou and one on the coast of Gaspé. In his narrative Denys describes Bathurst harbor and goes on to say:

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"My place at Nepiguit is on the shore of this basin. At the distance of one league at the right of the entrance at low tide, a canoe could not approach it. I had to retire thither after the burning of my fort of Saint Pierre in the Island of Cape Breton. My house is flanked by four small bastions with a palisade, the pickets of which are 18 feet high, with six pieces of cannon in battery. The land is not of the best, as there are rocks in some places. I have a large garden where the soil is good for legumes, which grow here wonderfully; I have also sown seeds of peas and apples, which are raised and well preserved here, although it is the coldest place I have, and where there is most snow; peas and grain grow fairly well, raspberries and strawberries are abundant everywhere."

The residence of Nicolas Denys was at Point aux Peres, or Youghall, near the mouth of Tatagouche River on the north west side of Bathurst basin. This was the place where Father Andre Richard, the Jesuit missionary, and Jacques Batel, a coadjutor brother, established themselves about the year 1646 and built a residence and a small chapel. Ten years later Denys came to Nipisiguit and built himself a house near the chapel.

It is said that some years ago some skeletons and a variety of utensils were discovered at this place, whilst excavations were being made for the foundation of a new house. There was a cemetery near the chapel, but it is said that the remains of very many of those there buried were afterwards removed to the old cemetery in Bathurst village. Point aux Peres now belongs to the heirs of the late Francis Ferguson; the land was formerly granted to Francis Comeau, an Acadian, who sold it to Ferguson. Point aux Peres is a sharp, well defined point, but the land is low and partially overflowed at the highest tides. It has also been called Allan's Point* and later Ferguson's Point. The situation will be more clearly understood by a reference to the plan which appears farther on in this paper in connection with Goold's grant at Nipisiguit.

The second commission to Nicolas Denys, issued in 1654, mentions the fact that Denys had been made governor in the Bay of St. Lawrence by the company of New France from Cape Canso to Cape Rosiers, and had acted there for nine or ten years, built two forts, etc. The commission confirms him as the king's governor and lieutenant general over that region and in possession of his lands. One of the first who settled at Nipisiguit under the governorship of Denys was Philip Enault of Barbauannes. He built a house on the south side of the harbor, at or near the point of land which still bears his name—although sometimes called

* Captain William Allan had a grant of 2,000 acres on the north-west side of Nipisiguit basin extending from Point aux Peres, or Allan's Point, to the Bay of Chaleur at Alston's Point

Daly's Point. Enault had a grist mill on Eddy's stream, which runs through the land of John Miller, about a quarter of a mile to the eastward of the steam saw mills of the St. Lawrence Lumber Company. The stones of this mill were found not long ago at Eddy's stream.

Enault was born in France in 1651, and settled at Nipisiguit about 1676. He engaged in the fishery on a large scale, and also traded extensively in furs and peltries with the Micmacs, amongst whom he had many friends. His wife was a daughter of their tribe.

Mon. de Meulles, the intendant or lieutenant governor of New France, visited Acadia in 1685. While on his tour he visited all the new settlements and caused a census to be prepared in 1686, including the name and residence of every settler with other information. In this census there are returned as residents at Nipisiguit: Enaud, aged 35; his wife, an Indian woman (*une Sauvagesse*) and 3 or 4 valets,* it is added that Enaud had cultivated some land and raised cattle.* The residence of Philip Enault (or Enaud) was, as just stated, opposite Pointe aux Peres, or Youghall, where was the Jesuit mission house and chapel. Father Le Clerq give a good account of Enault. During the winter of 1678 this energetic priest resolved to proceed from Isle Percee to the mission post established at a place called Porte Croix, at the fort of the River St. Croix, where Richard Denys then lived. The River St. Croix here intended, it may be observed in passing, is the Miramichi. Bishop St. Valier, in 1688, explains that the name was applied to the river because the savages there held the cross in great veneration even before they were converted to Christianity.† Father Le Clerq was accompanied in his perilous midwinter journey by Philip Enault. The travellers lost their way, the journey was prolonged until their provisions were exhausted. To add to their misfortunes, Father Le Clerq, in attempting to cross a small river, one of his snow shoes being broken, plunged up to his waist into the icy water. Several days passed before they were able to find their way, but they, very providentially, fell in with an Indian, named Ejougouloumoult, who conducted them to his camp, where they soon recruited their strength. The day after this fortunate encounter the travellers arrived at the house of Richard Denys.

The route taken by Le Clerq and Enault was the one usually taken by the Indians up the Nipisiguit river and thence across the country to the

* As has been pointed out by M. Placide Gaudet and Dr. Dionne, Cooney is in error in saying that Jean Jacques Enaud came to Nipisiguit in 1638, as also that his residence was on the site of Packard's Hotel. The facts are as stated above. It might seem possible that Philip Enaud was a son of Cooney's Jean Jacques Enaud, but Dr. Dionne and M. Gaudet are positive Cooney is wrong both as to the Christian name of Enaud and the date of his arrival at Nipisiguit.

† See Dr. W. F. Ganong's Place Nomenclature of New Brunswick, p. 268.

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Miramichi. The site of the fort of Richard Denys is thought by Dr. W. F. Ganong to have been near Burnt Church, on the north side of the inner Miramichi Bay. Enault had a fief or seigniory at Pokemouche, and it would seem probable he had a title to the lands on which he settled at Nipisiguit, although the latter seems to have been within the bounds of the seigniory granted to the Sieur Gobin, May 26, 1690.

After the first arrival of Father Richard at Miscou, in 1641, that intrepid missionary contented himself at first with making occasional visits to Nipisiguit, but when five years had elapsed he saw that Nipisiguit was growing in importance as a fishing and trading resort, and decided to make it his residence, rather than the old mission post of St. Charles, at Miscou. Here, therefore, we find him in 1646 with his little church for the Indians, French traders, and fishermen, and his House of Charity for the sick and incapable.

MIRAMICHI AND ITS VICINITY.

The French missionaries of Miscou and Nipisiguit frequently visited the Miramichi region, and mention has already been made in this paper of the visit of Father Lyonne in 1646, and of Father Le Clerq at a later period. Nicolas Denys also is intimately connected with this region, over which he presided as governor in 1654. It is rather remarkable that Cooney, the first of English writers on the history of eastern and northern New Brunswick, seems never to have heard of Nicolas Denys, although the latter has included in his "Geographical and historical description of the coasts of North America" many facts of interest respecting the North Shore. More than this, Denys has the honor to have given to the River Cocagne, in Kent County, the name it still bears. In his narrative p. 173, he says: "I have named this river the River Cocagne because I found there everything with which to make good cheer during the eight days the bad weather compelled me to remain there."

The word Cocagne signifies a land of plenty, and probably was suggested by the abundance of game and fish, the fertility of the soil and pleasant situation. Denys speaks of Richibouctou, where he had a namesake, an Indian sachem named Denis, whom he terms "a self-conceited and dangerous savage." His description of this savage is quite amusing. Miramichi, curiously enough, he calls, "the settlement I have in the Baie des Chaleurs."

The authority of Nicolas Denys as governor over the North Shore was still in evidence in 1685, for on August 13th of that year we find that Richard Denys, as lieutenant for his father, made grants of lands on the Restigouche, the Miramichi and at Cape Breton, to the ecclesiastics of the Episcopal Seminary of foreign missions at Quebec. The grants in each instance were to be three leagues in front and three leagues in depth, and the seminary was required to establish a mission, build a church, or chapel, and have a resident missionary at each place; the exact location of the grants was to be fixed within three years, so as to suit the convenience of the savages. Denys reserved for himself the right to build store-houses and engage in trade with the Indians.

About the year 1690 the commission under which Denys was appointed governor of the whole country from Canseau to Cape Rosiers seems to have been revoked. As a measure of compensation he received a grant of a large tract at Miramichi, fifteen leagues in front by fifteen in depth—embracing, apparently more than 1,000,000 acres. The bounds are indefinitely expressed—"reckoning from Trout river,* including the same, running one league to the south-east and the other fourteen to the north-west, with the points, islands and islets for fifteen leagues distance in front." The son of Nicolas Denys was living at Miramichi at the time the census of M. de Meulles was taken in 1686, for we find returned amongst the settlers on the Gulf Shore, "The Sieur Richard Denis de Fronsac, seigneur of Miramichy, and four or five valets."

According to Cooney, there is some reason to think that Enaud (not however Jean Jacques, but Philip) was the first French resident at Miramichi, and that he had a trading post on the Island of Baie des Vents, or Bay du Vin. Cooney also says that some French families from St. Maloes settled on the site of the village of Bay du Vin about the year 1672 or 1673, and that later there was a French settlement at Neguack, a larger one at Canadian Point, and a town comprising upwards of two hundred houses at Beaubair's Point. As proof of the existence of these settlements Cooney was able, in 1832, to point out at all these places visible memorials such as the remains of cellar walls, wells and chimneys.

There can be little doubt that in the earlier part of the eighteenth century the French inhabitants of Miramichi increased considerably in numbers, and were fairly prosperous. They were now, however, destined to have a chequered experience.

* I am inclined to think Trout river is the Bartibog, and that this grant included the whole northern shore of Miramichi Bay. See Murdoch's *His. N. S.* Vol. i. p. 197, Vol. ii. p. 441. W. O. R.

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* See Murdoch

At the time of the expulsion of the Acadians, in 1755, a large number of fugitives fled northward for security. Many of them, exasperated at their misfortunes, joined the war party, led by Pierre Boishebert. In the guerilla warfare that ensued English and French alike adopted the barbarous fashion of scalping their enemies, and added to it a refinement unknown to the savages, by offering premiums for scalps.* The distressed circumstances of the Acadian fugitives is seen in their memorial, presented in July of this year to the Marquis de Vandreuil, in which the words occur:

"Can you, my lord, fail to be affected by their lot, scattered here and there, persecuted by the English, deprived of all asylum; it seems as if nature regards them only as the objects of public vengeance. . . The inhabitants of Mines, those of Beaubassin, those of the rivers, are either straying in the woods or prisoners in the hands of the English. It is a rare thing to find a family actually united, and there remains for those who have collected themselves together only the desire of revenging themselves. . . Your petitioners to the number of 3,500 have retired to Miramichi because they think it the only place where families may more easily re-unite and where they may subsist better by aid of the fishery. For this reason they beg for provisions; but as in this critical time it does not seem possible to send provisions sufficient for so many people, they pray you will give them plenty of peas and beans and a very little of flour and meal, as the fishery and chase will help them much. My lord, the inhabitants only insist on staying at Miramichi because they foresee the removal of such a number of people this year is almost impossible, and their settling here will be advantageous to Canada; but they would apprise you that the Micmacs are very bad neighbours, although directed by M. de Menac. They destroy everything. On this account they beg you will send to Miramichi a man of probity, who can make a just distribution of provisions, as they do not wish to have any business with this missionary. M. de Boishebert has promised to stop with them, but on condition that he shall not have anything to do with these Indians. If provisions were sent to these Micmacs or they were sent elsewhere the French would not be injured more than the English have been by them, as thieving and idling are their characteristics."

The number of the Acadian exiles at Miramichi seems to have rapidly diminished, for in January, 1757, it is stated that Boishebert, with a few soldiers and 1,500 Acadians, were at that place, and in November, 1759, Messrs. Pierre Suretz, Jean Burk and Michel Burk came to Fort Cumberland as deputies for 700 Acadians, resident at Miramichi, Richibucto and Buctouche, to tender their submission to the government of Nova Scotia.

* See Murdoch's Hist. Nova Scotia Vol. ii. pp. 308, 309.

These Acadians were short of provisions and Colonel Frye agreed to provide rations for two hundred and thirty of them during the ensuing winter. He sent a number of them to Halifax.

During the stormy period that followed the Acadian expulsion, Father Germain, who for a few years was at Miramichi, exerted all his influence to induce the Acadians and Indians to rally to the support of Boishebert. It was during this time that the incident occurred which gave to the small river flowing into Miramichi Bay the name of Burnt Church. The story is told by Cooney at pp. 36, 37 of his history, but the date of the occurrence is uncertain. Father Manach's attitude towards the English was more friendly than that of Germain, and possibly this in some degree accounts for the animus against the Micmacs and their old missionary, which crops out in the memorial of the Acadians to the Marquis Vaudriol. It is certain that after the fall of Quebec and Louisburg the priests Manach and Maillard encouraged the Acadians to make the best of their situation by coming to terms with the Nova Scotia government.

The name of Boishebert is still preserved at Miramichi in Beaubear's Island, at the junction of the two main branches of the river. The statement made by Cooney that in the spring and winter of 1758 more than 800 died at Miramichi of famine and pestilence and were buried chiefly at Beaubear's Point, is probably exaggerated. It certainly is not true, as Cooney states that "one of the first victims was Beaubair himself." Boishebert was present at the siege of Louisburg and afterwards assisted in the defence of Quebec.

The letters of Colonel Frye, the commander at Fort Cumberland at this period, show that the submission of the Acadians north of the Isthmus of Chignecto was in a great measure due to the advice and influence of their missionary, Manach. This priest came to Fort Cumberland early in the year 1760 with two Indian chiefs, and shortly afterwards others arrived. Colonel Frye sent them to Halifax to treat with Governor Lawrence, expressing to Father Manach his hope that there were no more savages to treat with, but, adds Colonel Frye :—

"He told me I was mistaken, for there would be a great many more here upon the same business as soon as the spring hunting was over; and upon my enquiring how many, he gave me a list of fourteen chiefs, including those before mentioned, most of whom, he said, would come. I was surprised to hear of such a number of Indian chiefs in this part of America, and Mr. Manach further told me that they were all of one nation and known by the name of Mickmacks; that they were very numerous, amount-

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ing to near 3,000 souls; that he had learned their language since he had been amongst them, and found so much excellence in it that he was well persuaded that if the beauties of it were known in Europe there would be seminaries erected for the propagation of it."

A treaty of peace and friendship was concluded at Halifax June 25, 1761, between the chief of Miramichi, Joseph Shabecholouest, and Hon. Jonathan Belcher, administrator of the government of Nova Scotia. The Micmac chief agreed on behalf of himself and his tribe to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the King of England, to whom he tendered his submission in the most ample and solemn manner, promising not to molest his Majesty's subjects, not to assist his Majesty's enemies or hold commerce, traffic or intercourse with them, and to trade only at the Truck house established at Fort Cumberland, or elsewhere in Nova Scotia. As security for the fulfilment of the treaty he agreed to send two Indians as hostages to Fort Cumberland. Similar treaties were entered into with other chiefs of the Gulf Shore, including those of Shediac, Richibucto, Kouchibouguac, Tabusintac and Pokemouche—[See Cooney's History, pp. 37, 38.] Previous to the negotiation of these Indian treaties, instructions had been issued, May 8, 1760, to Joshua Winslow, commissary for Indian commerce, for the management of the trading posts established for their benefit.

The space at our disposal will not admit of our entering more fully into the history of the Acadian people. Other interesting details may be found in Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia; Hannay's Acadia, and Cooneys New Brunswick, while there are doubtless many equally interesting facts that have not as yet appeared in print, and afford an inviting field for some future chronicler of early Acadian story.

THE ENGLISH AT MIRAMICHI.

English speaking inhabitants began to find their way to the Miramichi country about the year 1764. The minutes of the Nova Scotia privy council show that on October 29, 1765, William Davidson, John Cort & Co. applied for a Township on the "Merrimichy." They received 100,000 acres in response to their memorial, and were also granted possession of the Salmon Fishery, with a reservation, however, to the Indians of their rights in said fishery. According to Cooney there was not, at the time of William Davidson's arrival, in 1764, a single house standing in all the County of Northumberland nor a single white inhabitant within its bounds. This

seems to be another exaggerated statement, but there is little doubt that the region was desolate enough, and that Messrs. Davidson and Cort endured many privations.

During the period of the American Revolution efforts were made to induce the Micmacs to take up arms against the English settlers. The most active agent for the Americans in this matter was John Allan, of Machias. This man had formerly lived near Fort Cumberland, and as an Indian trader had acquired a wide acquaintance as well as considerable influence with the Micmacs of the Gulf Shore. At one time Allan deemed himself to be on the point of success, but in the end he was foiled. The final reply of the Micmacs to John Allan is worthy of being placed on record. Said the Micmacs:—"We do not comprehend what all this quarrelling is about. How comes it that Old England and New should quarrel and come to blows? The father and the son to fight is terrible. Old France and Canada did not do so; we cannot think of fighting ourselves till we know who is right and who is wrong."

As the war progressed, however, the savages at Miramichi became restless, and, according to Cooney, "Committed the most daring outrages, burned two or more houses, appropriated the people's cattle to their own use, and plundered what few stores there were, particularly Mr. Cort's, from which they took upwards of 700 moose skins and whatever else they considered valuable." Wm. Davidson seems to have left the Miramichi during the occurrence of these troubles, and for five or six years to have lived at Maugerville, where he acquired some property and engaged in contracts with government for procuring masts for the Royal Navy.

The Indians continued to cause anxiety to the settlers from time to time. Cooney speaks of the loyalty of the Julian family to government during these perilous times, and his statement is amply corroborated by that of Alexander Taylor, of Miramichi, in a letter to Colonel Edward Winslow, in which he says:

"Upon my first arrival at Miramichi the Indians were a great terror to the Inhabitants, there being but very few here. I was told by a brother-in-law and a sister that this Julian family had done a great deal for Government. Had it not been for them, and a family called Renewes, the other Indians would have murdered every English settler. Observe, my sister and husband was here before me. I came in 1784; they came in 1777."

The Renous river seems to have derived its name from the Indian family called by Mr. Taylor "Renews." The Julian family had a grievance

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against one Gillass, or Gilliee, at this time, and Alexander Taylor expresses the opinion that great injustice had been done them by Gillass and his neighbors, and hopes the Governor will cause justice to be done them. He adds:

"Last year I sent a brother of mine to privately view the place in dispute, and he reported to me that the Indians were molested and wronged by this Gilliee and by some others. If you think proper to have his Excellency informed of it I do actually think it would be a great charity, because the very road to justice seems to be entangled against these poor creatures, and I'm sure that's not his Excellency's will."

The Governor seems to have taken notice of the complaint, for the Provincial Secretary wrote the following remonstrance:

Fredericton, 20th July, 1801.

Mr. Duffey Gillass,

Sir,—It having been represented by Francis Julien, the Chief of the Mickmack Indians that the lot applied for by you and surveyed by Mr. Nicholson, on the Little South West Branch of the River Miramichi, in the year 1792, includes in the front a certain Point, called Old Indian Town, where a number of the Indians have been formerly buried; That the lot is not fit for either tillage or pasture, and that your only use of it is to set a net across this Branch of the River, by which you injure the Indians who are settled on that stream, and some of whom have made considerable improvements as Planters in the District; I am therefore to notify you of this Representation, in order that you may either peaceably relinquish that part at least of the Lot which is claimed by the Indians, and discontinue the setting of the cross net, as above stated, or else shew cause without loss of time to His Excellency in Council why the lot should not be granted to the Indians.

I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

JONA. ODELL.

DIARY OF SHERIFF MARSTON.

There is quite an amount of interesting information about the Miramichi region in the diary of Benjamin Marston, the first sheriff of the County of Northumberland. The period of Marston's residence at Miramichi was brief, extending only from June, 1785, to November, 1786. Marston was a native of Marblehead, Massachusetts, where he was a well-to-do merchant before the American Revolution. He graduated at Harvard in 1749. His mother was a sister of the elder Edward Winslow, who died in Halifax June 9, 1784; Marston was, therefore, a cousin of Judge Edward Winslow, of the Supreme Court of this Province. At the time of the

Revolution in America Ben. Marston sided with the crown and was proscribed and banished. During the war he had a singularly eventful and chequered career. At the peace in 1783 he was employed by the government of Nova Scotia as an engineer in the laying out of Shelburne. Though the friendship of Edward Winslow he received from Sir John Wentworth, Surveyor of the King's Woods in North America an appointment as his deputy in New Brunswick, and it is at this point he comes before us in connection with the Miramichi region.*

Under date Halifax, December 7, 1784, Sir John Wentworth wrote to Edward Winslow a letter in which he says:

"I embrace the few minutes while Mr. Marston is putting up his papers to say God bless you and yours. I have appointed our friend to be my Deputy in New Brunswick, and have wrote to Governor Carleton recommending him. As it is my wish to expedite the public business which depends on my office in the manner most agreeable to Governor Carleton, I shall be much obliged for your advice and any information to Mr. Marston that will aid us herein. I have the fullest reliance on his discretion, and shall trust much to his judgment."

Marston arrived at Saint John on the 19th of December, and from this point onward we shall, for the most part, allow him to tell his story in his own words:

Monday, Dec. 20, 1784.—Waited upon his Excellency Governor Carleton; shew him my appointment and Instructions as Deputy Surveyor of the woods under Gov'r Wentworth.

Sunday, Jan. 2, 1785.—Dined with Gov'r Carleton in company with Judges Allen & Putnam, Col. Willard, Col. Robinson, a Mr. Davidson and the Secretary of the Province.

Tuesday, Jan. 18.—Queen's birth night. Governor Carleton gave a Ball and Supper at the House of Assembly Room. Between 30 & 40 Ladies, near 100 Gentlemen—the Ladies were of the best families only, but the Gentlemen were of all sorts—the business was as well conducted as such an entertainment could be, where so large a company were to be entertained in so small a room. Arrived this evening from Annapolis the Ship *Hermione* with provisions for this settlement, a very welcome arrival."

Marston's diary describes other incidents at St. John, also his journey to Fredericton, from whence he set out on a somewhat adventurous mid-

* In 1792 a company was organized in England to make a settlement on the Island of Bulama, twenty miles from Sierra Leone, on the west coast of Africa. Benjamin Marston was engaged to accompany them as Surveyor. But this expedition proved very unfortunate, and failed to establish the proposed colony; for shortly afterwards the African fever seized them, and of the original company of 275 souls only a few escaped alive from this mortal disease, and these abandoned the enterprise. Ben. Marston, who was one of the victims, died Aug. 10, 1792. (Marston Genealogy pp 526-532.)

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winter trip with Lieut. Lambton through the woods to Saint Andrews, returning by way of the Oromocto river to the St. John. There is here a short break in the diary, and then we have the heading:

"JOURNAL FROM ST. JOHN TO MIRAMICHI."

"Having no employment at St. John of any kind I have accepted some appointments* in the new County of Northumberland, to which place I set out by way of Fort Cumberland on June 26.

Wednesday, June 29th.—Arrived at Cumberland and landed about sunsett.

Thursday, 30.—Got my baggage ashore.

Friday, July 1.—Went to the Bay of Verte to get a passage to Miramichi, but could find no means of navigation. * On my way back met with some people going across the country, bound to the Island of St. Johns. Agreed with one who has a boat to carry me for 35 dollars to Miramichi—from this time till Friday 8th waited for ye boat.

Saturday, July 9.—About noon left the bay of Verte & arrived Thursday 14 at Wilson's, Miramichi Point, having been six days in an open boat without any covering by day or night from sun, wind or rain—of which last we had plenty one night of our passage. My bed, the benches of the boat, with no other covering than my cloak.

Expences Passage to Cumberland, self and baggage.....	£1. 12. 6.
At Cumberland & bay of Verte & carriage.....	2. 1. 8.
To Mirimachi from Bay of Verte my half expences.....	4. 7. 6.

£8. 1. 8.

While at Fort Cumberland tarried with my old friend Wm. Allen, from whom I experienced every mark of real friendship & hospitality. Wrote to E. Winslow & to P. & S. Winslow† in Company.

Put up at Wilson's at 10 shillings per week.

Monday, July 18.—Administered the state oaths and oath of office to John Wilson, Esquire, Justice of the Peace. Served William Davidson, Dr. Prince's notice by personally giving it to him.

Sunday, July 24.—The notification which I put up that I would publish the charter of the County, brought considerable of the inhabitants together, the greater part of whom were drunk at my expence. The most of the people are illiterate and much given to drunkenness, they depend most of them upon the Salmon fishery, which being precarious, they sometimes live poor enough. Necessity and the example of some few will, as soon as the banks of the river are all located, make them turn their attention to their lands. They want two things, Law, to keep them in order, and Gospel, to give them some better ideas than they seem to have and to civilize their manners, which attendance on public worship would tend to promote."

* As Sheriff, Deputy Surrogate and Deputy Surveyor of the Woods.

† The reference is to his cousins Penelope and Sarah, sisters of Edward Winslow.

Some further idea of Ben. Marston's first impressions of the Miramichi may be gleaned from the following very interesting letter which he addressed to Edward Winslow after his arrival. It is little to be wondered at that to the graduate of Harvard College life on the Miramichi at this time seemed wild and uncouth. The people lived in a very primitive fashion, and were remote from all educational and religious advantages. Many of them were probably laborers employed by William Davidson and others in lumbering and fishing. The place called Miramichi Point, or Wilson's Point, is the same elsewhere called Beaubear's Point and lies at the junction of the northwest and southwest branches of the Miramichi river.

Miramichi Point, July 17th, 1785.

I arrived here only three days ago, and it has taken me till now to get myself stowed into a place where I can do business.

The condition of the River respecting the number of Inhabitants has been greatly misrepresented—to me at least. There are not above 100 families, if so many, upon it at present. They live in a sparse manner, scattered along its banks. My appointments here will be a mere sound and not much more. The emoluments of them will never make it worth my while to remain here after I have done those particular kinds of service which I came hither to execute; these I shall finish at all events. This makes it more necessary for me to get into some other line of Business for a livelihood and not depend any more on Government for employment. . . . This place is at present too scattered to be an object for a fixed Factorage, but a quantity of furs might be picked up every spring by coming hither with a properly assorted cargo, and Salmon might be engaged. Of all which I shall get myself better information before I leave this. . . . The Salmon Fishery on this River is an object worth the attention of Government, but unless it is attended to will be ruined by the ignorance and avarice of those concerned in it. It has failed very much this season—no doubt thro' the impolitic methods used to catch the Fish, which is chiefly by set nets, which are so extended from each side as to leave the fish very little room to run, and at Davidson's are extended fairly quite across the river to the utter exclusion of the poor savages above.

I have not been here long enough to make many observations, but this is certainly a very fine country, covered with white clover wherever it is open to the influence of Heaven, generally level, easily traversed. To say it was equal to the St. John River might be looked upon as a species of blasphemy—but this I will dare pronounce that *Miramichi Point* and *Beaubear's Island* are superior in situation to Fredericton. A ship of 250 tons from Italy is now lying just by them.

Remember me most kindly to all my friends, both male and female, and more especially and most kindly to those of yours and your mother's

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BEN. MARSTON.

Continuing with the extracts from Marston's journal, we find a reference to the lands (100,000 acres in all) granted in 1765 to Davidson and Cort. The conditions of this grant required that a certain part should be cleared within a limited time, that a certain number of settlers should be established thereon, also houses built, cattle raised, etc. Many large grants on the St. John river and elsewhere in New Brunswick were forfeited or escheated at this time.

"Wednesday, Aug. 3, 1785.—The Jury of inquest on Davidson & Cort's Grant returned their verdict this day, 'conditions not performed.' They have been six days on the business, in which they have travelled fifty miles up river and down, besides going and returning from home several miles each time; one gentleman not less than 12 miles each time. They have behaved better than expectation much."

During the remainder of this month Ben. Marston was engaged in laying out lands on a stream he calls the "Little S. West" for the following parties: Capt. John McLean, of Shelburne, a loyal refugee; Roderick McDonald, a disbanded soldier of the 76th Regt.; Alexander McMillan, who had been in the sea service; John Donald, of Scotland, and John Watson. The details of these surveys are incorporated to some extent in the diary, but will be omitted in the extracts that follow:

"Wednesday, August 10.—Arrived at night at Indiantown.

Thursday, 11.—Spent in making survey. Left Indiantown, went about 2 miles down river and lodged at George Brown's.

Friday, 12.—Got home in afternoon, having finished survey for Capt. McLean. Timber on the upland a mixture of spruce, pine, birch, maple and some elm.

Thursday, 18.—Left home on a survey up river for James Donald, from Scotland, arrived at Indiantown a little before sundown.

Friday, 19.—Ran Donald's line; attempted to finish McLean's line, but the excessive heat overcame me; was unable to go on, and with difficulty got back to our boat. I was so spent that I fell, and it was some time before I was able to recover myself; one of the party gave out in the forenoon.

Saturday, 27.—Went from home up the Little S. West, laid off a piece for John Rayman.

Wednesday, 31.—Squire Wilson set out for St. John via Salmon River and the Grand Lake.

Friday, 2 Sept.—This morning foggy till about ten—'tis the first fog I have seen in the place.

Sunday, Sept. 4.—Left my Lodging at Squire Wilson's & came to Mark Delesdernier's at 10 shillings pr week.

Thursday, 22.—Drew the plans of the lots laid out for Capt. McLean, James Donald & Mr. John Watson. Sent the last his plan and advised him that I had drawn on him for my fee, 40 shillings, payable to Capt. John McLean, of Shelburne.

Saturday, 24.—This day administered the State oaths to Robert Reid, Esq., coroner, and the oath of office, and he signed the Declaration.

Wednesday, 28.—Left home, embarked on board Chapel's boat for Bay of Verte; arrived there on Saturday, Oct. 1st. Went to Cumberland that afternoon, lodged at Allan's. On Sunday, ye second Oct., embarked on board Capt. Kay for St. John's and arrived there Tuesday, ye 4th. Tarried at St. John's three weeks, settled my account with the Surveyor General, finished all my business, left on 26th & came up to Coffin's Manor* in the Major's [Coffin's] canoe. Next day set off in another canoe which was going up to Mr. Lynch's, thence I went to Mr. Sweet's to look out for lodging that night, but things about the house looked very gloomy and disagreeable. I took a walk on the bank of the River when a boat bound up Grimross chanced to be passing by. I got them to put me over to Merrit's, & passing thro' ye Grand Lake & up Salmon & Gaspereaux River, crossed the Portage & down the Miramichi, arrived on Wednesday, Nov. 2d, about 8 p. m. Memo.—Left the portage about 8 a. m.

Wednesday, 2nd November.—Posted up advertisements for a meeting of the County to elect two members for the General Assembly on Thursday, the 17th inst., one at G. Brown's, one at Wilson's Tavern, one at McLean's store, one at Negayack, one at Reid's store, & one at Aleck Henderson's—Expence incurred coming from St. John's this time £3. 10. 9.

Sunday, Nov. 13.—Snow for the first time, about four inches deep.

Tuesday, Nov. 15.—Wrote to E. Forster, Halifax, via Shelburne, by Capt. Robinson for a set of saw mill irons.

Thursday, Nov. 17.—To-day held an election for two members to represent this County in General Assembly. Wm. Davidson, an inhabitant of this river, an ignorant, cunning fellow, but who has great influence over the people here, many of them holding land under him, & many others being tradesmen & laborers in his employ, was chosen for one, & by the same influence Elias Hardy, an attorney of no great reputation in his profession, an inhabitant of the City of St. John, was chosen for the other. This will disappoint some of my friends, who hoped that George Leonard, Esq'r, & Capt. Stanton Hazard would have obtained the election, but 'twas impossible. They were unknown here, & we who proposed and recommended them were but strangers. 'Tis therefore no wonder we did not succeed against an artful man, who had a real influence & knew how to use it. This is the first election ever held in this place."

* At the mouth of the Nerepis river, now Westfield.

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Marston's sarcastic references are evidently inspired by pique at the thwarting of his wishes as regards the election of his personal friends. Elias Hardy was far from being "an attorney of no reputation;" he was an exceedingly able man, and tradition says that in his profession he was, in his day, without a peer. As regards Mr. Davidson, he was by no means an uneducated man, and the leading part he played in the early days of New Brunswick is a sufficient tribute to his energy and ability. Both Davidson and Hardy were comparatively young men at the time of their decease; the former died at Miramichi in 1790, aged 50 years, the latter at St. John in 1798, aged 54 years.

Our next extract from Marston's diary has the following heading:

"Journal of a Surveying Expedition to see what farms might be laid out at Bedouin, by order of Governor and Council."*

"Tuesday, November 22nd.—Left home with J. M. Lesdernier in a canoe, got down as far as Point au Cheval, there the wind and tide being against us, we landed and encamped. In the night came on a gale of wind, at about north with snow and a very high tide, which took off our canoe.

Wednesday, 23d.—Gale continues with rain & snow, remained all day in Camp.

Thursday, 24th.—Pleasant, set out on foot for Bedouine, got within about four miles, found some marshes which were impassable from water, returned about 2 miles & encamped at Point au Cart.

Friday, 25th.—Pleasant, returned homeward—crossed the Little Napan River & arrived at big Napan about one O'clock. Made a raft to cross it, but the ice and eel grass so thick we could not get it off, so we encamped half a mile further on by the water's side. At night a gale of wind with snow.

Saturday, 26th.—Snowy part of the day, remained in camp all day.

Sunday, 27th.—Fair, set out & after travelling half a mile found our canoe—launched her and crossed the Napan. Went to George Murdoch's, thence crossed the river to James English's and there lodged.

Monday, 28th.—Returned home, having been absent 7 days.

Thursday, December 1st.—Made return of the election, also of my swearing in John Wilson, Esq., a Justice of the Peace & Robt. Reid, Esq., Coroner, for the County of Northumberland. Wrote Ward Chipman—inclosed a duplicate of my letter to E. Forster, at Halifax, for saw mill irons.

Friday, Dec. 2nd.—Weather fair. There is about one foot of snow on the ground, which fell about five days ago. The river is full of ice.

Sunday, Dec. 11th.—Sealed a packet to the Secretary's office directed thus [see below] with my own seal:

* Bay du Vin.

Jonathan Odel, Esq.,
Secretary,

On ye King's Service.

St. Johns.

Sheriff of Northumberland.

In this packet a letter to Ward Chipman and one to Col. Winslow, and under cover to Chippy a letter to Sally Winslow.

Tuesday, Dec. 13th.—This day M. Lesdernier and Reynolds began to work upon the saw mill.

Monday, Dec. 26th.—Killed a seal on ye ice.

Tuesday, Dec. 27.—Sent Mr. Davidson my packet for the Secretary's office by his man Mr. Gordon.

Wed., Dec. 28th.—Wrote to Mr. Robichau, of Negyack, that I would come down by 20 Jan. if he would send up for me and lay out their lands."

The year 1786 commences in Marston's journal with an account of surveying lands on Indian Brook for George Manning, Daniel Merchant and John Burns. In this, as in the other surveys, his chainman was John M. Lesdernier. Marston received for his work ten shillings a day and the chainman two shillings and six pence. In this trip they experienced some very cold weather in which Marston was frost bitten and Lesdernier returned home. The diary continues:

"January 22, [1786], Sunday.—Returned home, a fatiguing march of 30 miles thro' a sharp frozen crust. Wrote Robichaux that I would take Savoy's oxen—that Lesdenier would come for them the last of May; sent him the petition for land for the French people."

Marston gives some details of surveys at "Negayac" and Bay du Vin, which are not of sufficient interest to quote; the journal then continues:

Tuesday, February 14.—Measured Peter Henderson's lot, found it 10 chains wide.

Thursday, Feb. 16.—Up the N. West Miramichi a mast hunting; marked as follows: On Bourny's land, in Davidson grant, 15 masts of 34 inches diameter, 4 of 30 inches diameter, 8 of 36 inches diameter, and 4 of 32 inches diameter; 31 in all, and many more may be had there of ye same dimensions.

Saturday, Feb. 18th.—Was informed by an elderly man of good character, that if Stewart, whom I have located next to Martin Lyons, should fail of getting that lot that my life will be in danger if I return to this river again.

Monday, Feb. 20th.—The distance from Miramichi to Richibucto across country is about 25 miles level country. From Salmon River the

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portage across to Richibucto is 3 miles and comes upon the latter about nine miles above the tide, over good country.

Memo:—William Wilson, who has been in the sea service on board Guardship, and in the boat service attending on ye Army, requests lands and will take lot 44 or 70 on N. W. side.

Tuesday, Feb. 21.—Preparing for my expedition to St. John's for this week past. Intended to have set out to-day but the weather was unfit.

Wed., Feb. 22nd.—Set off to-day for a surveying expedition to Grand Lake with a party of four men & two tobagans. Reached Shertwell's, 10 miles, the party got to Sweesy's, about 8 miles.

Thursday, Feb. 23d.—Came to G. Brown's about 9 a. m., much fatigued with the heavy travelling.

Friday, Feb. 24.—Left Geo. Brown's and arrived at McLean's Point & tarried there one night. Surveyed from Davidson's west line 128 chains to Watson's east corner.

Saturday, Feb. 25th.—Began at James Donald's pine tree & surveyed 541 chains and camped on Little River, a very cold day and night.

Sunday, Feb. 26.—Surveyed 420 chains & began to snow at about 12 o'clock. Put up with ye Indians and agreed with them for some moose meat, for which I gave 6 shillings. The quality of the soil here, from what appears from the growth, is good, the trees being generally large—a mixture of hard wood and soft, with some few tall pines interspersed. To-day the latter part of our line is mostly yellow & red pine. The shore sometimes low & sometimes high, though not very high.

Monday, Feb. 27th.—Left ye Indians and began at ye end of yesterday's line (along Etienne river) 531 chains to a point on ye river, there marked a pine 5 1-2 miles & 13 chains from the forks, and here my provisions being almost expended—not more than four days left for the party—and one of our two axes broke, and one of my best men having broke his snowshoe to pieces, I gave over the survey and pushed on with two men only.

Tuesday, Feb. 28th.—Had the track to make; marched about 15 miles & encamped.

March 1st.—Reached the portage about noon, having marched not more than 8 miles, the travelling heavy. Got about two thirds over and encamped near ye Beaver Dam. I reckon ye portage* not more than 7 miles.

Thursday, March 2d.—Came down the Gaspereaux about 14 miles & encamped. This day had a track made for us by a hunter, whom we met at ye portage. Travelled about 2 miles and came upon Salmon River, and about two miles down that river came to an Indian village—rained hard; halted.

Saturday, 4th & Sunday 5th.—Detained by the weather with ye Indians, a very tedious, disagreeable delay.

* This portage is between Cain's River, formerly called Etienne River, and the Gaspereau, a branch of Salmon River, which flows into Grand Lake.

Monday, March 6.—Arrived on the Grand Lake, waded across the head of it, about one mile ankle deep in water to an English house on the south side, there tarried for the ice to make.*

Tuesday, March 7th.—Came down the Grand Lake to Grimross, expense at Barton's 5 shillings.

Wednesday, March 8th.—Got down to Rogers on the Kennebecasis.

Thursday, March 9th.—Left Rogers, arrived in Town (St. John).

While at Miramichi Ben. Marston corresponded with his cousin, Edward Winslow, upon the subject of joining him in trade and lumbering, and on his arrival at St. John he wrote a letter to Colonel Winslow, dated at Portland Point, March 11, 1786, in which he says:

"I arrived here from Miramichi the day before yesterday, after a 16 days march, very well. I was in hopes to have found you in town, for I wish much to see you respecting what we have so often talked about, and I have wrote so much. As soon as I have settled my business with the Surveyor General I shall go off for Halifax to get the Irons for our mill, stores for the Salmon Fishery, &c., &c. I have started a new object in that country, which will be a capital affair if I can obtain liberty to pursue it—that is the mast business. Could I get any introduction to the Commissioner, so as to obtain a contract; I think that in the course of a season I could procure the best part of, if not quite, one hundred sticks of the largest size. From Halifax, after doing what I can with the Commissioners, I shall go back to Miramichi."

Ben. Marston and Edward Winslow had seriously discussed the matter of undertaking business transactions for British merchants on commission, and to this end they corresponded with Lane & Co., of London, with the view of establishing a trading business at Miramichi, Westmorland and Cumberland, and arrangements were at one time in contemplation for sending out to them goods to the value of four or five thousand pounds sterling. However, the English company, at the last moment, declined the venture, and Edward Winslow remained at Fredericton instead of removing, as he had thought of doing, to Miramichi. Marston states in his journal that when in Boston in the month of April, 1787, he had an interview with Mr. Lane, of London, who told him their proposition had not been accepted because the House of Lane & Co. had decided to bend all their trade to the West Indies.

Marston failed to secure the mast contract of which he speaks in his letter quoted above. The pine trees of the Miramichi country were magnificent trees at this time.

* The reference here is to the flooded condition of the ice by reason of the rain that had fallen. The family who lived here bore the name of Barton.

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Sir John Wentworth, who visited Miramichi for the first time in the autumn of 1788, wrote thence, on Oct. 15th, to Edward Winslow, "I have found on this river the best Mast timber in British America, great quantities of which are on the Reservations. The pine timber for size, length and soundness exceeds any I ever saw in New England.*

Governor Wentworth, in his letter, warmly recommends the bearer, James Fraser, a resident merchant of Miramichi, as "deserving of any favor you may confer on him." Mr. Fraser, who was a native of Inverness, Scotland, in conjunction with his partner, Mr. Thom, about this time established an extensive trade in lumbering, the fishery, etc., at Beaubear's Island. After the decease of Wm. Davidson in 1790, and for many years that followed, they were the principle merchants on the Miramichi. Cooney, in his history, pp. 48, 49, gives some particulars respecting James Fraser, who was in the best sense of the word a "self-made man." During the latter portion of his life he resided at Halifax, but continued to represent the County of Northumberland in the New Brunswick legislature from the time of his first election in the year 1795 down to the year 1818, when he was appointed a member of the privy council of Nova Scotia. John Fraser, the father of the late Lieutenant Governor, John James Fraser, † came out to his relative, James Fraser, in the year 1803, and in 1812 took up his abode at Miramichi as a member of the firm of which Hon. James Fraser was the senior partner. The business of the firm was chiefly lumbering, ship-building and the exportation of salmon.

The manufacture of lumber was an infant industry at the time Sheriff Marston made his journey to Halifax to procure the mill irons needed for his saw mill. We must proceed now with the extracts from his diary:

"Halifax, April 27, 1786.—Arrived here from St. John.

May 4th.—Shipped my mill irons for Miramichi in John Watson's vessel.

May 18th.—Shipped on board Kavenagh's shallop, under care of Mr. Fraser, three bbls. pork, Bread, 5 salmon nets, for Miramichi. [Written later]—The salmon nets fell short and 1 bbl. pork, and rest uncertain, received none of them.

Monday, June 5th.—Left Halifax for Miramichi.

Tuesday, June 11th.—Arrived at Charlottetown, the capital of the Island of St. John. A very poor, miserable place, as all places must be

* The Province of New Brunswick suffered an irreparable loss in the destruction of these magnificent pines in the great Miramichi fire of 1825.

† The late Lieut.-Governor Fraser was born at Beaubairs Island, Aug. 1, 1829, and in October, 1845, began the study of law in the office of Messrs. Street & Davidson, of Newcastle. He removed to Fredericton when Hon. John Ambrose Street became Attorney General in 1851. He was admitted to the bar in 1852, made a Queen's Counsel in 1873, elected to the House of Assembly in 1865, Attorney General in 1878, Judge of the Supreme Court in 1882, Lieutenant Governor in 1893. He died at Genoa, Italy, Nov. 24, 1896.

which are inhabited by an idle, indolent, poor gentry, who are at perpetual variance among themselves, and ready to make advantage upon all who come among them—which is the case of Charlottetown in ye present year of our Lord.

Sunday, June 18th.—Arrived in Miramichi and got safe home to LesDerniers.

Wednesday, June 21st.—This evening Capt. Wiswal went down the river for Halifax.

Tuesday, July 4th.—Employed laborers getting frame for saw mill—Coon, Cram, Atkinson. Between this and Sept. 20th laid down the sills, sawyers cut boards. On 27th July raised frame; 29th began digging foundation for the dam, find a good bed of clay (Thank God)."

The exact site of the mill built by Marston it is perhaps not possible to determine, nor is it a matter of much importance. He brought with him on his return to Miramichi a considerable quantity of goods for trade with the inhabitants and with the Indians. The style of articles provided for the latter we may gather from the following memorandum found on one of the fly leaves of his diary:

Memo.—Goods for Indians:

Some Lancettts—good

Some fine hats, cocked, gold bands with buckles.

Stroud & blankets.

Barnaby Seise, 1 laced hat, some shirts.

Jean Dominique, 1 laced hat, some fine shoes, some silver buckles; Red, green, yellow ribbons. 1 fine gun.

3 or 4 yards embroidered silk for an Indian mantlet for J. Dominique.

Philip Baily, 1 good hat, silk for mantlet—fine, 2 yards superfine blue & red broadcloth, 4 yds silver lace; beads, red, black & white, round broaches, crucifixes, silver rings, some good hats.

The goods for general trade Marston obtained from Geo. DeBlois, Thos. Robie, and Holmes, of Halifax. The quality of the goods was not apparently in all cases of the best. In one of his letters Marston says:—"I took off their hands a parcell of old 'shop-keepers' which they had had by them a long while, & but for such an accident would probably have had still—what I had of Holmes I am sure would. It was the reliets of a parcell of wines, which had been in his Store he knew not how long himself—of all sorts & kinds which a Halifax pig would not have drank. They indeed answered my purpose, & I made something by them."

Marston continued to engage in his profession as a surveyor during his residence at Miramichi as opportunity offered. In the year 1786 he

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laid out a tract of land on the east side of the Bartibog river where it unites with the Miramichi, for John Moody, of Halifax, hence the name of Moody's Point originated. Mr. T. Moody, a brother of John Moody, and Edward Winslow were associated in the military staff of the commander in chief at Halifax, and probably at the suggestion of Winslow or Marston, this brother also resolved to try his fortunes at Miramichi. He wrote to Winslow from Halifax Aug. 5, 1785:

"An opportunity offering for Merrimichee, I have determined on taking advantage thereof and shall embark for that place on the 7th instant. I have, in consequence, taken the liberty of inclosing a memorial to Governor Carleton for land, &c., which I hope to obtain through your goodness and interest. Should the prayer of my memorial be granted, please to direct to me at Merrimichee—and, my dear Sir, a word from you to Mr. Marston cannot but be of essential service."

T. Moody wrote again from Halifax on the 26th September:

"I am just returned from Merrimichee. . . . Wrote you when there and solicited thro' you a Grant of an Island called Bedde Wyn. If it can be effected, consistently, shall be glad; however I submit the business entirely to your goodness. At all events I am determined to do some business in that quarter, as my brother means to abide there, and has begun to build. Capt. Marston has been very kind to me, and will, thro' you, add his friendship to anything you may recommend. Inclosed is a letter from him."

What success attended T. Moody's application for a grant of the Island of Bay du Vin we are unable to say. His brother, John Moody, made an attempt to settle on his property at Moody's Point, but was obliged, not long afterwards, to repair to Halifax for medical treatment. During his absence a jury was summoned to investigate the condition of his property, and reported that the conditions required by the grant had not been performed. John Moody, on this, wrote to Col. Winslow, Oct. 28, 1791:

"As I am about to traverse the Inquest held on my Lot of Land at Miramichi, allow me to state to you some particulars relative to this unpleasant business. When I was at Miramichi I had a cellar dug and a house put up, ready for covering; I had also at least two acres of land cleared in a handsome manner, and should have had more but my indisposition and the scarcity of labor prevented. . . . I appointed a person to lease Lot No. 71 for three years. . . . The tenant has not done as much as he might have done, but he has put another House on the Lot, cleared and improved considerable land, which, together with my improvements, have escaped the notice of the Jury. The winter was a bad time to have examined the premises."

Benjamin Marston left Miramichi on the 20th October, 1786, on board "Skipper Chappel's boat for Bay Verte," and about the 20th of November arrived at St. John. His intention was to return early the following spring but he was destined never again to see the Miramichi. He went, in the course of the winter, to New England to obtain some documents necessary to establish the claims of the widow and daughters of the elder Edward Winslow for compensation from the British government on account of sufferings and losses consequent upon the American Revolution. The following summer he embarked for England to prosecute his own claims for a like compensation. Just before his departure he wrote to Thomas Robie, of Halifax, one of his creditors, describing the state of his affairs at Miramichi. From this letter it appears that J. M. LesDerniers was concerned in trade with Mr. Marston. They sold goods to the Indians, which were to be paid for in furs, and to the white settlers, to be paid in fish, etc. He adds:

"I am likewise half concerned in a saw mill which was nearly completed when I left the river, & would have been entirely last fall, but the early setting in of the winter prevented it. About 10 days would have been sufficient to fit her for going & I expect she has been completed and at work. Besides this, I shall have two nets a fishing this spring, & I intended to have been there early this spring myself."

Ben. Marston found himself in very straitened circumstances shortly after his arrival in London. The compensation he received from Government was exceedingly small in view of his really severe losses. After three years in England he wrote Edward Winslow, "If I can bring my affairs to any kind of bearing in time to do it, I mean to go out to Miramichi and pick up what property I have there, and if there is the annual ship there, which there used to be, to ship what I may collect for Leghorn and myself with it."

This intention Marston never carried out, and a few years later he died on the west coast of Africa, far from home and kindred. Ward Chipman says that Ben. Marston desired him to proceed against him as an absconding debtor, and sell his property at Miramichi to repay certain sums Chipman had loaned him. Chipman adds: "I took no steps, but writing to Delesdernier for an account of the property in his hands, but never received an answer. I don't suppose it is worth while going there to look after it, as I understand Delesdernier is but a slippery chap."

Benjamin Marston was, as already mentioned, the first sheriff of the

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County of Northumberland. In 1793 W. S. Oliver was appointed Sheriff, and he, in turn, was succeeded by J. M. DeLesdernier, who could not, one would think from this circumstance have been quite such "a slippery chap" as Ward Chipman had supposed.

Sheriff Oliver, on going to Miramichi, took with him a letter to James Fraser from Col. Winslow. Mr. Fraser's answer is here given; it will be found to shed some light on the means of communication with the outside world then existing at Miramichi.

Miramichi, 23rd August, 1793.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 10th current by Mr. Oliver, and in answer to inform you that there are several small vessels which run occasionally between here and Halifax, by either of them your friend may have a passage to Arichat, or (as it is called on most of the new charts) Conway Harbour, from whence he can easily get by land or water to Sydney or any other part of Cape Breton. The passage money to Arichat by any vessel bound that way is generally four dollars but if a vessel is chartered for the purpose they will be asking £10 for Sydney, or Arichat, for they are about the same distance from here. If Captain Rainsford is here by the time you mention, the 10th of September, I can almost insure him a passage in a small schooner of ours bound to Halifax.

Every civility in my power will be shown to Mr. Oliver. I should think that the emoluments of the several offices to which he is appointed would enable him to live comfortably.

The bearer, Malcolm Wright, returns without delay; should your friend resolve to take this route, it will be a good opportunity for him to get so far, and such as we have Captain Rainsford, or any other of your friends coming this way, will be welcome to a share of until an opportunity offers for him to get along.

With much respect I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Serv't

JAMES FRASER

Sheriff Oliver did not find as much satisfaction in the emoluments of the offices of sheriff and collector of customs as Mr. Fraser anticipated. The French war seems to have greatly interfered with the trade of the Miramichi, and in consequence the Custom House fees were small. Mr. Oliver's interesting reply to Edward Winslow's letter is given below:

Miramichi, 12th July, 1794.

Dear Sir.—This comes to you by an Indian, who is charged with a memorial from the Indians in these parts to the Governor, setting forth their distressed situation and asking relief.

As it appears to me very probable that in consequence of their situation being made known that something will be done for them by the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and that some person here will be appointed to manage that business in this place, I request your interest in this matter. The appointment may be of some service to me, by employing my leisure hours, and perhaps some small allowance may be made therefor. Mr. Fraser, the Presbyterian minister, held such an appointment with a handsome allowance, and since he has left this place no one has had it. . . . My appointments fall very short of my expectations. The Custom House business is not worth this year more than one third what it was a few years ago. The fishing is said to be worse this year than it ever was known to be, and there is very little business done here at present. We are in hopes the war will soon be at an end and that a Peace may be the means of restoring us to a more flourishing situation than ever.

Believe me to be with the greatest truth and sincerity,
Your most devoted friend, etc.,

W. S. OLIVER.

THE "NEW ENGLAND COMPANY."

The reference in Mr. Oliver's letter to the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians opens up a subject of considerable interest, to which we shall now direct our attention. The story of the origin of the Society just named is as follows.

In the days of Oliver Cromwell, A. D. 1649, an ordinance was passed by the celebrated Long Parliament, for the formation of a corporation to be known as "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." The design of this organization, which was commonly called the New England Company, was to educate and christianize the Indians, and the sphere of its operations was at first confined to New England, afterwards extended so as to include parts adjacent in America. In the reign of Charles the Second, February 7, 1662, a charter of incorporation was issued. The objects of the New England Company, as stated in their charter* were:

"The promoteing and propagating of the Gospell of Christ unto and amongst the heathen natives . . . and allsoe for civilizing, teaching and instructing the said heathen natives and their children, not only in principles and knowledge of true religion, and in morality and the knowledge of the English tongue, and in other liberall arts and sciences, but for educating and placing of them or their children in some trade, mistery, or lawfull calling."

* A printed copy of this document is in possession of the writer of this paper. The Society for the propagating the Gospel among the Indians was quite distinct from the well-known "S. P. G."

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The charter is an eminently religious document, although emanating from an eminently irreligious king. In the preamble is the following quaintly worded passage:—"Whereas, by the severall navigacions, discoveries, and successful plantacions of diverse of our loving subjects of this our realme of England the empire and dominion of us and our royall progenitors hath, by the blessing of Almighty God, byn augmented and enlarged, as well upon the mainland and continent of America, as upon severall islands and promantories thereof: . . . and certeine English ministers of the Gospell and others residing in or neare our colonies and plantacions in New England having attained to speake the language of the heathen natives in those parts, have by their teachings and instruccions brought over many of them from the power of darkness and the kingdom of Satan, etc., etc.

After laboring for more than a century among the native tribes of New England, the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, soon after the close of the Revolutionary war, transferred the scene of its operations to New Brunswick, appointing as its local commissioners Governor Carleton, Chief Justice Ludlow, Judge Allen, Hon. Jonathan Odell, Judge Bliss, Dr. William Paine, and Colonel John Coffin. The board of governors in England appointed Hon. George Leonard their treasurer and correspondent in New Brunswick, and in their first letter of instruction, dated June 14, 1786, they authorized the expenditure of £500 sterling for the first year. The local board immediately after organization began to consider the best stations for employment of agents or missionaries to carry out the designs of the Society. We are here, however, concerned only with the attempts made to establish stations on the North Shore. Shortly after the organization of the local board Mr. Leonard was requested to write to Rev. Mr. Bourg, of the Bay of Chaleur, with the view of engaging him as a teacher and instructor of the Indians of that region. It is difficult to see how the board could consistently with their charter, which provided solely for the employment of Protestant teachers, have employed Father Bourg, and the latter evidently felt some hesitation in undertaking the work. However, he was reassured on this point by a letter from Samuel Lee to Chief Justice Ludlow:

Ristigouche, Chaleur Bay, 14th Feb'y, 1788.

Sir,—Agreeable to your desire I have communicated to the Rev. Mr. Bourg the information you gave me respecting the design of the appointment for civilizing the Indians; and by explaining your views of making them good & useful subjects (without altering the Form of worship) I have removed some doubts he had on that head.

Mr. Bourg thinks the plan may succeed, and is disposed to do all he

can to carry it into effect. He has wrote to Mr. Leonard on this subject, and handed me the Letter to forward, and as by reason of that Gentleman's absence, it may be long before it comes before you officially, it is unsealed and after perusal you will please be so good as to seal & send it to Mr. Leonard's. Mr. Bourg's influence with the Savages is considerable, and without doubt he will be very serviceable in visiting them. They should be drawn from the roving state and encouraged to settle in Villages, to cultivate gardens & practice such Trades as are most necessary among themselves. By these means, and by introducing Schools among them, they may be rendered more peaceable & happy.

There will be a direct opportunity for the Board to send any Letters to Mr. Bourg by the person the Surveyor General will send to the Bay of Chaleur in the Spring.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Most respectfully, Your very H'ble Srvt,

SAM'L LEE

The writer of the foregoing, Samuel Lee, was in 1795 elected a member of the House of Assembly for the County of Northumberland, that County then including the whole North Shore region, including the Counties of Restigouche, Gloucester and Kent. The letter to which Mr. Lee alludes as written by Fr. Bourg to George Leonard will be found in the last number of the collections of the Historical Society, p. 332; a translation is given below.

[Translated from the French.]

Carleton, Bay of Chaleur, February 12, 1788.

Sir,—I have the honor of receiving your letter, by which I have been informed that there is a certain annual sum sent from England for the purpose of civilizing the Indians of the River St. John and its neighborhood; that is to say, to render them happier and more useful to Society. This is a signal favor on the part of his Britannic majesty toward these poor people, and there should certainly be an attempt to effect it; my opinion is that it is possible in time to arrive at the desired result, and I am disposed to make every effort on my part in order that, as you observed in your letter, my care and trouble for them may be repaid.

I think it would be necessary in the first place to have school houses built, one at Madawaska, another at Restigouche, where all the Indians scattered in all the different parts of Nova Scotia could meet together, and to have in charge some good French school master, who could teach the young people to speak, to read and to write, and upon whom, if it be thought proper, I could have an eye and visit them from time to time if my presence should be necessary.

I think it desirable to grant to each family a little land, and, in order to encourage them to cultivate it, to make them at first some presents. I

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await, in connection with this matter, an answer on your part and on the part of the other gentlemen, and am with regard Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

JOSEPH Mth. BOURG, Priest, Grand V.

George Leonard, Esq.
Pleasant Valley, Kennepacasis.

Equal interest in the project was displayed by other residents at the North Shore. William Davidson recommended as a suitable person to be engaged as instructor of the Indians one Joseph Gueguen, of Cocagne. Here again it will be well to let the correspondence speak for itself. Mr. Davidson wrote to the Provincial Secretary, Hon. Jonathan Odell, who was one of the Board of Commissioners of the New England Company, as follows:

Northumberland, 23d Sept'r, 1787.

Sir,—I can, with truth, assure you that it gives me as little pleasure to trouble you as it can give you to be troubled, tho' I hope you are better paid for receiving than I am for giving.

I send you inclosed a letter I had some time since from an acquaintance of mine respecting your plan of civilising the Indians. I think that I can with confidence recommend him to be the fittest person I know for that purpose. You will see from his own letter, he does not want sense and I can undertake to answer for his Industry; in short, if the design can be accomplished there's no man so fit that I know as he.

I am, with much Respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

WM. DAVIDSON.

P. S.—The writer of the inclosed letter is an old Frenchman, and was Secretary to the famous Monsure Meyare,* who taught the Indians in this Country to speak and understand their own language in a kind of Grammatical way.

The letter of Joseph Gueguen, which was enclosed in Mr. Davidson's is written in English, and for a Frenchman must be considered as a very creditable production:

At Cocagne, the 16th August, 1787.

Sir,—As an old acquaintance it would be at all times a great satisfaction to me to hear from you, but it is but seldom that I have that pleasure.

* Joseph Gueguen was intimately associated with the Abbe Manach, whose adopted son he was, but it seems possible that the reference intended by Mr. Davidson here is to the Abbe Maillard (the name being spelled in English fashion "Monsure Meyare." Antoine Simon Maillard was sent by the Society of Foreign Missions to Canada in 1735 as an Indian Missionary. He was afterwards appointed Vicar General of Louisburg, but on its fall in 1745 retired into the woods and ministered to the few Acadian and Indian villages on the Island of Cape Breton and along the eastern coast of Acadie as far as Miramichi. In 1762 he removed to Halifax where he died in 1768. He had made a study of the Micmac language, and at his death his papers and notes on the Micmac tongue became the property of the Rev. Thomas Wood, who was enabled by their assistance to construct a Micmac grammar and prayer book.

I am told that you are a representative for this County, therefore I don't doubt but it lays in your power to help me concerning myself & my children's Settlement in this place, if you will take so much trouble. I wish to know by what time you will go to River St. John. I understand that the government want the Indians to be instructed; there is but few in the province that can undertake it. I shall be greatly obliged to you if you please to let me know what you know about it, & what reward is offered to any body that will undertake it, for I think, without flattery, that there is none in the province that have gone on so far in their Language as me self, as I may shew by the books that I have wrote. I did lend one of them for two years time to Mr. Bourg in order to help him in the Indian Language.

Please to give my Compliments to Mrs. Davidson. I am with regard

Sir,

Your most humble & obedient servant,

JOSEPH GUEGUEN.

In a communication, lately printed in the *Moniteur Acadien*, M. Placide Gaudet shows that Joseph Gueguen was on terms of great intimacy and friendship with the Abbe Manach as "son fils adoptif." The latter wrote a very interesting letter to Gueguen while on a visit to France in the year 1763. The Abbe Manach in this letter mentions having seen the father of Joseph Gueguen in good health at Morlaix, in France. The Abbe sent his letter by a French protestant named Jacques Robins, who was instructed to forward it to Joseph Gueguen, at Halifax. The latter, however, had left the capital of Nova Scotia two years previously and taken refuge at St. Pierre, on the Island of Miquelon, whence he afterwards removed to the Island of St. John, and from thence to Cocagne, where he settled himself with some other Acadiens in 1767 or 1768.* Jacques Robins wrote to the governor of Nova Scotia from London, May 24, 1763, that he was to settle at Miramichi; he enclosed letters for such French neutrals, or Acadians, as might be disposed to join him. He asked that they might be allowed to take the oath of allegiance, and said that those who refused to comply should not obtain lands from him. He hoped to set out in a month, and on his arrival to pay his respects to the Governor in person. Among the letters addressed by Robins to various Acadians is one to Monsiour Gueguen, "inhabitant of Louisburg, at present living in Halifax." Robins says he has forwarded to him Father Manach's letter; that he is going to settle at Miramichi, and offers lands to the Acadians. Although a protestant he will protect the Roman Catholics and will live in as great harmony with their priest as if he were his own brother. He

* See Murdoch's Hist. N. S., Vol. II, p. 472.

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hopes M. Manach will, himself, come to Miramichi, having asked the British government to allow him to go back to Acadia. Robins trusts that he himself will be able satisfactorily to carry out his project, the success of which depends upon the fidelity of his settlers to England. Robins desires Gueguen to bring some salmon nets and save hay for some cattle during the winter.* However, Lt. Governor Montague Wilmot seems not to have regarded Jacques Robins project with favor and nothing seems to have come of it.

Some particulars of the services of Joseph Gueguen to government during the critical period of the Revolutionary war are detailed in a letter to Governor Carleton, of which a translation is given below:

At COCAGNE, August 25, 1788.

Monseigneur,—It is with all the respect due to your Excellency that your very humble servant takes the liberty to make known to you the loss that I have endured, having been robbed of everything in this last war by the Americans. The Indians on this frontier during this last war entered into correspondence with the Americans, and had made a treaty of alliance by which they bound themselves to send six hundred good men, capable of bearing arms to act in conjunction with the Americans under the command of General Washington.

I know, Monseigneur, that they could do little harm to the forces of his Majesty, but they could easily have destroyed those subjects settled on the frontiers of these Provinces. This is why I thought that it would be in the interest of the Province that the savages should not take up arms in favor of the Americans. As I understand their language, I represented to them in the best way I could that it would be to their interest to remain quiet; that this war would not turn out to their advantage; that I did not believe them to be men capable of facing openly the troops of his Majesty, or to withstand the fire of regular soldiers; that it would be very uncertain what the result of the war would be, and what might they not expect to happen if his Majesty should retain this Province?—as he did; with several other reasons that I brought forth. I succeeded in opening their eyes, and after examination they decided to send back the treaty of alliance to the Americans and to retract what they had promised. On this occasion I received a letter from the Americans, by which they warned me that they were well informed of my work, and that I would suffer for it; truly I was not long in experiencing the effects of their threats. Eleven men came to Cocagne, took a vessel that was near my house, with all that I possessed in the house.

I was formerly employed at Westmorland by government in the capacity of interpreter to the French and Indians. I am a man crippled

* See Canadian Archives for 1894, p. 242.

(estropie) in one hand, with a large family to support; settled at Cocagne twenty years by agreement with Government.

As I believe, without vanity, I can say I understand the Indian language, as I have clearly manifested in producing my work on this language, I would be infinitely indebted to your Excellency, if in your kindness your Excellency would be pleased to bestow upon me some appointment in the capacity of Interpreter.

I am very sincerely, with all possible respect, Monseigneur,
Your Excellency's very humble and obedient servant,

JOSEPH GUEGUEN

The descendants of Joseph Gueguen are numerous today in the Counties of Westmorland, Kent, Northumberland and Gloucester, and in the United States. Among them Jean Baptiste Goguen has for some years been a member for the County of Kent in the local legislature.

Whether arrangements were ever completed for the employment of French instructors by the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians seems rather uncertain, but the correspondence on the subject incorporated in this paper is of considerable historic interest. As regards Miramichi, our information is more definite, and we shall now proceed to speak of the mission to the Indians established there by the Rev. James Fraser in 1788. As Mr. Fraser was, so far as we know, the first Presbyterian minister to officiate both at Saint John and at Miramichi, some further reference to him seems desirable, more particularly as nothing concerning him has hitherto appeared in print, with the exception of a brief foot note at page 22 in Lawrence's "Foot Prints."

Rev. James Fraser probably came from Scotland to America about the time of the close of the Revolutionary War, although he may, perhaps, have been a chaplain in one of the Scottish regiments disbanded at the peace in 1783—many of whom settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He seems to have visited St. John with the idea of settling there, as early at least as the year 1786. The Presbyterians were anxious to avail themselves of his services, and in the St. John Gazette of October 24, 1786, the following notice appears:

"Those gentlemen who wish and intend to encourage the Rev. Mr. Frazer to settle in this City are requested to meet at the Coffee House to-morrow evening at 7 o'clock. It is expected every person thus inclined will not fail to attend, that it may be known with certainty what salary will be promised Mr. Frazer."

A few weeks before this meeting was called a memorial had been submitted to the Commissioners of the Society for propagating the Gospel

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among the Indians, requesting them to engage his services as instructor to the Indians, evidently with the hope that he might be permitted to reside at St. John, and that with the assistance of a grant from the Society the Presbyterian people might be able to make up the stipend required. At the time the memorial was presented Mr. Fraser seems to have been at Digby or Annapolis. The memorial is as follows:

"Gentlemen,—

We, the subscribers, in behalf of the Rev'd Mr. James Frazer, beg leave to represent to the Honorable Board of Commissioners for propagating the Gospel among the Indian Natives in America, that he has been educated at the University of Edinburgh, in North Britain, and has in his possession the College testimonials, we therefore pray that he may receive a Mission from the Honorable Board as an Instructor and teacher among the Indians in this Province.

The above application we have been induced to make for Mr. Frazer in his absence at his particular request; we have authority to say that should he meet with encouragement from the Hon'able Commissioners he would immediately remove with his Family here and enter on his Mission under the direction of the Board.

We have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Yr. most ob't humble servts,

JNO. COLVILL.
WM. CAMPBELL
JOHN SMITH.

To the Honorable Commissioners for Propagating the
the Gospel among the Indian Natives in New
England or parts adjacent in America.

The Indians at Miramichi seem to have been in a pitiable condition at this time, as is shown by their sending at midwinter a deputation to the Lieutenant Governor, soliciting some assistance. The local board of the New England Company thought the opportunity a favorable one for the establishment of a mission station at Miramichi, and they accordingly, on May 2, 1787, appointed Rev. Mr. Fraser their agent in that quarter with a stipend of £50 sterling per annum. Mr. Fraser, on being informed of the appointment, wrote to Mr. Leonard as follows:

St. John, July 12th, 1787.

Sir,—I have been informed by several Gentlemen that in consequence of a memorial presented to the Honorable Board for propagating the Gospel among the Indians in this Province in my behalf, they have been pleased to appoint me a missionary for Mariemischie. I therefore take the liberty

of requesting from you the Instructions necessary for fulfilling that Mission, and that you would be pleased to inform me if my residence at that place be indispensable, as since my arrival in this Province I have been usefully employed as a Presbyterian minister of the Gospel in this City, and have great reason to believe my utility might be greatly extended by opening a School for the Latin and Greek languages, with Grammar, &c., in this place.

The Honourable Board will, I hope, encourage an undertaking so laudable and important, and be pleased to grant me an additional Emolument for that purpose. Or if my residence at Mariemischie be necessary they will be pleased to consider that £50 ster. is an object too small for a sole dependence, and add what sum they may think proper, as a Schoolmaster at that place. I would also be glad to know when my Salary commenced, from whom, in what manner, and at what periods I may receive it.

Be pleased to lay this letter before the Honorable Board at their next meeting, and your answer will much oblige,

Your mo. obedient & very Hble Servant,

JAMES FRASER.

N. B.—I can produce the best certificates both of my moral and literary character.

Mr Fraser decided to accept the appointment, and was actually preparing to set out for Miramichi when he was prevented by the circumstance mentioned in the following note to Ward Chipman:

“Mr. Fraser presents his most respectful compliments to Mr. Chipman and would be happy to be informed whether he thinks Mr. Fraser would be entitled to his salary from the 24th June last should he still accept of the mission for Marimoschie, as he could not possibly go to that place last fall on account of Mrs. Fraser’s having the Small Pox and long indisposition afterwards.”

In a note to Chief Justice Ludlow, who was a leading member of the Board of Commissioners of the New England Company, dated at St. John, May 3, 1788, Mr. Fraser says:

“My motives for taking up School in this City were chiefly compassion for the youths who had been left destitute of a Teacher by the death of the Rev’d Mr. Bisset, and to see what encouragement would be given to Education here, but it by no means seems to answer my expectation. Whenever, therefore, I receive the answer of the Board I will proceed as soon as possible for my district.”

Mr. Fraser’s stipend was increased to £75 sterling from the Board and soon after he left St. John to take up his residence at Miramichi. The idea of the Board in sending him is very clearly stated by Ward Chipman in the letter which follows:

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* Mr. Fraser ap

St. John, 31st May, 1788.

Sir,—I herewith inclose to you a copy of the minutes of the board at their last meeting respecting your appointment as a missionary and Instructor to the Indians at Miramischi, this will intimate to you that the appointment is rather by way of experiment to determine the expediency of a more permanent establishment there. In addition to what appears in the minutes I am authorized to inform you that any necessary expenses incurred in procuring and maintaining any of the children of the Indians in that district, until provision can be made by the board for those purposes, will be reimbursed to you. You will, of course, keep the board informed of your proceedings & the success you may meet with by every opportunity.

You will receive no particular instructions; one principle object is to procure from the Indians as many of their children as they can be prevailed upon to send to you to be civilized & instructed.

I consider myself as authorized to advance to you one Quarter's salary, agreeable to your request, whenever you set off for your district, so that your preparations may be made with a reliance upon its being paid at that time.

I am your most obed't & very humble serv't,

WARD CHIPMAN,
Acting Treasurer.

In acknowledging Chipman's letter Mr. Fraser announced that he would be ready to go to Mariemoschie by the 7th of July, the termination of his quarter of the School, that he was under the necessity of going to Digby and Annapolis* to endeavor to obtain some money due him in that quarter, but should return with the Packet. The first tidings we have of Mr. Fraser after his arrival at Miramichi are found in the minutes of the proceedings of a meeting of the Board of Commissioners of the New England Company held at Fredericton in February, 1789.

"Read a letter from Mr. Fraser, missionary at Miramichi, dated 24th October, 1788, informing the board of the dissatisfaction and prejudices which prevailed among the Indians there, and their fears that they will be compelled to become sailors and soldiers. That to conciliate their affections he had, by the advice of Governor Wentworth, who was then in that part of the country, distributed some small presents among them, and should, for the present, decline urging their giving up their children for instruction till by a series of kind offices their affections should be conciliated, and for this purpose praying that the expence of an Interpreter for a short time, until he should acquire a further knowledge of their language, should be allowed him."

The experiment of establishing schools under the supervision of missionary agents was attempted at various centres throughout the province.

* Mr. Fraser appears to have done some ministerial work at Digby and Annapolis.

One was at Woodstock (or Meductic) under Frederick Dibblee, one at Fredericton under Benjamin Gilbert, one at Sheffield under Gervas Say, one at Westfield under Burrows Davis, one at St. Andrews under Henry Barlow Brown, one at Sussex Vale under Oliver Arnold, and one at Chatham under James Frazer. After an experience of five years the results were not deemed satisfactory and the system was radically changed. The stations were abandoned and a central Indian Academy established at Sussex under care of the Rev. Oliver Arnold,* where operations were carried on until about the year 1835, when the work in New Brunswick was abandoned. During the period of nearly fifty years that the New England Company prosecuted its work on behalf of "the heathen natives" of New Brunswick, the sum of about \$140,000 was expended, of which nearly one third was paid out to officials who had little or no connection with the work of instruction. It cannot be said that the designs and intentions of the founders of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England and parts adjacent were very wisely carried out by those who had the control of the funds. Nevertheless the statement of Edward Winslow is true that "The legacy which had been formerly left by Mr. Boyle (the founder of the Society) for the christian purpose of civilizing the aborigines, being applied in this country, was considered by the Indians, who did not comprehend the meaning of it, as a strong proof of national protection and kindness, and it had undoubtedly a tendency to reconcile them more effectually to the government."

The efforts of the teachers to advance the moral and spiritual welfare of the Indians were productive of good in many instances, yet the permanent results were small.

Mr. Fraser's appointment as Instructor at Miramichi was cancelled about the year 1791. The only reference that the writer has been able to discover touching the presence of Mr. Fraser at Miramichi, apart from the correspondence and records of the Society, is contained in the following letter of Alexander Gillish to Edward Winslow. It certainly is a curiosity in its way and shows that there was room for the school master's work at Miramichi a century ago among the white inhabitants as well as the savages.

Miremoshi, July 29, 1791.

Honored Sir,—I hope your goodness will excuse me for the Liberty I have taken in writing. This is the second time I wrote your Honor by

* A very interesting account of the old Indian College at Sussex is given by Leonard Allison, of Sussex, in his sketch of the life of Rev. Oliver Arnold, published in 1892. Since that date additional facts of interest have been discovered among the Chipman papers.

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the Reverant James Frazer, our Minister, who told me at his return that he sent you the letter and that he likeways sid you after in Frederecktown and that you told him you was to send me ancewer by the first opertunity concerning that lot which I have been scandles yoused about . . . I cant complean on government, but the inhabetanc that swears that I shall not have it if his Excellancy was on the spot himself to put me in pusheson of it—if it Pleas your Honer they have pronunced thes words which, I think, is out of all character and werrey discouragen to me. If I was not in the destout situation that I am in I would sertantly leve the place, but I am so destout that it is out of my pour to remov may famely at present for every-thing I head in the wored, only what was on my back, was consumed by fire the elevent of May last, with Bed and cloths and all my Furneter and everything I hade in the wored was consumed that day—onley my Cow and Calf they was saved, and nothing else in the wored belongen to me; Seed purtates and seed graen and netts and all may fishing craft, so I was rendred uncapabel of dooing anything for the benefit of may famely.

I leve this letter with may wife to give your Honer if you com hear to this River, or to send it by the first opertunity that she geats gon to Fredericktown, as I this day sail for Halifax to geat som suport for may famely, and if god spear me to return I desire to bild a house on lot No. 22, south sid of Miremoshi. which is a wakent lot. It is the one I memoraled for a young lad that lived with me, which his memoral is in the Secrater's offec as yet and his name is Philep Bremner—therefor if goverment dont not think it proper to give this lot to Philep Bremner (which has lived with me this several years of aprentes and is now sixteen years of age) if it does not pleas government to give it to him at that age that they will give it to me. If I am out of the other I will build on it ather for myself or for the boy. I hop I may depend on your Honer for befrinding me, as I have non to depend on, and I hope God almighty bles and prosper you and your Famely and everything that concerns you, and I shall ever bound to pray for your well feare when I am in life.

ALEX'R GILLISH.

It is to be feared that in the days of the first settlers at Miramichi there sometimes prevailed a lack of harmony and goodwill, and that there was a considerable clashing of interests and opinions. This apparently affected even the peace of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, who wrote as follows to the Treasurer of the Board of the New England Company:

Miramichi, April 24th, 1791.
 Sir,—Some time ago I received a letter from Mr. James Stewart, informing me that my mission at this place was discontinued by the Board, &c. I am fully sensible that Gent'n of so much honor as the characters composing the Honorable Board would not give ear to reports hatched by the tongue of malevolence and fomented by envey or party. Certain they

are that malice's baleful breath will easily stain the fairest Reputation. I am apt, therefore, to believe that there is some mistake in the information and shall proceed as usual till I receive official intelligence from the Hon'ble Board.

I have the honor to remain, Sir,
Your most obed't & very h'ble serv't,

George Leonard, Esq'r.

JAS. FRASER. Miss'ry.

Northumberland County was a famous field for politics from the time of its first election, of which we have had an account in Sheriff Marston's diary. The death of William Davidson in 1790 created a vacancy, and the candidates were Major Harris W. Hailes, a non-resident, and Mr. Fraser, of the firm of Fraser and Thom.

Edward Winslow had many friends among the Miramichi people, having frequently occasion to visit the place in connection with his position as Deputy Surveyor of the King's Woods for the Province of New Brunswick under Governor Wentworth. His influence, and that of his friends, no doubt, contributed to the election of Major Hailes. There are some references to this old time election in a letter, written by Alexander Taylor, of Miramichi, to Edward Winslow, March 1st, 1791. The bearer was one Charles McLaughlan. Mr. Taylor said: There is no doubt of Major Hailes success against any candidate, unless it is Judge Fraser, and even against him, if able speakers are sent in time. He and Duncan Mackay were doing all in their power, but not being seconded by Mr. Nicholson made their task harder. Had the latter joined his interest with Mr. Robeshau's and that of himself (Taylor), Major Hailes would have polled three votes to Fraser's one, although the business interests of the latter were a powerful factor in the election. The generality of the people at the lower end of the river and the French settlers would stand for Major Hailes, and some from other quarters would do so also. "The truth of the matter is," adds Mr. Taylor, "that those of them who has any knowledge needs little persuasion to vote for the Major, but the vulgar is greatly imposed on by Fraser's agents, tho' he is not here at present."

Duncan Mackay adds a line to Taylor's letter; his suggestion would be considered a very modest one by the political campaigners of this enlightened age: "I am made to understand," he says, "that some of the candidates or their agents are to bestow some victuals and drink on their voters, and we design to have a little for Major Hailes' voters (if we can), which it's hoped may not be disagreeable to him or you."

The Mr. Nicholson mentioned by Alex. Taylor in his letter was Arthur

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Nicholson, who was collector of customs at Miramichi and also a land surveyor. He had served through the Revolutionary war in the Seventh Light Dragoons, whence he was transferred in 1781 to the King's American Dragoons, and at the peace came with that corps to New Brunswick. He had a very varied experience in his life in this province. In 1785 he is returned as a settler in Prince William, in 1788 he resided at Queensbury, in 1790 we find him at Miramichi. In 1803 he was living in the Parish of Northampton, where he taught school for several years. In his experience, as in that of many others, the proverb was exemplified, "A rolling stone gathers no moss."

Alexander Taylor, himself, was elected a representative of the County of Northumberland in the House of Assembly in 1802 and again in 1809. He had a large connection at Miramichi, who, like himself, had emigrated from Scotland. His sister, Agnes Brown, came to Miramichi with her husband in 1775, and this probably led to Mr. Taylor's own settlement there in 1784. His nephew, Alexander Henderson, came shortly afterwards. In one of his letters to Edward Winslow, Alex. Taylor gives the following brief account of himself:

"My ancestors for seven centurys back were of consanguinity to His Grace the Duke of Gordon (North Britain) and his ancestors, and held a very handsome fen of land close by their castle. This small estate descended lineally from five Major Gordons' down to my mother, Helen Gordon, and from her to me; but when I came of age and found myself one of fourteen children, and found my parents much troubled in mind how to bring up and settle such an extensive family, I consented to let the land be sold and a will to be made agreeable to their wish. They made a very generous allowance to me, but I was very unfortunate, for in the course of seven years thereafter I scarce could command one shilling. I was advised to apply to his Grace aforesaid, but my heart was too great, and hearing such vogue [common talk] and encouragement about this place, I went privately to the Minister who baptized me and got a certificate of my behaviour and character, and set out for here with a wife and six children."

Mr Taylor speaks at some length of his friends among the English and Scotch nobility. He was inclined to return to the old country, and on this question asks Mr. Winslow's counsel. He closes his letter thus:

"Upon the whole I would not hesitate upon leaving this place of uncertainty and depend on the assistance of such men as I have mentioned, but, alas, what comfort can I expect to have in another corner and leave here ten sons and two daughters and above 150 of my nearest in kin, all

of whom, with many others, I have been the sole instrument of bringing to this country."

Alexander Taylor was one of the early magistrates of the County of Northumberland; others were John Wilson, Alexander Wishart, James Horton and John Moody. The first judges of the court of common pleas were Samuel C. Lee and James Fraser.

There was a period in the history of the old province of Nova Scotia, immediately following the termination of the war with France, by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, when lavish grants of land were made to disbanded officers of the army and navy and government officials. This, although following the example set by the French in granting immense tracts as seigniories to favored individuals, was a vicious system, locking up the best lands and retarding the settlement of the country. A few references to the working of this system as it affected the North Shore are here given:

A memorial, submitted on March 3, 1770, to the English Secretary of State, represents the condition of the coast of Nova Scotia between Baie Verte and Chaleur Bay as the most productive of fish of any part in all America, and strongly advocates the appointment of a sub-governor for that district. The same year this memorial was presented a Scotch gentleman, named George Walker, described as "late the commander of a naval squadron," made application to the government of Nova Scotia on behalf of Hugh Bailey, LL. D., for 30,000 acres at Caraquet; on behalf of Allan Auld, for 30,000 acres on the south side of the Restigouche river, including the salmon fishery; and on behalf of Hugh Bailey, junior, for the fisheries on the Miramichi above and below those granted to Davidson and Cort, with the land on each side three miles back and the branches of the river. For himself, Commodore Walker desired 10,000 acres at Nipisiguit and 1,000 acres at Belledune, with the beach and pond.

Lord William Campbell, the then Governor of Nova Scotia, was himself a by no means small "land-grabber," and he seems to have regarded the application with favor, but the quantity of land applied for was so large that he deemed it necessary to transmit the application to Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State. In his letter to the Secretary of State he says:

"It is proposed to settle these lands with people from the Orkneys," and he speaks of the value of such a settlement, "which would extend government to a locality now only occasionally occupied by vagrant Indians."

Two years later an agreement was made between Hugh Bailey and

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William Davidson for the sale to Bailey of a part of the tract of 100,000 acres granted Davidson and Cort in the year 1765.

LATER SETTLEMENTS ON THE BAY OF CHALEUR.

At the time Lord William Campbell was Governor of Nova Scotia. John Shoolbred, of London, established a fishery station and made a small settlement on the Bay of Chaleur near the mouth of the Restigouche. The Secretary of State, on April 5, 1775, wrote to Governor Legge that Mr. Shoolbred was to be allowed a grant of 500 acres with a frontage of two-thirds on the shore and a depth of one-third. This grant seems to have been afterwards enlarged, for we learn that on April 22, 1776, a memorial of Mr. Shoolbred's came before the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia for consideration, in which he asked for 2,000 acres on the Restigouche, where he had for many years carried on the salmon fishery. It was ordered that the petition should be granted.

Beyond the prosecution of the salmon fishery, Shoolbred did little to establish his claim to the lands granted him, and they were eventually forfeited under the provisions of a law passed by the New Brunswick legislature at its first session in 1786.* A few years later Shoolbred endeavored to secure the possession of his former property, but learned that his grant had been declared null and void, and further that the surveyor appointed to examine into the condition of the lands, having reported to Governor Carleton and his council that no improvements had been made such as to entitle the former grantee to a regrant, a part of the tract had already been granted to other parties. John Shoolbred's settlement at the Bay of Chaleur is therefore nothing but a name.

On December 3, 1775, there was granted to Sir Andrew Snape Hamond—afterwards Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, but at this time captain of H. M. S. Roebuck—3,000 acres in the Bay of Chaleur, in consideration of his services as a lieutenant in the navy in the late war with France. There is no evidence to show that Sir Andrew ever made any serious attempt to settle his lands, and they, no doubt, were afterwards forfeited to the crown.

A more serious attempt at forming a settlement on the Bay of Chaleur was made by Colonel Arthur Goold, a member of the Council of Nova Scotia. He had formerly been a commander of marines on board H. M. S.

* The Act of Assembly referred to provided that if any grantee should neglect to register his grant with the Secretary and Registrar of the Province, within a year from the time the Act was passed, such grant should become null and void.

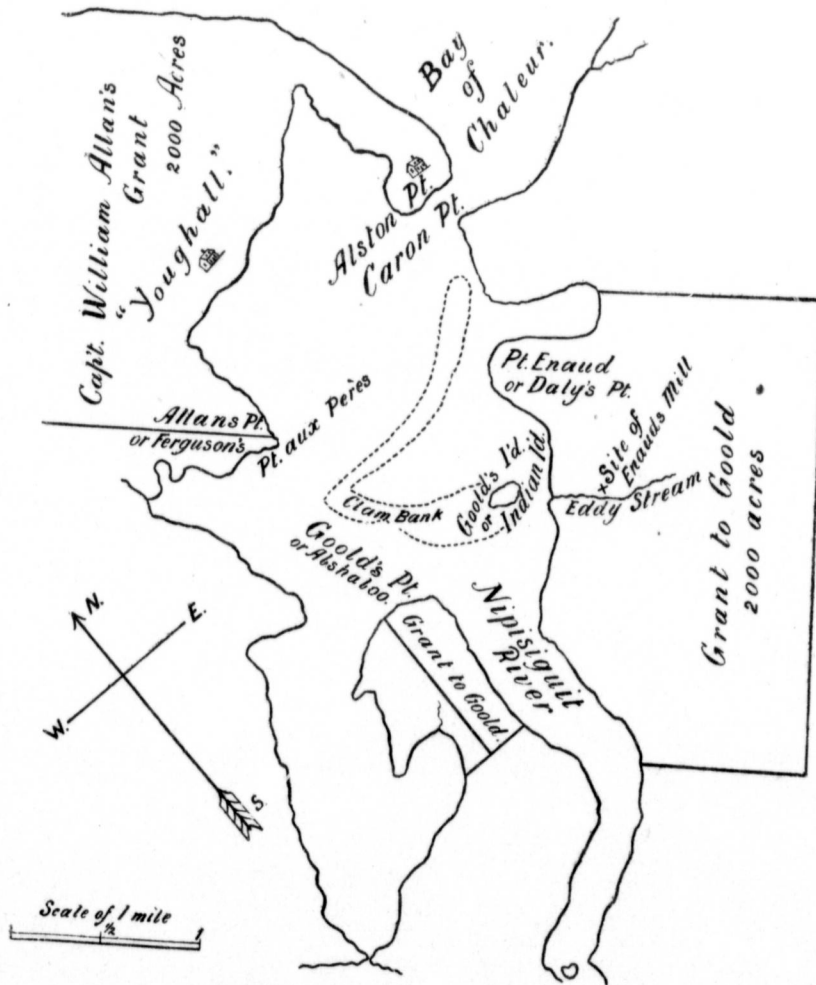
Romney, and later private secretary to Lord William Campbell.* A good deal of smuggling appears to have been carried on about that time between the Islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre and various places on the North Shore, which gave the authorities some trouble. The settlements in that quarter also began to feel the disturbing effect of the Revolution in America. Accordingly when Colonel Goold, early in the year 1777, asked leave to reside at Nipisiguit, where, as he says, he might be able to establish a police beneficial to his Majesty's service and to the community of which he should become a member, his application was warmly approved by Lieutenant Governor Arbuthnot. The latter observed in a letter to Lord Germaine. "Such personages diffused through the out parts of the province will be a means of humanising the settlers, and exact an obedience to the law." Colonel Goold's design of taking up his residence at Nipisiguit was interfered with by some of the events connected with the Revolutionary struggle that required his presence on the River St. John. He, however, employed agents to act for him at Nipisiguit, and probably visited the place not infrequently himself. It was not until the 22nd September, 1784, that he received from Governor Parr a grant of 2,000 acres. The conditions of the grant were similar to those found in other grants of this period, and need not be particularized. The accompanying plan will give a clear idea of the situation of Colonel Goold's land. The principal portion extended along the southerly side of the harbor of Nipisiguit, a distance of about two miles and a half with a depth of about a mile and a half. Goold's Island, or Indian Island, was included, and lay almost directly in front of the centre of the tract. The grant also included the eastern half of the point of land on which the town of Bathurst now stands, then called Goold's Point. The plan that is here given is based upon an old plan made about the year 1792. Some names, both ancient and modern, have been added to show the location of places mentioned in the earlier part of this paper. The location of the two houses, one at Alston Point and the other at Youghall, correspond exactly with the following passage in Cooney's history, p. 171:

"At Alston Point Mr. Walker had a splendid and elegantly furnished summer residence. . . . At Youghall, near the head of the harbour, he had another dwelling house, which he occupied in winter." Cooney gives quite an elaborate account of Commodore Walker and his settlement.

Colonel Goold seems to have been anxious to develop his property, and to that end he had the description given below published. It will be

* See p. 12, ante





PLAN OF BATHURST HARBOUR OR NIPISIGUIT BASIN.

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noticed he gives to Nipisiguit the meaning of "Happy retreat," which is precisely the meaning that Cooney gives to the Miramichi. In point of fact both Cooney and Goold are in error, for, as Dr. Ganong shows in his excellent monograph on Place nomenclature of New Brunswick, the word Nipisiguit is derived from the Micmac Win-peg-ij-a-wik, signifying "rough water," and as to Miramichi—while there is difficulty in deciding as to the true derivation (possibly from Megumaagee, or "Micmac land") there is no evidence whatever that it means "Happy retreat."

[Copy of Mr. Goold's publication.]

Nepissequit, signifying, in the Indian Dialect, Happy Retreat, is a harbour on the South side of the Bay of Chaleur, situated twelve Leagues below the River Restigouch, which terminates the Boundaries of Nova Scotia from Canady. The situation of this Harbour, the only one commodious, ready, cleared for the reception of the Plow and abundantly well Timbered for the construction of Vessels of moderate Burthen, seems by nature to have been formed for a Settlement of the first consequence for the Cod and Salmon fishery in that district, and as upon the conclusion of the peace it will be natural for the Commercial mind to be hunting after such branches of Trade as shall promise the most certain profits with the least hazardous Risque, the proprietor of that harbour into which runs a River which affords such a Salmon Fishery that Six hands have caught and cured in one season, fit for market, 350 Tierces of Salmon, flatters himself the advantageous observations he is about to make, must render it worthy the strictest attention of any commercial man who would be desirous of employing a small capital from which considerable and almost certain profits must arise.

First, it is proposed that two Vessels, of about one Hundred Tons each, shall be employ'd, the one to proceed with Salmon for the Mediterranean Markets, the other with Cod Fish and Lumber for the West Indies. The Mediteranean Vessel, after the sale of her cargo, with the neat proceeds, to bring out a suitable cargo of European supplies for the supplying the inhabitants of the Bay and bartering with the Savages for the produce of their hunting; the West India vessel to return with the produce of the Islands and try the market of Halifax with its produce, or proceed up the Bay, where its Cargo would most certainly prove agreeable. The proprietor is persuaded his Influence with the Inhabitants of the Bay, whites as well as Savages, is such that he could be sure of the whole Furr Trade, whilst he should make it a point of the first consideration that they should meet with the most strict and equitable treatment.

Secondly.—If a Small Distillery was established in this District it would be the means of supplying the whole Bay with its produce as well as those adventurers in the Fishery who resort to this Harbour to cure their Fish and take in a fresh Quantity of Bate, there being a Bank of Clams in

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the Centre of the Harbour for that purpose. There is on the Land a Vain of Clay, a sample of which was sent home by Commodore Walker, who was the Discoverer of this very Excellent Harbour, and it proved in Quality very equal to those called Queens Ware. The Proprietor could enlarge to a Voluminous Bulk upon the advantages of this situation, but confines himself to say that whoever may be inclined to embarque with him upon an establishment similar to the above description he will most cheerfully proceed to fix the Establishment and see it properly carried into Execution, and will readily proceed with the first cargo of Salmon up the Mediterranean, where, by his knowledge of the Languages and police of those Countries he will be able to establish and fix a proper correspondence, which may considerably in time augment the undertaking.

Any person inclined to become concerned in the above proposed undertaking, and possessed of a capital sufficient for such an undertaking, by a line directed to the Registrar's office, at Halifax, will be satisfied as to any further particulars."

There are in the writer's possession three letters of some little interest connected with Colonel Gould's property here, which, for completeness of the subject are incorporated in the sketch. They suffice to show that the fishing privileges of the Nepisiguit were known and valued at an early period.

Honorable Sir,

Ristigouch, 2d Aug't, 1784.

This Comes to inform you that as the River of Nepesiquit is not Fish'd by no person as yet, and as I am inform'd that is your property, I would gladly fish the said River if you would Consent to my terms, which is as follows:—If you Chuse to give me Liberty to fish the said River for the Ensuing year I will agree to pay you Twenty Pounds Curr'y in Cash, which shall be remitted to you by the Bearer hereof, Mr Burque*—and at the end of first year, If I find I can afford to pay you more Money for said River we shall make another agreement, because I intend to Settle there on your Lands, both to improve Land and Fishing.

This I hope you will take to consideration and let me know your Opinion of the same—as also Lett me know what place I may have Liberty to fish, if you agree to my terms, likewise let me know if I can have the use of the house there Remaining, together with the vats, so that no disputes may arise between John Young and me. I am inform'd John Young has Liberty to fish One half of that River, the Truth of which I should be glad to know, because If I fish there I shall be glad to know my own Rights. This being the Needful I add no more, But beg leave to subscribe with due regard Hon'ble Sir,

Your most Obed't & Humble Ser.,

ROBERT ADAMS.

* Rev. Joseph Bourg, the priest to the French and Indians.

Nipisquid, June 20th, 1785.

Hon. Sir,—I am happy to acquaint you of my safe arrival here the 17th Instant, in Company with Capt. White of your town, whom I have made mention off to you in a former Letter from Niposick pr Jno. Thurston, which I presume came safe to hand by this time. On my arrival here I met with John Young, who had taken possession of your River, moor'd his Nets and commenced a Fishery. I told him my Business was the same and had your orders and directions, which I produced him, and desired he should take all his Netts out of Water, Except One, which would be sufficient to catch Fish for his Family's consumption; he hesitated for some time, and asked me If I would join him in this present year's Fishery, which I agreed to, rather than have any difficulty with him. The Terms I have agreed for is this, viz: We are to lay in the same number of Netts, Men, &c., and to have an equal Share of Fish, and out of this proportion he is to give me the 1-8 share. I insisted at first on having the one-sixth, but on his producing me the Invoice of his Supplies, the high prices he is charged for Netts, &c., which was £150 p. cent more than I knew the like Articles to be sold for Even in War time, I consented to the 1-8. Young has a partner by name of Robertson, a very worthy man, who served the late Commodore Walker for many years in this Bay, and now resides at Nipisquid with his family. I have known him for some years back, both in this Bay and Quebec, and would not wish to have Connections with a better. I had not time to see him as yet, being so much hurried in landing my Crafts.

My agreem't with Young makes no manner of difference with Respect to-us both, however, its what I would not have done without your honor's approbation, which would be too late to have. This Letter I would have sent by the Rev'd Mr. Bourke, who proceeds to Halifax in a few days, but as I suspect Mr. Bourke on his way will touch at different places, I tho't it more advisable to send it by Capt. White, who proceeds directly for Halifax. Was it not for Capt White and Mr. Wm. Cort I could not undertake the Fishery this year, as Mr. Nevison's Vessel is not yet arriv'd, of whom I was to have my supplies—no news could be more joyful to the Inhabitants of Carraquit and Nipisquid than your visiting this Bay, and on my arrival I told them you proposed coming, which pleased them much, as they have several Grievances to lay before your Honor. Seventeen Sail of Vessels sail'd from your harbour this morning, who had called in for bate. I propose, God willing, to lay in Salt, &c., this Fall for the ensuing season. I cannot Express to you what I am like to suffer this year for want of salt. I proposed to be here by the 20th of May, had Mr. Nevison's vessel arrived. The whole commerce of this Bay was hitherto Monopolized by a Mr. Robine, who sold his Goods at so high a price that the poor Inhabitants can scarce breathe, he ties them down to such Restriction, but as he supplies them with Salt they are obliged to deliver him all the fish cured by that Salt, which prevents them to pay any debts contracted to others. Jno. Young tells me he wrote your honor two Letters, but, had no answer

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and supposes the Reason was you propose to come in person. He has acted according to your honor's orders. In my last I mentioned with Respect of disposing of your Hay, as also liberty to build before the Ensuing winter to such as would pay moderate charge. As to the hay, the oftener its cut the better, as your Marshes in a few years will be reclaim'd, and of course produce fine hay. I had several matters more to add, but shall postpone 'till your honor's arrival. I have procured two black Fox Skins for your honor, which are now at Caraquitt, and am sorry I cannot send them by Capt. White. I shall send them by the first opp'y.

I am sir, wishing you health and success,

Your honor's faithful and most obedient,

Humble Servant to Command,

ROBERT CONNOR.

Capt. White is in such a hurry up the Bay you'l scarce find this intelligible.

The Hon'ble Arthur Goold, Esq.

Tracadigash, Nov'r 19th 1785.

Hon'd Sir,—Since I wrote the within I rec'd your kind fav'r of 23d Ulto, by a Schooner of Mr. Taylor's, which arrived this day, and propose to take a passage in the same to Nipissiquit the first Fair wind. The schooner winters at Nepissiquit. Capt. White proceeds directly to Halifax. He was kind enough to touch at Nepissiquit and land me some articles I had on board his Sloop. If Capt. White had touch'd at Nepissiquit as he first proposed (and would of course was it not for the arrival of the Schooner), I would have sent your honor two samples of my Salmon, viz: primed and mess, which I flatter myself would bare Inspection and prove agreeable to the house of Mr. Brymer or any other inclined that way. Your honor, I hope, will permit me to add one matter with respect of the Salmon fishery. In 1776 I agreed with the late Mr. Smith of this Bay to fish the North Side of the River Risticouche, at which time he had engaged eight fishermen of Aberdeen to fish the south side, who are deemed to cure the best salmon and command a greater price at Leghorn or elsewhere. It happen'd that on the arrival of their Salmon and mine at Mr. Smith's store at Bonaventure the late Mr. Walker happened to be present. Mr. Smith ordered some casks to be open'd both of mine and theirs, in order to have Mr. Walker's opinion which was the best quality; he was pleased to give it in my favour, moreover their Crew consisted of 8 in number and mine of 3 only, they had also two Saines of 80 fathom long each, 7 Netts. Same time I had only 3 Netts, they had 37 Tierces and I had 62. I am the first who caught Salmon in a Sett Net in Resticouche. I have this day agreed with one Babinio, a French Man, who formerly lived on your lands at Nepissiquit, and after a Trial of six years years Residence here, seven at Misco, he wishes to go back and become your Tenant and assures me his stock does not exceed two cows & one horse, by reason of want of Hay in

this place, and the great expence in procuring it at Resticouche, which is 9 Leagues Distant from this place, besides paying the savages a certain tribute by order of his Excellency Lieut. Gov'r Cox. On your Lands close by the harbour there is sufficient Hay to winter at least 35 Head of Cattle, and if drain'd and Dyk'd would, in my opinion, be sufficient for 50— Besides a Marsh about a League back from the harbour, which I am informed will produce sufficient Hay for 150. This Marsh I never was at as yet, but go by information. I shall better inform you of this in my next, as I propose to clear a road to it this winter. Midway between this Marsh and the Harbour lies a Grove of Excellent pine of about a League in length or rather better; I don't know of anything to equal it in this country except another similar in the North West River of Miramiché. Should a saw Mill be erected at the N. W. Side of the harbour where are two Brooks which would answer that purpose, this grove would be of great value; as to any other Timber I can't at present inform you about as I had not as yet time to take a view of the whole of your Lands, but will, I hope, in my next be able to give you a more satisfactory account. There is another great advantage to those who settle on your Lands, which is they can provide themselves with fresh Moose all Summer catch'd in snares. I have seen one family this fall remove from the point to their winter house who had as much salted Moose as would fill 10 or 12 Barrels at least, besides what they had consumed the summer. And every other family shared the like proportion. Besides all this there is abundance of Mackrill & Sturgeon in the Fall and Eels all winter. You'll please to inclose a copy of the description of Nipissiquit in Mr. Hussey's Letter as I have left it open for that purpose and forward it by the first conveyance. As your Honor was pleased to repose the confidence in me you have done, and the good intentions you have for my interest, you may be assured I shall leave no stone unturned to execute your orders in all respects and shall count myself happy when compleated, not that I expect any fav'r shown me more than another Tenant.

I am heartily sorry for the Situation of Mr. Cort's children. I am so far satisfied that the Daughter remains where I am sure she will be well taken care of. I was at Gaspee last fall, she told me Mr. & Mrs. O'Hara prov'd like parents to her. She likewise said that Mr. Nevison always desired she would inform him of any articles she may want. Before I left Merimache I told the second Son he was welcome to come with me to Nipissiquit and fare as I would, as he had no certain place to go to, as I knew it would be a pleasure to many there to see him. He is a very active young Man, understands the hunting and fishery perfect and now remains with me, the kindness I rec'd from their Father when I first went to Merimache, I shall never forget. I hope your honor will excuse me for taking up so much of your time in reading this, and am your faithful

& most obed't Humble Serv't,

Hon. Arthur Goold.

ROBERT CONNOR.

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Colonel Arthur Goold died at Halifax, on February 29, 1792, aged 64 years. In the winding up of his estate his property at Nipisiguit was sold and purchased by George DeBlois, a leading Halifax merchant, not improbably to satisfy the claims of the latter for supplies advanced to Colonel Goold in connection with his operation at Nipisiguit. Goold's grant included the old location of Philip Enault. Cooney, in speaking of Enault says that it was affirmed "that he had a large Grist mill on the stream running through the marsh, now owned by Mr. Deblois and formerly granted to A. Goold, Esqr."*

The fate of Goold's grant is seen in the following advertisement, which appeared in the Halifax Journal:

"To be sold at Public Auction:—

By Charles Hill, At his Auction-room, on Wednesday, the 18th day of April next (if not disposed of before by private sale); That well known Tract of Land containing 2,000 acres, late the Property of Arthur Goold, Esq., in the Harbour Nipisiquid, on the south side of the Bay of Chaleur, in the Province of New Brunswick; well situated for the Salmon and Cod Fishery, having a Clam Bank in the centre of the Harbour, where fresh Bait is easily obtained. The Grant comprehends a small Island, called Goold's Island, in the front of said land, with a Point on the opposite side of the River, called also Goold's Point.

It is said to be a very valuable Tract and great part of it fit for the reception of the plow. On the lands close by the Harbour, it is said, Hay may be cut sufficient to winter 35 Head of Cattle, and when drained and dyked would produce sufficient for 50 head, besides a Marsh about a league back, which would produce Hay sufficient for fifty Head more. It has also an excellent Grove of Pine, equal to any in the country, where a saw mill might be erected, as there are two Brooks fit for the purpose. Another great advantage the settlers have on that side of the River is of furnishing themselves with fresh Moose all the Summer.

The very advantageous situation of this Land for the above purposes, as also for the Fur Trade, are so well known it is needless saying more thereon. For terms at private sale, apply to George DeBlois, near the Parade, where the original Grant, with the plan of the River and Harbour may be seen.

Halifax, March 15, 1792.

In closing this contribution to the published history of the North Shore the writer has to express his grateful acknowledgements to Francis E. Winslow, Esq, of Chatham, who very kindly placed at his disposal the papers left by his grandfather, Judge Edward Winslow; also to Dr. W. F. Ganong

* The residence of Philip Enault however was not on the site of Bathurst—called by Cooney Abshaboo or Coal Point, but at Point Enault or Daley's Point.

for some valuable notes, and finally to Dr. N. E. Dionne, of Quebec, and M. Placide P. Gaudet, whose publications have afforded much assistance.

The contribution is necessarily of a broken and fragmentary character, and might, perhaps, be better characterized as a collection of random notes, than a historical paper. It has moreover the disadvantage of having been very hastily compiled amidst the pressure of more important duties. However such as it is, it is now added to the collections of our Historical Society, with the hope that its publication may stimulate other writers to add their quota to the history of so important a section of our province as "The North Shore."