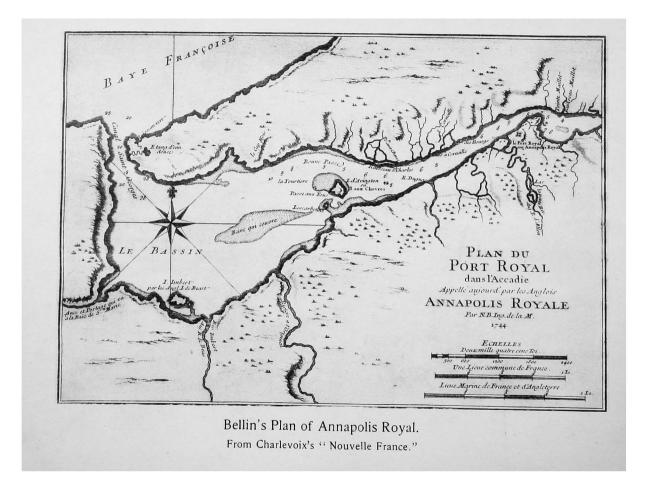
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THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM POTE, JR.



JOURNAL

WILLIAM POTE, JR.

DURING HIS

CAPTIVITY

IN THE

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

FROM May, 1745, TO August, 1747

XEW-YORK Published by DODD, MEAD & COMPANY M D C C C X C V I Copyright, 1895, by Dodd, Mead & Company.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Account of the Pote Journal	xi
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	xxi
The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr	1
A LIST OF PRISONERS NAMES DIED WHILE I WAS IN QUEBEC	165

APPENDIX.

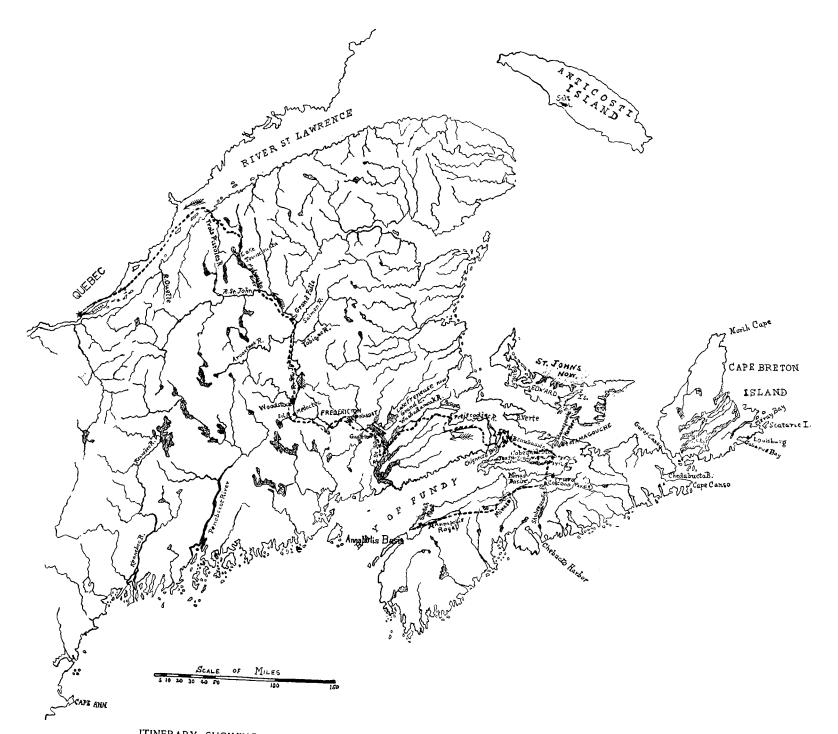
I. THE POTE FAMILY	•	•	•	·	. 169
II. John Henry Bastide .			•	•	173
III. Captain David Donahew	•	•	•	•	. 174
IV. Colonel John Gorman	•	•		•	175
V. John Paul Mascarene	•	•	•	•	. 176
INDEX	•	•	•	•	. 179

vii

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
BELLIN'S PLAN OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL. FROM CHARLE- voix's "Nouvelle France"
ITINERARY. SHOWING THE ROUTE OVER WHICH POTE WAS CARRIED TO QUEBEC
PORTRAIT OF SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL. FROM THE Original Painted by John Smybert in 1751
ANNAPOLIS ROYAL. FROM DES BARRES'S ''ATLANTIC NEP- TUNE ''
A PLAN OF THE CITY AND FORTIFICATIONS OF LOUISBURG. After Gridley
PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR WILLIAM SHIRLEY. FROM DRAKE'S "FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR'S 150
VIEW OF QUEBEC. FROM POPPLE'S MAP 154
FACSIMILE PAGES OF THE ORIGINAL POTE JOURNAL 164
BASTIDE'S PAY-BILL TO POTE. FROM THE ORIGINAL Manuscript
CHARLES MORRIS'S MAP OF THE NORTHERN ENGLISH COLONIES AND FRENCH NEIGHBORING SETTLE- MENTS, 1749. From the Manuscript Draft in the
Lenox Library

ix



ITINERARY SHOWING THE ROUTE OVER WHICH CAPTAIN POTE WAS CARRIED TO QUEBEC.

ACCOUNT OF THE POTE JOURNAL

By John Fletcher Hurst.

WHILE in Geneva, Switzerland, in August, 1890, I acquired a manuscript volume which, at first sight, seemed of uncertain value. That it was complete, contained the names of the author and of the first owner after the author, with the proper date, gave a fair basis for satisfactory study. I began an examination of the book, and soon found it to be the interesting and valuable manuscript journal of a keen-eyed prisoner from Maine, in the Five Years' French and Indian War (1744–48). This journal was written and signed by Captain William Pote, Jr., of that part of Falmouth, Maine, now known as Woodford's.

Being satisfied as to the general character of the manuscript, I waited until my return to the United States for further examination and for the judgment of experts in Americana. Messrs. George H. Moore, Wilberforce Eames, and Charles L. Woodward, of

xi

New York, and others whose opinion of colonial Americana had long been recognized, read the Journal, and confirmed my early surmise of its extreme importance. Afterwards I concluded to publish it, that others might share the benefit of this sole source of many important facts concerning the brave band of Americans who had been captured by the French and Indians in that war which first gave confidence to the English colonists, and made possible the deliverance of Canada from French domination.

Captain William Pote, Jr., was master of the schooner Montague, engaged for the time in carrying artificers and supplies for the repair and defense of the Fort of Annapolis Royal, an important English stronghold in the Five Years' French and Indian War. He was captured, with his vessel, by the French and Indians, on May 17, 1745, in Annapolis Basin, between Goat Island and Scotch Fort on the shore, about five miles from Annapolis Royal. He was skillful in both surveys and seamanship, and his capture was a serious loss to the English cause in Canada. He was taken by a circuitous route to Quebec, was there kept in prison two years, released July 30, 1747, and conveyed by vessel under a flag of truce to Cape Breton. On August 14, 1747, he arrived at Louisburg.

xii

At the time when Pote was released in Quebec from his long captivity, his Journal escaped confiscation by being concealed on the person of one of the female prisoners, who, after the release, handed it back to the author. On one of the fly-leaves is the autograph of the chief-engineer of Nova Scotia, John Henry Bastide, in whose employ Pote was when captured, and to whom he reported on his arrival at Louisburg, after his release at Quebec. At the end of the Journal is the author's name, in his own handwriting — William Pote, Jr.

The only other narratives ever published of this captivity by prisoners were kept by two of Pote's fellow-captives --- Rev. John Norton and Mr. Nehemiah How. These accounts were printed shortly afterward, and have appeared in later editions. They were mere tracts, however, of forty and twenty-two pages respectively. Norton and How were not captured with Pote, but became his fellow-prisoners only at Quebec. Their meager narratives, therefore, run parallel with Pote's full account only in so far as their common residence in Quebec is concerned. For all the preceding part of the captivity we are dependent entirely on Pote's Journal. The Pote Journal is a manuscript volume of 234 closely written pages, and $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in size. It is written on firm paper, the ink being so good as to present

xiii

clearly the entire original manuscript. The Journal was recorded in a blank-book, the binding of which has been singularly well preserved.

While some accounts of the war make mention of Pote as a participant, and finally a captive, it is now first known, through the discovery of his complete Journal, that he kept a minute record of his experiences, and of the important events of the war. It supplies many missing links, and reconciles contradictions which had hitherto defied the student of American Colonial History. In addition, it throws full light on entire departments of that important struggle between the French and the English for the possession, not of Canada alone, but of North America in general. It records incursions related to Pote by the captives themselves; gives memoranda of marriages, illnesses, deaths, and many other minute facts relating to the captives; and contains the best and fullest account of Donahew's exploit in Tatmegouche Bay. There is a strong genealogical element pervading the whole narrative. Indeed, the latter part of the Journal is occupied with a list of the persons who died during the two years of the captivity. This hitherto unknown treasury of genealogy is of absorbing interest and value to New England families, so many of which were represented in this large band of captives.

xiv

The Journal itself proves Pote to have been very observant, thoroughly loyal to the English cause, and educated far beyond the average shipmaster of his time. He was above all a surveyor, and a record of several of his surveys is still in existence. This accounts for his close observation, general intelligence, and accurate comprehension of distance, and gives greatly increased value to his Journal. His use of geographical names is not uniform, his orthography varies through many grades of inaccuracy, while he habitually defies all the canons of punctuation. I have thought it best to preserve his text exactly as he left it, as a faithful picture of the literary humors and charming infirmities of the heroic men who saved North America to Anglo-Saxon civilization. Pote's quiet humor is seen throughout his entire Journal, and, while it adds a vivid freshness to the account, it does not in the least sacrifice the truth.

I have been unable to discover the complete history of the Journal during the century and a half of its total oblivion. All that I could learn from the bookseller, at the time of its purchase, was, that it was last in the possession of an English family by the name of Carteret, living in Geneva, and that when this family was broken up by death, about twelve years ago, the manuscript was one of the books which were scattered at the time, and, with them,

xν

became the property of the owner from whom I acquired it. My conjecture is, that it originally came into the possession of John Henry Bastide, by Pote's own gift to his superior officer, that it remained with the Bastide family, in England, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), which put an end to the Five Years' French and Indian War, that it constantly remained in possession of that family until, in recent years, some member of the family removed to Geneva and became a part of the English colony there, and that the Pote Journal thus continued to be an unobserved treasure in the domestic library.

Among the illustrations I have thought it best to provide a facsimile of two pages of the original manuscript, portraits of Governor William Shirley and Sir William Pepperrell, old views of Quebec and Annapolis Royal, contemporary plans of Louisburg and Annapolis Basin, a facsimile of an original pay-bill from Bastide to Pote, and, more particularly, a reproduction of the excellent Morris map, done by pen, now in the Lenox Library, and, so far as known, now for the first time published. A separate map will give the line of march of the band of prisoners composing the Pote party, from their capture until they reached Quebec.

That nothing might be wanting to the proper re-

xvi

production of the Pote Journal, I have secured the best assistance within reach. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the Lenox Library, has brought to this undertaking the rare benefit of his taste as an Americanist and skill as a genealogist. He has prepared the Historical Introduction, the annotations, all of the Appendix except "The Pote Family," and the Index. Mrs. Underhill A. Budd, of New-York, through the kind offices of the Rev. Cornelius B. Smith, D.D., of New York, has permitted her excellent portrait of Sir William Pepperrell, painted by Smibert, to be photographed. Mrs. Budd is the great-great-great-granddaughter of Sir William, the hero of the siege of Louisburg. The officers of the Lenox Library have allowed me to publish the Morris map, to reproduce some rare views and plans, and to use important MSS. in the Chalmers Papers. Mr. Wilberforce Eames, the librarian, has given the benefit of his advice and experience in matters relating to the mechanical reproduction of the Pote Journal, and has granted the loan of books of his own collection, which have been of great help in preparing the notes. The Messrs. Kelby, librarians of the New York Historical Society, have placed at disposal some important books on our Colonial history. The Hon. J. Phinney Baxter and Mr. L. B. Chapman, of Portland, Maine, have aided

xvii

in securing facts relating to the local history and genealogy of the Pote family.

To all these persons I desire to express sincere thanks for their kind coöperation in giving the Pote Journal a setting worthy of its high place in American Colonial literature.

The 150th anniversary of the surrender of the famous fortress of Louisburg has recently been celebrated, --- namely, on June 17, 1895. The ceremonies took place at Louisburg, under the management of the Society of Colonial Wars, assisted by representatives of other historical organizations. On this occasion a monument, erected on the site of the King's Bastion, one of the ruined redoubts, was unveiled. The Hon. Everett Pepperrell Wheeler, a lineal descendant of Sir William Pepperrell, delivered the address, in which he said: "This memorial points upward to the stars, and away from the petty jealousies that mar the earth. It will tell, we trust, to many generations, the story of the courage, heroic fortitude, and manly energy of those who fought behind the ramparts as well as of those who fought behind the trenches."

It must be regarded a remarkable coincidence that this celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anni-

xviii

versary of the surrender of Louisburg to the brave American colonists should occur at almost the same time with the first public announcement of the existence of such an illustrative contemporary record as the Pote Journal, and of its publication in full, provided, as the endeavor has been, with all needful historical helps.

WASHINGTON, September 7, 1895.

xix

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The struggles between France and Great Britain for territorial supremacy in America kept the Colonies in a state of ferment from 1689 to the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The Canadians, by intermarriage with the Indians and by the influence of their clergy, easily won the confidence and coöperation of the savages when war was proclaimed.

At the Treaty of Peace concluded at Utrecht, April 11, 1713, France ceded to Great Britain all of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, according to its ancient limits. But the determining of what constituted these "ancient" limits at once became a bone of contention, and remained such for nearly half a century.¹

It was even contended by some French memorialists,² that England had no rightful titles to North America, except such as might be granted her by France. They claimed for their king all North America, except the Spanish colonies of Mexico and Florida.

¹ For the English constructions, see N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. v. pp. 592, 624.

² The documents are printed *in extenso* in Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, vol. ii. APPENDIX A.

xxi

Soon after Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain, it was garrisoned with nine companies¹ of General Richard Phillips' regiment, of thirty-one privates each. Five were stationed at Annapolis, and four at Canso, for the defense of the fishery. But these two bodies were so disadvantageously located, that they could not support each other, or, for want of a vessel to carry dispatches, communicate their distresses.

As late as 1721, besides the garrison only two or three English families had settled in the province, while the Acadian population numbered about 2500.² After the Treaty of Utrecht the greater part of the Acadians continued in the province, but long refused to take the oath of allegiance. They were treated leniently, were permitted to retain their religion and their priests, and were exempted from duty in case of war. It was stipulated that they should observe a strict neutrality. They were, however, constantly, and often justly, suspected of aiding the French in their machinations against the English.

For thirty years a nominal peace reigned. The mother countries were not anxious to conduct a costly warfare, simply for the sake of their colonies. Spain and Great Britain had been engaged in hostilities since 1739. It was apparent that a general war could not much longer be averted. The claims of the

¹ Memoirs of the Prin. Trans. of the Last War, 3d ed., Bost., 1758, p. 17; Coll. of Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., vol. i. p. 108.

²Coll. of Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., vol. i. p. 107; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. v. p. 592.

xxii

Pretender, vigorously seconded by France; the War of the Austrian Succession; and the belligerent proclivities of France, contributed toward an open rupture between France and Great Britain. War was formally declared by France on March 15 (n. s.), 1744, and by Great Britain on March 29 (o. s.), 1744. The principal objects of the war in North America were Nova Scotia, the Island of Cape Breton, and Northern New England.

On May 12 a ship from Glasgow came into Boston with the news of the declaration of war,¹ while the French garrison at Louisburg was apprised of it at least a month earlier. M. Duquesnel, governor of Cape Breton, within three days after the news of the declaration had arrived from France, fitted out an armament under M. Duvivier against Canso, about twenty leagues distant. Duvivier entered the harbor of Canso on the night of May 13, "surprised the fort, burnt it with the other buildings there, destroyed the fishery, and carried the garrison, which consisted of about eighty private men fit for duty, to Louisburg."² By the terms of capitulation, they were to remain prisoners of war for one year, from May 24 (n. s.), 1744, and at its expiration to be sent to either Annapolis or New England.

Annapolis Royal was now the only English fortification in the province. The governor of Cape Bre-

¹ Pa. Gazette, No. 806, May 24, 1744.

² Mem. of the Last War, p. 20. See also Rolt, Impartial Representation, vol. iii. pp. 441, 442.

xxiii

ton immediately made preparations to capture it, knowing that its reduction meant, for the French, the acquisition of all Nova Scotia. This fort had been neglected for many years, and was in so ruinous a state that the cattle grazed upon the ramparts. Duvivier, a lineal descendant of the La Tours, claimants of Nova Scotia, was intrusted with the execution of its reduction. But before his arrival Louis Joseph de Le Loutre, missionary of the Micmacs, with 300 or 400 Indians, attacked the fort by surprise, in June, 1744. They were materially assisted by the Acadians, who supplied them with provisions, messengers, and fire-arrows. But little damage was done besides killing two men, "in the gardens within a few yards of the fort gate."¹ After the withdrawal of Le Loutre, the inhabitants sparingly brought in fresh provisions at advanced prices, and several laborers were set at work to repair the fort.

In August, 1744, Duvivier, with a body of 600 or 700 men, consisting of regular troops and the Indians under Le Loutre, appeared before Annapolis, "within cannon shot of the fort." He was supplied with "several hundred scaling ladders" for a general assault, and promised the Indians 400 livres each if they would mount them. But the offer was refused.²

¹Representation of the State of his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and Fort and Garrison of Annapolis Royal: Drawn up by a Committee of Council and approved in Council, 8th November, 1745. Transcript in Chalmers Papers, in Lenox Library.

² Representation, as before; Rolt, vol. iii. p. 444.

xxiv

Duvivier continued before the fort for several weeks, attacking it in a desultory way, hoping thereby to prolong the time. He had been promised a reinforcement of Canadians, and the coöperation of two armed ships, the *Ardent* and the *Caribou*.¹ To Governor Mascarene he proposed a capitulation, which was refused. In the meantime a reinforcement of Indian rangers, sent from Boston, arrived at the fort. The expected ships from Louisburg not appearing, Duvivier withdrew to Minas, and thence to Louisburg.

This expedition alarmed the English colonists and arrested the attention of the mother country. Steps were at once taken to put Annapolis Royal in a better condition. Carpenters, masons, and other artificers, junk and cordage, spikes, staples and other ironware, were shipped from Boston. In November, 1744, 13,000 bricks, being part of an order of 50,000, were shipped from Boston by Andrew Hall, and these repairs were under the immediate supervision of John Henry Bastide, the chief engineer of Nova Scotia.²

Nothing else of importance occurred during the year 1744. But the English were sure that the French would make another attempt against Annapolis so soon as the season would permit. They judged correctly, for as early as January 19 (n. s.), 1745, a detachment was equipped in Canada, under Lieu-

¹N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. ix. p. 1107. ² Manuscript Bills and Accounts.

iv

xxv

tenant Marin, which set out on the 26th for Beaubassin, where they wintered.¹

The garrison of Annapolis, strengthened by several reinforcements from Boston, now numbered 300 men.² Governor Mascarene had no certain intelligence of the presence of the enemy in the province until the first of May,³ when by chance he discovered that some of the Acadians, '' who lived within a mile of the fort, held a correspondence '' with the Canadians.⁴ Marin, with a body of 300 Canadians and 300 Indians, besides officers and others, aggregating about 700, appeared before the fort on May 4. They surprised seven rangers who were out on a scout, captured the wife of one of the carpenters of the garrison, and, on May 17, boarded and took two schooners, the *Montague* and the *Seaflower*, in Annapolis Basin, between Goat Island and Scotch Fort.

The *Montague* and the *Seaflower* were two schooners in the employ of the Board of Ordnance, and were about to deliver stores at Fort Annapolis Royal when Marin surprised them. William Pote, Jr., master of the *Montague*, with his mate and four others, and James Sutherland, master of the *Seaflower*, with his three men, were all captured. The schooners were stripped of their contents,

¹Coll. de MSS. relatifs à la Nouvelle France, vol. iii. p. 217. ²N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 9.

³ When not otherwise indicated, we follow the old style of reckoning used by the English.

⁴ Representation, Nov. 8, 1745.

xxvi

and the spoil was afterwards sold or divided. Pote kept a full record of the details of this mishap,¹ and through his capture and long incarceration at Quebec the British lost a faithful and efficient mariner.

Marin remained near the fort about three weeks, and, being unable to make any impression upon it, set out with his army, on May 23, and marched to Minas. About this time, on May 15 (n. s.), Duchambon, the new governor of Cape Breton, dispatched messengers to Marin, requesting him to come immediately to Louisburg, and to bring with him his Canadian detachment and as many Indians as might be willing.² Marin endeavored to comply with the governor's orders. He disposed of the plunder he had taken from the two schooners, and was well on his way, when he was met by Captain David Donahew in Tatmegouche Harbor.³ This exploit of Captain Donahew contributed very materially toward the capture of Louisburg. For had Marin arrived during the siege, he would have harassed the New England troops not a little, and Duchambon distinctly stated that Marin's failure to appear proved disastrous to him at a time when succor would have meant victory.

The New England colonies, Massachusetts in par-

¹ This is the Pote Journal, which constitutes the body of this work, and in which find fuller details.

² Coll. de MSS. rel. à la Nouv. France, vol. iii. p. 218. 3 See the Journal, and note appended.

xxvii

ticular, began to feel the destructive power of the French, who in a short time had ruined the fishery, destroyed Canso, thrice besieged Annapolis, and made havoc of trade and shipping. The colonists were well aware of the strategic importance of Cape Breton. France had fortified Louisburg at great cost. It was the richest American jewel that had ever adorned the French crown.¹ The annual French income from the fishery was enormous. Besides, Louisburg was well situated for the protection of Canada, and was at the same time a constant menace to Nova Scotia and New England. It was built on a neck of land jutting out into the harbor, on the south-east of the island. Its ramparts, built of stone, were from thirty to thirty-six feet high, and its ditch 80 feet wide. On an island, in the entrance of the harbor, was stationed the Island Battery, garrisoned with 180 men, and mounted with 30 cannon of 28-pound shot, with swivel guns upon its breastwork, and 2 brass 10-inch mortars. Directly opposite the entrance of the harbor lay the Grand Battery, with 28 cannon of 42-pound shot, and two 18-pounders. On a cliff, opposite the Island Battery, stood a lighthouse, and toward the north a careening place.

However, Louisburg was not so strong as was at first supposed. Some of the prisoners taken at Canso by Duvivier, upon their return to Boston, reported that the garrison was mutinous, the provisions and reinforcements delayed, and portions of the ram-

¹Rolt, vol. iv. p. 6. xxviii

parts defective.¹ The sand used in making the mortar was not proper for masonry.²

The credit of the expedition against Louisburg is variously given by contemporary writers. William Vaughan, son of the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire province, was, without doubt, one of the first to suggest it. But to Governor William Shirley, of Massachusetts-Bay, must be awarded the honor of the first official act in the matter. He laid it before the people and the legislatures of the colonies. The legislature of Massachusetts, after some hesitancy, agreed to the expedition by a majority of one vote. New York sent some artillery, and Pennsylvania sent provisions. Four thousand and seventy men³ were raised, of whom Massachusetts contributed 3250, New Hamphire 304,⁴ and Connecticut 516. Nearly one third of this whole body was contributed by Maine, then under the Bay government. The 300 men raised by Rhode Island were too late for active service, and the provisions from Pennsylvania did not arrive until after the capitulation.

¹See Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War. Boston, 1758.

² Pichon, Genuine Letters, p. 10.

³ For the names of these Louisburg soldiers, both officers and men, see N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xxiv. pp. 367-380; vol. xxv. pp. 249-269. The Society of Colonial Wars has published a list of the commissioned officers copied from the Registry in the British War Office.

⁴ According to Belknap, New Hampshire furnished 350 men. A manuscript note and summary, in the handwriting of the late Dr. George H. Moore, puts the number at 354.

xxix

Colonel William Pepperrell,1 of Kittery, on the Piscataqua, in Maine, was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, with the title of lieutenant-general. He was popular and resolute, a man of engaging address and unblemished character. In so difficult and hazardous a service, volunteers could be enlisted only under the auspices of a man whom they loved and respected, as the part borne by Maine plainly demonstrated. Pepperrell had attended the sermons of the Rev. George Whitefield at Boston, and, the day before he accepted his commission, sought Whitefield's opinion of the expedition. Whitefield replied, "that he did not, indeed, think the scheme very promising; that if he did not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain soldiers would be like lions robbed of their whelps; but if it pleased God to give him success, envy would endeavour to eclipse his glory."² Upon entreaty, Whitefield gave to the expedition the motto Nil desperandum, Christo duce, and preached to the men from 1 Samuel, chap. xxii: 2.3 James Alexander, in a letter to Cadwallader Colden, on March 10, 1745, wrote: "The Boston expedition against Cape Breton seems a bold undertaking. If it succeeds, it will be the most glorious thing that has been done this war."⁴

¹ For fuller details of this worthy gentleman, consult Parsons, Life of Sir William Pepperrell.

²Gillies, Memoirs of the Life of Reverend George Whitefield. London, 1772, pp. 146, 147. ³Gillies, p. 147.

⁴ Colden Papers, vol. i.; transcripts in the Lenox Library.

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Portrait of Sir William Pepperell. From the original painting by John Smybert, in 1751.

On March 24, 1745, the Massachusetts troops sailed from the mouth of the Piscataqua in transports, accompanied by several armed vessels. Those of New Hampshire had left Newcastle the preceding morning. On April 4 the fleet met, according to appointment, at Canso. For three weeks they lay here, waiting for a break in the ice, which environed the shore of Cape Breton. Meanwhile the men were drilled daily, while the armed vessels were cruising and capturing prizes. On April 8 a fort was begun on the ruins of the one destroyed the preceding year.¹

On April 29 the ice moved off, and both winds and weather conspired to favor a descent on the island. The expedition immediately set sail, and anchored in Chapeau Rouge, or Gabarus Bay, between nine and ten o'clock the following morning, "at the distance of about two miles from Flat-Point-Cove, where, being discovered by the enemy, a party of about 150 men was detached from Louisburg, under the command of Captain Morepang and M. Boularderie, to oppose their landing."² About 100 of the New Englanders were landed to drive them off, and in the engagement which ensued six Frenchmen werekilled, and as many more taken prisoners. Among them was M. Boularderie, and, after several others had been

¹ Manuscript letter from Thomas W. Waldron to his father, the Hon. Richard Waldron, of N. H., written in the form of a journal.

²Letter from Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle, London, 1746, P. 4.

xxxi

wounded, the rest were put to flight. On the following day a few more were captured. Only two of the English were slightly wounded.

On May 2 a detachment of 400 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Vaughan, of New Hampshire, marched to the northeast part of the harbor, behind a range of hills, where they burned the houses and The French who held the stores of the enemy. Grand or Royal Battery, about a mile distant, were so terrified that they deserted it the same night, spiking their guns and leaving their artillery. "By the grace of God, and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the royal battery, about nine o'clock," wrote Vaughan to the general.¹ Vaughan was a member of the council of war, and was ready for any service to which the general might appoint him. He wrote, two days after the English entered Louisburg: ۴I have lived here in Great Bitternesse of Mind and cheerfully Done my Duty, at ye Same time dispised ye People yt Strove to frett me."² He died in London while seeking, in vain, a reward for his services in this siege.

Within twenty-three days after their first landing, the English had erected five fascine batteries against the town. With incredible labor and difficulty they transported their cannon through a morass, the mud

¹Quoted in Belknap, New Hampsbire, 1831, p. 277. On the morning of the 3d of May. Shirley to Newcastle, p. 5.

² Original letter from Vaughan to the Hon. Richard Waldron, June 19, 1745.

xxxii

knee-deep; the nights in which the work was done were cold and foggy, and many of the men were barefooted and ill-clad. At one time 1500 men were incapable of duty, either from disease or fatigue. The language of many of them was: "If I were well at home, they should never find me such a fool again."¹

Of the five batteries erected by the English the most advanced was 250 yards distant from the west gate of the town, and the cannon could be loaded only under the fire of its musketry. From this battery and the Grand Battery the English destroyed the west gate of the town and made a breach in the adjoining wall. The citadel was damaged; the Maurepas gate shattered; several houses were demolished, and numbers of the French killed or taken prisoners.

On May 26 the English made an attempt on the Island Battery. The preparations for this attack were insufficient. Exposed in boats, with the surf running high, the English were repulsed, with the loss of about sixty killed and drowned, and 116 taken prisoners.²

The English, however, were determined to become

¹ Original letter from Thomas W. Waldron to bis father, June 6, 1745. He says: "I am Sorry to find our New England Troops or to Say that they want to go home, home is all ye Cry." Shirley in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle states that "they went on chearfully without being discouraged, or murmuring." He, evidently, presented the case of the colonists in a very favorable light and, perhaps, did not know the circumstances fully.

² Shirley to Newcastle, p. 10. We have used Shirley's report to some extent.

xxxiii

masters of the Island Battery, and, judging it impracticable to take it by boats, began the erection of a battery near the light house, which, in the face of great obstacles, was finished by the 11th of June. The French, exposed to the fire from the cannon and bombs of the English at this station, became so terrified that many of them left the fort and ran into the water for refuge.

The fleet, under Commodore Peter Warren, soon after it had overtaken the army at Canso, proceeded to Louisburg and effectually blocked up the harbor. On May 19, after several hours' engagement, the Vigilant, a French man of war, of 64 guns, commanded by the Marquis de la Maisonforte, was captured. She was richly laden with cannon, powder, and stores for Louisburg. The whole cargo was valued at $\pounds 60,000$.¹ The French had eagerly awaited her arrival, and her capture deprived them of the much needed succor. This was one of the most signal successes achieved by the navy. These reverses, together with the reduced stock of ammunition, determined Duchambon to capitulate. On June 15 he sent out a flag of truce, desiring time to mature articles of capitulation. These were sent the next day, but were rejected by Pepperrell and Warren. and, others proposed by them being accepted by the French, the fortification surrendered on June 17. The success of the enterprise was hailed with acclamation

¹ Rolt, vol. iv. p. 20. See also the account of Capt. Edward Tyng, in Drake, Fr. and Ind. War, pp. 209-211.

xxxiv

throughout the colonies. Pepperrell soon after received the title and dignity of a baronet, and Warren was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue.

The various incursions and depredations of the Indians on the frontiers of New England are treated more or less fully in the notes to the Journal. In 1746 an expedition was set on foot for the reduction of Canada. On April 9 the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the several governors, "that the reduction of Canada having been resolved on, it was the King's orders that they should immediately raise as large a body of men as the shortness of the time will permit."¹ On August 24 Governor Shirley sent home a list of the fighting men computed to be within each of the colonies that engaged in the expedition. The whole number of available men aggregated 340,000, while those actually voted or raised for the enterprise numbered 7500.2

The acquisition of Canada, it was judged, would secure the fish and fur trade, deprive the French of provisions and lumber for their sugar islands, greatly diminish the trade of France, secure the English possessions in America, hitherto greatly incommoded, and put a halt to the building of French war vessels, then carried on in Canada.

A fleet was to have been sent from England to

¹ Chalmers Papers relating to Canada, 1692–1792, in the Lenox Library.

² Chalmers Papers, as before.

XXXV

coöperate in the expedition. But delays followed and no fleet arrived. At last, the provincial troops having disbanded, pursuant to the directions of the Duke of Newcastle, Shirley and Knowles issued a proclamation, in October, 1747, "that the king, finding it necessary to employ the greater part of his forces to aid his allies and to defend the liberties of Europe, had thought proper to lay aside for the present the intended expedition against Canada.¹

Why the provincial troops were not permitted to make the attempt alone may well be imagined. Even Shirley, attached to the colonists, but still more considerate for his sovereign, wished to place the chief dependence on the fleet and army sent from home. He feared the "independence" it might create in the provinces " towards the mother country when they should see within themselves so great an army possessed in their own right by the conquest of so great a country." Shirley lived until the dawn of the tumultuous times which preceded the American Revolution.²

The cessation of hostilities, which usually accompanies the hope of peace, now followed. Prisoners were redeemed or exchanged on both sides.³ On October 7, 1748, the treaty of peace was signed at

¹ Chalmers Papers relating to Canada.

² He died at Roxbury, Mass., March 24, 1771, aged about 78 years.

³See N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 114, 185; Votes of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, for 1747.

xxxvi

Aix-la-Chapelle by the British, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries. But not until the following May was it formally proclaimed at Boston. By this treaty it was stipulated that all the conquests that had been made since the commencement of the war should be restored. Cape Breton, the crowning conquest of the English in America, was accordingly returned to France in exchange for Madras. It was a "hasty and ill-digested affair, determining none of the points in dispute."¹ For no sooner had the definitive treaty been ratified, than trouble began anew. In a few years another war broke out between these hostile powers, which terminated in the fall of New France. The English were victorious.

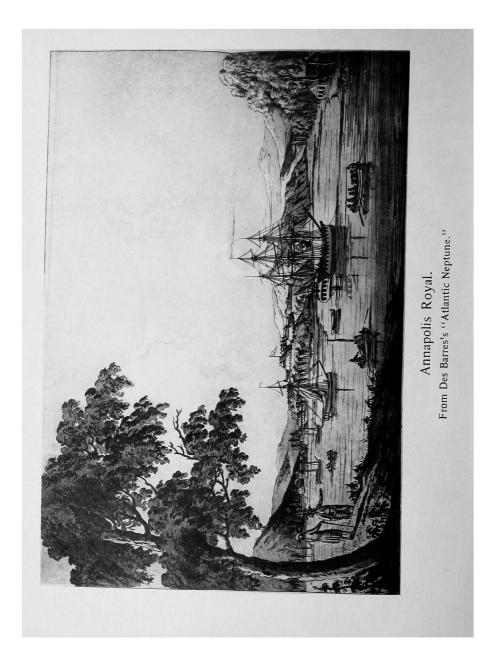
VICTOR H. PALTSITS.

LENOX LIBRARY, NEW YORK, October, 1895.

¹ Wynne, British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 5.

xxxvii

THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM POTE, JR.





THE POTE JOURNAL

M ^{AY} y^e 17th 1745 Friday about y^e Rising of y^e Sun we Came to Sail in anapolis Bason, In Companey with y^e Schooner Seaflower James Sutherla[nd] Commander. Bound up to y^e Fort of Anapolis Royell¹ with y^e wind about SE, and approach[ed] Near Goat Island,² which is about a League below y^e Fort, y^e wind began to Vear ahead s[o] y^t we was Necessiatated to Stand in Near y^e Land on y^e Larbord Side of y^e River to a place Ca[lled] y^e Scotch fort,³ where, Verey Unexpectedly an[d] to our Great Sur-

² This island was about five miles to the westward of the fort of Annapolis Royal. See Popple, *Map of the British Empire in Amer.* London. 1733; Moll, *Map of North Parts of Amer. claimed by France.* 1720. Bellin in Charlevoix gives the name in French, "1. aux Chevres."

3 "Scots Fort" is located in the maps of Popple and Moll. It was about five miles from the fort, and to the north-east of Goat Island.

I

¹ The garrison consisted of 300 men. The condition of the place at this time is described in a letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count de Maurepas. New York Colonial Documents, vol. x. p. 9.

prise, there Lay in ambush an army of French & Indians1 yt were Sent from Candady to atack ye fort of anapolis, having had Intiligence from ye Nuteral fre[nch] at anapolis. yt I was Sent an Express to Bos-[ton] and being In Continual Expectation of my arrivel at anapolis, they had provided thems[elves] with Connews halled up and hid in ye bushes, all things Necessarey for there Interprise which was Compleated to So much Perfection, [t]hat although I was througly acquainted with ye River, and Suspicious those Spawn of hell might be Incamped Somewere on ye River, having had Experience of there manners and Customs in two² of there attemps against anapolis Royel before yet Could not perceive ye Least alteration on ye Shore, or Sign of there Laying in ambush against me, Even with ye assistance of a Good prospect Glass, which I made Use of at that time on purpose to Inspect Into that

¹ This party was commanded by M. Marin, a lieutenant from Canada. It consisted of 300 Canadians and 300 Indians, besides officers and others. Murdoch, *Nova Scotia*, vol. ii. p. 73. Pote estimates the entire force to be at least 700. See under date May 23, 1745. The wife of one of the carpenters of the garrison of Annapolis was taken by the besiegers and carried to Chignecto. Means were employed by Gov. Mascarene to obtain her liberation. See *Selections from the Public Docs. of Nova Scotia*, ed. by T. A. Akins, p. 157.

²These two attempts must have been those of Le Loutre and Duvivier. The accounts are conflicting. Rolt, *Impartial Rep*resentation, vol. iii. pp. 442-444; Drake, French and Indian War, p. 55; Parkman, Half Century of Conflict, vol. ii. pp. 80-82; Haliburton, Nova Scotia, vol. i. p. 109; Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War. Boston. 1758, pp. 20-26.

²

place in perticuler above all other parts of ye River, being Sensible there was no other place So Commodious for there Intention, as we are always abliged to Go verey near that Shore, and Especially when ve wind is Contrary. we being at this time Clost on board ye Shore and almost becalmed, as I was walking ye Deck my mate1 Desired me to Set down, and told me Perhaps there might be Indians on ye Sho[re] which if there was he apprehended I was In danger, at his Request I Set down on y[e] Cominges of ye hatches, which ye french and Indians Perceiving as they Lay In ambush on ye Shore, and Concluded they Should hav[e] no better oppertunity to make there firs[t] assault, haled ye Schooner² In English, Verey Distinctly. I arose Directly and answered them, Supposing it might possibly be Some of ye Nuteral french, they being all acquainted with ye Schooner, But I Soone found my mistake, for before I had well answered them, they Discharged a whole Volley of Small armes at us, we Endeavoured to put her about but to no purpose, for by ye smoke of their Guns with their Continual fiering it was almost Start Calm, we Expected Everey moment to be a Shore, but at Length with much Difficulty put her about, but being Entierly becalmed we Could by no Means Govern her with ye helm, but where Driven with ye Tide according to its Sitting, Somtimes athirt ye Tide,

¹ Joseph Wear or Wyer. His wages under Pote were about \pounds Io N. E. old tenor per month. Manuscript Bills relating to Annapolis Royal, drawn by John Henry Bastide.

² Montague, Ordnance Tender.

³

and Somtimes Stern formost, we Discharged one Cannon and one Swivel, and four or five Small armes at ye Enemey, but they being So many in number, while Some where Imployed in Launching there Connews, ye Rest without any Intermission where Continually pouring Showers of Shott upon us, and keept their own men under Cover till they Boarded and Took us which, was all Compleated in Less then ten minuts from ye Begining of their assault¹ I was affraid the[y] would have taken up ye paquet Er it Sunk and as providence ordered although ye Bulletts flew amongst us Like hail from ye heavens, yet there was but one man hurt amongst ye Six,² and he Slightly wounded In ye Back, Even ye man at helm Escaped when there was five balls Struck ye Tiller, I believe there was not two minuts Differance between their Boarding ye Two Vessells, after we was Taken and Carried ashore with our hands Pinioned fast behind us, they halled our Vessells asshore and began to Plunder them,³ Cutting our Small Sails in Peices with their knives to make Snapsacks, and Splitting our Chests in peices with their hatchetts, &c after they

¹The circumstance of the capture of these two schooners is mentioned by Murdoch, *Nova Scotia*, vol. ii. p. 73, and in *Selections from Pub. Docs. of Nova Scotia*, p. 156.

² Their names were William Pote, Jr., John Broading, Jonathan Donham or Dunham, Abraham Florance, Isaac Prince, and Joseph Wear or Wyer.

³This plunder was dispersed and bought up by the inhabitants of Minas. Joseph Le Blanc informed the Council of Nova Scotia, at a meeting held on Wednesday, June 19, 1745, that such plunder as was bought up by the inhabitants of Minas was

⁴

had Plundred our Chests of what was most Valuable, they Brought their booty Viz our Cloaths and whatsoever was Light & Convenient to be Transported on Shore, and laid them in a heap, and placed us by them, then Cituated themselves in a Large Circle Round us in which Situation they cast Lotts upon their Booty. after they had Shared their Light Plunder, we was Travelled about four miles up to their General,¹ and after Strict Examanation what our Cargoe Consisted In &c we was Conveyed to their Gaurd house a barn about a mile Distance from ye fort of anapolis, where we had a Verey hansom Reception Each man furnished with about three ounces and a half of lowsey Straw, without so much as a blanket to Screen us from ye Cold,² and for our Greater Consolation they Gave us Nothing Either to Eat or Drink, But Complemented us with their Usuel Complement to prissonners, Courage my Friends fortune of war, In these Comfortable Circumstances, Each man having his hands fast Penioned behind him, we Lay down to Repose our Selves amongst ye French Soldiers for ye first Night.

intended to be returned, together with the three prisoners whom they had redeemed out of the hands of the enemy, and whom they offered to bring and surrender at Annapolis. *Selections* from the Pub. Docs. of Nova Scotia, p. 156. The names of these prisoners were Joseph Wear or Wyer, Isaac Prince, and Ionathan Rich.

1 Monsieur Marin.

²Bouchette says: "The climate of Nova Scotia is cold, the winter continuing from December to May. There is scarcely any spring." British Dominions in N. A., vol. ii. p. 46.

Saturday ye 18th This Day we Remained in their Gaurd house amongst ye French Soldiers, who Informed us of their Long and Tedious Journey from Canedy,¹ and what Difficultys they had Undergon to Little or no purpose, they being Sent from Caneday in order to take anapolis Royell, which they Declared was Impossible for them to accomplish, finding ye fort In So Good Circumstances,² and So much Stronger then what they Imagined, By ye Information that they had of it before they began their Interprise, This day they Gave us Some Victuals, & told us we Should have ye Pleasure of Seeing Canady, which they Supposed to be one of ye most famouse Places in ye whole Universe.

Sunday ye 19th This Day they Informed us also of Sundrey of their transactions, and how they had Sent a Letter Into ye fort to the Governour Maskerene,³ which Informed him they would Consent to a Capitulation with him on honourable Termes, which he Intierly Disdained and burnt there Letter before there messengers face, & would not treat their Gen-

³ See Appendix for a sketch of John Paul Mascarene.

¹ Canada.

² After the expedition of Duvivier against the fort in 1744, an attempt was made to strengthen it. For this purpose six carpenters and four masons were sent from New England on board the schooner *Montague*. They were in this service 43 days, from October 1 to November 12, 1744. Besides these, Charles Follett, master carpenter, was credited with 73 days' pay, from September 1 to November 12, 1744. The whole pay-roll of these and nine others, making twenty in all, amounted to $\pounds 658$, 4 shillings, N. E. old tenor. *Manuscript Bills*, etc.

⁶

eral with So much Respect as to Send him an answer to his preposels, at which he was Exceedingly Disgusted and Swore he would have Sattisfaction, they Likwise Told us that if ye Governour of anapolis, had not Treated their General with So much Indifferancey, we might Probably have been Sent to ye fort and Released from our Confinement. about three of ye Clock in ye afternoon ye General Gave orders, that I must Come before him to be Examined Concerning my Letters yt was Sent from Boston, In order to be Delivered to ye Governour and officers of anapolis Royell. and when I was Conducted to General he asked me by Wm Winnit¹ one of ye Neuteral french who was then his Interprater. what was become of ye Letters that was Sent with me for ye fort I Desiered ye Interprater to tell ye Genaral I had Sunk them, at which he Seemed to be Exceeding angrey and told me it would have been a Great Sattisfaction to him to have had ye Perusing of them, after having asked me Sundrey Questions Concerning our Cargoe, &c, I was Dismissed and Conveyed To my Lodgings there Gaurd house, where I found my beding much in ye Same order as I Left it. my three ounces and half of Straw was by this Time Demin-

¹ William Winniett. One of this name, a merchant of Annapolis, was a member of the Council of Nova Scotia in 1732. He was not, however, the man mentioned in the Journal. Akins, *Selections*, pp. 74, 97; Murdoch, *Nova Scotia*, vol. ii. W. A. Calnek read a paper before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, June 3, 1880, entitled: *Sketches of the Winniett, De Lacy and Milledge Families*. See the *Collections*, vol. v. p. 154.

⁷

ished to about half So much. on which I Endeavoured to Repose my Self in ye Best manner Possible for that Night. with ye Rest of my Companions & fellow prisonners which was ten¹ In Number that Belonged to ye two Schooners. after having been put In Irons with my mate who was my Yoak fellow at that time. for we not only had our hands pinioned fast behind us. but also Coupled Togather In Irons So yt one Could not So much as move on any Occasion whatsoever without his partner.

Monday ye 20th This day at about Nine of ye Clock in ye forenoon. Came Wm Winnit who Pertended much friendship to us, and told me he would be Glad to Speak with me for he had Somthing of Considerable Conssequence To Discover to me In private. which I Verey Readyly Consented to being Exceeding Glad to Imbrace ye opertunity Supposing it was Somthing Relating to our Redemtion, and after having obtained Permission from ye Gaurd and being Loosed from my Irons. I walked with him Some Small Distance from ye Gaurd house, with my hands fast pinioned behind me and when we was Set down on ye Ground, he told me I might be permitted to Send a Letter to ye Chief Engeneer m^r Bastide² that was then in anapolis fort. on these Conditions that if ye Governour Maskerrain would Release five or Six

¹ Besides the six composing Pote's crew, and mentioned in a previous note, there were James Sutherland and two of his men, Jonathan Rich and Jonathan Young.

² See Appendix for a sketch of John Henry Bastide.

⁸

of ye Nuteral french, yt was then Prisonners in ye Fort as Criminals having harboured for Some Considerable Time, Several of General marains officers that where Sent as Spies from menus,¹ to Inspect Into ye Situation of anapolis Fort. and not only harboured ym, but whent Into ye fort dayly and wrought as Labourours for ye King, that they might therby be fully acquainted in what Capacity ye fort was In at that time In order to Give ye Spies a true Discription and Intiligence of ye Fortification of anapolis in all its parts. this they Practiced for Some Considerable time Togather. hiding ye Spies in there Cellers by day Least by Some accident they Should be Discoverd by ye People of anapolis. and at Night Demonstrated to them ye observations they had made on ye Fort. at Length by Some means ye Governour of anapolis having had Infornation [sic] of ye Spies, and Likwise of ye Treachery of those Nutrel french, Sent out privatly a party of men to ye Number of about Seventy, who took five or Six of those traitors ye Neutrel French, but all v^e Spies Escaped, these People being at this time Confined in ye fort as Criminals, was what they Demanded in Exchange for us², which I was fully Sattis-

¹ The French village of Minas was situated in that portion of the present town of Horton which borders on Minas Basin. Bouchette says that in 1832 there were no traces of it to be seen ex-, cept the cellars of the houses, a few old orchards, and scattered groups of willows, the constant appendages of an Acadian settlement. English emigrants from New England settled there in 1760. They found the place in a state of decay.

² Murdoch states that Mascarene sent out a party of *fifty* men

⁹

fied ye Governour of anapolis would By no means Consent to, as I was at anapolis when those people was brought Into ye fort Prisoners and was fully accquainted with ye whole affaire. and therefore was Sensible this Could by no means be Complied with which I told mr Winnit as Soon as he made ye Per-Nevertheless I Verey Gladly Imbraced ye posels. opertunity To Send a Letter to ye Chief Engenr Mr Bastide In Expectation at Least I Should therby know my Distiny. after having Concluded our Discourse and I had Determined to Send to mr Bastide. we Returned Into ye Gaurd house, where he furnished me with Pen Ink and paper, and after I had wrote ye Letter I Read it to my Companions, and Desired there approbation of ye Perposels, who Being Exceeding Glad of

under the fort major, by night, to bring in such of the inhabitants of the cape as knew anything of this invasion under Marin; that five or six persons were brought in and examined under oath, who confirmed the story of the enemy being at Minas, and stated that two lads, named Charles Raymond and Peter Landry, had privately made three journeys to Minas from Annapolis. Mrs. Gautier and Paul Suratt were detained, and Peter Gautier was committed to prison for endeavoring to conceal this affair. Pierre Gautier, who was a son of Louis Gautier, and Charles Raymond, were outlawed some time after this. Hist. of Nova Scotia, vol. ii. p. 73; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 155. The Acadians, after the Treaty of Utrecht, were called Neutral French, but were largely such in name only. They hoped for a return of French dominion. They did not extend their plantations during the English régime; their houses were wretched wooden boxes without conveniences, and without ornaments, and scarcely contained the most necessary furniture. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 5.

y^e oppertunity we had to Send to y^e Fort. told me they hoped it might be a means of our Redemtion. Nevertheless we was not without anxious Care and Concern, being Sensible y^e preposels was So verey Unreasonable, to Demand Criminals In Exchange for Prisoners of war. after y^e Letter had been Interprated to y^e General I Sealed it and Gave it to m^T Winnit, who Told me he would have it Sent to y^e fort, as Soon as possible. So with Earnest Desiers y^t It might meet with Success, and Impatienc[e] for an answer, we Spent y^e Remainder of y^e Day in our Lodging y^e Gaurd house.

Tuesday 21st This Day at about 4 Clock in ye afternoon ye French priest Came to ye Gaurd house & Brought me a Letter ye [sic] was Sent from ye Chief Engr mr Bastide. In answer to our Letter Sent him ye Day Before. which Gave me no Encouragment of our Speedy Exchange. ye Contents therof was to this affect, Viz I Receeived yours and am Sorrey for your hard fate, But as to your preposels they Cannot be Complyed with by any means, those people you mentioned in your Letter Being apprehended as Criminels and Traitors To ye king of Great Britan, and Therefore it is not in ye Governours power, nor mine to Release them by any means, Endeavour To Content your Self as much as possible with your present Circumstances, for you Certainly [will] be Redeemed In a Short time, as Cape Britoon¹ is Greatly Indebted to us by their Cartel, and ye Same Treat-

¹ Louisburg had not yet been captured by the English.

¹¹

ment you meet with amongst y^m, they may Expect to Receive from us without fail, I Remain yours &c. after having perused y^e Letter and Considered there was no other Dependance but our Being Exchanged by Luisbourg, we Composed our Selves in y^e Best manner possible Still Remaining Coupled in Irons, and our hands fast pinioned behind us.

Whednesday ye 22d at about Nine of ye Clock in ve fornoone, Came mr Wm Winnit to ye Gaurd house and Seemed to be Verey much Concerned for [our] Condition, and told me he Should be Exceeding Glad it was in his power to Contribute any thing to our Consolation. I told him I was under many obligations for ye favours I had already Received from him in assisting of me to Convey my Letter to mr Bastide at ye fort, and Sincerly wished it was in my power to make him Suitable Retaliation. but as it was not I Should always have it in Gratfull Remembranc[e] and Desired him to do me ye favour as to Let me have a Shirt. which I was in Great Nead of at yt time. having but one Corse Shirt & yt began to be Considerably Inhabitted with french Vermin which our Straw was full of at y^t Time, he told me he was Exceedingly well pleased yt he had ye oppertunity to Gratifie me, and in Case he had but two Shirts he would verey freely Let me have one of ym. he promised me also he would Send us Some Tabaccoe. and Each of us a pipe. and Some Rum. which would have been Received wh more thankfulness by us at that time then I am Capable to Express.

I told him I Should take it as a Verey Great

favour, and Disered him to Take and order on Some Gentleman in ye fort for his Satisfaction, which he would not accept of by any means whatsoever, But told me we was Exceeding welcome where it in his power to do us a Greater favour. Nevertheless he Desired me to Give him a Line or two from under my hand In his Recommendation yt might be a Testimony of his Generousity to us to any of our friends in ye fort. his Request I verey willingly Consented to being Exceeding Glad it was in my power to do him any favour, and Especielly to write in his Recomandation. after I had wrote he took his Leave of us and promised he would Send those Nesseceries without fail. but we Never Saw our benifactor afterwards nor Received any of his promised Benifits, although we was Informed he was Sundrey times afterwards amongst ye armey. at about Six of ye Clock in ye afternoone there Came orders from ye Genaral yt we must be Removed to another Barn yt was about Gun Shott Distance from ve Gaurd house, where we walked with our hands fast bound behind us and Coupled togather in Irons. when we Came to ye barn we found a Great Nor of Indians Seated in all parts both in and round it. they placed us in ye middle of ye barn on ye floor, and ye Indians & Some of ye French officer[s] Seemed to be verey much Engaged in discours. wt they Sd we was Intirely Ignorant of but Supposed it must be Something of Considerable Consequence. at Length there Seemed to be Something of a Devision amongst ye Indians and we observed to take their Guns. but

did not in any measure aprehend ye Danger we was in at yt time. for ye Great Dispute they had amongs[t] ym was In wt manner we Should be Distributed Some of ye Indians Claimed a among ye Indians. Greater title to us then they would permit others to have. Insisting yt those yt Boarded us ought to have ye Greater Share. which was not Conformable to ye Law established by King Da[vid]1 amongst ye Israellites, yt those which Stay by ye Stuf Should Share Eaquel in ye plunder with ym that Go forth to war, but as they Could not agree on wt terms we Should be Divided. they Concluded it was most Convenient to Shoot us Directly and end ye Dispute. for which Reason they took their Guns as we was Informed by ye French and Indians afterwards however by Divine providence we was preserved and Distributed amongst ye Tribes of Indians. I was Led with a String to a Camp of ye herons, a Nation of Indians whose Residence is about three Leagues from Quebec.² I Seemed Tollerably well Satisfied with my Lot, with ye Consideration yt I should live verey near ye french, and having been Informed they was ye

¹ This law is given in Numbers, chap. xxxi. It was a command to Moses.

² On March 13, 1651, a grant of $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in the seigniory of St. Gabriel was made to these Indians, and the settlement at La Jeune Lorrette was made in 1697. This Indian village is between 8 and 9 miles from the city of Quebec, and is seated on the east side of the River St. Charles, commanding a prospect of Quebec and its environs. For an interesting sketch of the Hurons, or Yendat Tribe, see Bouchette, *Topog. Dict. of Lower Canada*, 1832, article INDIANS.

¹⁴

most Civelised Nation of Indians, when I Came to their Camp I found four prisoners, Viz one Englishman¹ and three English Indians² yt belonged to Captain Jno Gorhams³ Company, and where taken Sometime before on Goat Island, ye Englishman I had been acquainted with, and after I had asked him Some perticuler Questions weither any of there Company was taken besids themselves &c, he Gave me an acount how Long he had been Taken, and after what manner, and what Treatment they had meet with amongst ye Indians, and Seemed to be verey well Satisfied with his Condition, ye herons Could all talk Exceeding Good french. and asked me if I Could Speak french. I told ym a little, at which they was well pleased and asked me Several Questions and told me by no means to be Discontned or Uneasey with my Condition. for they would use me as a brother, and yt we Should Commence our Journey for menus ye Next day. they Gave me also Some boilld Corn and told me I Should live Exceeding well when we arrived to Canady. they also asked me Sundrey questions Concerning

³See Appendix for a sketch of Col. John Gorham.

¹John Read, son of Jacob Read. He was taken captive May 9, 1745. Norton *Redeemed Captive*. Boston. 1748, p. 31. This rare and interesting tract was reprinted with notes by Samuel G. Drake in his *Particular History of the Five Years' French and Indian War*. Boston. 1870. At the same time 100 copies were printed separately, with new pagination and a copy of the original title-page.

² Two of their names are given by Pote as Caleb and Jacob; that of the third is not mentioned, but circumstances in which he was a factor are detailed under date of July 10, 1745.

¹⁵

their prisoners they had taken on Goat Isla[nd] and told me ye Disadvantage they Laboured under before I Came to make them Understand they¹ being Intierly Ignorant of both ye French and Indian tongues. when it was time to Repair to Sleep I was Conveyed to their Capns Tent. where after prayers which they Never Neglected Night and morning. I had my hands bound Securly behind me and a String fastned round my middle, and placed between two Indians, one End of ye String being made fast to my Right hand bed fellow, and ye other to my Left. So that it was Impossible for me to Stir without waking my Companions, In this miserable Condition I Lay yt Night in my new Lodgings, having Exactly fulfiled ye old English proverb, and jumpt out of ye fryingpan Into ye Fire.

Thirsday 23^d This day at about 5 in y^e morning we began to pack up our bagage in order for marching, I had my hands Loosned from behind me after wh they presented me with a Considerable quantity of their bagage to pake up for my Load to Carrey To menus. they also took my Shoes from me & Gave me a pair of Dears Skin mogisons Such as they wear themselves, and Told me they was better and much Preferable to Shoes To march in. at about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 5 we began our Journey for menus about 500 in Companey french and Indians according to y^e best Computation I Could make, and to y^e Number of 200 or upwards marched before us y^e Greater part In-

¹ The prisoners taken on Goat Island.

¹⁶

we marched in a Verey Irriguler manner in dians. Sight of anapolis Fort¹ about a mile from our Camps. During which time they Continued Disdaining ye Fort and telling me they would In a Verey Short time have another flagg hoisted upon it and Governour maskeren in ye Circumstances I was then In &c. As we marched I met with Severel of my accquaintance of ye Nutrel French Some Seemed to be verey much Concerned for my misfortune. and I believe would have done any thing for me yt Lay in their power, and others yt I had been Intimately accquainted with Seemed to Shun me and would by no means Come Near me, amongst ye which was one Monsieur dugos, whom I took more perticuler Notice of then any of ye Rest, he being one yt had Sailed with me for Some Considerable time. and always pretended to have a Great Regard for me, and often Told me yt if Ever it was in his power to do me any favour he would Exert himself to ye Utmost of his ability, and Especielly if Ever it was my hard fortune to be taken Either by French or Indians, this my Great friend meeting of me in ye Road would not So much as Shake hands with me But when I Reminded him of his former promises to me Left me and would not Regard me. So much as to bid me farewell Even when ye Indians Seemed to Desire him to Stop. In this manner I parted with my Good friend and Never Saw him af-

¹ This fortress was situated on an elevation, 60 or 70 feet above the level of Annapolis River, but on a level with the campaign. Rolt, vol. iii. p. 443.

³

terwards. at about 9 of ye Clock we Stoped at a french house where I had been Severel times before. ye old Gentleman ye master of ye house knew me and was moved with Compasion to See my miserable Estate. he took me by ye hand & told me he wished with all his heart it was in his power by any means to Release me from ye hands of ye Sauvages. I observed ye old Gentleman was So much affected for me yt he Could by no means Refrain from weeping, and Told me also yt he hoped yt ye Good God would Safly Conduct me through all my Difecultyes and in Good time Deliver me out of ye hands of those my at this place we Cruel and Barbarous Enemis. Refreshed our Selves with Somthing to Eat. at about 1/2 after 10 we Took our Leave of ye old Gentleman and Departed, we marched through Several Small Villages1 of ye Neutrel french, whom I observed to be overjoyed with ye Succes yt General had met with, and I believe would have been much more if he had taken ye fort. at about 3 of ye Clock we arrived to ye River where we was to Go over, by this time my feet began to be Exceeding Sore not having been Used to my new Sort of Shoes, and having walked over a Great Deal of Rough and Stoney Ground with a Large pack on my Bac[k] after we had Crossed ye River and marched Some Sma[ll] Distance we arrived to a house where two Roads

¹ Habitations on Minas Basin are shown in **T**. Kitchin's map of Nova Scotia in *The London Magazine*. 1749. The road from Annapolis Fort to Minas is laid down in Capt. Montresor's *Map* of Nova Scotia or Acadia. 1768.

met at this place we Laid down our packs In order to tarrey for ye Rest of our Company, and ye General who was behind us. after we had Stoped Some Considerab[le] Time there was added to our Number I believe abou[t] 200 of ye Neutrel french. one of which asked me Severel questions Concerning ye Expedition against Leuisbourg, to all which I Endeavoured to answer with a Great deal of Care and Caution. But Gave him no Sattisfaction or Encouragment of ye Succes yt he hoped ye french might meet with, but Intierly to ve Contrary. ve head Captain of ve herons whose Name was Vincent. a Verey Subtil Cunning fellow. told ye man yt was Examining of me to forbear, and ask me no more questions of yt Sort, for he mistrusted I told ym these things to Discourage ym from Going to Luisbourg to their aid and assistance, and Signified I Should Discourage them in fact if they asked me any more questions. when ye General Came up with us, I observed ye Neutrel French Exceeding attentive to hear & observe ye orders of ye General In Transporting of their heavey Bagage to menus with their horses &c. and after he had admonished them of what he Called their Duty in Several Respects Viz to be always Ready and willing to assi[st] an armey, at any time yt Come against anapolis in all yt Lay in their power, which they Seemed to Signify they would always Endeavour to Conform to whenever oppertunity presented. we was marched about half a mile beyond all ye houses, where we was ordered To Lay down our bagage and make preparation for our Nights Repose, at this

place we killed Several oxen for our Subsistence for yt Night and for our journey to menus.

Every Indian and french man Seemed Exceedingly Imbarrased and as much business as they Could by any means Dispence with, all hands Roasting meat In all parts of our Camps. ye poor Cattle was no Sooner Shot down, even before they where flayed but they Came with their knives, and Each man Cut his peice where he thought proper, without any manner of Regard either to Decency or Neatness, after they had Constrained me to Eat about three times as much as I had any manner of appetite to, my master told me to Try if I Could make me a Spoon, and Gave me a hatchet and told me he would assist me in it for he Said there was nothing more Necessary for me to be furnished with in my march, his orders I quickly obeyed, and finished my Spoon with So much Dixterity, yt my master was Verey well pleased with me, and told me he hoped I Should make as Good a heron. as one John Honewell an English man that had Lived with ym Near thirty years, and was maried amongst them and had Severel Children. this Night they placed me between two Indians, with a String Round my middle, and Each End made fast to my Companions. this Night I had my hands at Liberty, as they Supposed there was no Great Danger of my Endeavouring to make my Escape, they being Sensible I was Verey much fatagued with my Carrying a Large pack that day, and my feet Exceeding Sore. Therfore I Reposed my Self Considerably well that Night.

Friday 24th 1745 This Day Early in ye morning

their Came to See me one of ye Neutrel french Named John Prejon. one yt I had been before acquainted with, but ye Indians would not permit him to Say but Little to me by Reason he Spoke Good English, and they was afraid we might talk of Something To their prejudice, or yt we might Contrive Some way for me to make my Escape from y^m by his assistance, but ye poor man they Censured Entierly wrongfully, not being So well acquainted with his principles as I was, for I had Reason to believe he had So much affection for ye Indians and So much Good will to ye English, yt he would Sooner have Gon five miles to Deliver an Englishman into their hands, then one mile to Release him from ym. at about 5 in ye morning there Came orders from ye General yt we must pack up our bagage in order for marching. Ι was in Great hopes and Expected yt my master would have had Compasion on me and lighten my pack for yt day, as he Saw my feet was Exceedingly Swelled and Sore with my Carrying a Large pack ye day before, but I was Disapointed in my Expectation, as our furnishing our Selves with provissions at this place for our jorney, obliged us to Carrey ye Larger packs. at about 6 of ye Clock we took our Departure, we travelled verey moderatly at our first Setting out which ye Indians told me was always their Custom when they Designed to make out a Great days march, this morning at about 8 of ye Clock there Ran by us a Considerable Number of ye Neutrel French, and told us there was English in Persuit of us from ye fort of anapolis, and asked how far we Supposed ye Gen-

2 I

eral was a head of us, for they was Come with Great Expedition to acquaint ye General of this afair.

I observed Some was on horse back and others on foot, all Pressing forward with all possible Expedition to deliver the message to ye General. ye Indians also began to quicken their pace and told me they would Presently have more English prisoners for Company for me. we Soon overtook ye General who Sent back a party of men In order to attack ye English he had Intelligence of. at this time ye Indians was Exceeding Carefull of me and would not by any means trust me to Go 5 yards from ym without a Gaurd, Least I Should Endeavour to make my Escape from ym. ye party of men yt was Sent out by ye General Returned back in a verey Short time with an English man¹ yt had Deserted from ye fort of Anappolis, who Gave an account ye General had false Information. for he Declared there was no English out of ye fort but himself which Ended ye alarm. I Desired Liberty to Speak with him which they would not Consent to by any means, nor Let me Come So Near him as to See who he was. we Continued our march till abou[t]Noon before we Stoped to Refresh our Selves. During wich time there overtook us Severel of ye Neutrel french yt I knew. Some of ym Pityed me and asked my master if he would Sel me, at which he Seemed angrey and told ym he Never would but keep me with him as Long as I lived. as we Sat at Din-

¹ This seems to have been Thomas Grifes. See under his name in the index.

ner by ye Side of a brook of watter ye man yt had Deserted from ye fort of anapolis Came up with us. and Set down by me, and Gave me an account of all ye Transactions at ye fort in ye Time of ye Seige, yt all ye Gentlemen In ye fort was In Good health &c. ye man I was Verey well acquainted with and asked him ye Reason of his Leaving ye fort, which I perceived he did not Care to tell me by any means. this Day we Continued on our march till Some Time after Sun Set, by which time I was So fatigued yt I was almost of ye mind I Should be forced Entierly to Give over, having Carried a large pack all yt day. this Night we Incamped on ye top of a hill by ye Side of ye Road. where I Slept between two Indians with ve heavens over me for my Covering, and weither they Tied me yt Night, is what I am Intierly unable to Give any account of. for I believe before I had Laved down four minuts, I was asleep, and Never awaked till they Called me in ye morning to prepare my Self for ye other Days journey.

Saturday y^e 25th This day we took our Departure Verey Early In y^e morning. at my first Setting out I Could Verey hardly Stand upon my Legs, my feet was So Exceeding Sore. after we had marched Some Considerable Distance my master had So much Compassion on me as to Cut up a peice of his Blanket and wrape [it] about my feet, and opened y^e blisters yt was then on my feet almost as big as my thumb. this Day was Exceeding hot ye Sun beat upon us with So much Vehemencey. yt both y^e Indians and us prisonners was almost melted with y^e heat. this Day

I had ye Company and Conversation of a Cape Sable Indian¹ Called paul, who had Lived Six or Seven Years in Boston and Could Speak Verey Good English. this man Gave me a Reguler acount of ye Situation of Canedy, and told me In what manner he Supposed I Should be marched there, I asked him if he Suposed there was any prospect of my Redemtion In a Short time, he told me if it had been my fate to have been with his Nation he believed I Should be Redeemed in a verey Short time. By reason there was Six or Seven of their Nation then prisoners in Boston, which he told me they would Endeavour to Exchange, as Soon as there was any possibility of their being Exchanged, we arrived at menus at about Six of ye Clock in ye afternoon, where we overtook a Considerable Number of Indians yt had Gon before us, and Several of ye French officers and Souldiers, at this place we Incamped by ye Side of a Small River,² I believe there was then in Companey about four hundred of Indians and french, but ye Greater part Indians, by reason ye Genrl and most of ye French Soldiers had

¹ The Cape Sable Indians were Micmacs.

² Probably the Habitant River. The greatest district of the Neutral French, which comprehended the most families, was Minas, to which belonged the inhabitants of the Gaspereaux. In 1748 they were reported to consist of about 200 families, of which 180 families lived at Minas, 30 on the Gaspereaux, and about 16 in two small villages on the River Habitant. All dwelt within the compass of six miles, and occupied, for their livelihood, those marshes situated on the Basin of Minas called Grand Pré, on the north of the River Habitant and on the River Gaspereaux. Morris, *Remarks concerning the removal of French In*-

²⁴

Gon Some Distance before us, at this time there Came many of ye micmack Squaws,¹ to See their husbands yt had been against anapolis, and to have ye pleasure of Dancing Round ye prisoners, which is always their Custom at their first Reception, after they had been to several of ye Camps Dancing and making ye most hellish Noise, that is possible to proceed from humaine Creatures, they Came to our Camp where there was five prisoners, Viz my Self and another Englishman, and three English Indians. my master told me to Come and Set down by him, and to tell Ye rest of ye prisoners to Set Each man Clost by his master, they Came to our Camp dancing and Yiewlling, and one of ye Squaws Come to me and took me by ye arm and I Suppose bid me Come out, but my master told me to Set Still and by no means Stir out of my place, and bid ye Squaw abscond in a Verey harsh manner, there was an old Indian In their Company yt Spoke Exceeding Good french, who Came to ye Captain² of our Indians Viz ye herons, and Desired he would Gratifie them So far

babitants. Summer, 1755, from Dr. A. Brown's Ms. Papers relating to Nova Scotia (1748-1757), in the British Museum. This piece is printed in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Canada for the Year 1888, vol. vi. sect. i. pp. 65ff.

¹For their manners and customs see An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets Savage Nations, now dependent on the Government of Cape-Breton [etc.]. London. 1758. This work is by the Rev. Antoine Simon Maillard, missionary to the Micmacs.

² His name was Vincent.

4

as to Let ym have ye pleasure of Dancing arround us prisoners, he was abliged to Speak in french, and Therfore I had ye opertunity to Understand ye Substance of what he Said. ye Captain of ye herons was a Verey Subtil Cunning fellow, and answered to this Effect. Viz Sir I am Verey Sorrey You hapned to ask me this favour In perticuler, which is ye only one You Could have asked me and been Denied, this Meathod and Custom You have amongst Your Nation, is Intierly Contrary to what is allowed or permitted with us. Therefore Sir as we Denie our Selves this Priveledge, I hope You will be pleased to Excuse me, as I am Intierly under an obligation to Refuse You at this time; after they had passed many Complements on Each Side, ye old Greay headed Indian took his Leave of us and Departed, and told his Companions they Could have no admittance at our Camp, after they was Gone ye Capⁿ Demonstrated to me what had passed between ym, and told me to tel ye other prisoners yt belonged to our Camp, which I did, and told him we took it as a Verey Great favour yt he Should have So much Care of us, and Desired to be Greatfull for it, this Night I Reposed my Self between my two old bed fellows with a String Round my middle &c, and Slept by ye Blessing of almighty God Exceeding well.

Sunday ye 26 This Day we Took our Departure at about Seven of ye Clock in ye morning, my master Encouraged me with ye Telling of me we Should have but a Verey Small march for yt Day Viz abou[t] three Leagus after we took our Departure we

marched by Severel of ye Nuterel French houses ye people I observed Seemed to be Exceeding Courtious to ye Indians & Congratulated their Succes and happy arrivel and Signified it was Verey Evident yt God almighty was on their Side. I observed verey Narrowly their Behaviour towards us prisoners. and found they was well pleased to See us In Such a Condition ye Greater part of ym though I must Confess Sum of ym Seemed Verey much to pity our Circumstances. at about Eleven of ye Clock we arrived to ye house where ye French General was and many of his officers, who after having passed their Usual Complements between themselves and ye Indians, they asked us how we did and Said they believed the poor Dis was pretty well fatigued with their march. and Carrying Such Large packs &c, we was orderd by ye General to a house yt I Supposed by its accomodations to be a Goal. my master Informed me we Should Stop at this place Some Considirable Time. which I was Exceeding Glad to hear In hopes I might by Some means or other obtain my freedom. .at this place we had Considering our Circumstances Indifferent Good Lodging. we had a Good flour to Lodg on, and as much Straw or hay as we thought Convenient.

Monday ye 27th This day we Remained in our habitation and did Little Else but Eat and drink ye Greater part of ye day, which I observed is ye Custom of ye Indians, whenever ye Stop at any place where they Can possibly have it in their power, Either by beging borrowing or Stealing.

Tuesday 28th This day at ye Goal ye Indians Diverting themselves with many Sorts of Exercises Viz Runing wrestling Eating and drinking and Dancing &c this day there Came many of ye Neutrel french to See me, but I observed ye Indians was verey Jealouse of ym, and would not Suffer me to Speak with ym Except I Spoke french, and Even that when I spoke to them in french it must be in their presence or I Could not have yt permission

Whensday 29th This day we was also at y^e Goal y^e Indians was Exceedingly Imbarrassed and full of Buisness, in Selling their Plunder and Seemed Verey much Dissatisfied with their part, Supposing y^e General had not Done them Justice

Thirsday 30th This day we was also at our habitation ye Goal ye Indians was Dividing of their Plunder¹ and Selling of their heavey Bagage &c.

ye 31st Friday This day we was Deviding of thir money and Small Goods yt was Light for Carrige amongst ye Indians. I also Understood yt I belonged to my two old bed fellows. ye Indians yt I lay between ye first night yt I was with ym and found I must Endeavour to Serve two masters and please them both. though I must Confess I Lovd Neither of ym

June 1st Saturday 1745 This day Came to See me Joseph Gautez who I had been well accquainted with at anapolis, and Informed me yt they was Designed for Capbritone to assist ye french with all Expedition.²

¹ See the note on the plunder under date of May 17, 1745.

² The Marquis de Beauharnois, governor-general of Canada,

²⁸

which I was Verey Glad to hear, and hoped I might be Either taken or Exchanged by ye English by yt means.

June ye 2d Sunday This Day in ye morning ye Capt of our Indians, told me I must prepare my Self and Go to mass with y^m, which I presently did as I had not ye trouble to Shift my Self, having but one Shirt and yt on my back. at about Eight or Nine of ye Clock in ye morning I whent with ye Indians. to ye mass house, but they was not pleased with my Behaviour. Viz I made no Use of ye holy water in Entring ye Church. and Likwise Refused to accept of ye Consecrated bread when it was offered me. and did not Cross my Self as they did. Therefore I was Intierly Excommunicated. and they would not Suffer me to Enter their Church afterwards

June ye 3 monday This day ye Indians Exceeding Industrous In making preparation for their Voyage To Luisbourge. fixing themselves with Provissions, and mogisons and all things Nessescerey for their Interprise

had offered Duchambon reinforcements for the garrison of Louisburg, but he, thinking himself quite safe in his stronghold, declined the proposition. When he found himself beset and sorely pressed by the enemy, he changed his mind, and sent messengers to Marin, ordering him to proceed at once to Louisburg. Marin hastened to Duchambon's assistance, but, being hindered by an engagement with Captain Donahew in Tatmagouche Harbor, and by the indifference of the Indians, who refused to proceed, he gave up the design, and made for Beaubassin by way of Bay Verte, some of his army going to Canada with the prisoners, as related by Pote. *Proceedings and Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Canada for 1887*, sect. ii, p. 49; Pote's Journal.

²⁹

Tuesday ye 4th This Day they was also prepareing for Luisburg. and ye french officers Seemed to be Exceeding Urgent to make all posible dispatch. this day I Saw m^r Joseph wear my mate pass by our Lodgings but Could not be permitted to Speak with [him] by any means

Whednesday ye 5th June 1745 This day In ye Goal, ye Indians was Exceeding Carefull of me and would not Suffer me out of their Sight, nor permit me to Speak with any of ye french people Least I Should ask ym News, or that I Should Endeavour to make my Escape, they also told me yt if one of us Should make our Escape from ym, they would kill all ye Rest. I observed that they was more Suspicious of me then of any of ye Rest. and would not Confide in me So far as to trust me to Go to ye fountain alone, which was but about a pistol Shot from our quarters. wheras any of ye Rest might be Gone from our quarters for ye Value of two hours, and not be asked after, and Especially Jno Read¹ ye Englishman yt was taken on Goat Island, yt belonged to Capt Jnº Gorhams Companey

Thirsday 6th This Day I had Intiligence by Some of ye Neutrel french, that mr Joseph wear my mate. and Isaac Prince one of my people. and one Jonathan Rich, that Belonged to Capt Sutherland, Master of ye other Schooner yt was taken with us. was bought out of ye hands of ye Indians by Some of ye Neutrel

¹ He was the son of Jacob Read, and died in captivity Nov. 1, 1746. He was taken captive May 9, 1745. Norton, How, and Pote.

³⁰

french. I was verey Joyfull to hear of their Good fortune, and hoped I might meet with ye Like Succes. at about 10 of ye Clock in ye morning Came to our Lodgings ye man yt had bought Isaac Prince out of ye hands of ye Endians & Isaac with him & told me if there was any possibilety for me to be Redeemed from ye Endians, I might Depend he would do his Utmost, Therefore I preposed Terms to my masters, But they would by no means Consent, although ye man Came up to 100 Pistoles for my Redemption, But asked me if in Case I Should be willing to Sell my Brother to a Stranger for any Consideration. I told ym ye Case was Intierly Different, for they Could not Suppose me to be as a brother, nor Even as friend, they Insisted that I was both, and told me it was always their Custom to Use there Prisoners as Bretherin and friends, and therefore I must Endeavour to Conform my Self to their manners and Customs, and for ye futer Suppose my Self Under the Dominion of their tribe ye herons. and by no means Pretend to Call or Suppose my Self an Englishman, but that I Should always be Reconned and Numbred as one of their tribe. this I thought was Verey poor Encouragment of my being Delivered quickly out of their But Nevertheless I was abliged to Submit hands. my Self to ye higher powers. and Subject my Self to their Discretion. after I had Discoursed Some time with mr Prince and Disiered he would acquaint ye Engr mr Bastide, and any of my friends yt had it in their power to help forward my Redemption, and Returnd ye French man thanks for ye Pains he had

taken on my account. they took their Leave of me and I never Saw y^m afterwards.

Friday ye 7th This day at about 8 or Nine of ye Clock there Came orders yt we must pack up our Bagage in order for our Departure, there Came many of ye Neutrel french to take there Leave of ye Indians, and wishd yt God might prosper ym in there Voyage, and Give them Succes. we Imbarked on board four Vessels at a place Called Grand Canard.¹ Viz Goatease Schooner. and our two Schooners yt was taken at anapolis. and a Sloop yt Belonged to one Jacques Bomaus one of ye Neutrl French. we Imbarqued at about 2 or three of ye Clock in ye afternoon. in order to Sail for a place Called quebecet² about 15 Leagues Distance from menus. ye French General and ye

¹ The River Canard settlement lay to the south-west of Minas, and contained about 150 families, of which 50 lived on a point of land lying between the River Habitant and the River Canard, 60 lived on the west side of that river, in a compact village about two miles from its mouth; and 25 more up the river, along the banks on both sides, to Penus Mills, which were near the road coming from Annapolis to Minas, and distant from Grand Pré nine miles. From the mouth of the Canard to the River of the Vieux Habitant were settled about 10 families, and four or five families more at the River Pero (*i. e.* Pereaux). All these inhabitants had, by this river, a communication by water with the Basin of Minas. Some lived in a region contiguous to it. Morris, *Remarks* in *Proceedings and Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Canada*, vol. vi. sect. i. pp. 65ff.

² Cobequid. The several settlements in 1748 were as follows: On the south side of Cobequid Basin, Petit Rivière, 4 families; Vila Noel, 7 families; Village Robere, 4 families. These were west of the Subnaccada (*i. e.* Shubenacadie). Upon the river Subnac-

Greater part of his officers Imbarqued on board ye Schooner montague. I was put on board Gotease Schooner, and ye Greater part of ye prisoners. this Night we arrived to a place about 3 Leagus Distance from ye Enterance of [the] Crick yt we took our Departure from. where we Came to an anker for yt Night

Saturday ye 8th This Day we Come to Sail at about 4 Clock in ye morning, with a Good Brease of wind In our favour, Joseph Gautez master of Schooner yt I was on Board of, told me I might Depend that he would do all yt Lay in his power for Release me from ye Indians and he Believed he Could prevail with ym to Sell me, But I was Intierly Disapointed In all ye Schemes I Could project on yt purpose. for I found It was In Vain to make any trial,

cada, in two small villages, one near the mouth, on the west side, the other on the east side near the confluence of the Shenarack River (i. e. Stewiacke River, which falls into the Shubenacadie) there were 14 families; east of Subnaccada, Ville Perce Burke, 8 families; Ville Condé, 7 families (in a later copy 10 families); Ville Michael Oquin, 10 families. These were all the families south of the Basin in an extent of seven leagues. On the north side of the Basin, Ville Jean Domet (Doucet?), 4 families behind Isle Gross; 4 families at Point Conomée; from thence to Ville Jean Burke, 3 leagues east called Ville Burke, 12 families; thence one league to Cove d'Eglise, where there were 17 families; one half league further was the river Chaganois (i. e. Chigonais), where there were 15 families. The whole number in Cobequid district was 142 families. Morris, Remarks. Located in Kitchin's map of This parish ("la Nova Scotia, 1749, as "Cobeguit Par." Paroise") was centrally situated in Cobequid district, about where Truro now stands.

5

or Dependance Before we Came to Luisbourg or Canedy. This Day we arrived To Cebecet¹ about 4 of ye Clock in ye afternoon which was about 15 Leagues Distance from menus about East, at this place ye Neutrel french Came down to ye Shore and Saluted ye General and armey with many Irregular Volleys of Small armes. after we had Landed there was many of our Indians and ye french officers Received with Great acclamations of Joy by ye Neutrel french, and Carried with ym to their Church where they Sung Te Deum for their happy arrivel. at this place there Came one of ye Neutrel french to ye Indians and asked them of their Succes &c. and how many Prisoners they had. ye Indians Gave him an acount and Shewed him Some of us Prisoners. he asked them ye Reason of their Bringing of them alive Saying he thought it would have been more Commendable In them to have Left their Carcases behind them & brought their Skins. at this place we had an acount yt ye General had Received Letters from ye Governour Masquerin. and hoped they might be of Service to us But was Disapointed In our Expectation.

Sunday ye 9th This Day In ye morning ye French and Indians whent to Mass with ye Neutrel French, all Except a few of their Number Suficient to Gaurd us prisoners and to make preparation for their march, after they was Returned from mass there Came orders yt we must pack up our Bagage and take our Departure, I asked my masters how far he Supposed

¹ Cobequid.

we Should march yt Day. they told [me] but a Small Distance and Gave me a Verey Large pack. we Set out on our Journey and marched yt Day about three Leagues, and arrived to a Small Number of French houses,¹ where we Stopped and Refreshed our Selves. ye Indians told me yt there was no other Inhabitants, till we Came to a place Called Togmiguish,² which was about 9 Leagus Distance, therefore they Concluded to Reside at this place for that night. we took up our quarters In a barn where ye Indians Charged me to Repose my Self in ye Best manner I Could, In order to prepare my Self for ye Next Days at this Place Came to See me a french man march. Named Chatinif,³ who belonged to ye army, and Spook Verey Good English. he Told me his place of Residence was at pernobsquett, and yt there was many of ye prenobsquet Indians at that Time in ye armey. this man was Verey well acquainted in

¹ Here dwelt about twenty families. Morris, Remarks.

² It comprised two small settlements with 12 families in 1748. Morris, *Remarks*. The name is spelled in various ways by the geographers, sometimes not agreeing in different maps of the same atlas. Tatinagouche, *Montresor*, 1768; Tatamagushe and Tamagouche, *Jefferys*, 1755, etc.; Tatmegoushe, *Atlantic Neptune*; Tatmagouche, *Faden's Atlas*, 1777; Tatamagouche, Holland's *Pownall Map*, 1776; Tagmegouche, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x. p. 14; Tatmagush, *Pa. Gaz.*, No. 868. The carrying place between Cobequid and Tatmagouche was the cattle road. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x. p. 14.

³ This name is without doubt Chateauneuf. A French captain of the grenadiers, of that name, was mortally wounded at the battle of Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758. N. Y. Col. Docs.

³⁵

many parts of New England and asked me after Several men &c. he also Gave me an account of their Intentions, and In what manner they Supposed to Go to Luisbourg. at this place our Indians killed a Sheep and we Livd pritty fast,¹ and told me what Sumtious Living I might Expect when we arrived to Canedy. and Boasted Verey much of their Libertyes and previledges above any other Nation. and told me they was In Subjection to no king nor prince In y^e Universe.

Monday ye 10th This Day Verey Early in ye morning we Began to make preparation for our march, ye Indians told me they was designed to march that Day, to a place Called Togmiguish which was Nine Leagues² Distance from this place. they told me they preposed when we arrived to Togmeguish to Imbarque In Vessells and Connews, and that Day would be ye Last Days march we Should have, they fixed me out with Large pack, and we took our Departure at about 5 In ye morning. This Day we travelled over high mountains,3 and Low Valleys, and was Verey much fatigued both Indians and English, with ye Extreem heat of ye Sun, yt Beat upon us with So much Vehemency, Some of ye Indians ye Carried Connews, was almost melted, and obliged to Gave out before Night. our Company of Indians

¹ The words italicized are partially erased in the original manuscript.

² This is about the distance given in Morris, *Remarks*.

³ The Cobequid Mountains, some of whose elevations are over 1000 feet.

yt I was with, arrived ye Greater part of us to Togmiguish a Little while before Sun Set, but Some Gave out and Incamped by ye way. at this place there Livd an old Gentleman, yt had been a prisoner in queen Anns Warin boston, and Spoke Verey Good English, ye old Gentleman Seemed Verey kind to me, and Gave me a piece of Bread and told me he was Verey Sorrey for our misfortune, and wished it was in his power to Contribute any thing to our Consolation

Tuesday ye 11th This Day at Togmequish, ye Greatest Part of our Company of Indians, whent Into ye woods In order to make Connews, to Carrey us to Luisbourg, I was Left behind at ye Camps, where they was killing of Cattle and Laying in a Stock of Provissions, for our Voyage, there manner of Curing meate that they Design to keep any Considerable time, is to Cut it in Large fletches, and Lay it over ye fire, till it is So Smoakedryed, and Rosted, yt one Cannot perceive any manner of moister in it, more then in a Chip, this is ye Custom of both french, and Indians, when they Design to Carrey their provisions any Considerable Distance

Whenesday ye 12th This Day there arrived a man from Luisbourg y^t had been but twelve days in his passage, and brought Letters to ye General of our armey, to make all possible Dispatch to their assistance at Luisbourg, and Likwise Gave him Information, y^t ye English had made Great progress, and met with Great Succes, this News was Intierly Concealed from ye Indians, and turned to quite ye Re-

verse, By ye French officers, to Encourage ye Indians to Continue on their Voyage, with Eagerness, in Expectation of Great Booty of ye Spoil of ye English, which they Supposed to Vanquish Intierly. at their arrivel to Luisbourg, and ye News passd Curant in all ye Camps of ye Indians, yt there was a french Fleet arrived to Luisbourg, and had Intierly Cut off all our Shiping, and Destroyed ye Greater part of ye Land armey, and ye Small Number yt Remained of them, had fled Into ye woods Some Distance from Luisbourg and in Great Distress, having Nothing to Subsist on. this many of ye Indians Told me in Disdain, and asked me what I thought of our armey at Luisbourg, & whether I had any hopes of their taking of it at this time, and many other Such Ridiculous questions, all this I Regarded as Trifles, and observed ye Countenance of ye french officers, which I Conceited Seemed to Denote Somthing otherwise, then what ye Endians had told me, although when they was amongst ye Indians, they put on a Chearfull Contenance to Incourage them, but as I had nothing Else to Imploy my Self with, of any Considerable Consequence but Inspect into their actions, I made a Remark, yt ye French officers I Could often See Setting togather, and talking So Seriously, and with So much Concern, that I was fully persuaded In my mind, that they had Given ye Indians wrong Informatio[n]

Thirsday 13th This Day all ye armey Exceeding Buisey making preparation for our Voyage to Luisbourg, ye Indians Imployed in making Connews and paddles &c. and ye French In Transporting of their

Bagage, and all yt was heavey Carrige on board of the Vessels this Day there Came many horses Loaden with Provissions from Quebecet, Viz meal Flower meat and Biskett and Liquor &c. the french officers, Seemed Exceeding Urgent to make all possible Dispatch, and Desired ye Indians would be as Expeditious as possible, in finishing their Connews and all their Utensiels that was Necesserey for our Voyage, I was pretty much Dissattisfied, and Impatient to hear ye truth of ye News Concerning our forces at Luisbourg, and Endeavoured by all possble means to Inform my Self of it. there was a man in ye armey yt Belonged to Luisbourg an officer, him I observed In perticuler above any of ye Rest, In Expectation yt as he was an Inhabitant there, he would be touched more Sensibly then any of ye others, Either with Sorrow or Joy. according as ye News in Reality was. and Seeing this man walking with another officer, and talking Verey Seriously, and with a Great Deal of Concern I had a Great Desire, to know ye Substance of their Discourse. and for yt purpose throed my Self in their way, as though I had been Gathering of Stiks for ye fire, and placed my Self in Such a possition, that I Could hear ye whole of their Discours, and as they passed I heard this Gentleman bemoaning himself, and Said if his aged father and mother was not there, his Concern would be nothing in Comparison to what it then was, this I thought was a plain Confirmation to my opinion, and being fully Sattisfied in my mind yt ye Inglish had ye Better I Returned to our Camp, and when I Saw a Convenient oppertunity, I

Divulged my mind To my Companions, and Related to y^m the observations I had made

Fryday ye 14th This Day In ye morning there Came orders yt we must pack up our Bagage. and take our Departure for Luisbourg, ye Greater part of ye Canedy Indians Imbarked In Connews made of Bark, Some of Elm and Sum wite ash, and So Large yt Sum of them, would carrey verey Comfortably fourteen men, and their Bagage So yt all of them Could paddle, or Row, without Discommoding Each other In ye Least. ye Micmack Indians, Viz those yt Lives Round ye Bay of fondy, and on Cape Sable Shore, Imbarqued ye Greater part In two Shallops. and ye French on Board two Vessells, a Sloop and a Schooner. all Excepting about thirty, that had Gon Before us as Spies. and a few of ye French officers, and their priest, which was with ye Canedy Indians, us prisoners was Chiefly with our Respective masters. we that was Imbarqued In Connews, took our Departure from Togmiguish Before those on board ye Vessells Came to Sail, after we had paddled about two or three Leagus we had Intiligence, yt Some of ye Vessells had Ran aground. Therefore they Concluded it was best for us to Go on Shore, and Stop for ye General, which we Did. and Stop there that Night.

Saturday ye 15th of June 1745 This Day Early In ye morning we began to make preperation for our Departure, ye place where we Incamped was in a Sandy Cove. behind a point of Land yt Sheltered us from ye Sea, they Supposed it most Convenient for us, to be as Expeditious as possible, and make ye best

our way, as we was in Connews, and Could Go but Slowly we Imbarqued Verey Early in ye morning, In Expectation ye General and those behind us would Soon overtake us, as Soon as we where Imbarqued and turned ye point, we saw three Sail of Sloops¹ but a Small Distance from us, yt made Directly for us, there was Great Disputing amongst them, Some Sd they was French Vessells bound for Luisbourg with Provissions, and others they was English, my Indian Master asked me my opinion of ym I told him I Could not Tell what they was. But I Believed they was English, and I thought I knew one of them, which was Capt Donhahews Sloop. we Continued our Course along Shore, about 200 of us in Companey. and brougt ye Sloops to Bear almost a Stern of us, one of ye Sloops Changed her Course and Stood

¹ Capt. David Donahew's version of this exploit, taken from his letter dated "Canso Passage, June 26," is printed in the *Pa*. *Gazette*, No. 868, for Aug. I, 1745. It is given below for the sake of comparison. Drake in his *Fr. and Ind. War*, p. 66, does not quote it correctly. He, and historians generally, are mistaken as to the place where this engagement took place. Douglass calls the place "Asmacouse," and Donahew "Askmacouse Harbour."

[&]quot;On the 15th Instant [June, 1745], in Askmacouse Harbour, up the Bay [Tatmagouche Bay], my Luck was to meet with two Sloops and two Schooners, and an unaccountable Number of Indian Canoes. At Six the same Morning the Captains Becket [or Beckwith] and Fones [Daniel Fones], who were consorted with me, being to Leward, saw some Smoke, which they pursued, and soon lost Sight of me. I pursued my Chase, and at Ten o'clock came up with and fired at them, they strove to decoy and catch me in Shoal Water, which I soon perceived, and I ac-

⁴¹

towards ye General, who was then about two Leagus a Stern of us. ye other two stood for us, and overhalled us Considerably. we Discerned their Colours verey plain, and Saw they was under french Coleurs, this Encouraged ye Endians verey much, and they Concluded they was Canedy Sloops bound for Luisbourg, but I was fully perswaeded to ye Contrary, and Told them I beleived they would find themselves mistaken. we was abliged to keep ye Shore on Bord In our Connews, and In Going Round a Large Cove the Sloops Shott a head of us, & Stood In by a point, So that we Could not Continue on our Course, without their Speaking with us by an[y] means, this put them on Consideration, what was best to be done. Some Concluded it was best for us to Continue on our Course, others to Go on Shore ye Sloops Seeing

cordingly stood away from the Shore, they being a Thousand in Number, and I but forty odd; we spoke to each other for two Hours and a half; they knowing my Name, they desired me to make ready my Fast for them, and I telling the Cowards they were afraid to row up; the Weather start calm; as they came to Hand I killed, but the Number I know not; I fired two Hundred four Pounders, double Round and Partridge, fifty three Pounders, my Swivel and Small Arms continually playing on them. My Stern, by Force of firing, is down to the Water Edge, Round-House all to Pieces, but bold hearted; had it not been so calm I should have done as I would, but not one Breath of Wind, and they rowing all round me both Head and Stern ; but Capt. Becket and Capt. Fones appearing in Sight, they retreated and run into Shoal Water, I followed them within Pistol Shot till I ran aground; but blessed be God, have got safe off. This was the Army that besieged Annapolis, and was ordered to assist Louisbourg, but their Design is prevented."

of us Gathered Togather after Such a manner, and Concluded we would not Continue on our Course, put about and Stood Towards us, and Signified they had a mind to Speak with us, which they Presently Did, for they Seeing we would by no means pass by them. and they being Verey Near us, Down Comes ye French Colours on one Side. and up ye English on ye other, and knocked open their portes, and almost In ye Twinkling of an Eye, they Gave us three or four Cannon. ye Shott Came Exceeding Near us, that made ye water of a foam In ye middle of us. the Endians Seeing this there was a Great Confusion amongst them. he was ye Best man yt Could Get on Shore first. ye Bullets Continued flying amongst us, but by bad fortune they all Escaped Safe on Shore, and Never a man hurt, we halled our Connews up behind a Sea wall. ye Sloops Stood Near ye Shore and Came to an anker, and fiered Verey Briskly upon us, But we being Behind ye Sea wall it was to no purpose, for as Soon as they Saw ye Flash of a Cannon they Tumbled, as quick as though they had been Shoot Down. ye Indians Lay Scatered along Shore Some Considerable Distance, and to Shew there Great Courage, would Somtimes Crawl from behind ye Sea wall, and hoop and Yell, and make ye most hellish Noise that is possible to proceed from humain Creatures. at Length there Came a ball, that passed through one of their Bodys and Carried part of his powder horn, that hung by his Side with it. the Sloop yt Stood back for ye General, and those that was behind us, began to fire Verey briskly ye Indians

began to [be] much Concerned for ye General, and Sent messengers Back by Land to Inspect how affairs Stood. who Returned in a Verey Short time, and Gave Inteligence, that they would Soon Take ye privatear, if they had a few Cannon But Nevertheless if it Continued Calm, they would Soon take her with Small armes, for they was then In Chase of her with all four of their Vessells, and Intend to board her. ye two Sloops that was with us, hearing ye Continual fireing Come to Sail, and made all possible Expedetion to ye others assistance. as Soon as they Saw ye Sloops make towards ye General, ye French officers that was with us, and Likwise ye Indians Changed their Countenances and Exactly Imetated Belteshazer ye Great king of Babylon and Said one to another, that they was verey much Concerned at what they feared would be ye Event, for they was Sensible there would be much Blood Shed, if they was not all Destroyed. as Soon as ye French General Saw ye other two Sloops, he Gave orders to make for ye Shore with all possible Expedition. the Sloops Gave Chase and followed them, Verey Clost but by ye help of their oars they made their Escape, and arrived Safe Into their Lurking place, a Small Crick where ye Sloops Could not follow. ye Sloops followed Clost In to ye mouth of ye Crick, and Came to an anker, So that they Could by no means Come out. When we Saw ye Course was Clear we Embarqued In our Connews. In order to Return To Togmiguish, In Expectation ye General and all yt was with him, was Either Taken or killed. when we Came in Sight of

ye Harbour, we found ye Three Sail of Privetears, where Come to anker In ye Entrance, and we Could not by any means pass, without being Exposed to ye Danger of their Cannon. and we was abliged to Go Round to another place and Transport our Connews by Land Into ye harbour, this Night we Incamped at ye head of a Small Crick, and Could not arrive To Togmeguish, nor hear any News from ye General. this Night I Sought for an oppertunity to make my Escape, but ye Indians kept So Good a watch, I found it would be but Imprudent to make ye attempt.

Sunday ye 16 This Day Early in ye Morning, we began to Transport our Connews, and bagage over ye Land about a League, Into ye harbour of Togmeguish. we had Inteligence that ye General, and all that was with him, was well, and yt Never a man was hurt, in all ye Engagement, Nor Never a Shott hit one of their Vessells. this News filled ye hearts of all ye French, and Indians with joy, but I Did not believe it was possible. when ye Engagement Continued from about 9 of ye Clock In ye morning till 4 In ye Afternoon, we arrive To ye Place where ye General was, about Ten of [the] Clock in ye forenoon. where they had halled all four of their Vessells ashore in a Crick. and Incamped by them, I Discoursed with Some of ye Prisoners, that had been on board ye French Vessells in ye Engagement. who Gave me a Regular account, of what had passed on bord and Told me there was not a man, killed nor Wounded. This Day we was Imployed in making preparation

for our Lodgings &c, and many of ye Indians and french Disputing what was ye most purdent Meathod, they Could take to Commence their Second attempt for Luisbourg

Monday ye 17 This Day ye French and Indians Verey Buisy In Situating our Selves, in the most Commodious manner, to Defend themselves In Case ye English Landed. This Day we had Inteligence, there was another Sloop arrived, and Come to an anker with ye other three

Tuesday ye 18th This Day ye French and Indians Imployed In falling Trees Round their Camps. In Expectation of ye English, Comming to attack ym on Shore, there was also Spies from our Camps, Continually passing and Repassing, to Inspect weither there was any Danger of their Landing, to attack ym. which the French and Indians told me they wished they would attempt & I Should Soon have more of my Countrymen, In there Camps with me for Company

Whednesday ye 19th This Day we had an account, that ye English Vessells was augmented to ye Number of five or Six, and they Began to be Concerned, and affraid they Should be Intierly obstructed, In their Voyage To Luisbourg

Thirsday ye 20th This day ye General Sent for ye heads of our Camps of Indians, to Come to their Counsell, that was then held at ye Generals Camp, and told ym they preposed to make a Second attempt for Luisbourg, and In what manner he preposed, to take their Departure and not be mistrusted, by ye

English Privatears. Viz, yt he Designed To take their Departure, a Little after Dark In Connews, and that he Should Imploy, three or four of ye Neutrel french To be Continually Stirring ye fire, in all parts of ye Camps, yt they might Therby amuse ye English, and make them believe they was at ye Camps, and in ye mean time Paddle Easseyly under ve Shore. and Slip by ye privetears without being Discovered. the herons and Sum of ye Ebeniqui Indians¹ would not Consent. to Go to Luisbourg by any means, but Told ye General, as they had already made an attempt, and had been obstructed, they Insisted on Going to Canedy. ye General Used many arguments But Could not prevail with them, to Go to Luisburg by any means, when ye Indians had Returned to our Camps, they Gave me an account of what had passed, and Told me to acquaint my Commerads, that we Should Commence our Jorney, for Canedy that day, and by no means to make our Selves any ways uneasey or Disconted,² for It was ye Best thing that Could happen, for us to Go to Canedy. for Several Reasons, one was, that if in Case they whent to Luisbourg. and ye English was like to have ye Better of them, it was Verey probable they Should knock us in head, and take of [f] our Scalps. which they told me, was often their Custom, when they was persued by ye English yt their prisoners might be no hin-

¹There is an indifferent account of these Indians by Rev. Eugene Vetromile, entitled *The Abnakis and their History; Or Historical Notices on the Aborigines of Acadia. New York, 1866.* ²Discontented.

⁴⁷

drance to them in their flight. at about Noon we Set out on our Journey, for ye Bay Verd¹ about 70 In Companey. This day we travelled over a Great Deal of Rough and bad Travelling and over marshes and Cricks, and flatts &c. Somtimes almost up to our middles, in mud and water. we travelled about four Leagues and Incamped by ye Side of a Large marsh,

Friday 21st This Day we Travelled, Chiefly along Shore over Clefts of Rocks, Sands &c. this Day we was Exceeding hungrey. and little or Nothing to Eat. we was obliged to take the Bark off birtch Trees, and Scrape ye Inside of it, with our knives and Eat it for our Subsistance. this Night we arrived to a place, where we found a few Clambs, and Catched a few Small fishes, this Day we marched about 9 Leagues and Incamped by ye Sea Side.

Saturday ye 22d This Day my Indian master Gave me a Small Cake, In ye morning before we began our march, and told me I must Expect to march that morning Verey fast, by Reason we was to pass over a Crick yt was In our way, and he Expected we Should be obstructed by ye Tide, if we was not Verey Expeditious when we Came to ye Crick which was about 8 In ye morning, we found ye watter almost up to our Chins, and Some was abliged to Swim. this Day at 12 of ye Clock, my master Gave me for my Dinner, about one third part of Dryed Eall. which

¹Bay Verte or Green Bay. "No Vessel above 80 Tons Even attempts to come Nearer than 9 miles" to the shore. Nova Scotia Papers in Samuel Adams Papers, 1777, in the Lenox Library.

⁴⁸

Seemed to be at that time ye Sweetest morsel, yt Ever I Tasted in ye whole Course of my Life. this Day we arrived to ye Bay Verd, at about 6 at Night. we was Verey much Fatigued, with our days march, both Indians and English, having Travelled, 7 Leagues over Extaordinary [sic] bad Travelling. we was that day abliged Several Times, to help one another out of ye mud. This Night ye french people at ye Bay Verd. Gave me Somthing to Eat and Some Tabacoe &c.

Sunday ye 23d This Day there Came one of ye Neutrel French an Inhabitant at ye Bay Verd, Named Morrise and told me. he would Endeavour to purchase me out of ye hands of ye Indians, if he was able, but he pleaded poverty, and Told me he would Send to his Brother, yt Livd at bon Basan, and he made no Doubt, But he would purchase, my Redemtion if there was any possibillety. we Took our Departure, at about 6 in ye morng for bon Basan¹ being Exceeding Short of Provisions. when we arrived we found Provissions, Exceeding Scarce and Dear. This Day we travelled about 6 Leagus. and Incamped, at Secconnectau Near ye mass House.

¹ Beaubassin or Chignecto. Pote says "Seconnectaus, alias bon basan." Some of the old atlases confuse by giving two places, Beaubassin, and, considerably to the south of it, "Seganecto," "Chianecto," and other spellings. Sheganektoo, N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. v. p. 592; Sheganectoo, in Popple. Beaubassin was one of the three most populous places in Nova Scotia. The French had a wooden fort there, which, in 1747, was garrisoned with 25 men. Its Indian name was Messagouche, and it was situated on the River Misiquas, at the head of Chignecto Bay. 7

⁴⁹

Monday ye 24th This Day our Indians preparing Provissions Necesserey. for our Jorney and many matterials. they Gave me an account of ye Rivers and ponds, we Should meet with In our way, and In how Long a time they Supposed we Should Be marching to Canedy¹ &c. Many of ye Neutrel french Came to See us, but None yt I had been acquainted with

Tuesday ye 25th This Day the Indians Called a Counsell, to Consider, wether it was most Convenient To Go to ye River of Saint Johns, ² In ye Schooner montague, that I was taken in. and was then at that place. or wether it was best for us to Go by Land. after many Disputes amongst y^m they Concluded it was best to Go by Land. ye Indians yt I belonged to. after they had Drawn up a Conclusion amongst them-

¹ The western and most common passage from Beaubassin to Quebec was by way of the Petitcodiac River to the St. Johns and Trois Pistole or Spey River into the St. Lawrence. Expresses had been known to reach Quebec in this way in seven days, and most of the grown people had gone that route to the Bishop for confirmation. Morris, *Remarks*.

² For a description of this river and of the face of the country, as well as a view of the Great Falls, see Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America*, vol. ii. Its Indian name was Looshtook. Called in Jefferys' map, in his *French Dom.*, Wigudi, Clyde, or St. Johns R.

In April, 1750, the French, under Sieur De la Corne, set fire to the town, and in the summer of that year Major Charles Lawrence erected a fort near its site, which was called after him Fort Lawrence. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. vi. pp. 835, 954; x. pp. 4, 11, 216, 282. Compare also the maps of Montresor, 1768; Kitchin, 1749, in London Magazine; D'Anville, and the plan in Mante, History of the Late War, 1772.

selvs, they Explaind ye affair to me. at which I told them I was Verey Sorrow, for I Dreaded ye Thoughts of Travelling by Land, as I had already Experienced So much of ye Difficulty therof

ye 26th Whensday This Day the Schooner montague, Sailed for ye River of Saint Johns, there was on board of her Several prisoners. Viz ye master of ye Schooner yt was taken with us at anapolis.¹ and one of his people, and two of my people and a Considerable Number of ye Ebenacqui Indians. I was Verey Earnest with ye Indians yt I Belonged with. to Go with ym but Could not prevail. This Day all hands making preparation for our Departure.

Thirsday 27th This Day we Imbarqued, on Board of a Small Schooner. Belonging to one of ye Neutrel french Named, Jacques Bomaus, who was bound with his family, Towards ye River of Saint Johns this man Spoke Verey Good English, and Told me the Neutrel french was Verey much affraid of ye English. and Expected they would Come upon them. and Cut them off, and asked me my opinion of that affair &c. I Told him there was no manner of Danger of their mollesting of them in ye Least, In Case they Behaved themselves In a proper manner, and Did not assist and Encourage our Enimies to Come upon us In a Clandestine manner, he told me he was then moving of his family. on ye account of ye Fear and Dread, they had of ve English making an Incurtion upon them, this man Gave me a Dram, which was ye first time I had

¹ James Sutherland, of the schooner Seaflower.

⁵¹

Drank anything Stronger then Small bear Since I was taken This Day we Saild about Eleven or Twelve Leagus from Seconnectaus, alias bon bason ye Indians whent on Shore In order to Incamp on ye Shore this Night. but for what Reason I Cannot Tell. they would not Trust to Lay on Shore but Came on board after we was Laid down to Repose our Selves and kept and Exceeding Good watch aboard all Night. I beleive they Conceited ye master of ye Vessell, and I Because he Spoke Good English, had plotted Togather for us to make our Escape

Friday ye 28th This Day whent up a River about 6 Leagues To a Carrying place, Some in Connews and others By Land. there was Seven or Eight of us whent By Land, whereof I was one of them. we marched By Several french houses by ye Side of ye River. and Stopped at a mans house, Named bon Soliel,¹ this man Treated me, with much Cevility, and Gave me Some Victuals & a Dram, and Some Tabacoe, and acquainted me that his house, was ye Last french house I Should meet with, Till I arrived to ye River of Saint Johns, we arrived to ye Carrying

¹ Joseph Brosard, called Beausoleil. He was one of twelve who were outlawed by Gov. Shirley for being guilty of high treason with the enemy. Twice within the space of two years the Indians, led on by this Acadian, attacked Dartmouth, near Halifax, and put many people to death. The town of Halifax was palisaded to prevent their irruptions, and no one was safe who ventured a mile from the town. A block-house and a line of palisadoes with guard-houses were erected to prevent their incursions. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 155; Coll. of Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., vol. ii. p. 151.

place, about 5 In ye afternoon, and was Verey much fatigued with our Days march, having marched ye Greater part of ye way, over hills and mountains through ye woods where there was no path. this Night I had plotted with one Jacob, an Indian fellow, ye [sic] formerly Belonged to Capt Jno Gorhams Company, to Endeavour to make our Escape. But ye Indians being Sensible, it was a Convenient place for that purpose, whent before Night, and Carried ye Connews Into ye woods and hid them, which Intierly Disappointed us In our Scheme

Saturday ye 29th This Day we took our Departure, Early in ye morning for a place Called pettcochack¹ a River yt Led into ye River of Saint Johns my master Told me, I must Carrey a Large pack yt Day, by Reason we had ye Connews To Carrey with us. we arrived to ye River Petcochack a Little Before Sun Down. This Day we Travelled about Six Leagus, over much Rough and muddy Travelling

¹ The Petitcodiac was navigable for canoes at least fifty miles, and was connected with the R. Jedemweigt, apparently the present Washedamoak, by a carrying place. The French called it Petit Coude (Little elbow), and it is frequently called Pettycoatjack by the inhabitants. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 358. It is spelled variously on the maps and in the documents. Patcootycak, Morris, Remarks; Patcootyeak, map in Huske, Present State of N. A., 2d ed., 1755; Petquecheck, Amer. Military Pocket Atlas, Holland's Pownall map, 1776, and Jefferys' map in his French Dominions; Petcudiac, Atlantic Neptune; Pechequec, Faden's Atlas, 1777, and Jefferys' N. A. Atlas; Pitcoudiac, Montresor's map, 1768. In the map of Charles Morris it is joined directly with the St. Johns by a carrying place; but this is incorrect.

ye 30th Sunday This Day In ye morning we had Intilligence yt there was a priest from ye River of Saint Johns, Expected to arrive at this place In a few minuts, ye Indians made Great preparatio[n] for his Reception, and at his arrival Shewed many Symtomes, of their Great Respect, ye Priest was Conducted to ye Captains Camp, where after having passed many Complemts, the Priest asked ye Capt of ye Indians who I was, and when he Understood I was a prisoner, he asked me if I could Speak french, I told him a Little, and asked him Concerning one Ionathan¹ a Soldier, yt was a passenger on board of our Schooner, when we was taken, and was then at ye River of Saint Johns. ye Priest Gave me an account of him, and told me to Content my Self In ye Condition yt I was then In, for I was in ye hands of a Christian Nation, and it might prove verey Beneficial, both to my Body & Soul. I was abliged [to] Concur with his Sentiments, for fear of Displeasing my masters. ye Indians Built him a Table against a Large Tree. where he Said mass, and Sung {louange au .bon Dieu pour leur Conservation Jusqu'au present} after they had Concluded their mass &c. ye Priest Gave them Permission to Commence their making Connews, and Took his Leave of us, This Day we was Imployed In making Connews of Elm and ash Bark

July ye 1st 1745 Monday This Day at about Eleaven of ye Clock, we Finnished our Connews. and Imbarqued for ye River of St Johns, there was Seven

¹ Jonathan Donham or Dunham.

⁵⁴

Connews of us In all. I asked my Master how far he Supposed it was to St Johns Rr he told me he Supposed it about 25 Leagus. This Night we Incamped by ye Side of ye River Petcochack

2d Tuesday 1745 This Day was foul weather ye Greatest part of ye Day, and Likwise verey bad Paddling, on account of Ripplings and falls &c. So yt we made no Great progress. this Night we Incamped by ye Side of ye River. we had much Difficulty to kindle a fire, by Reason it Rained Exceeding fast, and wet our fire works, we was abliged to turn our Connews bottem up, and Lay Under them, at this time it thundred Exceedingly, and ye Indians asked me if there was not people In my Countrey, Somtimes Distroyed by ye Thunder and Lightning yes I told ym I had known Several Instances of that Nature, they Told me yt Never any thing hapned to ye Indians, of harm Neither by thunder nor Lightning. and they S^d it was a ludgment on y^e English, and French, for Incroaching on their Libertys In America.

Whednesday ye 3^d of July 1745 This Day Good weather, and Tollerable Good Paddling, we made out I Computed about ten or Eleven Leagus, this Night we Incamp^d by ye Side of ye River Petcochack

Thirsday ye 4th This Day we had Indifferent Good paddling our Indians Exceeding merey, Singing and hooping &c. This Day they asked me to hoop as they Did, I told them I Could not Therefore they Constrained me to Sing. This Night we Incamped by ye Side of ye River, and Caught Some Small Fish. which I made an attempt to Clean but they would not

permit me, nor Suffer me to wash Some that I had already Gutted, but Took y^m from me, and boilled y^m as they where, Slime and Blood and all Togather, This put me in mind of y^e old Proverb, God Sent meat and y^e D—l Cooks¹

Friday 5 arrived this Day to ye River of St Johns about Ten in ye morning, and had made out our Common Course in ye River petcochack about WSW, and our Distance about 26 Leagues acording to ye Best Computation I Could make This River Comes into ye River of St Johns about 27 Leagus² above ye falls³. This Day about 5 in ye afternoon we Saw a Sail Standing towards us Down ye River, ye Indians was verey fearfull to pass. fearing it Should Be an Inglish Vessell we kept Clost by ye Shore, and when we Came abrest of her, we found her a Small french Sloop bound with a man and his wife down ye River, Nevertheless ye Indians would by no means trust ym but kept their Guns Cocked to their Faces, and Presented at ye Sloop, till we Came along Side of her, this Night we arrived to a Spanierd house⁴ by ye Side of St Johns River and Incamp^d this Spanierd Spoke Exceeding

^{1 &}quot;God sent meat, and the devil sent cooks."—Taylor, Works, 1630, pt. ii. 85. See also Bartlett, Familiar Quotations; Hazlitt, English Proverbs, p. 145.

² The Petitcodiac River was connected with the River Jedemweigt by a carrying place. It was this latter river which emptied into the St. John. Compare Jefferys' *Map of Nova Scotia*, in his *French Dominions*.

³ The falls near the city of St. John.

⁴ He may have resided at Jemseg.

⁵⁶

Good Inglish, and Told me he had Sailed out of Boston Some Years.

Saturday ye 6th This Day In ye Morning our Indians had much Difficulty, to prevail with ye Spaniard to Sell ym his Connew. This Day we passed by Several french houses,1 and Some we Stoped at for provissions, but they was Exceeding poor and Could not Supply us with any, this Night we arrived to an Indian Village, Called apoge,² where we found ye Schooner montague was arrived with ye other Some Days before us, at this place ve prissoners Squaws Came down to ye Edge of ye River, Dancing and Behaving themselves, in ye most Brutish and Indecent manner yt is possible for humain kind, and taking us prisoners by ve armes, one Squaw on Each Side of a prisoner, they Led us up to their Village and placed themselves In a Large Circle Round us, after they had Gat all prepared for their Dance, they made us Set Down In a Small Circle, about 18 Inches assunder and began their frolick, Dancing Round us

¹ There are some "French houses" located between Jemseg and Naxoat on the River St. John, in Jefferys' map in his *French Dom*.

² This Indian village was probably situated a little above Naxoat, on the west bank of the River St. John. Naxoat was opposite what is now Fredericton. The early maps are a mass of incongruities. Jefferys spells it Ougpauk in his *Map of Nova Scotia* in *Fr. Dom.*, and Ocpack in his *N. A. Atlas*; Montresor's *Map of N. S.*, 1768, locates "Ocpack" at the head of "Lake Frenuse," now Grand Lake; Oepack, in Holland's *Pownall map*, and Hokepack in Maillard, *Account of the Mickmakis*, 1758, p. 84.

⁸

and Striking of us in ye face with English Scalps, yt Caused ye Blood to Issue from our mouths and Noses, In a Verey Great and plentifull manner, and Tangled their hands in our hair, and knocked our heads Togather with all their Strength and Vehemence, and when they was Tired of this Exercise, they would take us by [the] hair and Some by ye Ears, and Standing behind us, ablige us to keep our Necks Strong So as to bear their weight, then Raise themselves, their feet off ye Ground and their weight hanging by our hair & Ears, In this manner, they thumped us In ye Back and Sides, with their knees and feet, and Twitchd our hair and Ears to Such a Degree, that I am Incapable to Express it, and ye others that was Dancing Round if they Saw any man falter, and did not hold up his Neck, they Dached¹ ye Scalps In our faces with Such Violence, yt Every man Endeavoured to bear them hanging by their hair in this manner, Rather then to have a Double Punishment, after they had finished their frolick, that Lasted about two hours and an half, we was Carried to one of their Camps, where we Saw Some of ye Prisoners that Came in ye montague, at this place we Incamped yt Night with hungrey Belleys. 40 L from ye Entrance W N W by our Computation

Sunday ye 7th This Day we was Informed, and found we had Suficient Reason to Confide In ye Information, That they held a Counsell amongst ym weather they Should put us to Death, and ye Saint

1 Dashed.

⁵⁸

Johns Indians¹ almost Gaind ye point for they Insisted it was but Justice, as they S^d there had been Several of their Tribe, murdered by Capt John Gorham at anapolis. our masters being Verey Desireous to Save us alive, Used all ye arguments In their power for that purpose but Could not prevail, for they Insisted on Satisfaction, howsoever our masters prevailed So far with ym, as to take Some Considerable quantity of their most Valuable Goods, and Spare our Lives, this Day they Gave us Some Boilld Salmon which we Eat with a Verey Good appetite, without Either Salt or Bread, we Incamp^d this Night at this afforsaid Indian Village Apog.

Monday ye 8th This Day In ye Morning ye herons began to Make preparation for their Departure up ye River of Saint Johns, at about Ten In ye morning we Imbarqued and Left those yt Came In ye Schooner montague at Apog making Birtch Connews &c this Day we meet with much falling water &c, one of our Indians Called Jacob a prisoner yt formerly Belongd to Capt John Gorhams Company and was taken on Goat Island; was Exceedingly out of order and Could not assist ye Indians to paddle against ye Strong Current, yt Ran against us ye Greater part of ye Day, his head was So Exceedingly Swelled, with ye Squaws beatting of him, yt he Could Scearsly See out of his Eyes.

¹ War had been declared against the St. John's Indians in October, 1744. Peace was not settled with them until October, 1749, when the last treaty of Dummer, with some additions, was renewed. Hutchinson, *Mass.*, vol. ii. (1767) p. 430; Drake, *Fr. and Ind. War*, pp. 61, 176.

⁵⁹

I had ye Good fortune to be almost well In Comparison to what he was, although it was he and I was Companions, and Sat Next to Each other, In ye Time of their Dance, and him they alwas took for my partner to knock our heads Togather ye Indians asked me In what Manner ye Squaws treated us, that his head was So Exceedingly Swelld I Gave them an account, at which they feigned themselves much Disgusted, and protested they was Intierly Ignorant of ye affair, and Said they thought ye Squaws Designd Nothing Else, but only to Dance round us for a Little Diversion, without mollisting or hurting of us In any manner, this Night we Incampd by ye Side of ye River Saint Johns, our Indians Showd me a Root, yt they Said they offten made Use of for Substainance when they had no provisions, this Night we all Slept with Verey hungrey belleys

Tuesday ye 9th This Day we had also much falling water and Ripplings to pass. Somtimes we was abliged to Land, and Carrey our Bagage over Clefts of Rocks, and trees &c, that was in our way. This day ye Indians told me we Should arrive Near to and other Indian Village,¹ I asked them if they Supposed they would Use us in ye manner we had been, at y^e other Village they made me no answer, but Said Somthing In Indian, yt Caused all ye Connews to Gather Round ye Connew yt I was in, & Discoursed in Indian what they Said I Could not tell But I observed they Looked with a Verey Serious Contenance

> ¹ Medoctec. 60

on me, when I Saw a Convenient oppertunity I Spoke to this affect, Gentlemen You are all Verey Sensible, of ye Ill Usage we met with at ye other Village, which I have Reason to believe, was Intierly Contrary to any of Your Inclinations or permission, and as You Call Your Selves Christians, and men of honour, I hope You 'I Use Your prisoners accordingly, But I think it is Verey Contrary to ye Nature of a Christian, to abuse men In ye manner we was at ye other Village, and I am Verey Sensible there is no Christian Nation yt Suffers their prisoners to be abused after they have Given them quarters, In ye manner we have been, the Indians Looked verey Serious, and approved of what I Said, and Talked amongst themselves In Indian, and my master told me when we arrived to ye Indian Village I must mind to keep Clost by him. This Night we Incampd on an Island In ye River Saint Johns, this Night we had a Small peice of Boilled Salmon, yt was Given to ye Indians by an Indian yt Lived on ye Island This was Divided amongst our Company, yt Consisted of twenty three persons

Whensday ye 10th This Day we Took our Departure Early In ye morning, ye Indians told me we Should arrive to ye Indian Village before Noon, this morning we passed by Several Small Spots of Cleard Land, where ye Indians had Improved and planted Corn and beans &c, we arrived to ye Indian Village about Noon, as Soon as Squaws, Saw us Coming In Sight of their Village, and heard ye Cohoops, which Signified ye Number of Prisoners, all ye Squaws In their Village, prepared themselves with Large Rods

of Briars, and Nettles &c, and met us at their Landing, Singing and Dancing and Yelling, and making Such a hellish Noise, yt I Expected we Should meet with a worse Reception at this place than we had at ye other. I was Verey Carefull to observe my masters Instructions, yt he had Given me ye Day before, and warned ye Rest to do Likwise, our Indians Seemed Verey Indifferent In Landing, and passed Some Small Distance above ye Landing place. ye first Connew yt Landed, was ye Capt of ye herons he had but one prisoner in his Connew, which was an Indian, yt had formerly Belonged to Capt John Gorhams Companey. as Soon as he Landed he was not Carfull to keep By his master, and ye Squaws Gatherd themselves Round him, and Caught him by ye hair, as many as Could hold of him, and halled him down to ye Ground, and pound his head against ye Ground, ye Rest with their Rods dancing Round him, and wipted him over ye head and Legs, to Such a degree, that I thought they would have killed him In ye Spot, or halled him in ye watter and Drounded him, they was So Eager to have a Stroak at him Each of them, that they halld him Some one way and Some another, Some times Down towards ye water by ye hair of ye head, as fast as they Could Run, then ye other party would have ye Better and Run with him another way, my master Spoke to ye other Indians, and told ym to take ye fellow out of their hands, for he beleived they would Certainly murther him, In a Verey Short time. I Seeing ye Squaws Comming towards me, Endeayoured to hall on my Stockings as Soon as possible, for I Dreaded my

Legs more then any thing Else, that was at that time So Sore, In Sitting in ye Connew in ye Sun yt I Could Scarsely Stand upon them, as Soon as ye Squaws approached Near me, my master Spoke Something In Indian, In a Verey harsh manner, yt Caused ym to Stop in their persuit, and Returned to ye Rest and Led ye Indian, they Got hold of first, up to their Village. when my masters Saw ye way was Clear, they whent up to their Village, and we was Conducted to ye Capts Camp with me and all ye Rest of ye Prisoners, Except ye poor Indian, that was In ye hand of ye Squaws, our Indians as Soon as they had Set Down, Intreated of ye Capt of ye Village, to Relieve this poor Indian out of ye hands of ye Squaws and Told him, how we had Been abused at ye other Village ye Capt Verey Readyly Granted their Request, and Brought ye poor fellow to us half Dead, at this place Liv^d a Soldier vt was taken on Board ye Schooner montague, who Gave me an account, how they abused him at his arrivel, at this place we Incampd that Night, with Verey hungrey Belleys 18 L G C N N W Medocatike

Thirsday ye 11th This Day we Remained In ye Indian Village called Medocatike,¹ l observed ye Squaws could no[t] by any means Content themselves without having their Dance. they Continued Teasing my

¹ The Indian village of Medoctec lay on the west bank of the St. John River, about ten miles below the present town of Woodstock, and just above the confluence of the St. John and Eel Rivers. -N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. ix. pp. 548, 904.

⁶³

Master, to Such a Degree, to have ye Liberty to Dance Round me, that he Consented they might if they would Promis to not abuse me, they Desired none of ye Rest. but me was all they aimed at for what Reason I Cannot Tell. When my masters had Given ym Liberty, which was Done Unbeknown to me and¹ In my abstance, there Came Into ye Camp, two Large Strong Squaws, and as I was Setting by one of my masters, they Caught hold of my armes with all their Strength. and Said Something in Indian, yt I Supposed was to tell me to Come out of ye Camp, and halld me of my Seat. I Strugled with ym and cleard my Self of their hold, and Set down by my master. they Came upon me again Verey Vigorously, and as I was Striving with them, my master ordered me to Go, and told me they would not hurt me. at this I was obliged to Surrender and whent with ym. they Led me out of ye Camp, Dancing and Singing after their manner, and Carried me to one of their Camps where there was a Company of them Gathered for their frolick. they made me Set down on a Bears Skin in ye Middle of one of their Camps, and Gave me a pipe and Tabacoe, and Danced Round me till the Sweat Trickled Down their faces, Verey plentyfully. I Seeing one Squaw that was Verey Big with Child, Dancing and foaming at ye mouth and Sweating, to Such a degree yt I Could not forbear Smilling, which one of ye old Squaws Saw, and Gave me two or three twiches by ye hair, otherwise I Escapd without any

¹ The words italicized are partially erased in the original.

⁶⁴

Punishment from them at yt time, This Day I was Sent for by one of ye heads of their Tribe, To Read a Contract¹ between their Tribe and ye Governour of Anappolis, that had been made about fourteen Years, I Told ye Indian they had acted, Contrary to their agreement, which abliged them to Live in Peace, and without any mollistation on Either Side. I Told him also he must Confess their Nation had been ye first agressors, he told me they had not, and Related to me Somthing Concerning ye Ill Usage of prisoners at anapolis Some time past, But he was So Imperfect In ye french Tongue, yt I Could not Understand ye true meaning of his Discours, This Day arrived To this Village. one Bonus Castine² from Pernobsquett, who Examind me Verey Strictly what our Cargoe Consisted In &c, and wrote what I Said to him Concerning it. he told me he had Latly been on board the Countrey Sloop, Capt Sanders³ at Gerorges, ⁴ and yt

4 St. George's River, Maine.

9

¹ Gov. Dummer's Treaty of 1727.

² Saint Castin, and no doubt descended from Baron Vincent Saint Castin, who married the daughter of Madockawando, Sachem of the Penobscots, by which tribe he was adopted and elevated to the rank of chief. After the baron had amassed a fortune he retired to France, and was succeeded by his son in the government of Penobscot, in 1710.-N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. ix. p. 265.

³ Capt. Thomas Sanders of the Massachusetts frigate.—Drake, Fr. and Ind. War, p. 80; Williamson, Maine, vol. ii. p. 235. See also "List of Settlers in St. George's River" in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xlvi. p. 119, where his name is given among those belonging to the "Lower Town" of St. Georges.

ye Prenobsquett Indians¹ was Still, at peace with ye English, and he believed would Continue So Some Considerable time. I thought It was not prudence to Contradict him, althogh I was Sensible there was Severel Pernobsquett Indians, In ye armey that we was Taken by, this Night my master advised me to keep in ye Camp, and by no means Go out, and protested to me, that this Bonus Castine, although he Pretended to be my friend, had Desired him to put me to Death, this Night ye Indians was Dancing and Singing, ye Greater part of ye Night

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

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

14 Sunday This Day as we was padling up ye

¹ War was declared against these Indians in 1745, but the peace with them was not settled until October, 1749.— Hutchinson, *History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, vol. ii. (1767), p. 430.

⁶⁶

River we pased by a Small Cove,¹ and perceiv^d at ve head of it, there was Salmon playing in ye Cool water, at ye head of ye Cove, we Landed verey Carefully, and Cut Bushes and Brought them down to ye Entrance of ye Cove, and wile Some of us was Imployed, with perches and our paddles &c. thrashing in ye water, to hinder ye fish from Coming out of ye Cove, ye others built a ware² across ye Entrance of ye Cove, with Bushes and our Blanketts &c and we Caught In this Cove fifty four Salmo[n] which was So Exceptable to us at that time that I Shall never forget ye Joy I was filled with, this Day we passed by a River³ yt Ran Into Saint Johns. that ye Indians told me Led almost to pernobsquet, this Day we Came about 5 L and Incamp^d by ye Side of ye River Saint Johns.

Monday ye 15th This Day we had pretty Good paddling ye Greatest part of ye Day. and arrived to ye falls⁴ So Called In Saint Johns River. at this place ye Indians, Gave me an account of ye Nature of ye

¹ This was in the vicinity of Tobique River, a stream which abounds with salmon of the largest size.

²Wear, sometimes spelt weir and wier.

³ The Aroostook River, which empties into the St. John about 20 miles below Grand Falls. It rises in Piscataquis County, Me., and its source almost meets with the east branch of the Penobscot River. It is about 140 miles long.

⁴ The Grand Falls, opposite the town of Grand Falls or Colebrooke. The River St. John suddenly plunges here from a great height into a rocky gorge. It is about 202 miles from the city of St. John. There is a view of these falls in Bouchette, *Brit.* Dom. in N. A., vol. ii.

⁶⁷

River, which is Verey Remarkable. at this place ¹ it appeard to me Like ye head of ye River, and ye water Entierly Still Like a pond, and ye Land Exceeding high, ye Indians Told me we Should Carrey over this high Land, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, and find ye River as Large, and ye Current Set as Strong, as any part of ye River, and they told me ye River Run under this high Land, although there was no manner of Sign to be perceived of it. This Night we Incamp^d at this place & Roasted our Salmon. I Computed we had Come about 10 L N W B N, we Supposed our Selves to Be about 70 Leagus, from ye Entrance of ye River of Saint Johns.

Tuesday 16th This Day we packed up our Bagage and Caried our Conews &c over ye high mountain Into ye River of Saint Johns, where I perceived ye River actually as ye Indians had Described ye Day before, this Day ye wind blew Verey hard against us. and my Master was Somthing out of humour. he Insisted I Did not Set Steady in ye Connew.

I told him I Sat as Still as I possibly Could, he Told me it was false. at which I Grumbled a Small matter, & had Like to had my head Broke, my master Took up his paddle, and Swong it Just above my head, and told me if Ever I was Guilty of ye Like Crime, he would Certainly Split my Brains out. this Day we Came about 8 Leagus. C D and Incampd by ye River of Saint Johns

Whednesday ye 17th This Day we paddled about 5 Leagus In ye River of Saint Johns, and Took an-

¹The words italicized are partially erased in the original.

⁶⁸

other Small River, ¹ yt Led Into a Large Lake. this Night we Incampd By ye Side of ye Small River, we Computed we Come fourteen Leagues, this Day G CNWBW

Thirsday ye 18 This Day In ye Morning we arrived to a Large pond² about 10 Leagus in Length. when we arrived to ye other Side of ye Pond our people ye Indians, whent to a place where they had hid provisions, In their Journey to anapolis ye winter past, they had often Told me, yt when they arrived to this Lake, we Should have a Suficent Supply of Provisions, to Carrey us Comfortably to Canady, But when they Came to ye place where they had hid their provisions they found that Some Indians, had been there before them, and Taken ye Greater part. this was heavey News, both to ye Indians and us prisoners, we Carried our Connews and Bagage about a League, and Came to another Small pond,³ which we Crossd and Incamp^d, this Day we Come about 12 Leagus NBW.

Friday ye 19th This Day we passed Several Small ponds and In Carrying across one Carrying place of

¹ Madawaska River. It rises in Lake Temiscouata, flows south, and falls into the St. John. It is 30 miles long, and from 90 to 150 yards wide.

² Lake Temiscouata. It is about 30 miles long, and varies in width from a half to two and a half miles.

³ This lake and four or five others are known as Eagle Lakes, and were called by the Indians Chipiloginissis. The Tuladi or Toledo River takes its rise in this chain of lakes, and empties into Lake Temiscouata.

⁶⁹

about 5 miles Distance.¹ John Read² ye Inglish prisoner, and one Caleb and [sic] Indian that Belonged to Capt John Gorhams Company, Ran away. they had ye Greatest part of ye Little Provisions, that we Depended upon for our Subsistance to Carrey us to Canady, and all ye Best of their Stors and Treasures Viz Some Considerable quantity of Silver money, that they had for their Booty, and about 3 or four hundred pounds In Bills of ye provience of ye massechusets, two Scalps, and two Guns, and a Good quantity of amunition. one or two Scarlet Broad Cloath Blanketts, ye Indians did not miss them, for ye Space of Near two hours, and when they missed them, there was a Great Confusion. Some Supposed they missed their way, and was Lost in y^e woods others thought they had Ran away, ye Indians asked me my opinion of it. I told ym, I believed they had Lost their way, for they was Sensible they Never attempted to Run away, Ever Since they had been with them, although they had many more Convenient oppertunitys then this was. But I Confess I thought quite otherwise, and wishd my Self with ym for I was Sensible that they Neither of them, took but Little Notice how we Came. and I was afraid ye Indians would overtake them, and kill them, as they had always told me if any of us made ye attempt. there was four Indians of our Company Returnd, In Serch of those yt Ran away, and ye Rest

¹ This was the carrying place between the lakes, or Toledo River, and the Trois Pistoles. Said in Morris, *Remarks*, to be ten miles long.

² See a former note.

⁷⁰

of us Continued on our Course. this Day I Computed we made out about 7 L C N N W and Incampd by ye Side of ye River. yt Leads Into ye River of Canada¹ Called Trois pistoles,²

Saturday ye 20th This Day we Remained In our Camps By ye River Trois Pistoles, ye Indians was verey Impatient to hear from those yt Returned, In Serch of John Read, and ye other Prisoner. they asked me Several questions Concerning them, Viz if I had any Intilligence of their Intentions, before they Ran away, or whither I thought yt they had a Design, and kept it Concealed Before they made ye attempt, I told them I did not hear ye Least hint, nor had no manner of Reason to Suspect they Intended it, and yt I Verely Believed they had lost themselves In ye woods, by their Neglect, to Carefully observe ye Narrow Crooked path. at this time, we was Exceeding hungrey & had nothing to Eat, at about 3 of ye Clock m^r marrang ³

¹ The St. Lawrence River.

² The Rivière Trois Pistoles, also called Spey River. It traverses the seigniory of Trois Pistoles from the rear to the front, and empties into the St. Lawrence at the village of Trois Pistoles. In Holland's *Pownall Map*, 1776, the village at its mouth is called Rioux. In Morris's map the River Ouelle in Kamouraska, called by him Ouette, is joined by a carrying place to the River St. John.

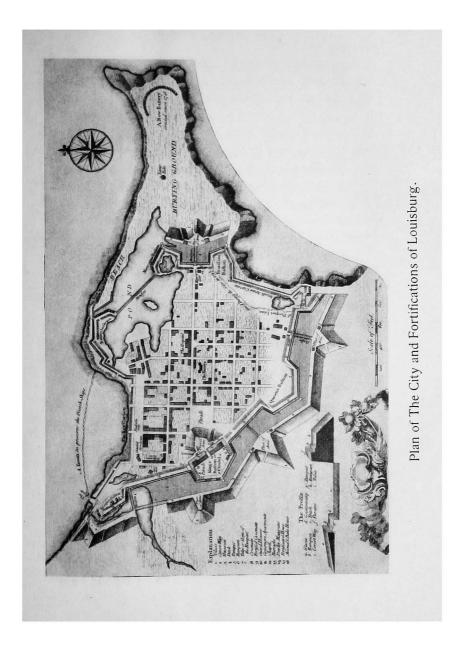
³ M. Marin, Jr. He was the son of the lieutenant from Canada whose army besieged Annapolis and took Pote captive. He arrived at Quebec on the first of August, having been sent by his father to inform concerning the capture of Louisburg by the English.— Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, vol. iii, p. 218.

⁷¹

ve Generals Son overtook us who Gave me an account, vt Luisbourg was taken, he told me they had Capitulated, and ye French marched out, with their Drums beatting, and Colours Flying, and ye Inglish marched In Triumphantly, & Took Possession of their City. he also Gave me an account of Capt Donehews Death, and how many they had killed, and Taken of his people, and Told me he was ye man yt killed Capt Donhehew.¹ at about five of ye Clock, ye Indians Came with John Read, I was Verey much affraid they would have killed him, by what they had Told me before his arrivel, if they found he had made an attempt to Run away, and I Believe they would Certainly have done it if I had not been there, by Reason he Could not Speak Neither French nor Indian, nor they any English. But I was fearfull they would overtake them, and had Studyed an Excuse for them, before they Came, I asked John how they had Taken him &c he Told me they overtook him, by ye Side of a River, and ye other fellow yt had Ran away with him, being an Exceding Good Swimer, had Swam over ye River, and made his Escape, but he Could not Swim and by yt means was taken, ye Indians asked me what he Said, I told ym yt he was perswaded to Run away, by ye Indian fellow that was with him, and Said if hed had time for Consideration, he would Never [have] attempted it, and would feign [have] Returned, in a Short time after they took their Departure, but ye Indian yt was with him would not

¹ See Appendix for a sketch of Capt. David Donahew.

⁷²



Consent. one of ye Indians took a Small Stick, and Gave him a few Strips, and obraided him with Ingratitude, and told me to tell him he had always Used him as a Brother, and he ought not to have Consented to ye other Persuasions, and if he thought it was not Intierly ye others fault, he would kill him Directly, and warned him to take Good Care and Never make another Such attempt, this Night we Imbarqued, In our Connews and whent a Small Distance Down ve River trois pistoles, and Incamped, we was Verey Short of Provisions, and Slept with hungrey Belleys

Sunday ye 21st This Day we Imbarqued Verey Early in ye morning, ye Indians Told me they Expected to arrive to ye River of Caneda Before Night, ye Greatest part of our Company was abliged to travell By ye Side of ye River. By Reason of Ripplings and falls &c. yt hindred us from Going in our Connews, this Day we Travelled over high Rocks, and Somtimes up to our middles in water, we Cut our feet Verey much In marching over Sharp Rocks and Stones, that was wore with ye watter, almost as Sharp as knives. the thoughts of arriving to Caneda River yt Day, So Incouraged me, that I left ye Greater part of ye Indians behind me, and out of my Sight before Noon. I Endeavoured to keep Company with my master In ye Connew, who assisted me all yt Lay in his power, to take me into ye Connew when there was water, and Land me on ye best Side of ye River for Travelling. I Gained ye Good will of my masters at this time So much yt they Called me their Good Comrade, and told me I Should make as Good a heron, as any in their 10

Tribe in Verey Short Time, we arrived about 5 In ve afternoon, within a League of Canedy River, where we was abliged to Leave ye River trois pistoles, by Reason of falls &c. at this place we was So Verey hungrey yt we Roasted ye Guts of a Beaver, yt we had killed yt Day, on ye Coals, and Eat them without Either Bread or Salt. we arrived to ye River of Caneda, Some time Before Sun Set, about forty Leagus Below Quebec. I Computed we Came this Day about 11 Leagus CD This Night mr marain 1 Desierd my master to Give me Liberty to Go with him to a french house, about a League Down ye River, he Consented, and told him he would Go with us, In marching to this house I Sought an oppertunity to talk with m^r marain. when ye Indians was Some Small Distance before us, I Desired he would have ye Goodness for me, as to Endeavour to Release me from ye hands of ye Indians if possible, he told me he was Sent an Express by his father, to General and Governour² of Canedy, and he would do all yt Lay in his power for my Redemption, and he Expected to arrive to Quebec, In about thirty hours, at this house I Eat verey hearty, and mr marrain gave me Some Tobaccoe, and Told me he wished he Could Give any Liquer, but there was none to be had, at this place we Got a Small Supply of provisions, and Carryed [it] Back to the Rest of our Company, there was Such a Sensible Diffirance in ye Behaviour of ye Indian Capt, at this hous[e] Before m^r marrain,

¹ Marin, Jr.

² Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois. He was Governor until 1747.

⁷⁴

and y^e other french People, towards me at this time, and when there was no french present, that I Sought for an oppertunity, and Discovered it to mr marrain. for at this time they Complemented me with, monsieur, and at other times, Toy &c. This Night we Incampa by y^e Side of Canedy River near la Riviere trois pistoles.

Monday ye 22^d This Day paddling up ye River of Canedy we passed by Several houses, and Some we Stop^d at, ye French Treated me with Civility and Gave me Victuals, and Tabacco &c, this Day we Came about 14 or 15 Leagus and Incamp^d.

Tuesday ye 23^d This Day paddling up ye River I Liked ye Looks of ye Countrey Exceedingly, this Day we Stop^d at Several French houses, and ye French Seemed Generally Civel, and Courtious to us prisoners and asked us how we liked their Countrey

Whensday ye 24 this Day we passed by Severall Islands¹ Inhabited, and some pleasant plantations on them, at about four of ye Clock in ye Afternoon, we Landed on an Island where there was no Inhabitents. ye Indians told me to pull of my Shirt and wash it, for I must appear Before ye General ye Next day. at this

¹ The names of the several islands passed on the St. Lawrence, between the Trois Pistoles and Quebec, were: I. aux Basques, opposite Trois Pistoles, I. aux Pommes, I. Rouge, I. Verte, I. du Lièvre, Islets des Pèlerins, Islets des Camourasca or Kamaraska, I. aux Coudres, Goose Island, Boat Isle, Little Isles, Two-heads I., Patience I., Grass I., Rott I., Madam I., and Island of Orleans. — Bellin's map in *Charlevoix*; Map of the St. Lawrence in *Atlantic Neptune*, and modern atlases.

⁷⁵

place, they Cut ye Indian Prisoners hair, and Shaved them and painted their faces In ye manner of their own, and had a Great Desire to Serve me in ye Same manner, but I pleaded so much against it. and told ym I was not of their Complexion, and it was more Convenient, I Should Be in ye fasion of ye French, therefore they Let me Go as I was quite out of ye Mode.

This Night we paddled, till late in ye Night, we Could have arrived to quebec with pleasure, but we Incampt^d about two Leagus below on an Island,¹ yt was Seven Leagus in Length, and Seven Churches on it, I believe, ye Indians Stop^d till Day that they might have ye more Glory

Thirsday ye 25th This morning our Indians Painted themselves in an Extroardinary manner, and Trimdup their hair and painted ye Indian prisoners, and made Great preparation for their appearance at quebec. after we took our Departure, they Fixed Poles in ye middle of as many Connews as they had Scalps, and hung up their Scalps on ye Top of ye poles, when we arrived Near quebec, there was almost a Continual Coohooping, one Sort to Distinguish ye Number of prisoners, another ye No of Scalps and ye other ye Number they had killed. this they Continued, till we arrived within about forty Rods of ye Shore, then

¹ Isle of Orleans or Isle St. Laurent, about 4 miles N. E. of Quebec. It is 19 miles long and 5½ broad, containing 69 sq. miles. It contained five parishes.—Bouchette, Top. Dict. of Canada, 1832.

we took in our paddles, and Set Still in our Connews ye people Gathered to ye Landing from all parts of ye Town. ye Shore was thronged with People, as far, as I Could See Both up and down ye River, we Looked up ye River Some Small Distance, and Saw a fleet of Large Connews Paddling down ye River, towards us So Swift yt they made ye water all of a foam before them. the Indians Seeing this, Spoke Verey Sharp to me, and Told me to paddle for my life, I observed ye Indians Seemed to look Exceeding wild, and Continued hurrying of me, and we all paddled to ye Utmost of our power, and arrived to ye Shore In a few by this time I observed ye Connews, had minuts. almost Come up with us, and ye Indians Commanded me not to Stop, for any thing whatsoever, but Jump and Run as fast as I possibly Could, I was Sensible there was Somthing Extroadinary, by Reason ye Indians always Cautiond me to be Verey Carfull in Getting in and out of the Connews, I had nothing on me, but a thin weastcoat and Britches and Shirt, no Stockings nor Shoos. In this Dress I Landed at quebec I Jumpt out of ye Connew about Ten foot, and was Received by two of our Indians one on Each Side, which pushd me in amongst ye Croud of people and Told me to Run for my Life, and followed me Claping me on ye Back, I made ye Best of my way through ye Croud, all yt Come in my way, I Jostled Some one way and Some another, without any manner of Regard Either, to Gentel or Simple or any Condition whatsoever, I knew not where I was Going, or what was ye Cause of this Confusion, Nevertheless I Could not

forbear Imitating Lots wife, and Saw ye people Crouding after us, in Great Numbers we was Conducted to a Gentlemans house and into a Large Room, where they flocked round us, ye Room as full as it Could hold, at this place mr marrain, ye Generals Son that took us, Came to See me and told me ye Cause of this Uprore, he told me those Connews, we Saw Coming Down ye River, was Loaden with Indians vt Lived a Great Distance up ye River, and their Custom was. In Case yt they Could overtake prisoners, between ye Landing, and ye First house, they Use them Verey Barbarously Bite of [f] their Nails of their fingers, and put ye End of their fingers, Into their Lighted pipes for Some Considerable time, till they burn ye flesh of [f] ye End of their fingers, and burn punk on their hands &c, and that these Indians was In persuit of us, and had Certainly overtaken us, if we had not been Verey Expeditious, But he Said ye Danger was past, when they arrived to ye first house. he also Gave me a hint yt he had Done what I Desired him, Concerning my freedom from ye Indians, at this place I was Treated with a Great Deal of Civelity, and Good Usage they asked me to Eat, and Drink, and Told me I Should be welcome to ye Best they had in their house, I Seeing So many Genteel Courtious, Gentlemen and Ladys Round me, and all Seemed to pity my Condition, and Said it was a Scandal and a Shame, that I Should be Suffered to Go with ye Indians, at this I was So Transported with Joy, in Expectation of my Being Delivered out of ye hands of ye Savages, that I thought it was Impossible there Could Be Such

an alteration this Side of time, the Indians Seeing it was not for their advantage, for us to Stay there any Longer, told me to prepare my Self for a march, and we Should arrive to their Village¹ in about two hours. I Endeavourd to prolong ye time, as much as possible. and Desired a Lady yt belongd to ye house to do me ye favour, as to Give me a Drink of Beer, She Verey Readily Brought me a bottle of Good Beer, and a Glass, and Insisted I Should Stop & Drink two or three Glasses, which before I had Drinkd, there Came orders we must Go before ye General.² we was Conducted through ye Streets to ye Generals and a Large Croud of people following of us, when we Came to ye Generals he asked ye Capt³ of ye herons, how many prisoners he had, and how many English there was amongst ym, and having Understood our Number, he orderd that ye other English man and my Self Should Be Sent to ye Cazarnes, and yt ye Capt of ye herons Should keep ye Indians, ye Capt of ye herons Desired he might be permitted to Speak with his Lord ship ye General, Concerning us, but ye General would not permit him to Speak, and orderd a Sergent and a file of men to Carrey us to ye aforsd place, forthwith, when we Came to ye Cazarnes, we found 12 English prisoners which had been there about a month Viz Capt James Swindal, Bound from Jameca to Liverpool, and was taken by ye Ship hexereuse Marie, Cap^tDe-

¹ The settlement at La Jeune Lorette.

² The Governor, the Marquis de Beauharnois.

³ His name was Vincent.

⁷⁹

guéé Comand^T y^e 21st of May 1745.¹ and Capt Willm Chapman² Bound from Maryland to London, and Taken by abovs^d Ship may y^e 24th 1745, Each of these men Commanded when they was taken, a Brigantine, and had Ten of their people with y^m In this place. when they had oppertunity, they asked me if there was any News, I Gave them an account yt y^e English had Taken Luisbourg, and when, which much revived y^e hearts of y^e poor men, who had Information y^t y^e English was all Destroyed, this Night I Slept In y^e prison, which was y^e first Night I Lodged in a prison,³ Since I was born.

Saturday ye 27th Came mr James Sutherland Master of ye Schooner Seaflower, yt was taken at anapolis with us, and one of my people Named Abraham Florance.

Sunday ye 28th This morning we was Lementing ye hard fate of John Broading, one of my people, and Jonathan Young, yt was taken with Capt Sutherland on Board ye Sea flower, In Expectation, the Indians

¹ The Marquis de Beauharnois had sent two Indians of the Sault St. Louis, at the end of August, to Albany, to transmit from that place to Boston a letter which he wrote to Gov. Shirley, in which he proposed an exchange of the prisoners taken by Marin in Acadia, and some of those belonging to the two prizes taken by "L'Heureuse Marie," Sieur De Gay, commander. The Indians were not well received, but Mayor Cornelius Cuyler forwarded the letter to Boston.—N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 19.

² William Chapman, of Maryland—Norton, p. 28; William Chipman, of Marblehead — How, p. 13.

³ For an account of the prison consult How, p. 13, and Norton, p. 28.

⁸⁰

had Carried them up ye River, at about 9 in ye morning they Came to prison, to our Great Joy.

August ye 1st 1745 This day came mr marain ye Generals Son that took me, and Called me out from among ye Sailors, and asked me if I had Lived with ym Ever Since I had been In Prison. I Told him Yes at which he Seemed Exceeding angrey, and asked ye prison keeper ye Reason of our Being Treated with So much Indiferance, I Told him I Supposed I Could Give him a Sufficient Reason, and that was our Being Naked and appearing In Such a Misarable Condition, as we had ye misfortune to be put In ye hands of ye Indians, and Striped of all our Cloathing, he Did me ye honour, as to Speak In my Recommendation to ye prison keeper, and whent to his Lordship ye General, and Brought an order for us to be put forthwith, with ye two Capts affore mentioned, where we had a Genteel Maintanance mr Southerland and my Self

Tuesday y^e 6th This Day there Came orders from his Lordp y^e General, y^t we must Be Deprived of y^e Liberty to Go Down, and Converse with y^e people as we had Before, and y^t we must be Confind to our Chamber, and Not Go out Except for our Necessity.

Saturday ye 10th of August 1745 This Day Came Monsieur Entendant¹ et Monsieur De Chalet Intarpret du Roy and Several other Gentilmen who Gave us an account, y^t we Should Be Sent In a Short Time to Boston, and be Exchanged for Prisoners they had in

¹Hocquart, who succeeded Dupuy in 1729.—Smith, Canada, vol. i. p. 191.

¹¹

⁸¹

Boston at that time. at about 5 in ye afternoon *Came* to prison Capt Swindalls mate, and two Sailors one Belongd to Capt Swindal, and ye other to Capt Chapman.

Monday ye 12th This Day Came mr Dechalet and Told us we Should Be Sent to a place Near albaney, and there wait for Instructions from his Exelencey ye Governour of Boston, he also Desired we would Be as Expeditious as possible, and have our Letters and our petition Ready, for he Believed we Shoud Go in five Days without fail.

Thirsday ye 15 This Day there Came 7 Prisoners to prison Viz one Jonathan Donham yt was taken with me, and, Tom^s Grifes ¹ one ye [i. e., yt] Deserted from ye fort of anapolis, and 5 men yt was Taken by Monsieur marain when Capt Donhehew was killed

16th This Day monsieur De Chalet Came an took an account of what ye Prisoners Stood in Necessity of this Day Came a Lad yt was taken on Board Capt Donhehew to Prison.

18th This Day our People Sent a petition to his Lord ship ye General for a Better Maintanance which They Stood in Great Nead of at this time.

23^d This Day monsieur De Chalet and monsieur Medicine Came to See us who Gave us an account, we Should not Go till they had an answer from ye Governeur of Boston To their Letters and our Petition.

September ye 3^d This Day we had an account yt Plimouth was Taken, and yt Ireland had Revolted

¹ The name must have been Griffis.

⁸²

from ye Crown of Great Brittan, and Joynd with his most Chrisian majesty, and yt there was 100000 of ye French Troops in England and ye king himself at ye head of them and yt all Europe was Deeply Engaged in ye present war.

ye 5th this Day ye General Sent us a Present of 24 Livers. I was Somthing out of order and had a bad Cold.

14th This Day we had Intiligence yt There was Eighteen Sail of French Ships of ye Line, Cruizing of [f] Luisbourg So yt the Entrance was Intierly Stoped and there was no passing nor Repassing and yt Every Vessell yt made ye attempt, was Taken By ye French Ships

19th we heard y^t y^e pacquet was arrived from Boston, But was Contradicted Before Nigh[t]

October ye 2d 1745 This Day Monsieur De Chalet Brought us a Letter, yt was Sent from ye Governour of albeney,¹ to his Lordship ye General of Canedy Conserning our Letters, ye Contents Therof was to this Effect. Sir I have Received Yours which I have Conveyd to Boston with all possible Expedition, and make no Doubt, but his Excelency ye Governour of Boston will answer Your Perposells, on honourable Termes. I am, &c

october ye 18 This Day monsieur De Chalet Came to Prison and Told us yt any of us yt had a mind to Go to france, might have Permission from ye General,

¹ Cornelius Cuyler, Mayor of Albany.—N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 19.

⁸³

and yt all yt had a mind to Stay In this place, might Be permitted, after about 24 hours Consideration, there was 23 of our Number Sent a petition to ye General for to Stay, In Expectation of an answer from Boston, and yt we Should Be Relievd In a Short time, which was Granted By ye General as Soon as Demanded.

Tuesday ye 29th of October This Day, there Came orders that Capt Swindal, and his mate and four of his People and one Thos Grifes a Drummer yt Deserted from anapolis, must prepare themselves for to Go on Board, to Sail for france, at about 7 of ye Clock in ye evening whent on Board.

November ye 8th 1745 This Day monsieur Entendant Came To ye prison, and Told us we must Be Content to Stay hear all winter.

Sunday ye 17 of November Came Into prison Nehemiah How¹ yt was Taken at Connectaquat and

¹ Nehemiah How was taken captive at No. 2, Great Meadows Fort, now Putney, Vt., Oct. 11, 1745. He was brought into Quebec by a party of Abenakis of St. François, 18 days after his capture. He died in the hospital at Quebec, May 25, 1747, aged 55 years, and left a wife and family. He had a son named Caleb, who, it seems, married the widow of William Phipps. Jemima How suffered a doleful captivity in 1755. How's Journal, which he kept up to within six days of his death, was preserved and published in 1748, and reprinted by Drake in his *Indian Captivities*. We have made considerable use of it in our notes.—Compare: Noah Wright's Letter and Journal in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. ii. pp. 207, 208; Hoyt, Antig. Researches, p. 233; Taylor's appendix to Williams, Redeemed Captive, sixth ed., Boston, 1795, p. 114; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. ix. pp. 163, 164; Coll. de MSS. rel. à la Nouv. France, vol. iii. p. 268, and Norton, p. 39.

James Kincade,¹ yt was taken at a place Called Shipsquett, both taken by ye Indians. These men Gave us an account yt our Letters arrived Safe to Boston, and yt they Believed ye Governour, would Send for us Early in ye Spring, if there was not an Expedition against this place.

December ye 11th 1745 This Day there arrived to prison a Dutch man yt was Taken at a place Called Sallatauger,² who Gave us an account, yt he Expected Several more prisoners yt was Taken with him would arrive to prison In a Verey Short time.

Decembr ye 15th This Day Came monsieu[r] Entendant, and Several other Gentleman To prison, and Told us ye Governeur of Boston was Certainly Dead, and yt ye Pretender was In England &c, and yt he Expected our Countreymen, would Come and See them ye Spring Insuing

January ye 10th 174_{6}^{5} This Day Came monsieur De Chalet to Prison and Gave us twenty four Livers, and Told us he new Nothing of News, & Especially Concerning our Redemption

¹James Kinlade, Kincaid or Kincade, was taken captive Sept. 27, 1745, at Sheepscott. He returned home in the summer of 1747, and was killed in a later incursion, Apr. 24, 1748.—How, p. 12; Drake, Fr. and Ind. War, p. 158.

² Saratoga, the present Schuylerville on the Hudson. Marin attacked it on the night of Nov. 28 and 29 (new style), 1745; burnt and plundered all the houses, and took about 100 prisoners, men, women, children, and negroes. Some of the captives were dispersed among the Indians, and the rest were lodged in the prison at Quebec.— *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Canada*, vol. v. sect. 1, p. 100; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 38, 76.

⁸⁵

January ye 20th $174\frac{5}{6}$ This Day there arrived to prison 17 Prisoners yt was Taken, By monsieur marain, ye General yt I was Taken by, at a place Called Solletouge, these Gave us an account, yt they Expected ye English would Come against Canedy, In ye Spring ¹ without fail.

January ye 25th This Day there Came an Indian under ye Window Called Jacob, yt had formerly belonged to Capt John Gorhams Company, and Lived with ye herons, this man Came with me all ye way from anapolis Royal, and was well acquainted with me, he Gave me an account of Sundrey Transactions yt had passed Between him and ye herons, Since I had been In prison, and Gave me a Verey Regular account of Sundrey {meteriel questions yt I asked him} this Night there arrived to prison, a Dutch man that had been with ye Indians Sometime, and Gave us an account, yt ye Indians was verey much Disaffected to ye French, and had almost Concluded not to Go to war any more against ye English.

Fabuary ye 12 This Day monsieur De Chalet Came to See us and Gave us an account, yt he was Going to Montrial.

Faburary ye 22^d This Day there Came Seven Dutch Prisoners ² To prison yt had been Taken at Sarotoge By monsieur Marrain.

¹Extensive preparations were actually made for a grand expedition against Canada, and the New England men were already in the field, when it failed to be carried out.

² They were six men, and a woman 70 years old. She had been an invalid for seven years.—How, p. 15.

⁸⁶

march ye 5th 1746 This Day we wrote a Letter to his Lord ship ye General, for permision to Send to albaney.

march ye 8th Understood we Could not be permitted to Send to albaney for our Redemption.

March ye 16 Died a Dutch man¹ that had been Taken at Saletogue, By monsieur Marain.

march ye 19th 1746 This Day monsieur Entandant Came to See us, and a Gentleman yt had lived in Boston Some time, Named long Lazéré and Gave us an account, yt we must not make any Dependance on our Redemption, till Some time in ye Summer and he hoped By that Time, they Should have Some oppertunity to Exchange us.

May ye 3^d 1746 This Day there was Brought to Prison three Prisoners y^t was Taken a[t] New Township Near Connectequet River Called Number four,²

² Now Charlestown, N. H., so called in honor of Sir Charles Knowles. It was, at this time, the most northern settlement on the Connecticut River, and was first granted by Massachusetts, Dec. 31, 1735. It was not incorporated by charter until July 2, 1753. These three persons were captured while out with a team of four oxen, a small distance from the fort, Apr. 19, 1746. They returned to Boston under a flag of truce.—Taylor's appendix to Williams, 1795, p. 114; N. H. Town Papers, vol. ix. p. 96; Hoyt, Antiq. Researches, p. 234; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. ix. p. 163; Pa. Gaz., May 8, 1746.



¹Pote calls him Laurance Plater. He was captured at Saratoga Nov. 17, 1745, and died in the hospital at Quebec after an illness of fourteen or fifteen days. Lawrence Platter; Norton, p. 30. Lawrence Plaffer, a German born; How, p. 15, under date of Mar. 15.

Viz Capt John Spafford,¹ Isaac Parker,² and Stephen Farnworth.³ these men Gave us an account that there was a Great preparation for an Expedition against this place.

May ye 14th 1746 There Came to prison two Prisoners, from a Place Called Gorhamtown, ⁴ at ye hed of Falmouth Viz Jacob Read and Edward Cloutman, these men Gave an account, yt ye Indians had killed when they was Taken, Will^m Bryant and four of his Children and Taken his wife a Prisoner who was at Present with ye Indian[s]

³He is mentioned in the accounts with Spafford and Parker. How calls them his "friends."

⁴Gorhamtown contained, besides those in the block-houses, only four families, those of Bryant, Cloutman, Read, and Mc-Lellan. It was attacked by a party of ten, Apr. 19, 1746. Jacob Read was taken captive just as he left McLellan's house. He struggled to gain his freedom, but was finally bound, and was carried to Quebec, where he died Oct. 20, 1746, aged about 57 years. Edward Cloutman (the name is now usually spelled Cloudman) was the first of the name in Gorham. He was born in Dover, N. H., Feb. 15, old style, 1714, and was the second son of Edward and Sarah Cloutman, whose ancestors came from Scotland. When he attained his majority, he came to Falmouth, Maine, where, in 1738, he married Anna Collins, daughter of Timothy and Sarah Collins, of Philadelphia, and went to live at

¹See his petition to Gov. Wentworth and the Council, dated July 24, 1744, N. H. Town Papers, vol. ix. pp. 97, 98; also N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 42. For about 14 months, while in captivity, he lived on the common allowance of prisoners. He was treated better after that.

² He was one of fourteen petitioners, representatives of families, who sought a supply of men for the defense of their settlement, Oct. 19, 1743.—*Town Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 96, 97.

may ye 16th 1745 [*i. e.*, 1746] This Day Came to prison two Lads Brothers, y^t was Taken at Shepsquett by ye Indians Viz Jeams Anderson and Sam¹¹ Ditto¹

May ye 17th This Day there was two men Brought To ye Prison Viz Sam¹ Burbank and David woodwell, who was Taken at a place Called Hopkintown, these men Gave an account y^t ye S^d Burbank, had two Sons in ye hands of ye Indians, and woodwell his wife two Sons and one Daughter²,

May ye 24th 1746 This Day there was brought to

Presumscot Lower Falls. Here he worked in the first saw-mill erected in the place, when the Indians burned it in 1741. At this place, also, his son Timothy was born, who was the ancestor of all of the name in Gorham. Edward, with his wife and son, paddled round Portland to Stroudwater. In 1745 he removed with his family to Gorham, and purchased a piece of land. On the 19th of the following April he was taken by the Indians and carried to Quebec. He made his escape from prison, Oct. 23, 1746, but never reached home. There is evidence that he was His wife petitioned for relief for herself and three drowned. children. She afterwards married Abraham Anderson, of Windham, and died in that town, Dec. 1, 1802, aged 84 years. Cloutman was over six feet in height and weighed 220 pounds. His son Timothy married Katy -----, and they had eleven children. Their descendants are numerous .- Pierce, Hist. of Gorbam, pp. 50, 52, 161, 162; Norton; How; Pa. Gazette, May 8, 1746.

¹ These brothers, James and Samuel, were captured Sept. 15, 1745, and held by the Indians for some time before they were brought to the prison. Their father was killed Oct. 20, 1746; and their uncle, Capt. John McNear, was brought into prison Nov. 22, 1746. Drake; How, p. 19; Norton, p. 32.

2 On Apr. 22, 1746, six Indians, finding everybody asleep at New Hopkinton, now Hopkinton, captured the entire household,

12

prison a Soldier yt was Taken at a Place Called Countoocook Named Thomas Jones, who was Taken by y^{e} Indians, and Gave an account there was two killed when he was Taken.¹

June ye 1st 1746 this Day there was Brought to prison a Young man Named Willm Akins,² who was taken at Georges by ye Indians.

consisting of eight persons. They were David Woodwell, his wife Mary, his two sons, Benjamin and Thomas, his daughter Mary, Samuel Burbank and his two sons, Caleb and Jonathan. They were carried to Canada. David Woodwell's daughter, Mary, and Jonathan Burbank, were detained three years by the Indians at St. Francis; the others were put in the prison at Quebec. Samuel Burbank died there May 19, 1747, and Mary Woodwell, David's wife, died there Dec. 18, 1746. The other four were afterwards exchanged. Jonathan Burbank, after his return, became an officer in the succeeding French and Indian War, and was killed. Mary Woodwell, David's daughter, was born in Hopkinton, Mass., May 11, 1730. About five years after her ransom from the hands of the Indians, she married Jesse Corbett, by whom she had two sons. Her husband was drowned in 1759. She afterwards married Jeremiah Fowler, by whom she had five children, and died in October, 1829, aged nearly 100 years. An account of her captivity is published in Drake, Indian Captivities, pp. 140-143.

¹On May 4, 1746, at Contoocook, now Boscawen, N. H., some Indians fell upon a party of men at work near Clay's Hill. They killed Elisha Cook (after whom Cook's Hill was named) and Cæsar, the Rev. Phinehas Stevens's slave, and took Thomas Jones prisoner. Jones belonged to Sherburne, but was at this time a soldier at Contoocook. He died in captivity Aug. 16, 1746. One Thomas Jones was a member of Col. Moore's N. H. Regiment at Louisburg, in 1745.—Coffin, Boscawen and Webster, pp. 41, 42, who gives the names incorrectly; How, pp. 16, 18.

² How says: "William Aikings taken at Pleasant Point near George's Fort." Narrative, p. 16.

June ye 6th 1746 This Day there arrived to prison an old man Named Timothy Commins,¹ who was Taken by ye Indians at Georges fort, this man Gave us an account there was five men with him, when he was Taken yt made there Escape to ye fort, But he being above Sixty Years of age they Took him.

June ye 22d 1746 This Day there came 8 prisoners² to prison two yt had been Latly Taken, and ye other 6 had been Some time with ye Indians, these was all Taken By ye Indians, in ye Frontiers of New England.

July ye 5th 1746 This Day pr favour of monsieur De Chalet we had permission, to Send a Second petition To his Exclencey ye Governour of Boston for our Redemption, and Letters to our friends those yt Belongd to our apartement this Day there was brought to prison a man yt was Taken by ye Indians at a place called Northfield named Jno Bement,³ who

² Among these were Deacon Timothy Brown and Robert Moffat, who were captured May 6, 1746, at Lower Ashuelot, now Swanzey, N. H. They were afterwards returned. — How, p. 16; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 44; Belknap, N. H., 1831, p. 289.

³A party of twenty Indians, on June 20, 1746, came upon a number of men at work in the meadow at Bridgman's fort, about two miles below Fort Dummer, and in the skirmish that ensued,

¹Timothy Cummings, aged about 60 years. On May 22, 1746, he and five others were at work, about 40 rods from the block-house, when five Indians shot at them. He was captured, but the others escaped. He died after a "short but very tedious" illness, Apr. 13, 1747.—How, pp. 16, 21; Norton, p. 36; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 48; Coll. de MSS. rel. à la Nouv. France, vol. iii. p. 282.

Gave an account ye English was forming an Expedition against this place, he also Gave us an account yt there was another man taken with him that was at present in ye hands of ye Indians.

July ye 20th 1746 This Day was Brought to prison a man Named Jno Jones,¹ who was Taken bound from Luisbourg to Newfoundland and Brought to this place, who Gave us an account yt he took his Departure from Luisbourg with four french men, and one English man, and Landed In Some place yt he was unacquainted with, where ye English man Either Died or was killed By ye French yt was with him, after which, they Ran away with ye Vessell, and Brought him to this place.

July ye 21st 1746 This Day there was Brought To

they killed William Robbins and so severely wounded James Parker, of Springfield, that he died the next day. They also wounded Michael Gilson and Patrick Ray, and took John Beaumont, Beaman or Bement, and Daniel How captive. Bement was brought down to Quebec from Montreal by Lieutenant Falaise. How was the son of David How, and nephew of Nehemiah How. Bridgman's fort was on the site of Vernon, in the present town of Hinsdale, Vermont. See the following accounts for discrepancies: Noah Wright, *Journal*; Taylor's appendix to Williams, 1795, p. 116; *Coll. de MSS. rel. à la Nouv. France*, vol. iii. p. 282; Hoyt, p. 236; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x. p. 51; Doolittle, *Narrative.*

¹He was carried to the "Bay of Arb," where there was an army of French and Indians, to whom he was delivered, and by them he was sent to Canada. A John Jones belonged to the 8th Company of Colonel Moulton's Third Mass. Regiment, which took part in the expedition against Louisburg. How, p. 17; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xxv. p. 258.

prison a man, Named John Richard who was taken by ye Indians at a place Called Rochester In ye provience of Newhamshire he Gave us an account, there was four men and a Boy killed when he was taken, and himself wounded.¹

August ye 15th 1746 This Day there was Brought to Prison Seven Prisoners, that was Taken at ye Island of Saint Johns,² four of which was Soldiers yt Belong^d to Luisbourg, and three Belong^d on Board

¹A party of Indians of St. François came upon five men in a field at Rochester, N. H., twenty miles from Portsmouth, on June 27, 1746. After some shots, the men took refuge in a deserted house on the main road to Dover. The Indians pursued, tore off the roof of the house, and with their guns and tomahawks dispatched Joseph Heard, Joseph Richards, John Wentworth, and Gershom Downs, and wounded and captured John Richards. Immediately after this they captured Jonathan Door, a lad about ten years old, as he sat on a fence. John Richards soon returned home from captivity, and died in 1793. Door lived with the Indians until after the conquest of Canada, and returned to his native place. Richards was brought into Quebec by Lieutenant Chatelain of Trois Rivières. How, p. 17; Belknap, N. H.; Haven, Rochester; Coll. de MSS. rel. à la Nouv. France, vol. iii. p. 288.

²They were captured July 10, 1746, on St. John's Island, now Prince Edward's, by a detachment of 300 Micmacs, under Ensign Croisille de Montesson, who had been sent out by De Ramezay. Among the captives were Robert Dewen or Downing, William Daily of New York, Richard Bennet, Samuel Vaughan, John Pringle, also called William Prindle, Daniel or William Norwood, and a soldier Davis. James Owen, of Brookfield, Mass., was among the killed, and one Brisson was a pilot of one of the vessels. See an account of this affair in N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 57.

⁹³

Capt Rouse,¹ these men Inform^d us there was Severel others killed, and Taken when they was, Some of which they Expect^d hear in a Short time.

August ye 16th 1746 Thomas Jones Died of a feaver after about Seven or Eight Days Sickness, this man was Taken at a place Called Contoocook and had Been In prison Since ye 24th of may Last

August ye 25th This Day there was a Squall of Snow.

Septemb^r y^e 12th This Day there was Brought to prison a man y^t was Taken on y^e Island of S^t Johns, Named Rob^t Dewen² a Soldier y^t Belong^d to Luisbourg, who had Been with y^e Indians Some Time and Suffer^d much abuse

Septembr ye 15th 1746 This Day there was Brought to prison twenty three Prisoners, that was Taken at ye Fort Messechsetts,³ who Gave us an account they

¹For sketches of Captain John Rouse, see Akins, Select. from Pub. Docs. of Nova Scotia, p. 225; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 59; Drake, Fr. and Ind. War. His wife was killed Aug. 10, 1746, at Boston. A lad had been shooting at a mark on a tree, when a bullet from his musket, after grazing the wife of Captain Clark Gayton, entered the forehead of Mrs. Rouse and caused her death. Pa. Gazette, Aug. 21, 1746.

²Robert Downing, and he had been with the Indians two months. How, p. 18.

³ It lay in the present town of Adams, Berkshire County, Mass. The best contemporary account of its surrender is that of the Rev. John Norton, chaplain of the fort. It was originally printed in 1748, in Boston. For other accounts compare Noah Wright, *Journal; N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x. pp. 65, 77; Taylor's appendix to Williams, 1795; and for a list of the garrison, Hoyt,

⁹⁴

was taken By about Eight or Nine hundred french and Indians, Commad By monsieur Dévaudriélle,¹ after about 30 hours Seige, they Capitulated and Surendred themselves prisoners of war, on these Terms Viz. yt their familyes Should Live togather, without any molestation by ye Indians, and that their woman Should not Be Exposed to march, nor any of their people Deliverd Into ye hands of ye Indians. they also Gave us an account, yt one of their woman² was Deliverd of a Child by ye way that was Chrisned Captivity, and yt Six of their people was In ye hands of ye Indians, ye Reverend m^T John Norton³ their Chaplain, and Sergent Jno Hawks⁴ who Commd ye fort when Taken, was put with us In our mess.

Antiq. Research., p. 238. In 1888 the site of the fort was marked by a solitary elm. See the article by Dr. D. D. Slade in Magazine of Amer. History, vol. xx. p. 285.

¹Pierre François Rigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil. There is a sketch of him in Morgan, *Celebrated Canadians*, pp. 46, 47. See also the index of N. Y. Col. Docs., under Rigaud.

² Mary, wife of John Smeed, Sr. Her child died May 18, 1747, aged about nine months.

³ Norton was born in Berlin, Conn., in 1716. After his return from captivity, he became pastor of the Congregational church in East Hampton, Middlesex Co., Conn., and died there of the smallpox, March 24, 1778, aged sixty-two years. Field, *Middlesex Co.*, and *Hist. of Berkshire*. See also his letter on the capitulation of Ft. Mass., dated Aug. 20, 1746, the day of its surrender. This letter was found on the well crotch, after the enemy had burnt the fort and carried off the people. *Pa. Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1746; Norton, p. 11.

⁴ Sergeant John Hawks commanded at Fort Massachusetts when it capitulated, Aug. 20, 1746. As early as the 10th of May of

Septemb^T y^e 24 This Day 6 more prisoners where Brought 4 of which was Taken at albaney, and two at y^e Fort Messechusetts

September ye 25th This Day There Came to Prison thirty Seven men 2 women and 2 Children, who had been Taken by ye Castore and Laurore.¹ there was Mr Willm Lambert Master, of his Majesty Billander ye Albeney, Bound from Luisbourg to Boston, and Taken by ye Castore, Came This Day Into our Room and Belongd to our mess.

that year, he and John Miles, while on horseback near the fort, were wounded by two Indians. Hawks fell from his horse, but, strangely enough, escaped, as did also his companion. In Feb., 1748, with Matthew Ellison and John Taylor, he set out for Canada with a flag of truce. They proceeded up the Connecticut River to Charlestown, and on the 11th left that place for Crown Point. On the way they endured many hardships, and encamped at night on the snow. From Crown Point they went to Canada by the way of Lake Champlain. In Canada they were well received but closely watched, and, having secured the release of Hawks's nephew, Samuel Allen, and Nathan Blake, two captives, they set out for home. Hawks arrived at Deerfield May 4, 1748. In the next French and Indian war Hawks rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel; was at the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, and with the army in the conquest of Canada. He was a native of Deerfield, and a proprietor of Upper-Ashuelot, now Keene, N. H., and was no less esteemed by the inhabitants of Deerfield for his civil qualities than by his superior officers in the army for his military skill. In Cavendish there is an elevation called Hawks mountain, named after this brave commander. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 153; Taylor's appendix, pp. 115, 117; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. ix. p. 164; Hoyt, pp. 235, 238.

¹ The vessel Le Castor was earlier commanded by Sieur Dubois, but at this time by M. de Saillies. The L'Aurore was commanded

September ye 26 This Day there was brought Into prison 75 men and two women, four was put Into our Room to mess with us Capt David Roberts¹ of Dartmouth in Devonshire, and was Taken By ye Laurore and Castore, Bound from Newfounland to Lizbourn, m^r Jn^o pike of Road Island freighter and owner of ye Schooner Bress, and Taken by ye Laurore, Capitaine Diviniaüa² Commander, and m^r John Boydell Clark of his Majestys Sloop ye Albaney, and m^r Jonathan Salter, Commander of ye Sloop Endeavour, Bound from Phelidelphia to Luisbourg and Taken by ye Laurore,

Septembr ye 30th This Day there was brought To prison, Sarah Bryant³ y^t was Taken at Goramtown. This Day there was a List Taken of all our Names and Conditions, and our Number amounted to 259 all in

He died in captivity, June 3, 1747, after 19 days of serious illness.
 M. Duvignan.

³ Sarah Bryant or Briant was the widow of William Bryant. While in prison at Quebec, on Nov. 20, 1746, she was married to Leonard Liddle, or Lydle, by the Rev. John Norton. She took sick on May 1, 1747, and died on the 8th. Lydle was one of Capt. James Swindal's men. Norton, p. 38, who does not mention her marriage; How, pp. 19, 21; Pote.

13

by M. Duvignan. They took six small craft, three of which were freighted with cattle, and the remainder with provisions. Their prisoners amounted to 168, the greater part of whom were sent to Quebec; the others either died of the epidemic prevailing amongst them or were too sick to be transported, and remained at Minas. Duvignan left the prisoners in charge of his lieutenant, Sieur de Gay, and sailed for France in the Castor. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 61-63; Norton, pp. 29-31.

one house, and ye Greatest part of us, in a miserable Lowsey Condition.

October ye 2^d This Day Brought Into prison two prisoners one of which was Jonathen¹ ye Soldier yt was Taken with me, at anapolis and had been with ye Indians 17 monthes and Came to prison in a Tatterd Lowsey Condition

october ye 5th This Day Brought Into prison 12 prisoners, from ye Bay of Verd and two Died By ye way, and this Day was Brought to prison also, Mr Richard Stubs² who was taken By ye Indians at New Casco, and had his Companion Shot Down by his Side, and he wounded in ye Shoulder, he Discharged his peice and wounded an Indian in ye arm, this man Gave me an account yt my friends was In Good health.

6th This Day Came Into our mess m^r Pinkam and m^r Phillips Masters of Vessells.³

² He was captured Aug. 26, 1746.

³ Capt. Zephaniah Pinkham, master of a whaling sloop from Nantucket, and Capt. John Phillips, master of a fishing schooner from Marblehead. They were captured near the harbor of Chebucto, and were permitted to sail for home by way of the West Indies, in reward for good service rendered by them in piloting the Le Castor and L'Aurore into Chebucto. Norton, p. 29; Pote.

¹ This was Jonathan Donham or Dunham, a soldier, taken with . Pote, May 17, 1745. He died Nov. 28, 1746, after an illness of eight or ten days, of inflammation of the lungs. How gives his name incorrectly as Jonathan Batherick. The other prisoner brought into prison with him may have been Jacob Shepard of Westborough, who was captured at Fort Massachusetts, and died May 30, 1747. As to this, however, there are discrepancies. How, p. 19; Norton, p. 29.

october ye 12th This Day there was Brought to Prison 24 Prisoners from ye Bay Verd that was taken By ye Castore and Laurore, these men Informd us yt they was thirty Days without Eating a peice of Bread.

octobr ye 16th This Day ye Major came to prison and promised yt Capt Chapman Sutherland and my Self Should have ye Liberty to Go to france or ye west indies, and promis^d mr Pinkam and phillips, they Should Go to france or ye west Indias for their Good Service done y^m In pilating ye Castore and Laurore into Jabuctaus.¹ This Day also we took an account of ye Prisoners, and found our Number to amount to 267 men women and Children.

october ye 19th This Day there arrived from ye Bay Verd 6 Prisoners, yt was in a Verey miserable Condition for want of Provisions, By Reason of Contrary winds and Bad weather.

october ye 20th This Day Died Jacob Read who was Taken at Gorham town ye 19th of apriel past, by ye Indians he was aged about 57 Years and had been Declining Some time.

october ye 24th This morning there was a Great Uprore Concerning two prisoners that made their Escape Last Night, Edward Cloutman who was taken at Gorhamtown, and Rob^t Donbar² ye was taken at

¹ Chebucto Bay, near Halifax, Nova Scotia.

² Robert Dunbar was doubtless taken captive as he was scouting on the road between Albany and Fort Oswego. His loss was greatly lamented, as he had performed most important services as a ranger, ever since the war began. There was a Robert Dunbar at Albany in 1730, and he is mentioned in a letter from

⁹⁹

albeney, this Day we was all Called over by our Names, to know if there was any more missing, and a Gaurd of about 20 man, placed round y^e house.

october ye 27th This Day arrived a man to prison that was Taken at albeney By ye Indians, yt Gave us an account there was 10 killed ¹ when he was taken, at this Time there was none admitted to Come to ye prison nor to Speak with us, on any acompt

october ye 29th This Day Came ye major and Told us to Give him an account of what Nessessy we wanted, for our Voyage to france.

october ye 31st This Day there Came orders for Capt Pinkham and phillips, and thirteen of their people, to be Carried on Board ye Ships, yt was bound for ye west Indies, I Sent two Letters by ym, one to mr Bastide ye Chief Engr, and another to my father.²

November ye 1st This Day Returnd Back to prison one of Capt phillips People who was Sick, Named Jno Pitman,³ this Day Died Jno Read yt formerly Belongd to Capt Jno Gorhams Company, it hapned to be ye poor Young mans fortune, to be Carrid out ye

² Capt. William Pote, Sr.

³ John Pitman, of Marblehead. He died of the scurvy, June 10, 1747. Norton, p. 39.

the Commissioners of Indian Affairs to Governor John Montgomery of New York, which relates to French encroachments in western New York. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. v. p. 910; Drake, p. 90.

¹How gives it thus: "A man was brought to prison, and says, the Indians took five more, and brought ten Scalps to Montreal." Narrative, p. 19.

Next man to his father, ye afors! Jacob Read, who Died ye 20th of the Last month

November ye 4th This Day arrived 6 Prisoners that had Been Some time at montrial and was taken at times on ye frontears of New England, by ye Indians, this montrial is about 60 Leagus up ye River, above this place.

November ye 5th This Day we had Inteligence y^t ye Ships was Sail^d for France, and y^t none of us y^t had Been promis^d to Go Could Be admitted, by any means, this was Sorrowfull News to me and all of us, y^t had made So much Dependanc[e] on Going to france.

Novmbr ye 9th This Day was brought to prison one Jno maccaune,¹ yt was Taken at a place Called

¹ Pote is mistaken in the name. He was Capt. John McNear, who came to Newcastle early in the history of the colony. The Indians had long been desirous of capturing him, and at last succeeded. He was twice taken, and as often exchanged. The first time, September 15, 1745, they took him just at night, at the Marsh Bridge, as he was driving his cows home from pasture. William Hopkins, of Jefferson, and the brothers Anderson were captured at the same time. McNear returned home, and, being in Indian attire, frightened one of his neighbors whom he met on the cow path at Dark Swamp Hill, and who, believing all was now over with him, surrendered himself, expecting to be taken to Canada. His joy was indescribable when he discovered his supposed captor to be his friend, and they together hastened home to receive a joyous welcome. The second time he was taken, October 20, 1746, he was threshing corn in his barn, with his brother-in-law, James Anderson, the father of James and Samuel Anderson. They were taking their dinner, when the Indians came along secretly, and, the dog barking, they

Sheapsquet, By ye Indians. this man Gave us an account, of 10 Sail of French men of war arrived to Jabuctaus, and 40 Transports. this Day Died one Davis,¹ a Soldier, yt was taken at ye Island of St. Johns.

November ye 10th This Day was built a Centerey Box, in ye prison Yard By ye Gate, this Night they had orders from ye General to Count us twice a Day, Viz night and morning Least any more of us, Should Endeavour to make our Escape.

13th Died John Bingham² who was taken with Capt Will^m Chapman, about 160 Leagus To ye Easward of ye Banks of Newfoundland this man had Been of Great Service to us, Ever Since our arrivel to this place, as he had Cookd and wash^d for us Constantly.

¹ John Davis was captured with Mr. Norman on the Island of St. John's, July 10, 1746. He was a soldier and belonged to the King's forces at Louisburg. How, p. 19; Norton, pp. 31, 32.

² Norton says : "He belonged to Philadelphia." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 32.

showed themselves. A fight ensued, in which Anderson was killed after having wounded an Indian. Thereupon McNear surrendered, and was carried for the second time to Canada, where he arrived in prison at Quebec November 22. Capt. John McNear, Sr., was a noted man, and town clerk for a number of years. He was born in 1701, married Mary Shirley of Chester, N. H., and died in November, 1798. He owned lot No. 12, which he bought from William Hopkins. The names of his ten children, four sons and six daughters, are Captain John, Jr., James, Joseph, Thomas, Anne, Sarah, Nelly, Betsy, Jane and Margaret, the youngest, born in the garrison, and while her father was a prisoner in Quebec. Cushman, *Hist. of Anc. Sheepscot and Newcastle*, pp. 149–151, 404; Norton, p. 32; How, p. 19.

at this time we was allowed, But four hours In twenty four to walk in ye Yard, and orders from ye General In all ye Roomes Viz Eight, yt we must Be By our Beds or hammocks, to Be Numbrd by ye officer of ye Gaurd, at Eight at Night, and 6 In ye morning.

Novbr ye 17th Died Nathan Ames¹ that was Taken at ye fort Messechusetts

Novbr ye 18th this Day was Brought to prison one Robert Adams² yt was Taken By ye Indians at Sheapsquet, Died andrew Hanes³ a Dutch man yt had Been Taken by ye Indians at Saratogue, heard yt Some of ye Five Nations of Indians Viz ye mohawks had Been Near montrial and killed 4 or 5 french people and Taken 7 prisoners⁴

Novembr ye 20th This Day Died one Jacob Grout a Duch man ⁵ that was Taken a[t] Sorastoga at 4 P M was Married Lanerd Liddle, a Man yt was taken

²He was captured at Sheepscott, Oct. 20, 1746. Norton, p. 32.

³ Norton says: "Nov. 18. Died at night, Andrew Sconce. He was taken near Albany, August 17, 1746." Redeemed Cap., p. 32.

⁴See N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 86, 179; Gov. Shirley's Message to the General Court of Mass.-Bay, Dec. 30, 1746.

¹Nathan Eames of Marlborough, Middlesex Co., Mass. Some of the family spell the name Ames. No mention is made of him in the genealogies in Hudson, *Hist. of Marlborough;* Sewall, *Hist. of Woburn;* or Barry, *Hist. of Framingham.* Hudson, p. 139, simply states that he was taken prisoner at Fort Massachusetts.

⁵He belonged to Schenectady, and was taken captive April 27, 1746. Norton, p. 32, who calls him John Grote. The name is more likely Groot.

with Capt Swindal To a Woman Named Sarrah Bryant, yt was Taken at Gorhamtown, By ye Indians ye 19th of Last april, and Lost her husband and four Chilldren, killed By ye Indians yt Took her there was present at the Ceremony, ye Commissary and monsieur De Chalet, preformed By ye Reverd mr John Norton Late Chaplain of ye fort Messechusets, By permission from his Lordship ye General.

22d This Day Brought In a prisoner ¹ yt was Taken at Sheepsquet, in ye County of York, in ye Provience of ye Massechusets who Gave us an account there was News in Boston, of a French man of war ² Being Cast away on ye Isle of Sables a 60 Gun Ship.

Novbr ye 24 This Day Died Jno Bradshaw,³ a man of about 27 Years of age, who was Taken By monsieur marain, when Capt Donehew was killed, this Young man was buryed with much Ceremoney, Because they Supposed him a Catholick, and was Honourably Buryed In their Church Yard.

³ He was wounded when captured, but recovered. During most of the time of his captivity he was ill with consumption, of which disease he died. How, p. 19; Norton, p. 32.

¹ Capt. John McNear.

² The corvette La Legère, Capt. Guillimin, commander, and wrecked in Sept., 1746. Guillimin went ashore on Sable Island during the night of the 14 and 15 of Sept. (new style), and succeeded in saving only a little powder and lead. Four days later he discovered three Englishmen, who conducted him to a miserable cabin, in which he wintered. He remained on this island until June 13 (new style), when he and his crew were taken by some English fishing smacks, which carried them to Boston, where they arrived on the 22. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 124, 125.

Novr ye 28th Died Jonathan Donham¹ one of my people, of an Inflamation of ye Lungs, and was Carried out In ye Box, yt was made for ye first yt Died, which was made about 6 foot, In Length, 2 foot Broad $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high or Deep, and four handles like a handbarrow, they was Carried Between two men, and where they was Carried we Never Could Learn, But they Usualy Returnd with ye Box in a Verey Short time.

Novr ye 30th Died Capt. Willm Bagley² yt was Taken By ye Laurore, Bound from Newburey to Cap britune, after having Been Sick 14 Days with a feavour, this man was Lemented by us, he Being one ye [i. e., yt] Bore a Good Charrector, and was Carried out in ye afors^d Box, By two Chimney Sweepers.

December y^e 2^d This Day Died a Duch man Named, Geret Vanderverick³ and was taken at albaney by mont marrain, this man, Left his father and mother In y^e prison with one Sister, his father aged about 75 Years, and was a prisoner In this place In Quean Anns war, and his mother about 72, Both abliged to march from albany about a Year past to this place,

¹He died after eight or ten days' sickness. Norton, p. 33.

² How says: "Nov. 29. Capt. Bailey of Almsbury died." Narrative, p. 20. Bagley is undoubtedly the correct name, and is so spelled by Norton.

³ Norton says: "December 1. Died Gratis Vanderveriske, after a tedious sickness of six or seven weeks. He belonged to Sarratago, and was taken by the enemy, November 17th, 1745." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 33.

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¹⁰⁵

Decembr ye 6th This Day Died Pike Gordon¹ a Young man yt was taken By ye Indians, at a place Called Sawcoe there is now about thirty People Sick In this prison.

Decembr ye 7th Died Martha Quackinbush² a Girl of about 12 Years of age.

Decembr ye 11th Died Meriam Scott,³ y^t was Taken at ye Fort Messechusets Last august Left Behind, hear, her husband and two Children.

Decem^r y^e 13th we that Belong^d to our Room, wrote a Letter to y^e Entendant and wish^d him a

² She was taken captive at Saratoga, Nov. 17, 1745, and had a "long and tedious sickness." Norton, p. 33.

³ Miriam Scott, the wife of Moses Scott, both taken captive when Fort Massachusetts capitulated, Aug. 20, 1746. On August 24, while on the journey to Canada, she was wet through with rain, from which she contracted a fatal illness. "She wasted away to a mere skeleton, and lost the use of her limbs." Norton, pp. 16, 33. Her youngest child, Moses Scott, aged two years, died of consumption, Feb. 10, 1747. Norton; How; Pote.

¹ He was a son of Joseph Gordon, of Saco, and was taken captive Sept. 6, 1746, while on his way from his father's house to the Falls. He and his brother Joseph set out with the intention of going to their work at the Cole mill, when they were surprised by some Indians. Joseph was shot, and Pike was taken prisoner. The Indians carried him to Canada, where he arrived in the prison at Quebec, Oct. 5. On the journey thither he enforced the respect of the savages by his fearless deportment, and was admitted by them to their mess. A curious monody on the death of these two brothers was composed, it is said, by a young woman, Joseph's betrothed. Folsom, *Hist. of Saco and Biddeford*, pp. 243, 244; Norton, p. 29. He was ill eleven days, and all the time delirious. Norton, p. 33.

happy and merrey Chrismass &c, Sent us a Cagg of Clerrett Containing about 3 Gallons

December ye 16 Died Jno boon¹ an apprintice to Capt David Roberts

Decembr ye 18 Died Mary,² ye wife of Wm Woodwell, a woman yt Bore an Exceeding Good Charector among all ye Prisoners, and Left behind her In this place, her husband and two Children, and a Daughter in ye hands of ye Indians, aged about 18 Years.

Decembr ye 20th This Day wrote a Petition to his Exelencey, ye Governour of Boston, By Incouragement, and permision, from monsieur De Chalet a Gentelman, who has been a Great Benifactor to us, Since we have had ye misfortune to be hear, this Gentleman Promises us to Do all, yt Lays in his power, to forward our petition, and Lettres which we hope will meet with Succes,

Decembr ye 21st New Years Day ³ with ye French, this morning monsieur Lorain, Sent us In two Bottles of Brandy, and Some mutten Pies and wishd us a happy New Year.

Decembr ye 23^d Died Rebecah⁴ wife of Jno Perrey, She Left behind her, in this place her husband.

¹ How and Norton both give the date as Dec. 15th. He was captured at sea, May 1, 1746, and belonged to Devonshire, England. His death was due to consumption. Norton, p. 33.

² She was the wife of David Woodwell of New Hopkinton, and died of the yellow fever, after an illness of nearly two weeks' duration. She had two sons, Benjamin and Thomas, and a daughter, Mary. See a former note for a fuller description of this family. ³ The French reckoned new style, the English old style.

⁴ She was one of the captives from Fort Massachusetts, taken

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December ye 25th Christmas, This Day Some Gentleman had So much Regard for us as to Send us a Couple Gallons of Brandy for our Room, to Celebrate our Christmass with mirth, and forget our Sorrows, But we found ye thoughts of our misfortuns, was So Imprinted in us, that all ye Brandy in New france is not Capable to make us forget it, while we Remain thus In Confinement.

Decembr ye 26th Died one William Daly¹ of New York, was put out in ye Yard when Sowed up In a Canvis bag, and left all Night in ye frost.

January ye 2d [1747] Died a man Named Thos Atkinson² who was Taken with Capt James Swindal In may 1745, Ever Since a prisoner, a Stout Likly Young fellow

January ye 3^d This Day Died Josette Lorain, our Prison keepers Daughter, about 15 Years of age, one that had behavd Verey well to ye prisoners, and abliged them all y^t Lay in her power. this Day Died also Jonathan Hogadon,³ taken at Saratogue, a Native

Aug. 20, 1746. She "had a cold, and was exercised with wrecking pains until she died." Norton, p. 33.

¹ William Daly, or Dayly, was one of Capt. John Rouse's men taken captive on St. John's Island, July 10, 1746. He had a very long illness, and several times seemed to revive; but he took relapses, which so weakened him that he died. "He swelled in his neck and side of his face, and mortified." Norton, p. 34.

² He came from Lancashire, England. He was very ill eight or nine days. Norton, p. 34.

³ He was taken captive while on a scout near Fort Ann, Nov. 16, 1745; and died after an illness of over two months' duration. Norton, p. 34. Norton and How give his name respectively as Hogadorn and Harthan.

of Albeney, and was taken by ye Indians and Brought hear.

January ye 4th Buryed monsieur Lorains Daughter, In a Verey Genteel and Decent manner, after having had many Ceremonies.

January ye 5th Died In ye City of Quebec ye Reverend Father, Chaveleze, a man of a Brave Presence, he was of ye order of Saint francoise, and one of ye Governours Council a Great and Learnd man, about 14 Days past, brought his Reasons in writing why ye Roman Catholick faith was preferable to ye Protestant, he Gave it to ye Reverd mr John Norton our minister to answer, he was Verey Industrious in Visiting ye Sick In this prison, and made Several Converts to ye Roman faith Both of Sick and well, and Caught his Distemper In ye Prison By his frequent Visits.

Janury ye 12th This Day 20 Sick people Carried out of ye Prison to an hospital Provided on purpose for Sick Prisoners¹

Jany 13 This Day Died one Francois andrews² a man yt Belongd to Cape Ann.

Jan ye 15th Died Jacob Bagley ³ Brother to Willm

² How gives his Christian name incorrectly as "Phineas." He came from Cape Ann; was taken captive at sea, June 24, 1746, and died of a bloody flux; being the first one who died in the newly provided prison hospital. Norton, p. 34.

8 He belonged to Newbury; was taken captive at sea, May 26, 1746, and died after about two days' illness. Norton, p. 34.

¹ This prison hospital was provided at the governor's order, in the hope that thereby the prevailing epidemic might be arrested. Three men attended the sick prisoners here, and as soon as any became ill they were carried out to this house.

Bagley formerly Deceased, this man had been Sick But 24 hours with Pleurisey.

January ye 17th 3 men taken Sick and Sent to ye hospital. Returnd one Named Quacinbush.¹ Died Guy Braband² of Cap^t Chapmans People after long Sickness

January ye 21 wite washed our Room During which Time, we Laid our Beds out In ye Snow, Verey Sickley house almost Every Day Some Sent to ye hospital, and few Return, never Less then 20 or 30 Sick at ye hospital

January ye 23 Died Samuel Lovet,³ one that was taken at ye Messechusetts fort, this man Died of an Inflamation on his Lungs, this Night had a Dispute, de quelque Chose avec mon² Lorain qu'il le fits faché.

January ye 28 Cold Cloudy weather we was all Verey Sickly, and Dayly Sending people to ye hospital, thanks Be to almighty God I am in Good health, although Discontented with my Confinement.

Febuary ye 7 Returnd 6 or Eight of ye people from ye hospital yt Gave us an account yt they was Cheifly on ye mending hand at ye hospital.

Feb ye 10th Died a Child 4 of Moses Scotts aged

¹ He may have been either Jacob or Isaac Quackinbush. They both died some time later and on the same day.

² Guy Braband, Giat Braban, or Guyart Brabbon, was Capt. Chapman's carpenter, and came from Maryland. He was ill ten weeks. Norton, p. 34; How, p. 20.

³ He was the son of Major Lovet of Mendon, and was ill nearly a month. How, p. 20; Norton, p. 35.

⁴ Norton says: "Feb. 11. Died in the morning, Moses Scot, son to Moses Scot. He was a child of about two years old, and died with the consumption." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 35.

¹¹⁰

about 2 Years, this Day, Buissey Several of ye Prisoners, yt was Imployed by monsieur Laurain ye Prison keeper, to throug[h] ye Snow out of ye Yard, over ye piquets.

Feb ye 11 Died a man¹ that had been Some time Lame, and on his Death Bed Reflected on another In ye prison, whom he Said was ye Cause of his Death, by a blow he had Received from him Some time past in ye Prison.

Feby 14 Sent out one Susanah Carter alies Phillips² to Lye in, She having by her Industrey, and ye help of one Cornelious, prepared her Self for it, Since She was Taken, although She has been almost Continualy Differing about her Credit, with ye others her Companions

Febu 15th This Day Brought in 7 Prisoners³ from morial [Montreal], who had been Taken Some time past, on y^e fronteers of New England By y^e Sauvages, they Gave me an account of two men y^t had made

¹ Norton says: "Wm. Galbaoth, a Scots-man. He was taken at sea, April 4th, 1746; was sick about a month before he died." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 35. William Garwafs. How, p. 20. Pote calls him in his list William Gilbert.

² A daughter was born to her. There are differences as to the date of death of the child and its name. Pote calls the child Ann Carter. Norton gives the following entry: "April 30. Died Susanna McCartees, infant child." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 37. Pote's dates for the same are April 26 and May 2.

³ Their names were Daniel How, nephew of Nehemiah How, John Sunderland, John Smith, Richard Smith, William Scot, Philip Scoffil, and Benjamin Tainter, son of Lieut. Tainter of Westborough in New England. How, pp. 20, 21.

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their Escape from montrial, and In their way killed two Young Indians, and Scalpd them, and yt Some of our mowhawk Indians had Come on ye Borders Near morial [Montreal], & killed 15 french people, and taken Some Prisoners, and Burned Several of their houses, this Day there was Several Children taken out of prison, By ye orders of his Lordship, and put at French houses at So much pr week.

Feb ye 17 This Day there was taken out of Prison, James price, a Lad y^t had been Taken at Sarostoga about 16 months past, to Live with ye Priest Named monsieur Tonancour.¹

Feb 23 Died Richard Bennit² one of Capt Rouses people, who was Taken at y^e Island of Saint Johns, this man Died of a Consumtion.

Feb. 25. Died at ye hospital one Michal Woods³ an Irish man yt was Taken with Capt Salter aged about 60 Years, this man had Been Sick but about 24 hours and Died Verey Sudenly.

March ye 2d there is at this time 235 Persons in

¹ No doubt M. de Tonnancourt, who was, in 1750, Bigot's deputy at Three Rivers. See N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 105, 218, 219.

² Richard Bennet. "He belonged to the Jerseys;" was taken captive July 10, 1746, and "had a long and tedious sickness." Norton, p. 35.

³ The name is not correct here. Pote in his list gives it correctly, Dugan. Spelled by How, Dugon, and by Norton, Dogan. He enlisted at Philadelphia as a soldier for Louisburg, and was taken captive while on his passage. "He had been sick, and recovered, but took a relapse the 20th instant." Norton, p. 35.

this prison and about 20 at ye hospital. this Day there was 17 men who had ye ltch put into ye Chambre over us to Be Cured.

March 10th Came to prison two Gentlemen from whom we had an account¹ of an affair at menis Viz yt about 550 men at arms at menis about 2 months past, had arrived In order to bring under ye Inhabitants ye Neutrel French, to a more Just observence of ye Neutrelaty, they brought with ym Timber Ready hewed, to Erect a fortification, and Necessery Stores Viz Cannon amonition &c, and 150 pair of Irons, but they was Suprised by about 250 French and Indians from this place, when 133 where killed, & 417 Taken prisoners, 367 of which they Sent back to anapolis, on these Conditions, that Such a Number Should be Sent from boston, by ye first opertunity, and yt they Should ablige themselves, not to take up armes against his most Christian Majesty, for ye Term of Six months, 50 they Confind at menes as pledges, for ye Performance of ye above obligations, they Tell us In all this fray, they Lost But 2 french men and three Indians, But it wants Confirmation.

March ye 16th Came to Prison two Gentlemen and two Ladys, and Brought with $y^m y^e$ Daughter² of one Quacinbush, yt was Taken Near albeney, this

¹ Norton gives this account under date of March 5.

²Rachel Quackinbush. In 1750, when an exchange of prisoners, detained in Canada, was in progress, Lieut. B. Stoddert endeavored repeatedly to persuade her to accompany him home, but she resolutely refused, abjured the Protestant faith, and preferred to remain in Canada. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 214.

¹⁵

Child had been with ye French, Ever Since She was Taken with her Parents, which is about 18 months, there was her Father & mother Granfather and Grandmother In this prison, they Endeavourd to make her Speak with ym But She would not Speak a word Neither In Dutch nor English, one of ye Gentlemen Promised me, he would Send me a Shirt, and Some Brandy and Suger and Tabacoe &c, and yt he would do all In his power, for me to Be Exchanged ye first.

ye 17th march Saint Patricks Day many of ye Irish people In ye Prison Exceeding merrey with Brandy, they had as a present from monsieur Entendant to Celebrate ye Feast of Saint Patrick

march ye 19th Brought Into prison two Prisoners Viz a man and a woman yt had been Taken at albaney Last octob: by ye Indians, they Gave us an account there was two Boys Taken with y^m one of which is at present with ye Indians.

March ye 22^d Died John Fort¹ a Dutch man yt was taken about 18 months past Near albanay pr monsieur marrain, aged Near 70 Years, and one

¹ Capt. Johannes Fort was one of the eight children of Jean Fort, alias Liberté, and Margriet Rinckhout, his wife. He was captured while on a scout near Fort Ann, November 16, 1745. Two of his brothers, Abraham and Jacob, and two nephews, sons of his brothers Jacob and Nicholas, were also detained as prisoners in Canada. Johannes was married to Rebecca Van Antwerpen. He died of consumption. Schuyler, in his Colonial New York, states that he died "December 7, 1746," which is an error. Compare, Norton, Redeemed Cap., p. 36; Schuyler, Colonial New York, vol. ii. pp. 371, 375.

Samu¹¹ Goodman¹ aged about 45, Taken at ye massechusetts Fort.

march ye 29th Died mary ye wife of Jno Smeed² of a feaver, She was Taken at ye Fort Massechusets, and was ye woman yt was Delivered of a Child on ye Road, as mentioned In Sepr ye 15th 1746.

march ye 30th ye Gentleman yt Promised me to Send a Shirt &c, was as Good as his promis this Day Came Into prison one Susanah Boilison,³ yt had been taken out of prison for about 3 months past, To Live with a Gentlewoman In ye Town in ye Capacity of a Servant, and Could not agree with her mistress, She had ye Charector of as Great, &c.

³ Pote records her strange union with John Simson on July 12, 1747. Norton does not mention either of them.

¹Samuel Goodman, of South Hadley. He died of the scurvy. Norton, p. 36.

² The history of the Smeed or Smead family is tragical. They were taken captive at Fort Massachusetts, Aug. 20, 1746. While on their march to Canada, on the second night of their captivity, Aug. 21, Mrs. Smeed gave birth to a daughter, who was named Captivity, and was baptized by the Rev. John Norton on the following day. This child died on May 17 or 18, 1747, aged nine months. Mrs. Mary Smeed died March 29, 1747, after an illness of eight weeks. Their son John died of consumption April 7 or 8, 1747; and another son, Daniel, died on May 13, 1747. The father, John Smeed, returned home from captivity. While he was traveling from Northfield to Sunderland on Oct. 19, 1747, he was killed and scalped near the mouth of Miller's River. He had returned home from Canada but a few days before. In a period of less than seven months the whole family had died. These facts are mainly gleaned from Norton, Redeemed Cap., and Taylor's appendix to Williams, 1795.

March ye 31st Fine Pleasent weather this has been a more moderate march, then I Ever Saw In New England, ye French tells me they Never Saw Such a march, In this place Since ye Countrey was Inhabited, ye water appears in ye River, and ye Ice Consumes unaccountably.

Apriel ye 4th we hear y^t Cap^t Jordan¹ who was taken by ye Laurore, Bound from Road Island to Luisbourg, and was Carried to ye hospital Some Days past is Verey dilirious, and Little or no prospect of Ricovering.

april ye 7th our Sickness Seems to Increase and Return upon us with Violence and of a more Dangerouse kind, for this few Days past, many Carried to ye hospital and few Return.

apriel ye 8th Died Jno Smeed, Son of Jno Smeed that was Taken at massechsets fort Likewise Philp Scaffield,² yt Belonged at Some of ye Fronteers of N E, and had been taken by ye Indians.

april ye 10th Died Capt James Jordan aforsd Capt of ye Schooner Breeze, and antonia³ a Porteguese, yt was Taken with ye Sd Jordan, a Verey Sickly Distressed Time with us, Brought In Susanah Phillips,

³ Antonio's "sickness was short." Norton, p. 36.

¹ Capt. James Jordan died April 10, 1747. He belonged to the Massachusetts-Bay government, and was taken captive June 1, 1746. Norton, p. 36, who gives his name incorrectly.

² He belonged to the Pennsylvania soldiers, and was taken near Albany, Oct. 12, 1746. His illness was brief, but his fever violent. Norton, p. 36. Pote, How, and Norton spell his name alike, yet it may be more correctly Scofield.

¹¹⁶

which had been Deliverd of a Daughter, and was forcd from her, by order of ye General. to be Given to a french Nurse, till our Departure from this place,

April ye 12 I wrote a petition for m^{rs} Sarah Liddle¹ to his Lordship ye General, for Permission to Go to ye hospital, to take Care of her husband, y^t was In a Verey Dangerouse Condition.

Apriel ye 13th a Gentleman Sent us two Bottles of Brandy, yt was Verey Exceptable to us at this time, This Day Died also Timothy Commins, aged about 55 Years and one Amos pratt² yt was taken at ye fort massechusetts, he was ye 9th person yt Died of about 26, yt was Taken at this place.

14th The Hull of a man of war of 20 Guns was brought out of a Crick where She had Laid, all winter & Could not be Sent to france Last fall, by Reason ye Riging had been Taken by ye English Sundry Times, which they made no Scruple to Tell us.

April ye 17th Died Jno Dill³ yt was Capt Salters mate a Good Sober Young man, yt was well Beloved by all ye Prisoners, and Regarded by ye French.

April ye 18th This Day there was four Prisoners

¹She was the relict of William Bryant, and had married Liddle in prison.

²He was from Shrewsbury, and died, according to How and Norton, on the 12th. He had a severe fever in November and December, 1746, but recovered, and fell ill again in the end of March following. Norton, p. 36; How, p. 21.

⁸ He belonged to Nantaskett; was taken captive May 29, 1746, and was ill ten days. Norton, p. 36. How says: "John Dill, of Hull in New-England." Narr., p. 21.

¹¹⁷

taken ill and Sent to ye hospital Died Samuel Vaughan,¹ one yt was Taken at Saint Johns Island by ye Indians, this man formerly Belonged to Capt Rouse

April ye 23th Returned Lenard Liddle from ye hospital, after a Long and Dangerous Sickness this was ye first man yt Recovered Since ye Fever alter^d.

April ye 26th This Day Died Joseph Denen Late master of ye Schooner Trial,² Taken as mentiond June 1746, Likewise Came to prison three men yt was Taken at Solotoga³ yt Gave us an account there was 13 of their People killed, when they was taken, and their Scalps Brought with ym, also mr Williamson⁴ from Sheepsquet yt was Taken by ye Indians ye 14th Instant who Brings us Sundry accounts Viz yt ad-

² The Trial was a fishing schooner. Denen was from Cape Ann; was taken captive June 24, 1746, and died from weakness produced by dysentery. Norton, p. 37, who calls him Joseph Denning. How, p. 21, gives his name as Joseph Denox. They both state that he died on the 27th.

³ They were taken captive in April, 1747, and were brought in by Lieut. Herbin. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 95, 96.

⁴ Capt. Jonathan Williamson was born in 1718 and died in 1798. He came from England, and was one of the earliest and most respected settlers of Wiscasset, Lincoln Co., Maine. He was twice taken prisoner, both times at Wiscasset. The first time was in May, 1746, and he was detained in Canada six months. His second capture is that noted above. The Indians had waited for an opportunity to seize him, and told him that the Governor of Quebec desired an intelligent man who could

¹ He belonged to Plymouth, in New England; was captured July 10, 1746, and was ill about eight days. Norton, p. 37. How calls him "Samuel Venhon," which is incorrect.

miral Warren¹ whent to Europe Last fall, and in Consequence of that, he Dispatchd two pacquets, one to ye Governour of Boston, and ye other to ye Governour of New York, which paquets arrived 14 Days Before he was taken, from whence we Learn he had Desired, ye Land forces might be in Readyness, for he was Comming with Eighteen Sail of ye Line, and Expected to arrive in America Some time in may, In order for ye Intire Reduction of all Canada² 2dly that ye pretender yt had made Such a Noise and Confusion In Scotland, Disappeard and was Vanished Intirely out of ye Land 3dly that our affairs In Europe meet with Tollerable Succes, and yt admiral martin³ had Drove all Before him on ye Coast of France, In Bombarding Some places, and Taking others, this in Some measure Confirms what we had from a Gentelman Some Time past Viz, yt our forces had taken ye Town of St martins on ye Isle Du Roy in ye Bay of Biscay 4thly That a Verey Large fleet of ye Line with Storeships &c, arrived to Jebuctaus from old france Last fall Under ye Command of a General officer whom he

³Admiral William Martin. See Rolt, vol. iv. p. 366.

give him a correct account of the situation of affairs in the English provinces. He was exchanged in 1748 and returned home via Boston. Cushman, *Hist of Anc. Sheepscot*, p. 130; Williamson, *Maine*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 252; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 95.

¹ Sir Peter Warren, K. B., who had, in 1745, commanded the fleet at the capture of Louisburg.

² See the French account of this report of Williamson in N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 95.

¹¹⁹

thinks was ye Marquis D'Aville¹ with orders to take anapolis Royall and then Reduce all N England, But a Grevious Sickness Raged in ye Fleet, while in Jebuctaus, wether Caught at Sea, or Contracted in ye wild Uncultivated Desert is Uncertain, however it Raged to yt Degree, yt with ye Small pox and an Inflametory Fever it Swept of [f] upwards of 3000 of their Number and by yt means Intirely Disappointed ym In their Disigns, ye General officer Dispairing of Carrying his point, Ran upon his own Sword and put an End to his Days, ye Next Under him² took ye Command, and a Short time Disappeared also, ye third 3 Succeeded him, and hearing by a Sloop which they had Latly Taken, yt there was a powerfull fleet, Coming from Boston to pay them a Vissite, he took his Departure from Jabuctaus, Designed for ye west Indias,

 2 Vice-Admiral d'Estournel. On Oct. 1st he was seized with a fever and soon became delirious, which so extremely agitated him that, imagining himself among the English, he laid his hand on his sword and ran it through his body. Rolt, vol. iv. p. 350.

¹This was the unfortunate fleet commanded by N. de la Rochefoucauld, Duke d'Anville. See a full contemporary account in Rolt, *Impartial Representation*, vol. iv. pp. 347, ff. Duke d'Anville died of apoplexy Sept. 26, 1746, and was buried on a small island within the mouth of the harbor of Chebucto. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁸ Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière, who succeeded M. de Beauharnois as governor of Canada. Compare Rolt, vol. iv. p. 350. He was taken prisoner by the British, and consequently did not arrive to administer the affairs of governor until September, 1749. In the meantime Rolan Michel Barrin, Marquis de la Gallissonière, filled the office.

But a Violent Storm overtook them on ye Coast of America, and it is Generally Supposed ye Greater part of ym whent to ye Bottem, however our Cruziers piked up two of ym one they Carryed into Boston, and ye other Into Cape Britone.

5thly and y^t y^e affair y^t hapned at menes as mention^d y^e 11 of march past was In truth this, that about 550 men Under y^e Command of Collenel Noble,¹ and Cap^t John Gorham, In order to Bring y^e Inhabitants, to a more Just observance, of y^e Neutrellity, they billeted themselves at Some of their houses, where those Rascals Betrayd them Into y^e hands of an armey of Canadians, and Indians, under y^e Command of monsieur De Ramsez, who Came upon them, and basly murthered them In their Beds to y^e Number of 73 amongst y^e which was y^e Brave Colonel Noble

¹ Lieut.-Col. Arthur Noble was descended from the Noble family of Enniskellin, Farmaugh Co., Ireland, in which place he was born. He was one of three sons; his brothers' names were Francis and James. He emigrated to America about 1720; was a Louisburg soldier, and received his commission Feb. 5, 1744, as lieutenant-colonel of the Second Mass. Regiment, and captain of the second company. His will was dated Nov. 22, 1746, shortly before the ill-fated affair at Minas. He and his brother Francis were slain at Minas Jan. 31, 1747. His brother James married the sister of Col. William Vaughan, of Louisburg fame. Col. Arthur had a son Arthur, and a daughter Sarah, who married Col. William Lithgow. Boltwood, Noble Genealogy, pp. 764-767. See also W. Goold, Col. Arthur Noble, of Georgetown: His Military Services, in the Coll. of Maine Hist. Soc., vol. viii. pp. 109-153; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 91, 92; Memoirs of Some of Noble's letters are in the the Last War, pp. 85-89. Mass. Hist. Soc., in the Belknap Papers.

¹⁶

this Exploit ye Canadeans, have much Boasted of, and I Believe flatter themselv[es] with ye hopes, of its puting a Stop, to ye Intended Expidition against this place

April 27th Died Samuel Evens¹ a Native of NEd

Apriel ye 28th This Day at about 8 in ye morning a fire Broke out in our Prison house, how or by what means is Uncertain, it was first Discoverd on ye Verey Ridge of ye Roof which was of Shingles, they Being verey Dry, and ye wind Blowing fresh it Soon Spread it Self, over ye whole Roof and put those who where in ye upper Rooms, in Great Danger of their Lives, Some of them Stayd So long in ye Garrets, to Save their Beding yt ye fire Broke in upon ym ere they Left their Room, ye old France Soldiers who had Been our Gaurd Some time Unlocked ye Doors and Let us out in ye Yard. I am willing to Believe it was by order of their officer, ye Yard was piqueted Round its weadth about thirty foot, and ye Length Equal to ye Length of ye house. which was about 150 foot, hear we Remained to ye Number of 207 prisoners, while ye house was all on flames, this with ye Drums Beating, and ye Alarem Bell, Soon Raised ye Town and all ye melitia Ran togather In Swarms. There was a Great many officers Came, not to assist at ye fire but to keep us within Bounds as appeared by their Drawn Rapiers. there was Likewise Several Friers, from a

¹ "Samuel Evans, of Newbury. He was taken at sea with Capt. William Bagley," May 29, 1746, and had been ill two weeks. Norton, p. 37, who enters this under date of April 17. How says he died April 28. Narr., p. 21.

¹²²

Neighbouring Convent, with whome and ye aforementioned Gentelmen, there was a Contest for Some time Concerning us, wether we Should Remain in ye Yard, wile ye flames was Spreadi[ng] and ye Stones in ye wall of ye house So Soon as they became hot, would burst and do us Incredable Damage, But one Good Natured priest who Disdained to Contend with men So Void of humanity, took up a hatchett, and Soon made Bolts Locks and Staples fly, and Imediately Set open ye Great Gates and with an audible Voice, Cried march English, which we Imediately Did with our Beds Blanketts, and all our Bagage at our Backs, through ye Melitia who Conducted us to an open Court, Before ye Generals pallace, where we Continued with all our Bagage, till ye Governour Consulted with his officers, what to do with us, ye Result of which was that we Should be Lodged In ye Premetive houses of Canada, alies Tents, in ye form of Indian Wigwams, or like Ballock Sheeds, which they Imediatly Commenced at ye Back of ye Town, by ye Side of a wall about 30 foot high. here we Remained in ye Governours Yard, from 9 in ye morning till Night During which time, we heard many pretty turns of Caneda Raillerey. Some though but Verey few pityed us, others Said yt when ye fire Broke out, why Did not ye officers Confine us to Remain in ye fire of our own kindling this we thought to be as Christian like as we Could Expect from Some of them, as I Spoke french ye Entendant Sent for me to ye Generals, and asked me if I Could Give any acount how ye fire Began, for he had been Informed By Some of our

friends yt ye English had Set ye house on fire on purpose. I told him I was Sorrey any one Should Give his honour Such falce Information for it was Imposible ye English Could be ye Instigators of this accident, by Reason it began in ye Roof of ye house, and ye English was at yt time all Confined in their Chamber, it being In ye morning Before ye Doors was opened, and I had Reason to think that Every English man, was Sorrey for it, as we had Reason to Suppose, our accommodations would be Varstly Inferiour, to what they was at ye Cazarnes, he told me he was fully sattisfied, yt we was Innocent in ve affair, and he would Endeavour to accomodate us as as well as possible. at Noon we was ordered by monsieur l'Entanant, from ye Generals Table a Dish of Beans, and Sume Bread and Butter about 4 In ye afternoon we had Each man a Dram. and Likewise all ve people, mr marrain Came to See me, and Gave me a Bottle of wine and a Loaf, of Bread yt I Distributed among my Companions Viz those of our mess. a Little Before Night Came about 70 melitia, who with about 20 Soldiers Marched us in ye middle of them about a quarter of a mile, to their Camps yt they had Built for us. But I must Confess these melitia, appeared much more Ignorant In ye millitary Discipline, then our New England men, yt had never been traind for they took Some Considerable time for Consideration, wether it was proper to Carrey ye armes of a Soldier, on their Right Shoulder or their Left, when we Came to ye place appointed, we found two Long tents Built as Before Discribed, and In they drove us altogather without any Distnc-

tion of age Sex or Condition. those that had ye Good fortune as to Save their Blanke[ts] and Beds, laid Down upon them, in ye Best manner they Could, and those yt had neither, was abliged to pig in heads and Tails like Cattle in their Pens, but Every one Supperless

ye 29th morning fair but ye Night pased Sevearly Cold our water within our Tents Coverd with Ice, and as before we had been Shut up in Stovd Rooms our Present Station did not Set Easey on us, & to Increase our misfortunes, Nothing to Eat or Drink but Bread and water, however in ye afternoon they Brought us beds and Blanks in ye Lieu of those yt where burnt, they also piqueted our Camps Round, and Erected 2 Centrey Boxes upon two Eminences, which overlooked our Camps, we have now Larger Liberty I Believe our Camps Contain better than 1/2 of an acre of Ground, in which we have ye Liberty to walk from morning till Night they Likwise Commenced a Gaurd house without ye piquetts, ye frame of which was taken from an hill about 1/4 of a mile from us. our Gaurd now Consists of about 50 men, who Day and Night are upon Duty. this Day they took away ye old france Soldiers who Before had Been our Gaurd, which Causes Some matter of Speculation.

May ye 1st This Day they Began to build three privy houses, By ye Side of ye wall and another Tent of ye Same form of ye others, for those of our mess which is 11 in all, when our tent was finished, and all of us In it, we found we had not Room to Swing

a Cat Round by ye Tail, without Danger of Dashing her Brains out. we petitioned his Lordship ye General for Better accommodations. this Day there Came many of ye people of ye Town, to See us in our New habitations, But Could not Be Admitted in to See us, Except Some of ye Quallity, who Came in with ye officers of ye Gaurd to Inspect how we Looked, in our New Encampment, But I Could not Discover not Even in those of ye Femanine Sex, any thing that Looked like Commissaration or Pity But ye Contrary.

May ye 2d Errectted a Magazine for Monsieur Laurain our Prison keeper, and within it a Lodging Room, Died ye Child of Susanah Phillips.

May 3^d Finished ye Magazine for monsieur Laurain, in ye afternoon ye Major Came and Gave us an answer to our Petition to our Satisfaction Viz, that In Consequence of our Petition, his Lordship ye General and the Intendant, had provided a house in ye Town and a Large Garden for us to walk in, But yt we must ablige our Selves on our word of honour, yt we would not Go bejond ye Bounds Prescribd us under pain of their Displeasure and if one of us Transgressd ye Rest must all Suffer, this ye major Desired me to tell my Compannions, which I did, and they was all well Sattisfied with ye Proposels

may 4th Night past much Rain and I Believe not a man of us But was wet in our beds more or Less however in y^e afternoon Cleared up Just time Enough to Dry our Beding, m^r Paurtois¹ Came here and

¹ Joseph Portois. Norton, p. 28. 126

Countermanded ye orders Gave by ye major Yesterday for that his Lordship ye General and monsieur Entendant had Considered of it yt So many Inconveniences attended our Being within ye Town yt they was Resolv4 to Erect us a Comodious house within our Yard at Night one Daniel Larey was Sent to ye Cashet or Dungion for Saying yt mr Lorain was Dh

may ye 5th Fresh Gale of wind Easterly and Verey Cold monsieur Marang Came to prison and Gave me an acount yt ye Prisoners Left Behind at minis Last Septembr where Exchangd By a flagg of truce from anapolis Royal, although we have had Information Sundrey Times they was Sent to france and Sometimes that they was Comming up ye River from ye Bay Verd In Shallops but I have Learnt not to put too much Confidence in what they Say.

may ye 6th This Day one Collen Cample¹ our Late Cook whent to ye hospital ill with ye Scurvy he was one of those who Survived that fatal Expedition to Porto Bello under ye Command of Admiral Hozier.² he have often told us y^t while ye fleet Lay at ye Bas-

¹ The name is, without doubt, Campbell.

²Francis Hosier, Esq., was vice-admiral of the "Blue." He sailed from Plymouth, England, April 9, 1726, and anchored within sight of Porto Bello, June 6th. He remained here until December of the same year, and, after great losses, weighed anchor and sailed for Jamaica. He died on board the "Breda," off Vera Cruz, August 25, 1727. See Campbell, Lives of the Admirals, second edition, vol. iv. pp. 449, 450; Beatson, Political Index, vol. ii. p. 6.

¹²⁷

timentor he kept a Tally of upwards of 470 which he for his own part Sowed up in their Hammocks In ye Time he Served on Board three of his majestys Ships and now himself is far Gon in ye Same Distemper.

7th This Day Cold Sleat wind at East Robert Williams¹ was Sent to ye hospital Verey ill. at Night much Rain ye Countrey farmers are now our Gaurd they having Called In their Regular Troops from all partes.

8th Verey Cold wind at E N E at Night much Rain and Thunder and Lightning. this Day Died Sarah y^e wife of Lenard Liddle, who was maried here as mentioned y^e 20th Novbr past.

May ye 9th This Day fair In ye morning, at about 10 In ye forenoon Saw a Young Girl without ye Piquets which proved to Be ye Daughter² of m^r David woodwell as mentioned ye 18th of December past She was In Company with an Indian his Squaw and two papooses ye Girl was Dressed after ye manner of ye Indians with a Great quantity of wampan which ye Indians Call Extarordinary Embelishment her father and 2 of her Brothers Got Leave to Go without ye Gate to Speake to her for about 15 minuts when ye Indian & his Squaw &c marched of [f] and ye Girl with them, about 2 hours after Came in one of ye Reverend fathers of ye Church whom mr Woodweel would have Intrested in his favour to recover ye Girl out of ye hands of ye Indians But ye Reved fathers advice was

¹ He belonged to the neighborhood of Portsmouth, England, and died May 21, 1747. He was taken at sea.

² Mary Woodwell.

¹²⁸

yt t'were more Safe for her to Be with ye Indians then to be Taken from them and Carried Into town amongst ye French where he might be verey well assured She would Be Ruind and amongst ye Indians She would not Be Exposed to those Dangers So yt In fact he preferd those wild Barbariens, to themselves who profess So much Christianity and honour.

may ye 11th Verey hot till 4 past Noon when we had much Rain and Thunder and Lightning People Go Dayly to ye hospital verey ill and many that are there now are Raving mad with ye Fever this Day was Danil Lary Sent from ye Cashet to ye hospital he had Contracted a Numness in his Limbs in Laying in ye Dungeon 7 Days and Nights with nothing to Eat or Drink But Bread and water and no Day Light but what Enters at 3 Inch holes In a plate of Iron of 4 Inches Square this is ye 3^d person that has been Sent to ye Dungeon Since I have been in this place

12th The Night past much Rain and hard Gale of wind @ NE it Rained all Day verey wet In our Camps not with Rum or Brandy for they have forbiden any to Come within our Camps, Since we have no money to Get Drunk they are Determined we Shall be Sober

13th Night past much Rain and hard Gale of wind at Noon Clered up but In ye afternoon Squally this Day Died Daniel ye Son of John and ye Late mary Smeed who was Taken at ye Fort massechsets

14th morning fair Came into prison Jno Lermond¹

¹ He was taken captive at Damariscotta by eleven Indians, April 27, 1747. Norton, p. 38, who spells his name Larmon.

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¹²⁹

who was taken at Sheapsquet on y^e frontiers of New England By 11 Indians who killed his wife his Son and Daughter In Law and Brought their Scalps with them. at four In y^e afternoon Came to our Prison Monsigneur y^e Bishop of Quebec¹ he made But Verey Little Stay.

May ye 15 Died Christian Vader² late an Inhabitant of Albaney, and Joseph Gray³ Late of maryland one yt was Taken with Capt Will^m Chapman Likewise mr Hezekiah Huntington⁴ Latly of New Norwhich in ye Colloney of Connecticut he was taken by ye Castore Ship of war ye 28th of June past Bound for Luisbourg, in a Sloop of his Fathers he had Just Left ye University and was a promising Young man and no Doubt will be a Great Looss to his Parents, Since he is an only Son. I Believe ye Eldest of ye three persons Did

¹ Henrie Marie du Breil de Pontbriant. On the 9th of April, 1741, Benedict XIV. nominated him to succeed Pourray de l'Auberivière. He was the sixth and last bishop of Quebec under the French régime, and died at Montreal, June 29, 1760. Garneau, *Hist. of Canada*, vol. i. p. 423, and *Nouv. Biog. Générale*.

² He came from Schenectady, and was taken May 7, 1746. He became ill early in the month. Norton, p. 38, who spells his name Tedder. How says: Fether.

³ He was a young man, and was taken May 22, 1745. Norton, p. 38.

⁴ The numerous families of New England of the name of Huntington may all be traced back to Simon Huntington, an emigrant from Norwich, England. He embarked in 1639 or 1640 for Saybrook, Conn., and brought with him his three sons, Simon, Christopher, and Samuel. He became ill on the voyage, died as the vessel entered the Connecticut River, and was buried on the shore. Samuel settled later in Newark, N. J., and Simon

¹³⁰

not Exceed 23 Years and fourteen Days ago was as Likly to Live as any one in this place, This Day they Brought y^e frame for our house y^t was about 20 foot Square.

16 This Night past Rain morning fair Raised ye Frame of our house In ye Yard by ye other Camp yt was built for us first

May ye 17 This Day Fair morning, in ye afternoon Gave a Great many Stockings and Shirts &c To ye Prisonners In ye afternoon, Rain and Cloudye.

18th This Day Rain ye Greater part of ye Day Died Samuel martin ¹ Late of New Norwhich In ye Colloney of Connectecut a Jolly Young man of about 22 Years of age, Likwise ye Daughter of John Smead aged about 9 months She was born In ye woods about 3 days after her father and mother was Taken at ye massechusets fort and on y^t account was Christned By ye

¹ Norton says: "Samuel Martin of Lebanon in Connecticut; a likely young man, taken at sea. His sickness short." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 38.

and Christopher removed to Norwich after twenty years' residence at Saybrook. Christopher had a son Christopher, who was the first male child born in Norwich. Christopher, Jr., was the father of Deacon Hezekiah Huntington. The deacon married, as his first wife, Hannah Frink, and they had eleven children. One of these was Hezekiah, Jr., whose death Pote records. He was a graduate of Yale in 1744, and was unmarried. According to several accounts he died May 15, 1747. His father was a man of prominence in Norwich; was a member of the Council from 1740-43, and again 1748-1753; attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was for many years judge of the county court. Caulkins, *Hist. of Norwich*, pp. 106-108; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xi. p. 156.

Name of Captivity, Came Into prison 7 men and two Boys Viz 4 yt Belongd to ye Sloop Tertola George morris Master from Phelidelphia to antigue taken Bv monsieur Simeniere¹ in a Small Schooner from Martineco in Lattd 24" oo' ye Capt and four more of their Crew where Sent In ye Sloop Prisoners to martineco, Two more Taken at Sarotogu and two others at Cascobay Lads ye Sons of mr Willm Knights² Living at Sacarappa, one of these Lads Gave an account yt he was at ye house of mr Cloutman, one of those yt made their Escape, as mentioned ye 24th of october past, about 5 weeks past and that he is not Got home. Therefore tis Generally Concluded they perished In ye woods or yt ye Indians killed them Since they made their Escape, Last also m¹ Gorge Sivelana³ a Native of ye City of Corinth in Grace, Late mate of a Sloop In menis Bason taken In ve Unfortunate affair as mentioned ye 11 of March past who Confirms what we had from mr Willms4 ye 26 of April past with this addition Concerning ye French fleet at Jabuctaus that they Burnt two of their Ships In ye harbour for want of hands and yt 1500 Troops yt they had on board for this place they was abliged to Carry with ym to Sea to man their fleet for Europe Instead of ye West Indias,

¹ Sieur Simonin, captain of the schooner "L'Aimable Marthe," which sailed from Martinico, Apr. 15 (new style), 1747. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol x. p. 101.

² William Knight and his two sons were taken captive by the Indians, April 14, 1747. Williamson, *Maine*, vol. ii. p. 251.

³ George Schavolani. Norton, p. 38.

⁴ Captain Jonathan Williamson.

¹³²

he also Informed us yt there was a Young man Came with him, Named Zachiriah Hubbart¹ yt was In town with monsieur Paurtois, This Day I Received Several Letters from New England pr monsieur Le Crox a Prisoner yt had been at Boston Near two Years, Viz one from ye Chief Engenr mr Bastide dated Novbr 1745 yt filled me with Great Concern for fear he was Dead, another from my father yt Gave me an account of ye Death of two of my Brothers, Both Likely Young men Since I have Been In this place, which I hope and Desire it may please almighty God to Sanctifie to me and all our familly another from Capt John Gorham yt Gave me an account yt he had Sent me pr monsieur Le Croix 10 peices of Eight which Came In an Exceptable Time, This Night Came to prison ye afforsd Zachariah Hubbart

May ye 19 Died m^r Samuel Burbank² aged about 60 Years and m^r John fort³ Near about ye Same age ye former was Taken at a place Called hopkintown and ye Latter at Albaney Both By ye Indians

¹ Zechariah Hubbard. Norton, p. 38.

² He was taken at New Hopkinton, April 22, 1746. How says: "At the same time [that he died], died two Children who were put out to the French to Nurse." Narr., p. 22.

³ John, or Johannes, Fort died in March, 1747. It was hisbrother, Abraham, who died on May 19th. See the list of deaths at the end of the Journal; also, How, p. 22, and Norton, p. 38. Abraham Fort was taken at Fort Ann, Nov. 16, 1745. He was married to Anna Barber Clute. Norton calls him "son to John Fort, deceased," which is an error. Johannes and Abraham were sons of Jean Fort, alias Liberté, but their father, of course, was not a captive at Quebec. Compare: Schuyler, *Colonial New York*, vol. ii. pp. 371, 375.

¹³³

21st 1 This Day Came to our Camps ye aforsd monsieur Le Croix, who Gave me ye money yt was Sent me By Capt Gorham, he brings us a Great Deal of News But it must Be Understood as ye hebrews Read Viz Backwards. Died Robert Williams and old England man whose Residence was about 15 miles from Portsmouth. Came also to prison a Lad yt was Taken on ye Frontiers of New England By ye Endians.

May 22^d This Day Petter Parrans ² a Lad met with a Sad accident, and almost Cut his finger of [f] with a hatchet and was Sent to y^e hospital. This Day Died Nathaniel Hitchcock³ y^e [*i. e.*, y^t] was Taken at y^e Fort Massechusets, we hear y^t Some of our mohaawk Indians have been Down on y^e Frontears of Canady, and Taken Near 100 prisoners how true it may Be we Cannot tell for they tell us Some many L we Cannot tell how to Credit any thing they Say.

may $y^e 23^d$ This Day they finished our house and Capt Roberts was Carried in to it in a, Chair which made me fear he would Be Brought out in a Coffin, Capt Chapman also and m^r Norton Sick, So y^t our New house is Like to Be Infected with y^e fever.

May ye 24th This Day Rain ye most of ye Day and

¹ Rev. John Norton became ill on the 20th. On the 26th he lost his reason, and did not regain consciousness until the 14th of June. His *Redeemed Captive*, for this period, is consequently not based on his personal observations. See Norton, p. 39.

² Pote also spells his name Parain.

³ He belonged to Brimfield; was taken captive at Fort Massachusetts, Aug. 20, 1746, and put into prison at Quebec, Oct. 5, 1746. See Norton, p. 39.

¹³⁴

three of our Company, In our Room Verey Sick with an Epidemick fever, So yt we have Some Reason to fear we Shall all have our Turn.

may ye 25th This Day Cloudy high winds and Cold, Died Nehemiah how of ye Fever, a Good Pious old Gentleman aged Near 60 Years has been In prison Near 18 months and ye most Contented and Easey of any man In ye Prison

May ye 26 Died Jacob Quacinbush and his Son Isaac,¹ aged about 20 Years of age a Likely Young man who has been Sick But a few Days, ye wife of Said Jacob Quacinbush is Now Sick at ye hospital, and has Lost Since In this place, her husband and Son afors and a Dughter² aged about 12 Years and her Brother aged about 30, and has now a Daughter³ of about 18 years of age with ye Indians, and her father and mother with us at this time In Prison aged about 75 Years Each

may ye 27 This Day was Informed By ye Doctor yt there was no prospect of our Being Sent home By ye Generall although we made Great Dependence on a petition Sent ye General Last Sunday for ye purpose.

may ye 28th This Day Samuel Lingan Capt Chapmans Brother in Law taken Sick with ye fever, Capt Roberts verey ill.

may 30th verey Little hopes of Cap^t Roberts three women Prisoners y^t was Taken with Cap^t Salter

¹ This family was taken captive at Saratoga, Nov. 17, 1745.

² Martha Quackinbush.

³ Rachel Quackinbush.

¹³⁵

fought about their honosty which is as Invisible in Either, as ye North Star in ye Latt^d of 50 South, they Being I Believe as great whores as Lives

may ye 31st this Day ye major Gave us Leave to Go up Chamber with our Beds, Least we Should Catch ye Distemper Died Jacob Sheperd¹ one yt was taken at massechsets fort, this Day Squally wind at W.

June ye 1st This Day Capt Chapman Capt Roberts and mr Norton and Samuel Lingan, all verey Delirious, about 3 past merid Came ointment from ye hospital to Dress their Blisters

June ye 2d Hot and Showerey Wind S S W, Capt Roberts almost past hope his Death hourly Expected.

June 3^d This Day Died Capt David Roberts Taken as mentioned ye 26th of Last September this is ye first yt has Died of our mess, he has been Sick Nineteen Days, and God almighty only knows, which of us will follow him for we have Great Reason to Believe not many of us will Escape this malignant nervous fever, Capt Chapman have Lain in a Stupid Condition, without Speaking this 4 Days, about Noon we had a Coffin made for Capt Roberts, and Soon after was Caried out on a hanbarrow by two french Soldiers,

June ye 4th Squally and Variable weather In this Intemperate Climate and often Changing from hot to Cold, and Cold to hot this Day m^T De Chalet Sent us word y^t ye General was taking measures to Send us to Boston. I wish it may Be true

¹ Norton says : "Jacob Shepherd, a pious young man, well beloved and much lamented." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 39.

¹³⁶

I be 'Pote Journal

June ye 5th The major Came hear and told us we Should Be Sent to Boston Next week and ordered us to Get Ready, which I have been above this two Years past; m^T De Chalet Came afterwards and Confirmed it, only Said we must Stay a Little wile for ye arrivel of about 50 prisoners yt was Dayly Expected from the Bay Verd yt they might Be Sent with us, But if they did not Soon arrive we Should Be Sent without y^m 2 P M Came two prisoners that was taken at pemequid¹ by ye Indians, who Gave an account, they with 13 men more was on Shore to Catch ale wives for Bait for Cod fish, when 15 Indians fiered upon them, and killed 12 of their Company, and one they Supposed had made his Escape, these men was Taken 15 Days past and Could tell us no News of Consequence.

June ye 6th This Day monsieur De Chalet Sent us two Gallons of Brandy, and two of Rum to Be Distributed amongs ye people this Gentleman has been very Generous to us Ever Since we have been in this place which I Desire I may always acknowlledge with Gratitude, Capt Chapmans fever turned but he lays Still in a Stupid Condition this is ye 17th Day he has been Sick with ye fever

June 7^{th} Cloudy over Cast weather this Day there arrived from ye Bay Verd 11 prisoners who Gave us an account yt ye others would arrive in a Short time, Therefore we hope we Shall be Sent In a Short time

¹ Compare with the accounts in N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 107; Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal, June 2, 1747; and Drake, pp. 144, 145. Drake gives their names, taken from various sources.

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as we was Informed they weited for Nothing But their arrivel from ye Bay Verd.

June ye 8th Thunder and Lightning This Day ye major Came and Told us, we Should Be Sent ye Beginning of ye Next week. I wish with all my heart, we may not be Deceived, as we have Been So often in this affair already

June ye 10th Died John Pittman a man yt was Taken with mr Phillips, In a marblehead Schooner Near Jabuctaus, and was Left here, when ye Said phillips and Several others was Shipted on Board Last fall for ye wist Indies, Because he was Sick, as mentioned ye 1st of Last November.

June ye 11th Came monsieur De Chalet and Gave us an accompt yt they had Taken 12 of our mohawk Indians and three Dutch man that was Dressed In Indian Dress their hair Cut and painted Like ye Indians these 15 was Taken Near montrial they Belonged to a Scout of 50 men 4 of which was killed when these was Taken, and ye Rest had made their Escape they had killed Before they was taken Several of ye French Inhabitants Near montrial and taken Sum prisoners, he told us ye Dutch was put with ye Indians In a Dungeon, at montrial, he also Inform^d us ye General Continu^d his Intentions of Sending us home in a Short time this Day warm wind at N W.

June ye 12th was brought from ye Bay Verd 5 prisoners Viz Capt Elisha Done¹ Leivt George Ger-

¹ Capt. Elisha Doane, and he may have been born at Eastham, February 3, 1705. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. vi. p. 44. In 1746, on June 24, he petitioned the General Court of Massa-

¹³⁸

rish¹ Insign Willm Jarmin Cap^t James Crocker and his Son these Gentlemen was put In our mess and was taken In y^t Unhappy affair y^t hapned at menis they Gave us an account of one Cap^t Pickering² of Pesquatoque who was killed at y^t time after which they Cut his Tounge out, and his privy parts of and Laid him open from his throught to y^e Bottem of his Belley, and Spread him open with Sticks just as a hog for a market a most Barbarous and Unhumain action as almost was Ever known, wether done By y^e french or Indians is not known, this Day Died Abraham De Grave³ a Dutch man that was taken Near albaney, arrived from Bordeaux a Brigantine to this place.

June ye 13th Good weather wind E this Day three Vessells arrived from ye Bay Verd y^t brought up General Ramsey⁴ and his armey from la Cadie Except about 60 Left at Beaubasin also Came to prison three prisoners y^t was Left Behind Sick Last fall.

June ye 15th Rainey this Day Came from ye Bay Verd ye Last of ye prisoners 11 Came here 7 Sent to ye hospital Sick and 3 Died on their passage they was Chased By a Snow But put Into a Bard harbour So

chusetts Bay for recognition for himself and his men for their services at Louisburg in 1745. Votes of Mass.-Bay.

¹ George Garrish. Drake, p. 234.

² See Haliburton, Nova Scotia, vol. ii. p. 132.

³ He belonged to Schenectady, and was captured in October, 1746. Norton, p. 39.

⁴ Jean Baptiste Nicholas Roch de Ramezay. He arrived at Quebec in the brigantine "Le Soleil Levant." N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 109.

¹³⁹

that tis not known what Vessell She was wether french or English.

June ye 16th fair hot weather This Day Came mr De Chalet and told us yt ye Design of our Going was put of for Some time By Reason there was a woman In this town, yt was taken at Cascobay by ye Indians Named foster,¹ this womans husband was killed when She was taken, and Six of her Children Brought with her to this place She Brings them an acount yt there is two flags of truces Saild from Boston Before She was taken, one for ye Bay of fondy, and ye other for this place, and we Should not be Sent till they Could hear ye truth of this News.

June ye 17th This Day Every man In ye Yard put a peice of Sprews In their hats or Caps In Commemoration yt Luisbourg Surrendred To ye English this Day two Years past

June ye 18 This Day Came to prison two prisoners from montrial who Gave an account yt ye mohawk Indians, and Dutch, mentioned ye 11th of this Instant Came to this town with y^m and was put into ye Cachot, and would not Come amongst us in this prison,

June ye 19th Fair Cool wind WNW This Day Died one Samuel Stacy² one yt Came Last from ye Bay Verd.

June ye 20th fair warm weather we Understand yt ye aforsd Indians was Still in ye CaChote and ye Dutch men In ye Common Prison. This Day Came

¹ She was captured Apr. 21, 1747. Drake, p. 143.

² He was captured at Minas, when Col. Noble was killed. See Norton, p. 39, who says he died on the 17th.

¹⁴⁰

to See us two of ye La Cornes,¹ Gentlemen officers in ye armey at menes these men Gave ye 5 officers yt was Taken By them at menes, 100 Livers, This Day was taken out of prison one Denis Donahew a Desarter from, Capt Rouse having Joined ye french, Died Willm Nason² a Soldier yt was taken Last winter at menes this was one of ye Last yt Came from ye Bay Verd, this Day was built a New Tent In our Yard of about 30 foot Long which is not a Sign of our Going verey Soon.

June 21st Sunday Fine fair weather wind W This Day Came many people Round ye Piquets to See us, But none admitted In, Except Some of ye Quality, and Soldiers wives who Came In By Douzens our Gaurd now is about 20 men.

June ye 22d This Day Hot P M Cloudy and Small Rain, Had Intilegence there was 10 french Ships In ye River 3 of which was within about 3 Leagus of this Town, at about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 heard a Canon, yt we Suposd to Be ye Commodore fired ye Evening Gun

June ye 23^d Tuesday This Day Fair, wind N W and Exceeding Hot, at about 4 P M Saw 3 Sail of Ships Coming up ye River, one of which we Supposed to Be a Ship of about 20 Guns, and others marchant men, heard there was Eight more Coming up ye River, & Expected Hourly.

June ye 24 heard yt ye man of war and 3 Sail yt Came up Last night where ye Remains of a Squadron,³

¹ Pierre de Chapt, Chevalier de La Corne, was one of them.

² He belonged to Casco Bay. Norton, p. 39.

³ The Duc d'Anville's fleet.

¹⁴¹

it Seames there are 7 Sail more Expected up Everey Day to this place, they Came out of France ye Last of march past ye Squadron Consisted of about 55 marchant Ships Some for this place and Some for ye west Indies Besides three East India Ships outward Bound under ye Convoy of 10 men of war of 60 and 40 Gun Ships who ye 5th Day after their Departure from Breast fell In with a fleet of English men of war Consisting of 18 Sail of ye Line, who attacked ye Convoy. In ye Begining of ye Engagement, ye French Admiral hoisted a Signal for ye merchant Ships to make ye Best of their way, who Left ym Engaged. how ye fortune of ye Battle turned time only Can Discover But By ye appearance of ye French at ye Arrival of these Ships, tis Generaly Concluded ye french where worsted and y^t most of y^m was Either Taken or Sunk.

June ye 25 Thirsday This Day had Yesterdays, News Confirmed, and this addition yt there was, a General, or Governour,¹ for this Countrey, on Board one of ye man of war yt was Left In ye Engagement with ye English, this man was Sent from france to Succeed, monsigneur De Beauharnois, & It is Generally thought if ye English Ships meets with Common Succes, yt Both ye French and us will Be Disappointed In our Expectations, Viz ye French of ye oppertunity to Celebrate their New master, and us poor prisoners of having ye Benefit of his Generosity. we hear also those Ships was ye Greater part almost Double mand

¹ Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière.

¹⁴²

and they hopd they might by yt means meet with ye Better Succes.

26 Friday had Intilegence yt ye States of Holland had proclamed war with france which we hope is true and yt these Ships In their passage to this place have Taken a Dutch marchent man yt they Sent to france, 2dlly yt ye English have taken a Ship of 70 Guns¹ Belonging to france In ye Chanel Last winter 3dly, yt a french Scout under ye Command of monsieur La Corne have taken, and killed a Number of people at Serotoga and ye Captives are Daily Expected here.²

27th Saturdy Rain for ye Greater part of ye Day Came up to town 3 Ships more part of those 7 which was Expected up hear one of y^m Tis Said is ye Black prince Privateer Late of Bristol.

28th Fair Weather This Day Came to ye Camps from ye hospital Peter Parain a Lad yt Could Speak Verey Good French who Brings Intilegence yt ye French Ship of war of 70 Guns as mentioned ye 26 past was ye Le mars She was taken by ye Admiral Waren³ In ye Chester and ye Vigilent⁴ In Going to Europe Last fall NB ye Le mars is ye Ship which Took his majestys Ship Northumberland The Ships which

¹ This was the 64-gun ship "Le Mars." She carried 500 men, and was commanded by M. Colombe.

² They were ambushed by a detachment of 200 French and Indians under Luc de Chapt de La Corne St. Luc. The Indians reported that 41 were made prisoners and 29 killed. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 112. ³ Admiral Sir Peter Warren.

⁴ She was a man-of-war of 64 guns, and had been taken from the French, off Cape Breton, in May, 1745.

¹⁴³

Came up Latly Brought a Sickness with ym on wh account ye Doctor have Declared he Cannot give his attendance to ye Sick which are hear, N B our Number now Consists of 289 prisoners.

29th Thunder Showers and Clost wether ye Greatest part of ye Day In ye afternoon Brought in one of ye Prisoners yt was taken at Serostogo yt Gives us a Verey poor account of ye afair yt hapned with y^m ye Indians had Cut his hair, a la mode des Sauvages, and painted his face, we Expect 30 or forty more Dayly to Come to prison and hope they will Be able to Give us a more Perticuler account.

30th Fair weather A M and Some Showers of Rain In ye afternoon this Day a party of Swis which Came over from france in ye Ships yt Latly arrived, are now our Gaurd

July 1st 1747 much Rain ye Night past this Day Came Into prison mr Joseph Chew¹ a Leiutenent, and 6 men yt had been Taken at Serostoge By a party of french and Indians ye Lievtenent was put with us, and Gave us an account yt they were taken by about 300 french and Indians, they had killed and Taken about 60 or 70 men. ye Rest of ye Prisoners are dayly Expected to arrive. This day died mathew Loren² he was one yt Belonged to Capt Salter and have Been at la Cadie all winter.

¹He was captured June 20, 1747. After he had returned home, he complained of having been ill-treated at Quebec. N. Y. Col. Does., vol. vi. p. 488; also vol. x. p. 112.

² Norton says: "June 30. Died Matthew Loring, taken at sea, May 29th, 1746." Redeemed Cap., p. 39.

¹⁴⁴

2d Fair this day died a Young Child¹ of Sergent archebald Gutherage^s, Born at menus Last winter and aged about 4 months She Caught ye fever of her mother at Night Came in a prisoner taken at Serostoge afors^d. our Number is 296 in all.

3d Fair this Day Died Jno Pringle² Late of New England Saw ye Roof of ye Cazernes our old prison Raised and part of it Boarded.

4th Fair Nothing worthy of note

5th Fair we hear there is a flagg of Truce in ye River But time will Discover weather true or false.

6th Fair ye former part of ye Day ye Latter part Rain Came Into prison a man yt was taken at Sarosoge there was 42 taken In all 10 of which is hear and ye others Except 5 or 6 In ye hands of ye Indians are Daily Expected hear there is 7 Sail of French Ships In ye River Instead of ye flag of truce, who are Expected to arrive hear Every Day.

7th Fair this Day Came Into our Camps a Girl about 16 Years of age ye Daughter of widow Quacinbush She made her Escape from ye Indians in whos hands She have been these 20 months by Getting a Connew and Crossing ye River at a place Called ye 3 Rivers about midway Betwen this and montrial from whence She have been Travelling this 4 or 5

¹ Norton says: "Died Archibald Gartrage, a child, and son to Charles Gartrage, aged nine months." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 40.

² Norton says: "July 4. Died William Prindle, a Louisburg soldier, a New England man originally, taken at St. John's, July 10th, 1746." *Redeemed Cap.*, p. 40. Pote in list of deaths : John Trindal.

¹⁹

Days and ye french assisted her till She arrived to this place where She was Conducted to a Gentlemans who Cloathed her and brought her here to See her mother but She is to Remain in ye Town

8th This Day Came to our Camps a Prisoner yt had been taken at Sarostoge with m^T Chew. he made his Escape from y^e Indians In a manner Verey Extraordinary

9th Fair about 4 P M 2 D—d whores fought about a Shadow, Viz their honesty

10th Fair. this Day mon^r De Chalet Sent a Small Cask of Tabaccoe to Be Divid^d Equelly amongst y^e Prisoners this Day Came in 4 prisoners y^t had been Taken at Sarostoge with m^r Chew.

11th This morning Died Corperel Daniel Norwood¹ he Served his aprentiship In a Baking office, In wapping London he Belonged to one of those Regiments Latly Sent from Giberalter to Cape Briton was Taken by y^e Indians on y^e Island of S^t Johns, July 1746 hear yt his Lordship y^e Generel has Received a Letter from Governour Knowls² at Lewisbourg as well as one from Governour Shierly³ of Boston Concerning our Redemption N B this day 2 men

¹ Corporal William Norwood, taken at St. John's, July 10, 1746. Norton, p. 40.

² Sir Charles Knowles. This letter was dated at Louisburg, May 27, 1747. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 114. There is a long memoir of this naval commander in *The Naval Chronicle for* 1799, vol. i. pp. 89-124; 283-286.

³ On Shirley's participation in the exchange of prisoners, see N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 185; Votes of the House of Rep. of Mass.-Bay, 1747.

¹⁴⁶

yt have been in this place Some time and Livd on ye Comon allowence for ye Prisoners are admitted Into our mess Viz Captn Jno Spaffard who has been here about 14 months and mr Joseph Stockman who have been here about 10 months

12th this Day as we was at dinner Came Into our Room Jno Simson a man y^t have been In this place about 2 Years and one Susanah Boillison y^t was taken with Cap^t Salter, these 2 have desiered m^r Norton to marrey them Severel times, But having no permission from y^e General, he always Refused y^m therefore they Came and Stood in y^e middle of y^e Room hand in hand before y^e minister as he Sat at dinner and Declard they took Each other as man and wife In y^e Presence of God and us witneses after which they had a Certificate drawn and we all Signd it *Viz* 12 y^e minister on y^e top and all y^e Rest of us under bim,¹ this was y^e first time I Ever Saw y^e like Encouragement and permission Given, for whoreing.

13th Great Cavelcade on account of ye Late mariage Fair Clear weather.

14th monsieur De Chalet & monr Portois Came to our Camps and assurd us yt there was two french Ships fitted one to Go to Boston and ye other to Luisbourg and would be Ready in a weak to Carry us Some to Luisbourg and Some to Boston they also took a List of us Viz who Should go to Luisbourg and who to Boston, as to those yt asked after their Children and Relations yt was in ye hands of ye Indians

¹ The words italicized are partially erased in the original manuscript.

¹⁴⁷

they had no Encouragement But was told they Could not be Redeem^d till there was a peace.

15th Fair weather m^t De Chelat Came to let us know y^t y^e oldest prisoners would go first for fear there Should not be Room for us all on Board y^e Vessells he also hinted y^t those Gentlemen taken at menis about 6 months ago would be Detaind at Night monsieur marin Came to See us and Informed me we Should Go in three Days, and Desiered me not to make it Publick I was also Informed by m^t Laurain we Should Certainly Go in Less than Eight Days.

16 of July Came monsieur Commissaire¹ This Day Died James Doile² of ye Fever was taken with Capt Salter he Died as many others did quite Sensly July ye 17th Friday fair whether Except one Shower monsieur Commissaire Came here and Confirmed our Going In a few Days I had had much Discours with him Concerning Sundrey affairs and he was pleased to Let me know I might Go In which Vessell, I pleased and told me he Should Should be Glad to hear from me when Ever oppertunity Presentted Died Phinihas Fourbush³ who was taken at massechusets

¹ The words italicized are partially erased in original manuscript.

² James Doyl, captured May 29, 1746. Norton, p. 40.

³ Phinehas Forbush, of Westboro', taken captive, Aug. 20, 1746. Norton, p. 40. The name Forbush has undergone several changes since its first appearance in this country. At first it was written ffarrabas, then Furbush, Forbush, and sometimes Forbes. It does not appear on the Records until 1681, when Daniel and Deborah Forbush are found in Marlborough, Mass. There was a Phinehas Forbush, who was born March 4, 1721. Hudson, *Hist. of Marlborough*, p. 364.

fort Came Into our Roome monst De lary¹ ye officer of ye Gaurd and Sent for 9 Bottles of wine and Cakes and treated us with a Great Deal of Gentellity This is ye first yt has Done ye Like Since I have been hear and I wish it was in my power to make him Suitable Retaliation.

July ye 18th Saturday Fair hot Day had but half weeks allowence of Bear Sent us we hope it is a Sign of our Speady Departure Quacinbushs Child² who has Lived with a Gentlewoman In this town about 18 months was this Day brought to our Camps her, mother Endeavoured by all possible means to have her Delivered up but ye Gentleman yt Came with her would not Consent. and Demanded a Sum of money for her Redemption yt they had paid ye Endians Capt Doane³ offered to Be ye womans Security and yt ye money Should be paid at our arrivel at Boston but Could not prevail by any means I observed ye Child was So taken up with ye french yt She would not Come nigh her mother but Seemed as much affraid of her as though She had been an Indian, So yt I Believe She will Stay hear behind if we Go this Evening Came to See us Priest Lecorne,⁴ and Gave us an account yt

¹ Gaspard Chaussegros De Léry was chief engineer of Canada, and he died in 1756. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 496.

² Rachel Quackinbush.

³ Capt. Elisha Doane.

⁴ Rev. Maurice Lacorne. He was better known by the nickname of Captain John Barthe; was more of a trader than priest, and went to France in 1757, where he engaged in secular pursuits.

¹⁴⁹

about 15 days past as he was Coming up this River about 100 Leagues from this place was Taken from him by ye English a Sloop of about 50 Tuns and he himself Narrowly Escaped by Running ashore In ye Bote. he also Gave us Intiligence yt a horse yt was Sent as a present from Governour Shierly to Governour Knowls of Luisbourg and was taken by Some of ye Jabuckto fleet¹ and made a present of to Sd mr Le Corn this horse he had on board with him when his Sloop was taken by ye English and Sought oppertunity to kill him but had not time. he also told me yt ye Guns yt was taken with me was on Board ye Sd Sloop he told me yt he was more Concerned for ye Loss of ye horse then all ye Rest he had Lost.

July ye 19 Sunday Showers and Sultrey weather this Day marched out of ye Town about 800 of ye melitia mr Portois was hear and Several Gentlemen and Told us we Should Go this weak Came to our Camps. monsieur Entendant qu'il me dit que nous Irons Sans doutes Chez nous Cette Semaine dans deux Batimens. assavoir un pour Boston Et l'autre pour Luisbourg.

July y^e 20th Fair Day wind at N W Nothing worthy of Note.

July 21st Tuesday I Translated a french Letter Into English By the Desire of madame Paane² which was

¹ The Duc d'Anville's fleet.

² Madame Péan, wife of Hugues Péan, son of the town major of Quebec. She was "young, lively, spiritual, mild and obliging, and her conversation amusing." She was later a close associate of the famous Intendant Bigot. N. Y. Col. Does., vol. x. p. 85.

¹⁵⁰



Portrait of Governor William Shirley. From Drake's "French and Indian War."

to Recommend her to ye English In Case She Should be Taken In Going to france, and She Expected to Sail with those Ships yt are In this place

Wednesday ye 22 July Rainey Sloppey weather ye Greater part of ye Day our Yard was almost over Shoos in mud and mire we had a present of 120 Livers Sent us from ye Entendent to buy Small Necessairies for our passage m^r Shierly¹ was hear and told me I might Depend upon his word yt we Should Embarque in about 3 days Viz those ye Saild for Boston.

Thirsday 23^d This Day we was Informed by ye Barbour who Comes to Shave us Everey thirsday yt he beliveed he Should Shave us once more before we took our Departure from this place mr Portois was hear after and told us those yt Saild for Boston would Embarque a Saturday Next this was also afterwards Confirmed by mr Laurain. There was also a woman here yt was taken at Sarotoga about 18 months past who Told us we Should Embarque in a few Days this woman had her husband killd when Taken and has

¹ A son of Gov. William Shirley, of Massachusetts Bay. Gov. Shirley had by his first wife, Frances, daughter of Francis Barker, four sons and five daughters; namely: William, Jr., secretary to General Braddock, and killed in 1755; John, a captain in the army, died at Oswego; Ralph, who died young; Thomas, governor of the Leeward Islands, major-general, baronet in 1786, and died in 1800; Judith, who died young; Elizabeth, m. Eliakim Hutchinson; Frances, m. William Bollan; Harriet, m. Robert Temple, and Maria Catherine, m. John Erving. *Heraldic Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 116-118.

¹⁵¹

6 Chilldren in ye hands of ye Sauvages She Expects to Stay here till a peace by Reason her Children Cannot be Exchanged She Lives with a Gentleman In town In a Genteel hansome manner and I believe will Content her Self to Live hear all ye Days of her Life

Friday 24th m^r De Chalet Came and told us y^t we Should Sail to morrow Rainey ye Docter Came with m_r De Chalet to feel of all y_e mens pulses to See who was fit to Go and Severel was Rejected and thought not proper to Send.

This Day fair and Clear, mr De Saturday 25th Chalet was hear in ye morning and told us yt those for Boston would Sail this afternoon and us for Luisbourg would Sail in about 3 days, Last Night Diserted to ye french as Soon as they Understood we Should Certainly Be Redeemd Daniel Larrey, Jno Tobin, John Mce Donell, Willm mullalley James Middlebourough, John MccClur and his wife, Thomas Mce Clocklin and his wife Robert willson George Winwright Thomas anderson, Peter m^{cc} million David Berrey these people whent away Verey Secretly about Ten at night this Day Came m^T De Chalet and y^e major at about 2 In y^e afternoon and Gave orders for ye Prisoners yt was Bound for Boston all to make Ready In order to Imbarque there was taken out 159, thirteen of which Belonged to our Company mr De Chalet Informed us we Should Embarque a mondy morning yt was Designd, for Luisbourgh Wind East. at Night Came In two Prisonners yt was taken at Sarostogue ye 19th of June past with mr Chew.

Sunday ye 26 of July ye Captain of ye Gaurd was with us in our Chamber about 3 hours I had much Discours with him Concerning Sundrey affairs he Informed me yt Gotes¹ of anapolis Royel and his familey was bound to this place In order to Settle here he also told us yt we Should Embarque to morrow without fail he also Gave us an account of ye Battle yt was at menes Last winter &c and told us they Lost upwards of 40 men although we always was Informed before yt they Lost but 5 Viz 3 Indians and 2 french

monday ye 27th Receive a Letter from ye flag of truce y^t gave us an acount y^t ye Vessell we was to Go in was all Ready for Sailling her Sails bent &c, at about 9 In ye morning Saw ye other Vessell² Under Sail. this day Died John Pattison one y^t was taken In his majestys Sloop ye Albaney at Night m^r De Chalet Came to our Camps and told us y^t we Should not Sail till Whednesday morning

Whednesday $y^e 29^{th}$ July 1747 at about 10 In y^e morning Came m^r De Chalet & y^e major and told us to make preparation for to Imbarque at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 10 we was order^d to pack up our Bagage In order for our

20

¹ There were various persons of the name of Gotre in Nova Scotia as late as 1755. See Coll. of Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., vol. iii.

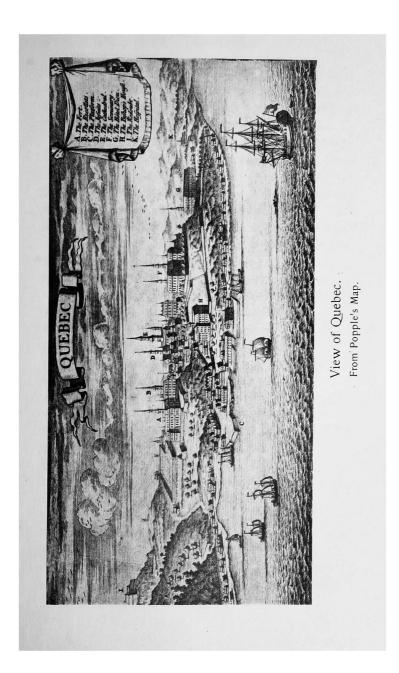
² This ship, "La Vierge-de-Grace," was commanded by Captain Larregni, and sailed for Boston with 180 prisoners. She came in sight of Cape Breton on Aug. 1, and arrived at Boston on the 16th. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 118; Norton, p. 40. For a list of the prisoners who died in Quebec, and of those who arrived at Boston in the above vessel, see N. Y. Post Boy, August 31, 1747.

I Being aprehensive we Should be all Departure. Serched Desired our people all to be Carefull of their papers and Gave my Journal to a woman Prisoner who promisd me She would Carrey it Safely to Luisbourg Under her peticoats where I hoped there was no Danger of their Serching. Between 11 and 12 Came orders for for us to take our Departure we was Conducted through ye town by a Gaurd of Soldiers after having been Serchd Several Gentlemen and Ladys Discoverd joy and Seemd to particepate with our joyfull news of being Redeemd, whilest others Discoverd quite ye Reverse and I believe would have been pleasd to See us Commence another two Years Captivity, when we was Imbarqued on board ye Brigantine flag of truce, le Saint Esprit¹ monsieur le févre Commandr, ye Capt Informa us we Should Sail in about 2 hours, but Soon had ordres from ye General to ye Contrary and Could not Sail till ye Next day, we are in No men woman and Children prisoners on board this Vessell 85 In this time I have ye opertunity as we Lay Right against ye town² to make Several observations Viz ye River to ye SE of ye City Tends SWBS and NEBN & about 3/4 of a mile in weadth. ye Land over against ye City Seemed verey Commodious for an armey to

¹ The French account states that she had on board about eighty prisoners. She returned from Cape Breton to Quebec Aug. 26th. N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 119, 124.

² For other contemporary descriptions of Quebec see N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. vi. p. 580; vol. ix. p. 1103; Pa. Gazette, 1746, Nos. 922 and 926. These articles in the Gazette are reprinted from the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1746.

¹⁵⁴



Incamp against it, having a Gradual Desent from ye City So yt an armey may Come within a Small Distance of ye River under Cover of ye Land without any molestation from ye City Except by bombs.

I find by ye best observations I Can make ye Tide flows SEBS and NEBN or $\frac{H}{2} = \frac{M}{45}$ on full and Change days there is at Low water In ye River where ye Ships Ride about 12 fathom. ye City of Quebec is Cituated on a Neck of Land in ye River of Canada. from ye South to ye S E of ye City is Verey high Land near 100 foot high Clost by ye water Side and almost Perpendiculer. from ye SE of ye City to ye NNW part of it is almost level with ye water. about a proper wedth for a Street of houses and is Called la basse Ville. from ye N W part of ye town to ye South part which is ye Back of ye town is a wall ye two Ends of which has been built Since I have been here Viz within two Years ye midle part we are Inform^d has been built past. about 50 Years and is verey Rotten.

I have Seen ye prisoners as we was Encampd by it after our prison was burnt, beat down with stones near a Load of it at a time ye wall is about 30 foot high, and about 10 or 12 foot thick. I believe there is but three Gates, which we saw. one at ye S W of ye town and another at ye W ye other at ye N W there is also three Galley portes yt we Saw and I believe they have no more. ye Kings Yard is at ye N W part of ye town where they build Large Ships there is at present a 70 Gun Ship on ye Stocks and a 20 Gun Ship lays in ye dock near ye Yard yt has been Launchd about 18 months and waits for her Riging which has been Sent

from france three times already and taken by ye English. ye tide flows about 20 foot perpendiculer ordinary tides, between ye City and ye Island of orleans is a fine Bay where Ships of any Burthen may Ride Secure & Especially to ye S E part of ye City where I observe ye men of war Useally Ride. ye River is Navigable up to ye City of montrial which is 60 Leagus above Quebec But I Never Could hear of any Vessells of Greater Burthen then 100 Tuns yt passes from Quebec to montrial they Lay up their Ships In ye winter at ye N W part of ye Town where it is dry at Low water. as I Lay on Board ye flagg of truce Right against ye Town from whednesday Noon till thirsday 2 P M I had ye opertunity to observe their Strength in yt part of ye City yt faces ye Road or Bay, where is all their Strength and is as follows Viz at ye S part of ye City and Near ye water Side is a Battrey of 12 Guns and has been Lately Erected a Small Distance to ye Eastd of ye aforsd & on ye Sumit of ye hill is a Small fort in which is 10 Guns, on a Large opening to ye SE of ye City is a platform on which are about 30 Cannon which appears to be Small, a Little to ye Eastd of ye aforsd at ye Common Landing or fish market at ye water Side is a Regular Bastion of 16 peices of Cannon yt appears to be But Small above yt on ye top of ye hill to ye ESE of ye Town is a Large platform which being on a point Lays in ye form of a half moon on which are 30 Cannon But Neither this Nor ye platform before mentiond have anything to Screen ym not So much as faciens. of what Size those Cannon are I Cannot Say any otherwise then by ye Shoot I observed in ye Court

before ye Governours pallace where we was put ye 28th of april past when our prison was burnt.

In this place was their magazine of Shot and I believe ye only one they have where ye Shot being piled In ye form of Reguler pyramids we made a Computation of their Numbers and Bigness and found ym as follows Viz 18 pounders about 260 twelve pd 400 9 pd 450 and 6 pd 500 of 3 pd 1000 Shells of 9 Inches 27 and 2 morters of Cross bar Shot about 520 hand Granads about 300 two peices of Brass Cannon Before ye Governours door 9 pounders which I am Inform^d is a previledge Belonging to all marchells of France there is Amberzures In ye wall at ye NW part of ye town where they have wrought for this two Years past filling it up with mould but is not Yet Compleated nor any Guns place I Supose their Design is In Case they Should be attackd by Land in yt part of ye town to Remove their Guns from Some of ye aformentiond platforms to this place. ye City of Quebec to ye Best of my opinion is about ye Bigness of Charlestown in N E and Consists of two parts. la haute Ville et la basse Ville ye basse Ville or lower town Stands almost on a level with ye water. the Governours pallace is one of ve most RemarkableBuildings in Quebec and Stands at ye S E part of ye Town. there is in it also 5 Churches 2 Convents 2 Hospitals and a Large Colledge ye Residence of ye Jesuits. there is also a Large Hospital Called ye Kings Hospital a Remarkable Building yt Stands about 3⁄4 of a mile without ye City to ye Westd.

ye Inhabitant[s] are Under Continual aprehensions of ye English paying them a Vissite both By Land and

Sea which if they Should they plainly Discover they are Consious to themselves they Cannot Long Stand ye Test. ye Contrey is verey fertil and a Good Soil But ye winter verey Severe. By ye Best Information I Could have Since I have been In Canada which is Now above two Years there is In ye Countrey Between 30 and 40 thousand men though they have had ye ambition to tell me Sundrey times they have Upwards of 60000 But its absolutly Necessary to allow as much for Lee way for any of their assertions as for a Ship yt Sails by ye wind Under her Courses. they are Settled By ve River Sides about 130 Leagus Several farmers have made no Scruple to Let us know they would turn to ve English In Case they Should Come against ym Rather then Loose their Estats as they have no Intrest In old france nor are their Indians much to be Depended on for they have often told me in Case ye English Should Come they would be on ye Strongest Side. and many of ye French have verey Sincearly told me Same ye old France Soldiers who have for a Long time been our Gaurd wish for nothing more than an English fleet or armey as having no other hopes of Getting to Europe But by ye Ruduction of Canada yt it may be Soon affected is ye hearty wish I Believe of Everey English Subject yt has any Knowledge of Canada. and Especielly all those their Neighbours on ye Continent In America.

Thirsday ye 30th July 1747 at about 2 P m we Come to Sail and Took our Departure from Quebec which I have been Longing and wishing for above two Years after we had Sailed about a mile and half

ye Capt Informe us it was ye Generals ordres we must be put down below ye Deck, and orderd us all down. ye other two masters of Vessells Viz James Sutherland and Willm Lambert and my Self was ordered down in ye Cabbin after which ye Compases was ordered by ye Capt to be all Lockd up. and we kept Below for Some time till they had passed Several Eminent Dangers Viz Shoals Rocks and Sands & ye Capt Came down In ye Cabbin and Drawd his Cutlash and Leaving ye Scabord Behind him Ran up upon ye Deck with all possible Expedition Swearing by God and all angels and Saints yt if any of his people ye french Sailors was In any manner Delitary and did not Carefully observe his orders to a moment he would Separate their heads from their Body^s with his Cutlash, and Spoke from time to time with an audible Voice Starboard port and thus &c. and Swore by all yt was Good yt he would murther Some of them In a Verey Short time. we hearing Such a Confus^d Noise upon Deck and Susspected this was on purpose to Deceive us as we had been so long aquainted with their Subtilty.

Therefore we was Resoulved To Convince our Selves which was Verey Easey. there was one of their Small Staysails Spread before ye Cabbin windows which we Could lift up at pleasure and observe her wake & found yt although there was Such a Cursing and Swearing and Some times Invoking of Saints. Yet they Never alterd her Course In ye Least. when ye Capt Suposed he had Suficienly obtaind his Ends he Came down In ye Cabbin and Told us a Lamentable tale of ye Difficultys we had passd and had to

pass and that he thought there was no place In whole Univers so Difficult Navigation. we had permission from ye Capt to Come up for a few minuts and then hurred down with all possible Spead and ye afforsd project Repeated Several times at about half after 10 at Night we Came to an anchor and by ye Best Computation I Could make we have Come about 27 or 28 Leagus and our Course Between N E & B E & E N E at about 12 at Night Come to Sail fine weather fresh Gale at about W S W.

July 31st 1747 The wind Continud In our favour at about 2 P M ye Capt orderd ye Compases to be brought up and put in ye Binecle and told us we might now make what observations we thought proper I aprehend we are about 60 Leagus Distance from Quebec Cours[e] made Good about N E B E at 4 P M Spoke with a Brigantine a prise yt had been taken from ye English Loaden with Rice and was bound for Quebec @ 5 P M Saw a Large Ship to ye N ward of us yt we Supposed to be ye Ship yt had Taken ye aforsd prise But She being at a Great Distance from us we Could not Speak with her.

Saturday August ye 1st 1747 A M Small Brease at about S S E P M almost Calm misty Cloudy weather Great Sea from ye S W.

Sunday august ye 2d 1747 This 24 Hours Variable winds and Foggey at 12 of ye Clock Noon Supposed we was 100 Leagus from Quebec.

monday ye 3 of august 1747 at about 10 A M made Gaspee¹ and ye Island of anticostia which is Called ye

¹ Gaspé Bay, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Entrance of ye River of St Laurance we Suppose our Selves about 135 Leagus Distance from Quebec ye westermost End of ye Island of anticostia¹ Bears from Gaspee about N E B N and about 14 Leagus Dist This Day at ye Suns Setting I took her magnitecal amplitude and found ye Variation of ye Compass about 19°,,oo' W Variation. this Day ye Capt of ye flagg of truce observed to us Sundrey times yt he was Exceedingly Surprisd there was no English Ships Cruzing at ye mouth of ye River.

Tuesday ye 4th of august 1747 This day fine fresh Gale ye Greater part of ye Day we whent at ye Rate of 10 Knots at 8 Pm made ye Island of Capbriton about 10 Leagus Distanc and Bore S E ye North Cape fine weather Wind West.

Whednesday ye 5th at 6 A M Clost In by ye North Cape. this Day fine Pleasent weather Light winds and Variable at 6 P M Saw a Large Ship a head of us yt we Supposed to be a man of war at about 7 P M Hoisted our Colours and fired a Gun to Leward to Signifie to ye Ship what we was. ye Ship we Percievd Changd her Course and Stood In for Spanish River we Supposed her To be a Coler bound to Spanish River for Cole.

Thirsday ye 6th Fair Pleasent weather Light Gales of wind and Sumthing Variable at 6 P M Came to an anchor In a Bay Called miray Bay² where we Saw two Sail of Schooners In ye head of ye Bay at an anchor

¹ Natiskotek, corruptly Anticosti Isle. New Map of Nova Scotia, 1755, in Jefferys, French Dominions.

² Mira Bay, Cape Breton, the outlet of Mira River.

²¹

which we Suppose to Be Cruzers from Capbriton to Spanish River to Gaurd ye Coasters for wood and Cole &c.

Friday ye 7th at about 5 A M Come to Sail fine pleasent morning and almost Calm. ye Capt of ye Flag of truce Informd us we had But about 4 Leagus to Luisbourg. ye Schooners yt Lay at anchor, In ye head of ye Bay Seeing us Comming to Sail Come to Sail as Soon as possible and Being almost Calm by ye help of their oars they halled upon us Verey fast. our Capts Design was to go between ye point of Cape Briton and Scatteree¹ and told us we Should arrive to Luisbourg in about 2 or three hours. ye wind being Right against us to go through we was abliged to make Several tacks and by ye time we had got about half through ve passage one of ve Schooners Came within Shot of us and Fired at us two of her Bow Chase ye Capt of ye Flag of truce hoisted his Colours and fired a Gun to Leeward. But, Being Exceeding Desireous to Go to Luisbourg would by no means Stop. ye Schooner In Chase of us Came up with us Verey fast and gave us a Shot yt Came between our masts and jest missd ye Boat yt Caused us to Strike. after which we found ye Schooner Belongd to Governour Knowls and ye Governour on board, who ordered us to Spanish River under ye Command of ye other Schooner yt was In Company with ye Governours. This Night we Came to an anchor In Spanish River In Company

¹ Scatarie Island. The above spelling was also used. See Gibson, *Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg*, pp. 25, 38.

¹⁶²

with ye Norwich¹ and Cantubary² and ye Bumb³ His majesty^s Ships and ye afors⁴ Schooners.

Saturday ye 8th we Prisoners was Carried on Board His majesty^s Ship ye Norwich Command By Capt. Petts⁴ after our Names was Called over &c. ye Soldiers and women and Children and Some that was Sick was Sent on Board his majes^s Ship ye Commet Bumb In order to be Sent to Luisbourg. and ye Rest of us Receivd orders to Stay on Board ye Norwich. But with much Difficulty after about 2 or 3 hours Interceeding we obtaind permission from ye Governour Knowls to Go on Board ye Comet Bumb three of us Viz m^r James Sutherland formerly master of ye Schooner Seaflower yt was Taken at anapolis when I was. and one Willm Jonston and my Self.

Sunday ye 9th of august 1747 on Board ye Comet Bumb in Spanish Bay ⁵ hear we Continued till Tuesday about 10 P M when we took our Dept for Luisbourg where we arived ye 14th of august at about 10 A M. Being Friday ye Same day of ye week yt my misfortune Began when I had ye Unhappy fate to be taken by ye french and Indians at anapolis ye 17th of may 1745. as to ye Transactions yt passd ye time I was on Board ye Comet Bumb I Shall omit. But am Under obligation to accord with ye old Proverb Viz ye Tender mercys of ye wicked are Cruel. at about

¹ A 50-gun ship.

² The " Canterbury," of 60 guns.

^{3 &}quot;Comet Bomb."

⁴ Perhaps Petitpas. See N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. p. 124.

⁵ Spaniard's Bay is now Sidney, Cape Breton.

¹⁶³

5 Pm I obtained permission to Go on Shore which I was obliged to Confess a Great Gratification and almost beyond my Expectation. I made my aplication to Capt Bastide his majestys Engent In Chief Under whose Direction I was when taken who Informed me he was Still willing to Imploy me again. and yt I Should Receive my wages for ye time I have been Under Confinement. I have also Intillegence yt my friends & Relations are In a Good State of health. and yt all those who was my Benefactors and friends Before I was taken Still Continue ye Same. So with a Sincere Desire to Be Gratfull both to God and man for all ye mercys and favours I have Received from time to time and Especially this my Deliverance from ye hands of my Enemies after about two Years and three months Confinement. I Conclude & may Say I have been In Perrils by Land and perrels by Sea. perrels amongst my Enemies. and Lastly among those of my own Countreymen

Finis

William Pote Jun¹ His Book Anno Domini 1747 Le Livre de Guillaume Pote le fil l'an mile Sept Cens quarante Sept.

omet Burn & I Shall omit. But am Under obligation to accord with y od Proverb Viz of Jen marcy of y wicked are fruel about 5 I'm Jobtained parmificon to fo on Shore which I was oblige to Confess a Great Gratification and almost beyond my Lagreetation. I made my aplication to Pap + Bastede his majesty; Engen, In Phile Under whose Direction I was when taken who Informed me he was Still willing to Imploy me again and y + I Should caise my wager 1 2- time I for have been Under fonfinement. I have also Intillegence of my frien re In a good State of health and all those who was my Benefactor Before Satas taken Continue of Same . So with ill

Facsimile Page of The Original Pote Journal.

a Sincero Defire to Be Gratfull both to God and man for all gmere and favours I have Freesie, from tim to time and Especially this Deliverance from if hands of Enemies after two years and three months Confinement . I Conclude & may Say Shave been In Servils 6 Land and pervelo by Sea. pervelo amongst my Enemies and Lastly among those of my own Country William Dote Jun His Boos Anno Somini L' Liore de fuilliaume ofter Facsimile Page of The Original Pote Journal.

A LIST OF PRISONERS NAMES DIED WHILE I WAS IN QUEBEC

march 16th 1746 Laurance Plater		
August 16th Thos Jones of Contoocook	•	· 1
October 20th Jacob Reed .	•	;
Novbr 1 John Reed Son to Dtto	•	1
9 th Davis 13 th Jno Bingham	•	1
17th Nathan Ames 18 Andrw Hanes	•	-
20 Jacob Grout. 23 ^d Jnº Bradshaw	•	- -
28 Jonathan Donham 30th Willm Bagley	•	2
Decembr 2 Garret Vandervarique		2
6th Pike Gordon of Sawcoe	•	
7 martha Quacinbush	•	
11th meriam Scott 16th John Brown ¹ .	•	1
18 mary Woodwell 23 ^d Rebecah Scott ²	•	2
26 Willm Dayly of New York .	•	3
Japuary a Thomas Atkinson		1
January 2 Thomas Atkinson	•	1
3 Jonathan Hogerdon 13 th Francois Andrews		2
15 Jacob Bagley 17 Guy Brabant	·	2
Coming from Bay Vert 2 Sam ¹¹ Lovet 1		3
Febuary 10th moses Scotts Child	•	1
11th Willm Gilbert 23d Richd Bennet		2
Card over	-	
	·	יי

¹ John Boon is the correct name. ² Should be Rebecah Perrey.

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Brought over	
25 Michal Dugan an old man	
march 20th James megraw 22d Jnº Fort 2	
22 Sam ¹¹ Goodman 29 th mary Smeed 2	
April 8th Jno Smeed & James Jordon 2	
Phillip Scaffield	
10th Anthoney Portuguese	
12 Timothy Commins 13th Amos Pratt	
16th Jnº Dill 18th Saml Vaugan	
26 Joseph Dennen & ann Carter	
April 30th Samll Evens. may 9th Sarah Liddle . 2	
13th Damer Sheed	
15th Hezeklan Handington	
Joseph Gray. Christian Vader	
20 th Abraham Fort & Sam ¹ Williams	
21 st Nath ^{II} Hitchcock. 25 Nehemiah How	
	2
	ı
June 3 ^d 1747 Capt. David Roberts	1
	2
Died 3 men Comming from Bay Vert	3
	-
Carrd over	•
	1
	1
	2
	2
16 James Doyell	-
	2
27]nº Pattison	1
	_
Total	7

¹ Jonathan Bridgman, of Sunderland. He was taken prisoner at Fort Massachusetts, Aug. 20, 1746. See Norton, p. 40.

1744 15 First Original Borton San" the 23 1744/5 There is due to William Sete master of the montager Ordrin Tomer, for his and Mariners Wages for thur britualing and his non , for the Britual of Sindry artificers and Sab adanna - poli and During their Salsages Home in or and december as also for sound small desbursments as follow's S. 8. 00 50 Jo himself for Four Months & It wayes lesi In' at is & Month Lijo . 10 . 0 Paid to Joi liger Mate in full for wages to Dimensfile 46 . 9" 0 J. Thomas Fisher Mariner D. to D. Sime - 42 " 9 " 0 Mich Banko D' _ for D' le D' Time 2/ 15" 0 Jo John Cain D. _ for D. her fi James Stinen 21 . 18 .. C Jo amos Whitney D' - for D'. _ g . 0 .. Jo James Minen D' for D' _ _ 25 ... 19 ... Provisions deliver & to the Uger for Pitch the brin bring 2 ... 11 ... - 9.0.0 - - - 25 ... 11 ... 0 Faid latra " Work to Four men by order of the Engin: 1 - 7 " C Three Water Casho L1.2. Leven Car devot 14 burg \$ 4. 3 " of Vietual my left mariners from the sofler to the 21 Jan " Dieleval the Sab " Sonton board al offrant Times the A: E. artificers on their hetern to 212 2 ... h Boston asp Particul. Delivered in to the (1if Lugines 10/1. flow Man at asthe & Day Cord lisod for the use of the Sender but 4 .. C Jo boy Drine for Lorging & Duct of Se line to aller 3 4 " 0 " 0 The Proving galley \$ 4 " 0 " 0 The Proving galley \$ 4 0 7 " 9 " 4 The Que for ors laipter \$ 467 9. 4 Will m Jole fr" by order of the cheef Bug & Examined wire compared & Tho: Campling Bastide's Pay Bill to Pote.

From the original manuscript.

Brought from the Other Aby" Boston Jan " 24. 1744/5 ofor Pay to m. W. Pote for the amount of the Freuesing Ausunt the Sum of Four Hundred and Siaty Swen Pounds Nine Sh. 2. 6to Son charg the Same to the Clus of Cap. I dow How Deputy Storet and paymaster to his Majestys Works at Annapolis hoyal and take his heait you will tiemember he has had Swenty Founds ; you on Que; by an order from me of the 14 of Kon last likich Sum you must Stop and helurn M. the Order Cancelled Jam Jr. Gourvery Hum Sorvan To James allor by Buton H. Badile Moston Jan 205. 1714/5 Ret? of Sames allen Eigh Four Hundred forty luca Sound, hine Millings & four ponce Old Form in full of y above Order as Witness ony Tand Wilnis Will m Sole The The Campling Cashad, Benjemins

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I. THE POTE FAMILY

The following information concerning the Pote family is based on extracts from official records, kindly furnished by Mr. L. B. Chapman, of Portland, Maine. While the documents he was so good as to send would, of themselves, supply a superb genealogical monograph on the Potes, the following summary, it is hoped, will furnish the essential knowledge of this typical family of Colonial New England.—J. F. H.

I. THE POTES IN GENERAL.

Marblehead, Massachusetts, was incorporated in 1649. In 1674 a list of householders numbered 114. The name of William Pote appears in the number. He married October 4, 1688, Hannah Greenfield, and eleven days thereafter she died. On August 7, 1689, he married Ann Hooper. Their son William, born in 1689, married Dorothy Gatchell on June 2, 1715. Their children were: 1, Ann; 2, William; 3, Gamaliel; 4, Jeremiah; 5, Elisha; 6, Increase; 7, Samuel; 8, Thomas; 9, Greenfield. It is presumed that the first five children were born at Marblehead, Mass; the rest were born in Falmouth. Falmouth was incorporated in 1718. In 1728 Captain William Pote was admitted a citizen. June 15 of that year an acre lot for a house was granted him, and on the 18th day of the same month a three-acre lot was granted him.¹

In 1730 James Knap and Mary, his wife, of Falmouth, for a consideration of \pounds_{110} current money, conveyed to William Pote,

¹ Old Falmouth records, city clerk's office, Portland, Me.

²²

¹⁶⁹

husbandman, of Falmouth, a certain tract of land located in Falmouth containing fifty-five acres, formerly belonging to John Rider, adjoining on Benjamin Skilling's and so fronting on Back Cove, and northerly adjoining on the land now in possession of Thomas Flint, and so running back into the woods the same course with the land aforesaid until the fifty-five acres are made up.1 In 1733 the same lot was granted him by the Falmouth Proprietors.²

On the westerly side of the highway, located in 1735 between the present residences of Dr. A. P. Topliff and George Rackleff, Captain Pote constructed a two-story dwelling-house, with a huge chimney in the center. It was painted yellow. On the opposite side of the highway stood the barn and barnyard, and on the southerly side of these was a well.

The exact date of the death of Captain Pote is not known. July 3, 1751, a letter of administration was granted William Pote, Jr.,—"estate of your father," but nothing further appears on record in relation to the matter.3 In 1765, in consideration of £370, lawful money, the heirs of Captain William Pote conveyed the farm to one James Bailey of Amesbury, Mass., who reconveyed it immediately to Rev. Thomas Browne, the first minister of the 4th or Stroudwater Parish, who occupied the premises until his death, October 17, 1797. After the death of the widow the premises were leased to various persons until 1824, when the heirs sold them to Captain Chandler Rackleff, whose son George, born October 22, 1816, now lives close to the site of the old Pote mansion house. This last house was demolished about 1850.

- 11. CHILDREN OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM POTE.
- Ann Pote, born October 12, 1716; intention of marriage with William Buckman filed January 15, 1736. She died January 23, 1776, nine days after the death of her husband. They left several children.

¹ York Deeds, vol. xiv. p. 73.

² Proprietors' Records.

³ York Probate Records, vol. viii. p. 111.

¹⁷⁰

2. William Pote, Jr., born December 15, 1718. He did not marry; was a surveyor of land and at one time a resident of Gorham, Maine. He was the owner of several pieces of land. A copy of one of his plans, made in 1744, of "Cooper claim," may be seen among the York deeds at Alfred. October 6, 1755, a letter of administration was granted William Buckman on the estate of William Pote of Falmouth,¹ and the administrator was authorized to make report of inventory within one year.

"Inventory of the estate of William Pote, Jr., late of Falmouth, Maine, taken October 26, 1756.

¼ part of the sloop Falmouth, £60
100 acres of land at Gorham Town, 26-13-4
The after Division of a Right at Gor-
ham Town,
1 Strait bodied Coat,
I Waist Coat,
I old Coat, I- I-4
£97-14-8

STEPHEN LONGFELLOW ENOCH MOODY RICHARD STUBS

York, ss. Oct. 26, 1756. Wm. Buckman, Adm."

"The account of WILLIAM BUCKMAN, administrator of estate William Pote, Jr., late of Falmouth.

10/8 &
£ -14-8
14- 6
1
8 - o
1
1-9-6
5

1 York Records, vol. ix. p. 112.

To Elisha Dunnam £	5- 6- 8
To John Wendall, Esq.	5-18-11
To Enoch Freeman, Esq. & Saml Freeman	9-18- 61/2
To Sam_ Sewell & Benj Welch	5-17- 2
To John Corness Esq. & David Gorham	10-15- 71/2
To Hugh Moore & David Gorham	11-12- 9
To I day to Gorham for said estate, horse &	
Ferry	6
To 2 days attending vendue & adjournment	8
To 2 days more attending vendue and getting a	
deed of land for the heirs	8
To 1 day settling acts at Boston and at Marblehead	
I day and horse	20- 6
To 2 days at Falmouth settling accounts sundry	
persons	8
To recording Deed, time and Expense to render	
this act	8-4
To court fees to examine, allow and record this act	6
-	£55-13- 2

" Cr. By Cash recd Mr. Lumber on act. of Estate by a Deed to ye Heirs of a Right in Gorhamtown £16

"William Buckman having made oath to the correctness of the forgoing was discharged."

It is not known where William Pote, Jr., died. His gravestone has not been found, and none seems to exist near his home. He is seldom called "Jr." in the records, though his autograph always bears that designation.

- 3. Gamaliel Pote, born October 11, 1721; married, August, 1743, Mary Irish, of Gorham, born there September 13, 1725. She died April 27, 1783. In 1745 he accompanied the Louisburg expedition.
- Jeremiah Pote, born January 18, 1724; married Elizabeth, daughter of Major George Berry and wife, Elizabeth Frink, of Falmouth. He died in 1796.

- 5. Elisha Pote, born June 14, 1726; was in the Louisburg expedition of 1745; died young, and was unmarried.
- 6. Increase Pote, born September 15, 1728; died young.
- 7. Samuel Pote, born October 5, 1731; married, but without issue; died September 12, 1789.
- 8. Thomas Pote, born February 25, 1734; married Sarah Merrill, 1757; joined the New Gloucester Shakers; died in 1816.
- 9. Greenfield Pote, born May, 1736; married Jane Grant in 1758; was a mariner, and died at Freeport, Sept. 29, 1797.

II. JOHN HENRY BASTIDE

JOHN HENRY BASTIDE, chief engineer for Nova Scotia and New Hampshire, was born about 1710. He aided in fortifying Annapolis Royal soon after the expedition against it in 1744, under Duvivier. He was in Boston during the winter of 1744-45, issuing orders for the payment of bills due for supplies and for services rendered for this purpose. Massachusetts granted him \pounds_{140} for his services in the repair and construction of forts in that province. He aided materially in the preparation of the plans and means for the capture of Louisburg in 1745; and in a message from Governor Shirley of Massachusetts to the House of Representatives his services on this occasion were acknowledged. He was at Louisburg as late as October 12, 1748. On that day he requested in a letter: "I now take the Liberty to Renew my Request for leave to Return home, I have been near Eight Years abroad, & have stay'd out the War. The Honble has two very good Engineers in America, who are younger, and in a better State of health and Vigour to pursue your Commands, than I can ever Expect or hope to be, Therefore as the Service cannot Suffer by my Absence from this part of the World, I earnestly pray you will be so good to mention it to his Grace the Master General, to whom I write this day to that purpose." The Catalogue of the King's Maps in the British Museum shows manuscript plans of the town and fortifications of Louisburg in 1745 by Durell and Bastide, vol i. p. 718.

From 1756 to 1760 Bastide was employed in the reduction of

Canada, and in 1761-62 in fortifying the harbor of Halifax. He was commissioned lieutenant-general in the British army April 30, 1770. The original manuscript of Pote's Journal was at one time in his possession, and bears his signature on one of the fly-leaves. Appletons' Cyc. of Amer. Biog., vol. 1. p. 191; Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Amer.; Manuscript Bills, and Bastide's letter of Oct. 12, 1748. See also Pa. Gazette, No. 894, Jan. 28, 1746.

III. CAPTAIN DAVID DONAHEW

CAPTAIN DAVID DONAHEW was probably a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts. As early as Nov. 7, 1744, he set out from Newbury in the sloop Resolution, belonging to Boston, manned with sixty men. He distinguished himself by taking a French ship with 3000 quintals of fish, and also a sloop containing live stock. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay, appreciative of his services, voted in February, 1745, to take him and his vessel into the service of the colony. On April 18, 1745, there arrived at Canso a prize which had been taken by Captains Donahew, Fletcher, and Swan, and which brought intelligence that Warren was coming to assist against Louisburg. Donahew's expedition of June 15, 1745, in Tatmagouche Harbor, is related at length by Pote. William P. Sheffield, in his address on the Privateersmen of Newport, attempts to give the credit of this exploit to Captain Daniel Fones of the Tartar, one of Donahew's colleagues. But the assertion is untenable. On July 27, 1745, a vessel arrived at Boston from Annapolis Royal, having on board Mr. Picket, Donahew's steward. He was one of those who went ashore in the Gut of Canso when Donahew was killed, on June 29, or, according to another authority, July 4 or 5. Picket's account was that they found 253 French and Indians on shore, with whom they engaged for upwards of a quarter of an hour, in which time Captain Donahew and his brother, with four others, were killed, and several taken captive. After the battle the Indians cut open Captain Donahew's breast, sucked his blood, hacked and mangled his body in a barbarous manner, and, to add to their atrocities, ate a great part of his flesh. M. Marin, Jr., son of the lieutenant, told Pote

that he himself had killed Donahew. Five of the prisoners taken at the Gut of Canso were brought into prison at Quebec on August 15, and a lad on August 16, 1745. One of these, John Bradshaw, died there Nov. 24, 1745. Andrew Hall and Samuel Gerrish were Donahew's Boston agents, and they, in September, 1746, preferred a claim on the government in behalf of his estate, but it was not granted. Smith, *Hist. of Newburyport*, 1854, p. 47; Letter of Capt. Geo. Curwen to his wife, dated April 17, 1745, in vol. iii. of *Hist. Coll. of Essex Inst.; Pa. Gazette*, No. 869, for August 8, 1745; Drake, *Fr. and Ind. War*; Norton; How; Pote.

IV. COLONEL JOHN GORHAM

COLONEL JOHN GORHAM was a native of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. In 1745 he was at Annapolis in command of a party of provincial troops. The fort being at this time threatened, he was dispatched to Boston to obtain troops for its defense. While there he was invited to raise a number of men and join the expedition against Cape Breton; was appointed lieutenant-colonel in his father's regiment, and put in charge of the whale-boats. He accompanied the expedition, and, on the death of his father at Louisburg, was made colonel by General Pepperrell. On August 8, 1746, he petitioned for pay as lieutenant-colonel. Three days later, with other officers of the "whale-boat regiment," so called, he asked that some method be taken to regulate the distribution of plunder. In one of his letters to Sir William Pepperrell, he requests a letter of recommendation to assist him in carrying through his memorial, then before the legislature of Massachusetts. Colonel Gorham returned to Annapolis after the capture of Louisburg, and was placed by Governor Shirley in command of the Boston troops sent to Minas with Colonel Arthur Noble, but was not present at the engagement in which Noble was killed. In 1748 he was in command of Gorham's Independent Company of Rangers. This company had in its ranks many of the Cape Cod Indians, and was stationed in Nova Scotia. He was a member of Cornwallis's Council at Halifax in 1749, but does not seem to have remained long in the province, as his name does not ap-

pear on the Council Books after 1752. An officer, "Mr. Gorham," was wounded in 1755 in an encounter with a body of Acadians and Indians under M. de Boishébert, at the River Petitcodiac. Whether it was he, or his brother Joseph Gorham, who held the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army, is not easily determined. The town of Gorham, Me., is called after the family. Drake, Fr. and Ind. War; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. x. pp. 90, 358; Akins, Select. from Pub. Docs. of Nova Scotia, pp. 168, 169; Journal of the House of Rep. of Massachusetts-Bay, 1746-47, pp. 103, 105, 106.

V. JOHN PAUL MASCARENE

JOHN PAUL MASCARENE, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, was born in October, 1685, near Anglès, in the Province of Languedoc, He was the son of Jean Mascarene and Margaret de France. Salavy, his wife. His father, a Huguenot, was obliged to leave France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the son was left in the care of his grandmother. On his having attained the age of twelve, he went to Geneva, Switzerland, where he was educated. Later he removed to England, and was naturalized there in 1706. In 1708 he was appointed second lieutenant in Lord Montague's regiment, then in garrison at Portsmouth, and on April 1, 1710, captain in Colonel Wanton's regiment of foot, which was ordered to be raised in New England for service in the West Indies. With this regiment he served under Colonel Nicholson when Port Royal, Acadia, was taken. This place was afterwards renamed Annapolis Royal, in honor of Queen Anne. On August 12, 1716, Mascarene was appointed captain of an independent company of foot, which was to garrison Placentia, in Newfoundland. This company was later incorporated with Colonel Phillips's regiment. Phillips was governor of Nova Scotia in 1720, and Mascarene was a member of his Council. In this latter office he performed able service by his valuable suggestions for the defense of the province. He coöperated with the governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in negotiating the treaty with the Indians known as Dummer's Treaty. He was

acting governor of Nova Scotia from 1740 until the arrival of Governor Cornwallis in 1749. While in this station he successfully repelled the attacks made by the French and Indians under Le Loutre and Duvivier in 1744, and under Marin in 1745, and by his indomitable courage and perseverance saved Annapolis from falling into the hands of the French, even after Canso had been destroyed. The inability on the part of the French to take Annapolis was regarded by them a great misfortune. On the arrival of Cornwallis as governor, Mascarene was sworn in as senior member of his Council. By him he was dispatched on special duty to New England in 1751, and he aided General Shirley in reconciling the Indians of western Acadia to the British crown. Mascarene, being now old, retired from active service, was commissioned major-general in 1758, and spent the rest of his days with his family in Boston, Massachusetts, where he died Jan. 22, 1760. His wife, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Perry, was a native of Boston, and by her he left a son John, and three daughters, from whom are descended the colonial families of Hutchinson and Perkins. His son John was comptroller of customs, married Margaret Holyoke, and died in 1778. His daughters were married to Thomas Perkins, James Perkins, and Foster Hutchinson. There was published in Boston in 1757 a small tract entitled "The Manufacture of Pot-Ash in the British North-American Plantations Recommended." It is attributed to John Mascarene, but whether the former lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia or his son, we cannot say. This sketch is founded largely on H. M. Chichester's article on Mascarene in vol. xxxvi. of the Dictionary of National Biography; N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. vi. p. 482; Appletons' Cyc. of Amer. Biog., vol. iv. p. 238; Memorial Hist. of Boston, vol. ii. p. 555. For accounts of the family see Heraldic Journal, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126; New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. ix. p. 239, vol. x. pp. 143-148, vol. xxxv. p. 223; Baird, Huguenot Emigration to America, vol. ii. Baird gives the date of John Paul's death as January 15, 1760, which differs from others, who invariably give the date as January 22. An illustration of the family arms is given in Vermont, America Heraldica.

23

INDEX

INDEX

Abenakis, the, object to proceed to Louisburg, 47; history of, 47, n; sail for St. Johns River, 51; bring Nehemiah How to Quebec, 84, n.

Acadia, 139; 144; 176; prisoners captured in, 80, n; Indians of western, reconciled, 177. See also Nova Scotia.

Acadians, called "Neutral French" after the Treaty of Utrecht, 10, n. See also Neutral French.

Adams, town in Berkshire Co., Mass., 94, n. See also Fort Massachusetts.

Adams, Robert, captured at Sheepscott, imprisoned at Quebec, 103, 103, n.

Aikings, William. See Akins. Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of, xvi, xxxvii.

Akins, William, captured at George's Fort, imprisoned at Quebec, 90, 90, n.

Albany, 82; 87; 99, n; 100; 103, n; 113; 114; 130; 139; Indian messengers from Canada sent to, 80, n; prisoners captured at, imprisoned at Quebec, 96; Indian depredation at, 100, 100, n; two prisoners captured at, imprisoned at Quebec, 114.

Albany, the, a bilander, William Lambert, master, 97; 109; 116, n; 133; 153; captured by Le Castor and L'Aurore, 96, 96, n, 97, n.

Alexander, James, his opinion of the Louisburg expedition, xxx.

Alfred, Maine, 171.

Allen, Samuel, nephew of sergeant John Hawks, his release from captivity in Canada, 96,n. Ames, Nathan. See Eames.

Amesbury, Mass., 170.

- Anderson, Abraham, marries relict of Edward Cloutman, 89, n.
- Anderson, Anna. See Cloutman.

Anderson, James, father of James and Samuel, killed, 89, n, 101, n, 102, n. Anderson, James, a lad captured at Sheepscott, 101, n; imprisoned at Quebec, 89, 89, n.

Anderson, Samuel, a lad captured at Sheepscott, 101, n; imprisoned at Quebec, 89, 89, n. Anderson, Thomas, prisoner at

Quebec, deserts to French, 152. Andrews, Francis, of Cape Ann, dies in prison hospital at Que-

bec, 109, 109, n, 165.

Anglès, France, 176.

Annapolis Basin, xii; xxvi; 1. Annapolis River, 17, n; army crosses, 18.

Annapolis Royal, fort, xii; xxiii; xxviii; 1; 5; 8; 19; 32; 51; 65; 69; 71, n; 80; 82; 84; 86; 165; 153; 174; 177; garrisoned, xxii; the French plan expeditions against, xxiv, xxv; condition of, in 1744, xxiv; strength of garrison in 1745, xxvi, I, n; attack planned against, 2; besieged by Marin, xxvi, 2; strength of besiegers, xxvi, 2, n; expeditions against, under Le Loutre and Duvivier, xxiv, xxv, 2; a carpenter's wife from, captured, 2, n; opinion of French soldiers concerning, 6; repaired, xxv, 6, n; French offer terms of capitulation of, 6; spies inspect, 9; prisoners at, 10; spies from Minas at, 10, n; Marin's army marches

within sight of, 17; its situation, 17, n; road from, to Minas, 18, n, 32, n; neutral French issue a false alarm to the French army concerning, 21, 22; a deserter from, 22, 23; a French neutral from, assists French, 28; St. John's Indians killed at, 59; English captured at Minas, sent to, 113; Duke d'Anville ordered against, 120; prisoners from Minas said to be exchanged from, 127; fortified, 173; Col. John Gorham at, 175; reduced, 176.

Anne, queen, Annapolis Royal named after, 176.

Anticosti Isle, 160, 161, 161, n. Antigua, 132.

Antonio, a Portuguese, captured with Capt. James Jordan, dies in captivity at Quebec, 116, 116, n, 166.

Antwerpen. See Van Antwerpen.

- Anville, N. de la Rochefoucauld, Duke d', 150, n; his fleet unfortunate, 120, 120, n, 121,132; his death and burial, 120, 120, n; some of his ships arrive at Quebec, 141, 141, n, 142, 143.
- Apoge. See Ocpack.
- Ardent, French ship, fails to appear at Annapolis Royal, xxv.
- 182

Aroostook River described, 67, n.

- Atkinson, Thomas, of Lancashire, England, dies in captivity at Quebec, 108, 108, n, 165.
- Auberivière, Francis Louis de Pourray de l', bishop of Quebec, 130, n.

Babylon, 44.

- Bagley, Jacob, of Newbury, Mass., dies in captivity at Quebec, 109, 109, n, 110, 165.
- Bagley, William, captain, 122, n; captured by ship L'Aurore, dies in captivity at Quebec, 105, 105, n, 165; his brother dies, 109.
- Bailey, James, of Amesbury, Mass., purchases Pote farm, 170.
- Barker, Frances, married to Gov. William Shirley, 151, n.
- Barker, Francis, 151, n. Barthe, John, Captain. See Lacorne, Rev. Maurice.
- Bastide, John Henry, chief engineer of Nova Scotia, xiii; 8; 12; 31; former owner of Pote Journal, xvi, 174; supervises repair of Annapolis Royal, xxv; Pote writes to, 10; his letter to Pote, 11; Pote writes again to, 100; another letter to Pote, 133; meets Pote at

Louisburg, 164; sketch of, 173, 174.

Bastide family of England, xvi. Batherick, Jonathan. See Donham, Jonathan.

Bay of Arb, army of French and Indians at, 92, n.

Bay of Biscay, 119.

Bay of Fundy, 40.

Bay Verte, 29, n; 48, n; 49; 140; 141; 165; 166; Pote's journey to, 48; prisoners brought from, to prison at Quebec, 98, 99; prisoners from Minas said to be at, 127; prisoners from, expected at Quebec, 137; arrive at Quebec, 137, 138, 139; army under De Ramezay arrives at Quebec from, 139.

Beaman, John. See Bement.

Beaubassin, 29, n; 49; 52; 139; Marin's army winters at, xxvi; variously spelled in maps, 49, n; called by Indians Messagouche, 49, n; burned, 50, n; most common route from, to Quebec, 50, n. See Chignecto. Beauharnois, Charles, Marquis de, governor of Canada, 1, n; 74, 74, n; 118, n; 127; offers reinforcements for garrison at Louisburg, 28, n; Indians and captives prepare to meet, 75, 76; orders distribution of prisoners, 79; proposes to Gov. Shirley exchange of prisoners, 80, n; issues orders concerning

prisoners, 81; receives letter from Mayor Cuyler, of Albany, 83; prisoners write to, 87; permits marriage of two prisoners at Quebec, 104; one of his Council dies, 109; orders prison hospital to be provided at Quebec, 109, n; orders children to be removed from prison, 112; Sarah Lydle sends petition to, 117; his successor, 120, n, 142; his orders concerning prisoners after burning of prison at Quebec, 123; petitioned by prisoners for better accommodations, 126; his reply, 126; prisoners petition to be released, 135; prepares to exchange prisoners, 136, 138; receives letters from Knowles and Shirley on exchange of prisoners, 146. 146, n.

Beaumont, John. See Bement. Belshazzar, King of Babylon, 44. Bement, John, captured at Northfield, imprisoned at Quebec, 91, 92, n.

Benedict XIV., 130, n.

Bennet, Richard, captured by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 112, 112, n, 165. Berkshire County, Mass., 94, n.

Berlin, Conn., 95, n.

Berry, David, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152.

Berry, Elizabeth, married to Jeremiah Pote, 172. Berry, George, major, 172. Bible quoted, 14. Bigot, François, intendant of Canada, 112, n; close associate of Madame Péan, 150, n. Bingham, John, of Philadelphia, dies in captivity at Quebec, 102, 102, n, 165. Birch bark used for food, 48. Black Prince, privateer, arrives at Quebec, 143. Blake, Nathan, his release from captivity in Canada, 96, n. Boat Isle in St. Lawrence River, 75, 'n. Boillison, Susanah, prisoner at Quebec, 115; her strange union with John Simson, 115, n, 147. Boishébert, Charles Deschamps de, at River Petitcodiac, 176. Bollan, William, 151, n. Bomaus, Jacques, French neutral, owner of sloop, 32; converses with Pote, 51. Bon Soliel. See Brosard, called Beausoleil, Joseph. Boon, John, of Devonshire, England, dies in captivity at Quebec, 107, 107, n, 165. Bordeaux, France, brigantine

Berry, Elizabeth. See Frink.

- from, arrives at Quebec, 139. Boscawen, N. H. See Contoocook.
- 184

Boston, xxvi; 1; 57; 80, n; 81; 82; 83; 84; 87, n; 91; 94, n; 96; 104; 104, n; 107; 113; 119; 119, n; 121; 136; 137; 140; 146; 149; 172; 173; 174; 175; 177; declaration of war received at, xxiii; rangers sent from, to Annapolis Royal, xxv supplies for Annapolis Royal sent from, xxy: Whitefield preaches in, xxx; treaty of peace proclaimed at, xxxvii; Cape Sable Indians prisoners at, 24; a prisoner at, during Queen Anne's War, 37; letters from prisoners reach, 85; fleet from, to displace French fleet at Chebucto, 120; French prisoner at, 133; packet with flag of truce fitted out at Quebec for, 147, 150, 151, 152; packet La Viergede-Grâce sails from Quebec for, 153, 153, n; vessel from Annapolis Royal arrives at, 174. Boularderie, M., defeated and captured before Louisburg, xxxi.

- Braband, Guy, of Maryland, Capt. Chapman's carpenter, dies in captivity at Quebec, 110, 110, n, 165.
- Brabbon, Guyart. See Braband, Guy.
- Braddock, Edward, major-general, 151, n.
- Bradshaw, John, captured at 24 185

- Gut of Canso, dies in captivity at Quebec, 104, 165, 175; his illness and burial, 104, 104, n.
- Breda, the, Admiral Hosier dies on board, 127, n.
- Breeze, schooner, Capt. James Jordan, commander, captured by L'Aurore, 116.
- Bress, the, schooner, John Pike owner, captured by L'Aurore, 97.
- Brest, ships arrive at Quebec from, 141, 143; fleet from, defeated, 142.
- Briant. See Bryant.
- Bridgman, Jonathan, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 166, 166, n.
- Bridgman's Fort, depredation in meadow at, 91, n; location, 92, n.
- Brimfield, 134, n.
- Brisson, Pierre, pilot, captured by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n.
- Bristol, England, 143.
- British Museum, manuscripts in, 25, n.
- Broading, John, captured with Pote by French and Indians,
- 4, n; in prison at Quebec, 80. Brookfield, Mass., 93, n.
- Brosard, called Beausoleil, Joseph, his civility to Pote, 52;
- outlawed by English, 52, n.

Brown, John. See Boon.

- Browne, Rev. Thomas, of Stroudwater parish, purchases Pote farm, 170.
- Brown, Timothy, captured at Lower Ashuelot, imprisoned at Quebec, 91, 91, n.
- Bryant, Sarah, 104; captured at Gorhamtown, 88; imprisoned at Quebec, 97; sketch of, 97, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 128, 166. See also Lydle, Sarah.
- Bryant, William, 88, n; 97, n; 117, n; killed at Gorhamtown, 88, 104.
- Bryant family, 88, 88, n, 104. Buckman, Ann. See Pote.
- Buckman, William, marries Ann Pote, 170; administrator of Pote's estate, 171; his report as administrator, 171, 172.
- Burbank, Caleb, 90, n.
- Burbank, Jonathan, 90, n.
- Burbank, Samuel, captured at New Hopkinton, imprisoned at Quebec, 89, 89, n, 90 n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 133, 133, n, 166.

Burbank family, 89, 90, n.

- Cæsar, slave of Rev. Phinehas Stevens, killed at Contoocook, 90, n.
- Caleb, Indian captured on Goat Island, 15, n; escapes from his captors, 70.

Calnek, W. A., his paper on Winniett, De Lacy, and Milledge families, 7, n.

- Campbell, Collen, prisoner at Quebec, removed to hospital, 127; at Porto Bello in 1726, 127.
- Cample, Collen. See Campbell. Canada, xiv; xxv; xxviii; 15; 24; 29, n; 34; 36; 47; 50; 66; 6q; 70; 71, n; 73; 92, n; 93, n; 101, n; 102, n; 106, n; 113, n; 115, n; 118, n; 123; 155; 158; deliverance of, xii; plans for expedition against, xxxv; importance of acquisition of, xxxv; failure of expedition, xxxvi; army from, besieges Fort Annapolis Royal, 1; tedious journey of French soldiers from, 6; Indians from, make canoes, 40; rumors of expedition against, 85, 86, 88, 92; flag of truce sent to, 96, n; conquest of, 96, n; prisoners in, 114, n; fleet under Warren to be sent against, 119; several French governors of, 120, n; expedition against, 122; militia in, undisciplined, 124; rumor of incursion by Mohawks on frontiers of, 134; chiefengineer of, 149, n; reduction of, 158; Bastide's services in reduction of, 173.
- Canard River, in Nova Scotia, settlement on, 32, n.
- 186

Canso, xxxiv; garrisoned, xxii; Louisburg forces meet at, xxxi; fort built at, xxxi; destroyed, xxiii, xxviii, 177.

Canterbury, man-of-war, 163, 163, n.

Cape Ann, 109; 109, n; 118, n. Cape Breton, xii; xxiii; xxvii; xxx; xxxi; 11; 28; 104; 143, n; 153, n; 154, n; 161; 161, n; 162; 163, n; 175; strategic importance of, xxviii; restored to France, xxxvii; regiments from Gibraltar sent to, 146.

Cape Cod, Mass., 175; Indians from, serve as rangers in Nova Scotia, 175.

Cape Sable Indians, one named Paul, converses with Pote, 24; several prisoners in Boston, 24; Micmacs, 24, n; at Tatmagouche, 40.

Caribou, French ship, fails to appear at Annapolis Royal, xxv.

Carter, Ann, infant of Susanah Carter, 117; born in captivity at Quebec, dies, 111, n, 126, 166.

- Carter, alias Phillips, Susanah, sent to hospital at Quebec to be delivered, 111; her child dies, 111, n, 126; returned to prison, 116, 117.
- Carteret family of Geneva, Switzerland, Pote Journal formerly owned by, xv.

Casco Bay, 141, n; 166; pris-

oners captured at, imprisoned at Quebec, 132, 132, n, 140.

Cavendish, mountain in, named after sergeant John Hawks, 96, n.

Cebecet. See Cobequid.

Chalet. See De Chalet.

- Chapeau Rouge Bay. See Gabarus Bay.
- Chapman, William, captain, 82; 99; captured by the Heureuse Marie, Sieur De Gay commander, 80, 80, n; some of hismen die, 102, 130; his carpenter dies, 110, 110, n; ill at Quebec, 134; his brother-in-law ill, 135; delirious, 136; in a stupor, 136, 137.
- Charlestown, Mass., its size compared with Quebec, 157.
- Charlestown, N. H., 96, n. See also Number Four.
- Chateauneuf, Frenchman from Penobscot, visits Pote, 35; wounded at Ticonderoga, 35, n; acquainted with New England, 36.
- Chatelain, M., lieutenant, of Trois Rivières, conducts a prisoner to Quebec, 93, n.
- Chatinif. See Chateauneuf.
- Chaveleze, Father, a Franciscan, dies in Quebec, 109; account of, 109.
- Chebucto, harbor of, 98, n; 99; 99, n; 138; a French fleet at, 102, 119-121, 132, 150;

Duke d'Anville buried on island in, 120, n. See also Halifax.

Chester, English man-of-war, 143.

Chester, N. H., 102, n.

Chew, Joseph, lieutenant, 146; 152; captured at Saratoga, imprisoned at Quebec, 144; ill-treated at Quebec, 144, n; his account of affair at Saratoga, 144.

Chignecto, captive woman carried to, 2, n. See Beaubassin. Chignecto Bay, 49, n.

Chigonais, river in Nova Scotia, inhabitants on, 33, n.

Chipiloginissis. See Eagle Lakes.

Chipman, William. See Chapman.

- Clark, John Boydell, of sloop Albany, imprisoned at Quebec, 97.
- Clay's Hill (Contoocook), 90, n. Clinton, George, admiral, governor of New York, Warren sends dispatches to, 119.
- Cloutman, Anna (Collins), 88, n; petitions for relief, 89, n; married to Abraham Anderson, 89, n.

Cloutman, Edward, 88, n.

Cloutman, Jr., Edward, 89, n; captured at Gorhamtown and imprisoned at Quebec, 88; sketch of, 88, n; escapes from prison, 99; does not reach home, 132.

Cloutman, Sarah, 88, n.

- Cloutman, Timothy, of Gorham, Maine, 89, n; his family, 89, n.
- Cloutman (Cloudman) family, 88, n; 89, n.

Clyde River, 50, n. See St. Johns.

Cobequid, in Nova Scotia, the several settlements in district of, 32, n; the parish, 33, n; army arrives at, 34; its distance from Minas, 34; carrying place between, and Tatmagouche, 35, n; provisions from, arrive at Tatmagouche, 39.

Cobequid Basin, 32, n.

- Cobequid Mountains, 36, n.
- Colebrooke, Grand Falls at, 67, n.
- Collins, Anna. See Cloutman. Collins, Sarah, of Philadelphia, 88, n.
- Collins, Timothy, of Philadelphia, 88, n.
- Colombe, M., commands French man-of-war Le Mars, 143, n.

Comet, the, bomb ship, 163; prisoners transported on, to Louisburg, 163.

- Commins, Timothy. See Cummings.
- Connecticut, 84; 130; 130, n; 131; 131, n; men contributed
- 188

by, for expedition against Daily, William, of New York, Louisburg, xxix. captured by Indians on St. Connecticut River, 87; 87, n; 96, n; 130, n. Contoocook, 90, n; 94; 165. n, 165. Indian attack at, 90. Cook, Elisha, killed at Contoocook, 90, n. Cook's Hill, 90, n. Corbett, Jesse, marries Mary Woodwell, 90, n. Corbett, Mary. See Woodwell. Corinth, Greece, 132. Cornelious, one, prisoner at Ouebec, III. Corness, John, 172. Cornwallis, Edward, governor of Nova Scotia, 175; 177. Cove d'Eglise, inhabitants at, 33, n. Crocker, James, captain, from Bay Verte, imprisoned at Quebec, 139; his son, 139. Croisille de Montesson, ensign, leads detachment of Micmacs on St. John's Island, 93, n. Crown Point, 96, n. Cummings, Timothy, captured at George's Fort, imprisoned at Ouebec, 91; sketch of, 91, n; dies in captivity, 117, 117, n. 166. Cuyler, Cornelius, mayor of Albany, forwards letter from Beauharnois to Shirley, 80, n; his letter to Beauharnois, 83.

John's Island, 93, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 108, 108, Daly, William. See Daily. Damariscotta, 129, n. D'Anville, Duke. See Anville. Dartmouth, in Devonshire, England, 97. Dartmouth, near Halifax, attacked by Indians, 52, n. David, King of Israel, 14. Davis, John, soldier from Louisburg, captured by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n, 102, n; dies at Quebec, 102. Dayly, William. See Daily. De Chalet, M., interpreter of the

- king, 91; 138; visits prisoners at Quebec, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86; brings them letter from mayor of Albany, 83; goes to Montreal, 86; at marriage ceremony of two prisoners, 104; encourages prisoners to petition Gov. Shirley, 107; informs prisoners of prospect of release, 136, 137, 140, 147, 148, 152, 153; his generosity to prisoners, 137, 146; orders prisoners to prepare for departure, 153. Deerfield, Mass., 96, n.
- De Gay, Sieur, commander of L'Heureuse Marie, takes prizes, 79, 80, 80, n; proposal to
- 189

exchange prisoners captured by, 80, n; Duvignan puts prisoners in charge of, 97, n. De Graeff, Abraham. See De Grave.

- De Grave, Abraham, captured near Albany, dies in captivity at Quebec, 139, 139, n, 166. De Lacy family, 7, n.
- De Léry, Gaspard Chaussegros, chief engineer of Canada, 149, 149, n.
- Denen, Joseph, master of schooner Trial, dies in captivity at Quebec, 118, 118, n, 166.

Denning, Joseph. See Denen. Denox, Joseph. See Denen.

D'Estournel, Vice-Admiral. See Estournel.

Devonshire, England, 97; 107, n.

- Dewen, Robert. See Downing. Dill, John, mate to Capt. Jonathan Salter, dies in captivity at Quebec, 117, 117, n, 166.
- Doane, Elisha, captain, brought from Bay Verte to prison at Quebec, 138, 138, n; offers to redeem Rachel Quackinbush, 149.

Dogan, Michael. See Dugan. Doile, James. See Doyl.

Donahew, David, captain, xiv; 29, n; 104; effect of his engagement in Tatmagouche Harbor on Marin's army, xxvii; his exploit as related by Pote, 41-46; his own version, 41, n, 42, n; Marin, Jr., claims to have killed, 72, 174; five of his men and a boy imprisoned at Quebec, 82; sketch of, 174, 175; credit of his exploit, 174; barbarous butchery of, 174; his brother killed, 174. Donahew, Denis, a deserter, 141. Donbar, Robert. See Dunbar. Donham, Jonathan, captured with Pote by French and Indians, 4, n; at St. John's River,

- 54; imprisoned at Quebec, 82; again imprisoned at Quebec, 98; sketch of, 98, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 105, 105, n, 165; his burial, 105.
- Door, Jonathan, lad captured by Indians at Rochester, N. H., 93, n.
- Dover, N. H., 88, n; 93, n.
- Downing, Robert, also called Dewen, captured by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n; imprisoned at Quebec, 94, 94, n.
- Downs, Gershom, killed by Indians at Rochester, N.H., 93, n. Doyl, James, dies in captivity at
- Quebec, 148, 148, n, 166. Dubois, Sieur, commander of French vessel Le Castor, 96, n.
- Duchambon, M., governor of Cape Breton, sends messengers to Marin, xxvii; surrenders
- 190

Louisburg, xxxiv; refuses and Eagle Lakes, called by Indians later requests reinforcements Chipiloginissis, 69, n. for garrison at Louisburg, 29, n. Eames, Nathan, of Marlborough, Dugan, Michael, Louisburg sol-Mass., 103, n; captured at dier, dies in captivity at Que-Fort Massachusetts, 103; dies bec, 112, 112, n, 116. in captivity at Quebec, 103, Dugos, M., French neutral, shuns 165. Pote, 17. Eastham, 138, n. Dummer, William, governor of East Hampton, Middlesex Co., Massachusetts Bay, 65, n; Conn., Rev. John Norton, 176; his treaty with Indians pastor of Congregational renewed, 50, n. church in, 95, n. Dunbar, Robert, captured near East Indies, ships bound for, Albany, escapes from prison 142. at Quebec, 99; sketch of, 99, Ellison, Matthew, bearer of flag of truce to Canada, 96, n. n. Dunham, Jonathan. See Don-Endeavour, the, sloop, Jonathan Salter, commander, captured ham. Dunnam, Elisha, 172. by L'Aurore, 97. Dupuy, M., intendant of Can-England, xxi; xxxv; 83; 118, n; 127, n; 128, n; 176; ruada, 81, n. mor of Pretender in, 85. Duquesnel, M., governor of English Channel, 143. Cape Breton, orders attack Enniskellin, Farmaugh Co., Ireagainst Canso, xxiii. Durell, Philip, plan of Louisland, 121, n. burg by, 173. Erving, John, 151, n. Estournel, Vice-Admiral d', as-Duvignan, M., commander of sumes command of Duke d' French vessel L' Aurore, 96, Anville's fleet, 120; commits n, 97, 97, n; sails for France suicide, 120, 120, n. in Le Castor, 97, n. Europe, xxxvi; 83; 119; 143; Duvivier, M., 6, n; 172; de-158; fleet under Marquis de stroys Canso, xxiii; account of la longuière designed for, his expedition against Annapolis Royal, xxiv, xxv, xxviii; 132. Evans, Samuel, of Newbury, leads expedition against Annadies in captivity at Quebec, polis Royal, 2, n; his attack 122, 122, n, 166. repelled by Mascarene, 177.

- Falaise, M., lieutenant, brings prisoner from Montreal to Quebec, 92, n.
- Falmouth, Maine, xi; 88; 88, n; 169; 170; 171; 172; proprietors of, 170.
- Falmouth, sloop, William Pote, Jr., part owner, 171.
- Farmaugh Co., Ireland, 121, n. Farnworth, Stephen, 88, 88, n; captured at Number Four and imprisoned at Quebec,
- 87, 87, n.
- Fletcher, Captain, 174. Flint, Thomas, of Falmouth,
- 170. Florance, Abraham, captured
- with Pote by French and Indians, 4, n; in prison at Quebec, 80.

Florida, xxi.

- Follett, Charles, master carpen-
- ter, at Annapolis Royal, 6, n. Fones, Daniel, captain, commands Tartar at Tatmagouche Bay, 174.
- Forbush, Daniel, of Marlborough, Mass., 148, n.
- Forbush, Deborah, of Marlborough, Mass., 148, n.
- Forbush, Phinehas, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 148, 148, n, 166.
- Forbush family, 148, n.
- Fort, Abraham, prisoner in Canada, 114, n; dies in cap-

- tivity at Quebec, 133, 133, n, 166; marries Anna Barber Clute, 133, n.
- Fort, Jacob, prisoner in Canada, 114, n; his son prisoner in Canada, 114, n.
- Fort, alias Liberté, Jean, 133, n; husband of Margriet Rinckhout, 114, n.
- Fort, Johannes, captain, captured near Albany, dies in captivity at Quebec, 114, 114, n, 133, n, 166; married to Rebecca Van Antwerpen, 114, n. Fort, Margriet, 114, n.
- Fort, Nicholas, his son prisoner in Canada, 114, n.
- Fort, Rebecca, 114, n.
- Fort family, 114, n.
- Fort Ann, N. Y., 108, n; 114, n; 133, n.
- Fort Dummer, 91, n.
- Fort Lawrence erected, 50, n. Fort Massachusetts, 103; 103,
- n; 104; 106; 106, n; 107, n; 110; 115; 116; 117; 129; 131; 134; 134, n; 136; 148; 166, n; prisoners captured at, imprisoned at Quebec, 94, 95, 96, 97, n; location of, 94, n; depredations at, 94, 95, 95, n, 96, n; Smead family captured
- at, 115, n. Fort Oswego, N. Y., 99, n.
- Foster, Anna, 171.
- Foster family, husband killed at Casco Bay, 140; wife and
- 192

children captives at Quebec, 140.

Fowler, Jeremiah, marries relict of Jesse Corbett, daughter of David Woodwell, 90, n.

Fowler, Mary. See Woodwell.

- France, xxi; xxxvii; 65, n; 83; 97, n; 99; 100; 117; 144; 149, n; 150; 157; 158; 176; seconds claims of Pretender. xxiii; war between, and Great Britain proclaimed, xxiii; prisoners at Quebec sail for, 84; ships from Quebec sail for, 101; damage committed by Admiral Martin in, 119, 119, n; soldiers from, act as guard at Quebec, 122, 125; prisoners from Minas said to have been sent to, 127; fleet from, 142; rumor of war proclaimed by Holland against, 143; a Dutch merchantman captured and sent to, 143.
- Fredericton, in New Brunswick, 57, n.
- Freeman, Enoch, 172.
- Freeman, Samuel, 172.
- Freeport, Maine, 173.
- French Neutrals. See Neutral French.
- French soldiers recount their difficulties in the expedition against Annapolis Royal, 6; offer terms of capitulation to Gov. Mascarene, 6.

- Frink, Elizabeth, married to Major George Berry, 172.
- Frink, Hannah, first wife of Deacon Hezekiah Huntington, 131, n.

Gabarus Bay, xxxi.

- Galbaoth, William, Scotchman, dies in captivity at Quebec, 111, 111, n, 165.
- Gallissonière, Rolan Michel Barrin, Marquis de la, temporary governor of Canada, 120, n.
- Garrish, George. See Gerrish. Gartrage, Charles. See Gutherage, Archibald.
- Garwafs, William. See Galbaoth.
- Gaspé Bay, 160; 160, n; 161.
- Gaspereaux, river in Nova Scotia, inhabitants on, belong to district of Minas, 24, n.
- Gatchell, Dorothy, married to William Pote, father of author, 169.
- Gautez, Joseph. See Gautier. Gautier (Gautez), Joseph, master of schooner Goatease, visits Pote, 28; assists French, 28; promises to ransom Pote, 33.
- Gautier, Louis, his son imprisoned and outlawed, 10, n.
- Gautier, Mrs., detained at Fort Annapolis Royal, 10, n.
- Gautier, Pierre or Peter, French neutral, son of Louis Gautier,

25

outlawed, imprisoned and 10, n.

- Gavton, Clark, captain, narrow escape of his wife from shooting, 94, n.
- Geneva, Switzerland, xv; xvi; 176; Pote Journal discovered in, xi;
- George's Fort, Maine, Indian incursions at, 90, 90, n, 91, 91, n.
- Gerrish, George, lieutenant, brought from Bay Verte to prison at Quebec, 138.
- Gerrish, Samuel, one of Donahew's Boston agents, 175.
- Gibraltar, regiments sent from, to Cape Breton, 146.
- Gilbert, William. See Galbaoth. Gilson, Michael, wounded near Bridgman's Fort, 92, n.

Glasgow, xxiii.

- Goatease, schooner, Joseph Gautier (Gautez), master, prisoners transported on, 32; Pote transported on, 33.
- Goat Island, in Annapolis Basin, xii; xxvi; 1; 16; 30; 59; location described, I, n; prisoners captured on, among Hurons, 15.
- Goodman, Samuel, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 115, 116, n, 166.
- Goose Island, in St. Lawrence Grand Falls, in St. Johns River, River, 75, n.

Gordon, Joseph, of Saco, father of Pike and Joseph, Jr., 106, n. Gordon, Jr., Joseph, shot by Indians at Saco, 106, n; monody by his betrothed, 106, n. Gordon, Pike, captured at Saco, dies in captivity at Quebec, 106, 165; account of, 106, n. Gorham, David, 172.

- Gorham, John, colonel, 30; 53; 62; 70; 86; 100; several of his men captives among Hurons, 15; St. John's Indians killed by, 59; at Minas, 121, 175; his letter to Pote, 133; sends money to Pote, 133, 134; sketch of, 175, 176; his services in expedition against Louisburg, 175; letter to Pepperrell, 175.
- Gorham, Joseph, lieutenant colonel, 176.
- Gorhamtown, Maine, 99; 104; 172; prisoners captured at, imprisoned at Quebec, 88, 97; account of Indian attack at, 88, 88, n; Pote a resident of, 171; origin of its name, 176.
- Gotes, Mr., and family, bound from Annapolis Royal to Quebec, 153, 153, n.
- Gotre. See Gotes.
- Grand Canard. See Canard River.
- 50, n; description of, 67, n.
- 194

 Grand Falls, town. See Colebrooke. Grand Lake, 57, n. See also Lake Freneuse. Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, 24, n; 32, n. See also Minas. Grant, Jane, married to Green- 	Guillimin, Captain, commander of corvette La Legère, wrecked off Sable Island, 104, 104, n; account of, 104, n. Gulf of St. Lawrence, 160, n. Gutherage, Archibald, sergeant, his child dies at Quebec, 145,
field Pote, 173.	145, n.
Grass I., in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.	Gut of Canso, Donahew am- bushed by French and Indians
Gray, Joseph, of Maryland, dies in captivity at Quebec, 130, 130, n, 166.	in, 174; prisoners captured at, arrive at Quebec, 175.
Great Britain, xxi; xxii; 11;	Habitant River, in Nova Scotia,
83; war with Spain, xxii; war with France proclaimed,	villages on, belong to district of Minas, 24, n.
xxiii.	Halifax, 99, n; 175; Indian
Great Meadows Fort, called	irruptions prevented at, 52,
Number Two, Indians capture	n; Bastide's services in forti- fying harbor of, 174. See also
Nehemiah How at, 84, n. Greece, 132.	Chebucto.
Green Bay. See Bay Verte.	Hall, Andrew, one of Dona-
Greenfield, Hannah, married to	hew's Boston agents, 175;
William Pote, grandfather of	ships supplies to Annapolis
author, 169.	Royal, xxv.
Grifes, Thomas, deserter from	Hanes, Andrew. See Sconce.
Annapolis Royal, 22; con-	Harthan, Jonathan. See Hoga-
verses with Pote, 23; im-	dorn.
prisoned at Quebec, 82; sails	Hawks, John, sergeant, in com- mand at Fort Massachusetts,
for France, 84. Griffis. See Grifes.	in prison at Quebec, 95;
Groot, Jacob, of Schenectady,	sketch of, 95, n, 96, n.
captured at Saratoga, dies in	Hawks Mountain in Cavendish,
captivity at Quebec, 103, 103,	96, n.
n, 165.	Heard, Joseph, killed by In-
Grote, John. See Groot, Jacob.	dians at Rochester, N. H.,
Grout, Jacob. See Groot.	93, n.
195	
-72 (Vi	

Herbin, M., lieutenant, takes captives at Saratoga, 118, n.

Heureuse Marie, ship, Sieur De Gay, commander, takes prizes, 79, 80, 80, n; proposals to exchange prisoners captured by, 80, n.

Hinsdale, Vermont. See Vernon.

Hitchcock, Nathaniel, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 134, 134, n, 166.

Hocquart, Giles, intendant of Canada, I, n; 107; 126; 127; visits prisoners at Quebec, 81; tells them of their stay at Quebec, 84, 87; and that Shirley is dead, 85, n; prisoners at Quebec send Christmas greetings to, 106; sends brandy to prisoners, 114; examines Pote concerning burning of prison, 123, 124; tells Pote of prospective release of prisoners, 150; sends prisoners money for their voyage, 151.

Hogadorn, Jonathan, dies in captivity at Quebec, 108, 108, n, 165.

Holland said to have proclaimed war against France, 143.

Holyoke, Margaret, married to John Mascarene, 177.

Honewell, John, Englishman

living and married among Hurons, 20.

- Hooper, Ann, married to William Pote, grandfather of author, 169.
- Hopkins, William, of Jefferson, captured by Indians, 101, n; sells land to Captain John Mc-Near, 102, n.
- Hopkinton. See New Hopkinton.
- Horton, Nova Scotia, 9, n. See also Minas.
- Hosier, Francis, vice-admiral, at Porto Bello, 127, 127, n; dies, 127, n.
- How, Caleb, son of Nehemiah How, 84, n.
- How, Daniel, son of David How, captured near Bridgman's Fort, 92, n; nephew of Nehemiah How, 92, n; imprisoned at Quebec, 111, n.
- How, David, 92, n.
- How, Jemima, wife of Caleb How and widow of William Phipps, 84, n.
- How, Nehemiah, 84, n; 92, n; 111, n; imprisoned at Quebec, 84; his published "Narrative," xiii; sketch of, 84, n; calls Spafford and others his friends, 88, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 135, 166. Hubbard, Zechariah, prisoner at Quebec, 133; brought to prison, 133.

Hudson River, 85, n.

Hull, 117, n.

- Huntington, Christopher, of Norwich, England, comes to America, 130, n; at Saybrook, Conn., 131, n; removes to Norwich, Conn., 131, n.
- Huntington, Jr., Christopher, first male child born in Norwich., Conn., 131, n.
- Huntington, Hannah, first wife of Deacon Hezekiah Huntington, 131, n.
- Huntington, Hezekiah, son of Christopher Huntington, Jr., 131, n; sketch of, 131, n.
- Huntington, Jr., Hezekiah, of Norwich, Conn., dies in captivity at Quebec, 130, 131, n, 166.
- Huntington, Samuel, of Norwich, England, comes to America, 130, n; settles in Newark, N. J., 130, n.
- Huntington, Simon, dies on voyage to America from Norwich, England, 130, n.
- Huntington, Jr., Simon, of Norwich, England, comes to America, 130, n; at Saybrook, Conn., 131, n; removes to Norwich, Conn., 131, n.
- Huntington family, 130, n, 131, n.
- Hurons, the, 40; 62; 79; 86; location of, 14, n; prisoners amongst, 14, 15; Pote conver-

ses in French with, 15; Vincent head captain of, 19; an Englishman married among, 20; captain of, defends prisoners, 25, 26; customs among, 27, 28; their estimate of prisoners, 31; boast of their liberties, 36; object to proceed to Louisburg, 47; protect captives from Indian abuse, 62, 63; eat entrails of beaver, 74. See also Indians.

Hutchinson, Eliakim, 151, n.

Hutchinson, Foster, marries daughter of John Paul Mascarene, 177.

Hutchinson family, 177.

Indians, 128; 129; 158; allies of French, xxi; customs among, 27, 28; preparing to aid French garrison at Louisburg, 29; their indifference disastrous to Louisburg, 29, n; their manner of curing meat, 37; avarice of, 38; their canoes, 40; their chiefs attend council with Marin, 46, 47; object to proceed to Louisburg, 47; council of, at Beaubassin, 50; attack Dartmouth, 52, n; welcome a priest and prepare for mass, 54; curious notion of, about thunder and lightning, 55; their method of cooking fish, 56; cruel treatment of prisoners by their squaws, 57, 58; council of, 58,

59; a root used for subsistence by, 60; corn, etc., planted by, 61; captive Indian abused at Medoctec by, 62, 63; squaws dance around Pote, 64; manner of catching salmon by, 67; paint themselves and Indian prisoners, 76; prepare for their reception at Quebec, 76; arrive at Quebec, 76, 77; barbarities of, 78; said to be disaffected toward the French, 86; depredation by, at Albany, 100, 100, n; boy captured at Albany in the hands of, 114; a priest's queer opinion of their morality, 128; Dutchmen dressed as, 138; report concerning captures, 143, n; prisoners with, not exchanged, 147, 148.

Ireland, 82.

- Irish, Mary, of Gorham, married to Gamaliel Pote, 172.
- Island of Orleans, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n; 76; 156; described, 76, n.
- Isle aux Basques, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.
- Isle aux Chevres, in Annapolis Basin, 1, n.
- Isle aux Coudres, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.
- Isles aux Pommes, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.
- Isle du Lièvre, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.

Isle du Roy, in Bay of Biscay, 119.

- Isle Gross, inhabitants at, 33, n. Isle Rouge, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.
- Isle St. Laurent. See Island of Orleans.
- Isle Verte, in St. Lawrence river, 75, n.
- Islets des Camourasca or Kamaraska, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.
- Islets des Pélerins, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.

Jabuctaus. See Chebucto.

- Jacob, Indian captured on Goat Island, 15, n; with Pote plots to escape, 53; indisposed, 59; brutal treatment of, by squaws, 59, 60; converses with Pote from under prison window, 86.
- Jamaica, 79; Admiral Hosier sails for, 127, n.
- Jarmin, William, ensign, is brought from Bay Verte to prison at Quebec, 139.
- Jebuctaus. See Chebucto.
- Jedemweigt, river, 53, n.
- Jefferson, 101.
- Jemseg, 56, n; 57, n.
- Johnston, William, prisoner, on board Comet, 163.

Jones, John, imprisoned at Quebec, 92; at Louisburg, 92, n.

- Jones, Thomas, soldier, captured
- 198

at Contoocook, imprisoned at Quebec, 90, 90, n; dies, 94, 165.

Jonquière, Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de la, assumes command of Duke d'Anville's fleet, 120; governor of Canada, 120, n; his squadron from Brest, defeated, 142; captured by the English, 142. Jordan, James, captain of the schooner Breeze, captured by L'Aurore, ill in prison hospital at Quebec, 116; dies, 116, 116, n, 165.

Kamouraska, 71, n.

- Keene, N. H. See Upper Ashuelot.
- Kincaid, James, imprisoned at Quebec, 85; sketch of, 85, n. Kinlade, James. See Kincaid. Kittery, Maine, xxx.
- Knap, James, of Falmouth, 169; 170.
- Knap, Mary, of Falmouth, 169; 170.
- Knight, William, his two sons captured at Casco Bay, brought into prison at Quebec, 132, 132, n; his capture, 132, n. Knowles, Sir Charles, xxxvi; 150; 163; Charlestown, N.

H., named in honor of, 87, n; writes to Marquis de Beauharnois on exchange of La Loutre. See Le Loutre. prisoners, 146, 146, n; me-

moir of, 146, n; governor of Cape Breton, 162.

- La Corne, two officers named, at Quebec, 141.
- Lacorne, Rev. Maurice, alias Captain John Barthe, visits prisoners at Quebec and recounts loss of his sloop, 149, 150; notice of, 149, n; his horse, 150.
- La Corne, Pierre de Chapt, chevalier de, 141, n; burns Beaubassin, 50, n; visits prisoners at Quebec, 141.
- La Corne St. Luc, Luc de Chapt de, his detachment commits depredations at Saratoga, 143, 143, n.
- La Croix. See Le Croix.
- L'Aimable Marthe, schooner, Sieur Simonin, captain, captures the sloop Tertola, 132, 132, n.
- La Jeune Lorrette, Huron settlement, 14, n; 79, n.
- Lake Champlain, 96, n.
- Lake Freneuse, 57, n. See also Grand Lake.
- Lake Temiscouata, described, 69, n.
- La Legère, a corvette, Captain Guillimin, commander, wrecked off Sable Island, 104, 104, n.
- Lambert, William, master of
 - 199

bilander Albany, 159; imprisoned at Quebec, 96.

Lancashire, England, 108, n.

Landry, Peter, spy from Minas, 10, n.

Languedoc, province in France, 176.

Larey, Daniel, prisoner at Quebec, confined in dungeon, 127; his miseries there, 129; deserts to French, 152.

Larmon, John. See Lermond.

- Larregni, Captain, commander of packet La Vierge-de-Grace, 153, n.
- La Tour, family of, claimants of Nova Scotia, xxiv.

Laurain. See Lorain.

- L'Aurore, French ship, 105; 116; takes English prizes, 96, 96, n, 97, 97, n; piloted into harbor of Chebucto, 98, n, 99.
- La Vierge-de-Grace, packet, Captain Larregni, commander, bears prisoners and flag of truce to Boston, 153, 153, n.
- Lawrence, Charles, major, erects Fort Lawrence, 50, n.
- Lazéré, Long, visits prisoners at Quebec, 87.
- Lebanon, Conn., 131, n.
- Le Blanc, Joseph, informs con-
- cerning plunder at Minas, 4, n.
- Le Castor, French ship, 130; takes English prizes, 96, 96, n, 97, 97, n; Duvignan sails

into harbor of Chebucto, 98, n, 99.

Le Croix, M., French prisoner at Boston, brings letters to Pote at Quebec, 133; visits prison at Quebec, 134.

Leeward Islands, 151, n.

- Le Févre, M., commander of brigantine Le Saint Esprit, 154; 161; 162; his subtilty, 159, 160.
- Le Loutre, Louis Joseph de, missionary to Micmacs, leads expedition against Fort Annapolis Royal, xxiv, 2, n; his attack repelled by Mascarene, 177.
- Le Mars, French man-of-war, commanded by M. Colombe, captured by Admiral Warren, 143, 143, n; captures Northumberland, 143.
- Lenox Library, the manuscript Morris map in, xvi.
- Lermond, John, captured at Damariscotta, imprisoned at Quebec, 129, 129, n, 130.
- Le Saint Esprit, brigantine, M. Le Févre, commander, bears prisoners and flag of truce to Louisburg, 154, 154, n.
- Le Soleil Levant, brigantine, General de Ramezay arrives at Quebec in, 139, n.
- Liberté. See Fort, alias Liberté, Jean.
- Liddle, Leonard. See Lydle.
- for France in, 97, n; piloted Liddle, Sarah. See Lydle.

Lincoln County, Maine, 118, n. Lingan, Samuel, brother-in-law to Capt. Chapman, ill in captivity at Quebec, 135; delirious, 136.

Lisbon, 97.

Lithgow, Sarah. See Noble.

- Lithgow, William, colonel, marries daughter of Col. Arthur Noble, 121, n.
- Little Isles, in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.

Liverpool, 79.

- London, England, xxxii; 80; 146.
- Longfellow, Stephen, appraiser of Pote's estate, 171.
- Looshtook, the, Indian name for Saint Johns River, 50, n.
- Lorain, Josette, daughter of prison-keeper at Quebec, dies, 108; her burial, 109.
- Lorain, M., prison-keeperat Quebec, 109; 127; his New Year's gift to prisoners, 107; his daughter dies, 108; Pote angers him, 110; employs prisoners, 111; a magazine erected for, 126; informs Pote of release of prisoners, 148, 151.
- Loren, Matthew. See Loring. Loring, Matthew, dies in captivity at Quebec, 144, 144, n, 166.

Lorrette. See La Jeune Lorrette. Louisburg, xii; xiii; xxv; xxvii; xxxiii, n; 11, n; 12; 19; 34; 38; 40; 46; 71, n; 80; 90, n; 92; 92, n; 96; 97; 102, n; 112, n; 116; 130; 139, n; 145, n; 146; 146, n; 154; 162; 172; 173; 174; anniversary of its surrender, xviii; declaration of war received at, xxiii; garrison of Canso taken to, xxiii; importance of, xxviii; described, xxviii, xxix; history of expedition against, xxix-xxxv; rosters of officers and men in siege of, xxix, n; opinion of James Alexander on expedition against, xxx; discontent among soldiers at, xxxiii; capitulates, xxxiv; Marin's army to reinforce French garrison at, xxvii, 28, 29, n; preparations for voyage to, 29, 37, 38, 40; messenger to Marin from, arrives at Tatmagouche, 37; English success at, withheld from Indians at Tatmagouche, 37; true condition of, as overheard by Pote, 39; further preparations of Marin for voyage to, 46, 47; Indians object to proceed to, 47; Marin, Jr. sent to Quebec to tell of the capture of, 72, 74; rumor of French fleet off, 83; soldiers from, captured on St. John's Island, 93, 94; Warren at, 119, n; Col. Arthur Noble at, 121, n; prisoners at Quebec celebrate cap-

26

The Pote Journal

out at Quebec for, 147, 150, 152; prisoners transported to, 163; Bastide's services at, 173; manuscript plans of, 173; Col.

John Gorham at, 175. Loutre. See Le Loutre.

- Lovet, Major, of Mendon, his son dies in captivity, 110, 110. n.
- Lovet, Samuel, of Mendon, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 110, 110, n, 165.
- Lower Ashuelot, now Swanzey, N. H., prisoners taken at, 91, n.
- Lydle, Leonard, 117, n; 128; marries widow of William Bryant in prison at Quebec, 97, n, 103, 104; one of Capt. James Swindal's men, 97, n; in hospital at Quebec, 117; returned from hospital to prison, 118.
- Lydle, Sarah, widow of William Bryant, 117, n; married to Leonard Lydle in prison at Quebec, 97, n, 103, 104; petition of, to Beauharnois, 117; dies in captivity at Quebec, 128, 166. See also Bryant, Sarah.
- Mac Aune, John. See McNear. McCartees, Susanah. See Carter, alias Phillips.

- ture of, 140; flag of truce fitted McClocklin, Thomas, and wife, prisoners at Quebec, desert to French, 152.
 - McClur, John, and wife, prisoners at Quebec, desert to French, 152.
 - McDonell, John, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152.
 - McGraw. See Megraw.
 - McLellan family, 88, n.
 - McMillion, Peter, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152.
 - McNear, Anne, 102, n.
 - McNear, Betsy, 102, n.
 - McNear, James, 102, n.
 - McNear, Jane, 102, n.
 - McNear, John, captain, captured at Sheepscott, imprisoned at Quebec, 89, n, 101, 104, 104, n; sketch of, 101, n, 102, n; married Mary Shirley, of Chester, N. H., 102, n.
 - McNear, Jr., John, captain, 102, n.
 - McNear, Joseph, 102, n.
 - McNear, Margaret, 102, n.
 - McNear, Mary (Shirley), wife of Captain John McNear, 102, n.
 - McNear, Nelly, 102, n.
 - McNear, Sarah, 102, n.
 - McNear, Thomas, 102, n.
 - McNear family, 102, n.
 - Madam I., in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.

Madawaska River described, 69, n.

Madockawando, sachem of Penobscots, 65, n.

Madras, xxxvii.

- Maillard, Rev. Antoine Simon,
- missionary to Micmacs, 25, n. Maine, xi; xxx; men contributed by, for Louisburg expedition, xxix.

Maisonforte, Marquis de la, commands Vigilant, xxxiv.

- Marblehead, 80, n; 100, n; 138; 169; 172; fishing schooner from, captured, 98, n.
- Maricheets, the. See Micmacs. Marin, M., lieutenant, 5, n; 71, n; 82; 87; 105; 114; his army besieges Fort Annapolis Royal, xxvi, 2, 177; numerical strength of besiegers, xxvi, 2, n; captures two schooners, xxvi, 3-5; his letter to Gov. Mascarene, 6; examines Pote, 7; his officers secreted by neutral French, 9; neutral French examined concerning expedition under, 10, n; his army marches to Minas, xxvii, 16; advises neutral French, 19; his army at Minas, 24; his army ordered to reinforce French garrison at Louisburg, xxvii, 29, n, 37; part of his army goes to Canada, 29, n; receives letters from Mascarene, 34; his officers deceive

Indians concerning Louisburg, 38; his army embarks at Tatmagouche for Louisburg, 40; some of his vessels stranded, 40; his exploit with Donahew in Tatmagouche Harbor, xxvii, 41-46; holds a council with Indians, 46, 47; his plan to evade English privateers, 47; Beauharnois proposes exchange of prisoners taken by, in Acadia, 80, n; prisoners captured at Saratoga by, arrive at Quebec, 86.

- Marin, Jr., M., son of Lieut. Marin, 71, n; 75; 104; his account of capitulation of Louisburg, 72; claims to have killed Donahew, 72, 174; converses with Pote, 74; sent by his father with dispatches to gov-'ernor of Canada, 74; visits Pote at Quebec, 78; befriends Pote, 81; visits Pote, 124; account of exchange of prisoners at Minas, 127; informs Pote of release of prisoners, 148.
- Marlborough, Middlesex Co., Mass., 103, n; 148, n.
- Martin, Samuel, dies in captivity at Quebec, 131, 131, n, 166.
- Martin, William, admiral, inflicts damage in France, 119, 119, n.
- Martinico, 132; 132, n.
- deceive Maryland, 80; 80, n; 130.
 - 203

Mascarene, Elizabeth. See Perry.

Mascarene, Jean, Huguenot refugee, 176.

- Mascarene, John, comptroller of customs of Boston, 177; marries Margaret Holyoke, 177.
- Mascarene, John Paul, lieut.governor at Annapolis Royal, xxvi; 8; Duvivier proposes capitulation to, xxv; seeks to liberate a prisoner from among French, 2, n; letter with terms of capitulation sent to, 6; treats it with disdain, 7; captures traitorous neutral French, 9, 9, n; French and Indians boast concerning, 17; letters from, to Marin, 34; sketch of, 176, 177; aids in negotiating Dummer's Treaty, 176; commissioned major general, 177; his family, 177.
- Mascarene, Margaret. See Holyoke.
- Mascarene, Margaret. See Salavay.
- Mascarene family, account of, 177; arms of, 177.
- Massachusetts Bay, xxviii; xxxi; 70; 87, n; 92, n; 104; 138, n; 151, n; 174; 175; 176; aroused by French invasion, xxvii; legislature decides upon expedition against Louisburg, xxix; repair and construction of forts in, 173.

See Massachusetts, frigate, 65, n.

- Maurepas, Jean Frédéric Phelippeaux, Comte de, letter to, 1, n.
- Medicine, M., visits prisoners at Quebec, 82.
- Medoctec, Indian village, 60, n; 61; 66; squaws abuse captive Indian at, 62, 63; location, 63, n; squaws at, dance around Pote, 64.
- Megraw, James, dies in captivity at Quebec, 166.
- Mendon, Mass., 110, n.
- Merrill, Sarah, married to Thomas Pote, 173.
- Messagouche, Indian name for Beaubassin, 49, n.
- Mexico, xxi.
- Micmacs, the, xxiv; 24, n; conduct of squaws at Minas, 25; manners and customs of, 25, n; at Tatmagouche, 40; detachment of, take prisoners on St. John's Island, 93, n. See also Cape Sable Indians.
- Middleborough, James, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152.
- Middlesex Co., Conn., 95, n.
- Middlesex Co., Mass., 103, n.
- Miles, John, wounded near Fort Massachusetts, 96, n.
- Milledge family, 7, n.
- Miller's River, 115, n.
- Minas, xxv; xxvii; 10, n; 15;
- 19; 20; 140; 141; 145; 175;
- 204

plunder purchased by inhabitants of, 4, n; spies from, 9; described, 9, n; Marin's army marches to, 16; road from, to Annapolis Royal, 18, n, 32, n; army arrives at, 24; greatest district of neutral French, 24, n; distance between, and Cobequid, 32, 34; French account of surprise at, 113; hostages at, 113; Capt. Williamson's account of surprise at, 121, 122, 132; account of prisoners left at, 127; prisoners from, brought from Bay Verte to Quebec, 139; prisoners from, detained at Quebec, i48; French captain's version of surprise at, 153.

- Minas Basin, 9, n; 32, n; 132; habitations on, 18, n; marshes on, called Grand Pré, 24, n.
- Mira Bay, 161; 161, n.
- Mira River, 161, n.
- Misiquas, the, river in Nova Scotia, 49, n.
- Moffat, Robert, captured at Lower Ashuelot, imprisoned at Quebec, 91, 91, n.
- Mohawks, the, incursions of, near Montreal, 103, 103, n, 112, 138; rumor of incursion by, 134; several captured near Montreal, 138; arrive at Quebec, 140.
- Montague, Lord, his regiment in garrison at Portsmouth, 176.

Montague, schooner, William Pote, Jr., master, 3, n; 59; 63; captured by French and Indians and plundered, xxvi, 3-5; carries artificers to Annapolis Royal, xii, 6, n; Marin and others transported on, 32, 33; used as transport, 50, 51; at Ocpack (Apoge) on St. Johns River, 57.

- Montesson. See Croisille de Montesson.
- Montgomery, John, governor of New York, 100, n.
- Montreal, 86; 112; 130, n; 145; 156; Indians bring scalps to, 100, n; prisoners from, brought to Quebec, 101, 111; distance of, from Quebec, 101; incursions by Mohawks near, 103, 103, n, 112; two prisoners escape from, 111; several Dutchmen and Mohawks captured near, 138; they arrive at Quebec, 140.
- Moody, Enoch, appraiser of Pote's estate, 171.
- Moore, George Henry, his estimate of New Hampshire men at siege of Louisburg, xxix, n. Moore, Hugh, 172.
- Moore, Samuel, Colonel, commands New Hampshire forces at siege of Louisburg, 90, n.
- Morepang, Captain, defeated before Louisburg, xxxi.
- Morris, Charles, surveyor-gen-
- 205

eral of Nova Scotia, 71, n; his map in the Lenox Library, xvi;

inaccuracy in his map, 53, n. Morris, George, master of sloop

Tertola, captured by schooner L'Aimable Marthe, 132, 132, n; sent to Martinico, 132.

Morrise, French neutral at Bay Verte, promises to ransom Pote, 49; his brother at Beaubassin, 49.

Moses, the Law-giver, 14, n.

Moulton, Jeremiah, colonel of 3d Massachusetts Regiment at Louisburg, 92, n.

Mullalley, William, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152.

Nantaskett, 117, n.

Nantes, edict of, revoked, 176. Nantucket, whaling-sloop from, captured, 98, n.

Nason, William, captured at Minas, dies in captivity at Quebec, 141, 141, n, 166.

Natiskotek, island, 161, n.

Naxoat, on St. Johns River, location of, 57, n.

Neutral French, 3; 10, n; 30; 32:47; population of, in 1721, xxii; assist French against Annapolis Royal, xxiv, xxvi; give intelligence to French and Indians from Canada, 2; proposals to release, 8; aid and harbor French spies, 9; several traitors among, captured, 9; their condition after Treaty of Utrecht, xxii; joyous over French success, 18, 27; body of, reinforce Marin's army, 19; advised by Marin, 19; John Prejon, one of, visits Pote, 21; give false alarm, 21, 22; several propose to ransom Pote but fail, 22; Minas greatest district of, 24, n; purchase freedom of several prisoners, 30; reception of Marin and army at Cobequid by, 34; at Beaubassin, 50; fear English, 51; English attempt to enforce neutrality among those at Minas, 113, 121.

- Newark, N. J., Samuel Huntington settles at, 130, n.
- Newburyport, Mass., 105; 109, n; 122, n; 174.
- New Casco, Indian incursion at, 98.
- Newcastle, Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of, xxxiii, n; xxxv; xxxvi.
- Newcastle, Maine, xxxi; 101, n. New England, xiv; xxiii; xxviii; 36; 111, n; 116; 116, n; 117, n; 118, n; 122; 130; 130, n; 133; 134; 145; 145, n; 176; 177; incursions in, xxxv; artificers from, repair Fort Annapolis Royal, 6, n; emigrants from, settle at Minas, 9, n; men raised in, for expedition against

206.

Canada, 86, n; prisoners captured by Indians in, 91, 101, 111; Duke d'Anville expected to reduce, 120.

Newfoundland, 92; 97; 102; 176.

New France, fall of, xxxvii; 108.

New Gloucester, Maine, Shakers of, 173.

- New Hampshire, xxix; xxxi; xxxii; 176; regiment of, at Louisburg, xxix, 90, n; depredation by Indians in, 93, 93, n; chief engineer of, 173.
- New Hopkinton, 107, n; 133, n; account of Indian incursion at, 89, n, 90, n.

New Jersey, 112, n.

- New Norwich, Conn. See Norwich.
- New York, 93, n; 108; 119; 165; share of, in Louisburg expedition, xxix; French encroachments in, 100, n.
- Nicholson, Francis, colonel, reduces Port Royal, 176.
- Noble, Arthur, colonel, 140; 175; surprised and killed at Minas, 121; sketch of, 121, n; letters of, 121, n.
- Noble, Jr., Arthur, son of Col. Arthur Noble, 121, n.
- Noble, Francis, killed in surprise at Minas, 121, n.
- Noble, James, marries sister of Col. William Vaughan, 121, n.

Noble, Sarah, married to Col. William Lithgow, 121, n.

Noble family, 121, n.

Norman, one, captured on St. John's Island, 102, n.

North America, xiv; xv; English titles to, disputed, xxi; objects of war of 1744-48 in, xxiii.

- North Cape, 161.
- Northfield, 115, n; depredation at, 91, 91, n.
- Northumberland, English manof-war, captured by French ship Le Mars, 143.
- Norton, Rev. John, his "Redeemed Captive," xiii, 15, n, 94, n, 134, n; chaplain of Fort Massachusetts, 94, n; in prison at Quebec, 95; sketch of, 95, n; his letter on capitulation, 95, n; marries Sarah Bryant to Leonard Lydle in prison at Quebec, 97, n, 104; a writing on Catholicism submitted to, 109; baptizes Captivity Smeed, 115, n; ill at Quebec, 134, 134, n; delirious, 136; strange union in presence of, 147.
- Norwich, the, man-of-war, 163; prisoners transported on, 163.
- Norwich, Conn., 130; 131; first male child born in, 131, n. Norwich, England, 130, n.
- Norwood, Daniel or William, corporal, captured by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n;
- 207

dies in captivity at Quebec, 146, 146, n, 166.

Nova Scotia, xiii; xxii; xxv; 49, n; 99, n; 153, n; 176; ceded by France to Great Britain, xxi; disputes over limits of, xxi; garrisoned, xxii; French seek the acquisition of, xxiv; menaced by Louisburg, xxviii; climate of, 5, n; William Winniett, member of Council of, 7, n; chief engineer of, 173; Gorham's Independent Company of Rangers in, 175; Phillips, governor of, 176; Mascarene acting governor of, 177. See also Acadia.

Number Two. See Great Meadows Fort.

- Number Four, now Charlestown, N. H., prisoneis captured at, imprisoned at Quebec, 87; account of, 87, n.
- Ocpack, Indian village, 57; 59; probable location and various spellings in maps, 57, n.
- Orleans. See Island of Orleans. Oswego, 151, n.

Ouelle, the, river in Kamouraska, 71, n.

Ouette. See Ouelle.

- Owen, James, of Brookfield, Mass., killed by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n.
- Parain, Peter, lad, prisoner at Quebec, removed to hospital,

134, 134, n; returned, 143; brings news to prisoners, 143. Paris, treaty of, xxi.

- Parker, Isaac, captured at Number Four and imprisoned at Quebec, 87, 87, n, 88, 88, n.
- Parker, James, of Springfield, wounded near Bridgman's Fort, 92, n.
- Patience I., in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.
- Pattison, John, dies in captivity at Quebec, 153, 166.
- Paul, Cape Sable Indian, converses with Pote, 24.
- Paurtois, Joseph. See Portois. Péan, Hugues, son of town major of Quebec, 150, n.
- Péan, Madame, Pote translates French letter for, 150; notice of, 150, n; expects to sail to France, 151.
- Pemaquid, incursion by Indians at, 137, 137, n; two prisoners from, arrive at Quebec, 137.
- Pennsylvania, share of, in Louisburg expedition, xxix; soldier from, dies in Quebec, 116, n. Penobscot, 35; 65; 65, n.
- Penobscot River, Maine, 67, n.
- Penobscots, Indians, in French army, 35, 66; sachem of, 65, n; war declared against, 66, n. Penus Mills, 32, n.
- Pepperrell, Sir William, lieutenant-general, xviii; xxxiv; commander at siege of Louis-

burg, xxx; influence of Whitefield upon, xxx; knighted, xxxv, 175.

- Pereaux, river in Nova Scotia, inhabitants on, 32, n.
- Perkins, James, marries daughter of John Paul Mascarene, 177.
- Perkins, Thomas, marries daughter of John Paul Mascarene, 177.

Perkins family, 177.

- Perry, Elizabeth, married to John Paul Mascarene, 177.
- Perry, John, captured at Fort Massachusetts, his wife dies, 107.
- Perry, Rebecah, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 107, 107, n, 108, n, 165.
- Petitcodiac River, 50, n; 53; 55; 56; 176; variously spelled in maps, 53, n; carrying place between, and River Jedemweigt, 56, n.
- Petitpas. See Petts.

 $\mathbf{27}$

- Petit Rivière, on Cobequid Basin, inhabitants at, 32, n.
- Petts ?, Captain, commander of Norwich, 163, 163, n.
- Philadelphia, 88, n; 97; 102, n; 112, n; 132.
- Phillips, John, captain, 138; in prison at Quebec, 98; master of fishing schooner captured near Chebucto, 98, n; pilots French

ship into Chebucto, 99; sails from Quebec for West Indies, 100; one of his men too sick to go, 100.

- Phillips, Richard, governor of Nova Scotia, 176; his regiment, xxii.
- Phillips, Susanah. See Carter. Phipps, William, 84, n.
- Pickering, captain, of Piscattaway, N. H., killed and brutally treated at Minas, 139.
- Picket, steward to Capt. David Donahew, arrives at Boston, 174; his account of Donahew's death, 174.
- Pike, John, owner of schooner Bress, imprisoned at Quebec, 97.
- Pinkham, Zephaniah, captain, in prison at Quebec, 98; master of whaling-sloop captured near Chebucto, 98, n; pilots French ship into Chebucto, 99; sails from Quebec for West Indies, 100.
- Piscataqua River, xxx; xxxi.
- Piscataquis Co., Maine, 67, n.
- Piscattaway, N. H., 139.
- Pitman, John, of Marblehead, one of Captain John Phillips's men, too sick to sail for West Indies, 100, 100, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 138.
- Placentia, Newfoundland, garrisoned, 176.
- Plaffer, Lawrence. See Platter.

Saratoga, dies at Quebec, 87, 87, n, 165. Pleasant Point, near George's Fort, Maine, 90, n. Plunder, inhabitants of Minas purchase, 4, n; Indians sell, at Minas, 28. Plymouth, England, 82; Admiral Hosier sails from, 27, п. Plymouth, New England, 118, n. Point Conomée, inhabitants at, 33, n. Pontbriant, Henri Marie du Breil de, bishop of Quebec, visits prisoners at Quebec, 130; sketch of, 130, n. Portland, Maine, 89, n. Porto Bello, expedition to, under Admiral Hosier, 127, 127, n, 128. Portois, Joseph, brings advices to prisoners at Quebec, 126, 127; a prisoner with, 133; assures prisoners of their liberation, 147, 150, 151. Port Royal (Annapolis Royal), reduced, 176. Portsmouth, England, 128, n; 134; 176. Portsmouth, N. H., 93, n Pote, Ann. See Hooper. Pote, Ann, 169; account of, 170; married to William Buck-

man, 170.

Pote, Dorothy.' See Gatchell.

Platter, Lawrence, captured at Pote, Elisha, 169; account of, Saratoga, dies at Quebec, 87, 173.

Pote, Elizabeth. See Berry.

- Pote, Gamaliel, 169; account of, 172; marries Mary Irish, 172. Pote, Greenfield, 169; account
- of, 173; marries Jane Grant, 173.
- Pote, Hannah. See Greenfield.
- Pote, Increase, 169; account of, 173.

Pote, Jane. See Grant.

- Pote, Jeremiah, 169; accountof, 172; marries Elizabeth Berry, 172.
- Pote, Mary. See Irish.
- Pote, Samuel, 169; account of, 173.
- Pote, Sarah. See Merrill.
- Pote, Thomas, 169; account of, 173; marries Sarah Merrill, 173.
- Pote, William, captain, grandfather of author, 169.
- Pote, Sr., William, captain, father of the author, 100, 100, n; his letter to author, 133; account of, 169, 170; purchases land in Falmouth, Maine, 169, 170; his children, 170-173.
- Pote, Jr., William, captain, master of schooner Montague, xi; xii; xiii; xiv; xv; xvi; xxvi; 4, n; 71, n; 169; sent from Boston to Annapolis Royal, 1; neutral French inform against, 1;

account of his capture, 3-5; his mate, 3, n; conveyed to guard house, 5; examined by Marin concerning letters sent from Boston, 7; his companions in captivity, 8, n; visited by William Winniett, 8; writes to Bastide, 10, 11; receives reply, II; receives second visit from Winniett, 12; deceived by Winniett, 13; removed to barn, 13; narrow escape from death, 14; taken to camp of Hurons, 14; converses in French with Hurons, 15; marches with army to Minas, 16: meets acquaintances among neutral French, 17; stops at French house, 18; crosses Annapolis River, 18; interrogated concerning expedition against Louisburg, 19; his subtile answers, 19; makes a spoon, 20; is visited by John Prejon, French neutral, 21; some neutral French seek to redeem him but fail, 22; converses with Cape Sable Indian named Paul, 24; arrives at Minas, 24; his experience among Micmac squaws at Minas, 25, 26; Vincent, captain of Hurons, converses with, 26; removed to goal, 27; visited by neutral French, 28; has two Indian masters, 28; is visited by Joseph Gautier (Gau-

tez), 28; compelled to attend mass, 20; his behavior and expulsion, 29; Indians suspicious of, 30; another unsuccessful attempt to redeem him, 31; embarks for Cobequid, 32, 33; Gautier promises to redeem him, 33; at Cobequid, 34; arrives at some French houses, 35; converses with a Frenchman from Penobscot, 35; arrives at Tatmagouche, 37; his remarks concerning Louisburg, 38; by eavesdropping he learns true condition of Louisburg, 39; embarks with others at Tatmagouche, 40; his account of Donahew's exploit, 41-46; learns of intended voyage to Canada, 47; journeys to Bay Verte, 48; arrives at Bay Verte, 49; Morrise, French neutral, promises to ransom, 49; sails from Beaubassin, 51; converses with Jacques Bomaus, 51; treated with civility by Joseph Brosard, called Beausoleil, 52; with Jacob, an Indian, he plots to escape, 53; arrives at Petitcodiac river, 53; converses with priest, 54; Indians constrain him to sing, 55; arrives at St. Johns River, 56; cruelly treated by squaws, 57, 58, 60; narrow escape from death, 58, 59; protests against ill usage by Indians,

61; at Medoctec, 61-66; squaws, at Medoctec, dance around him, 64; reads treaty for Indian chief, 65; converses with, and is warned against St. Castine, 65, 66; quarrels with his Indian master, 68; his opinion concerning escape of John Read and Caleb, 70, 71; at the Trois Pistoles, 71; Marin, Ir., tells him of capture of Louisburg, 72; by. cunning saves life of John Read, 72, 73; commended by his Indian masters, 73; accompanies Marin, Jr., to French house, and is treated with civility, 74, 75; objects to being painted in Indian fashion, 76; his arrival and mishaps at Quebec, 77, 78; is taken to a casern, 79; informs English prisoners at Quebec of capture of Louisburg, 80; in prison at Quebec, 80; befriended by Marin, Jr., 81; converses with Jacob, an Indian, from prison window, 86; has hopes of sailing for France or West Indies, 99; sends letters to Bastide, and to his father, 100; disappointed in not being taken to France, 101; he and his companions send Christmas greetings to intendant, 106, 107; angers prison

health, 110; is promised favors, 114, 115; writes petition for fellow prisoner, 117; examined concerning burning of prison at Quebec, 123, 124; is visited by Marin, Jr., 124; his opinion of Marin's account of exchange of prisoners at Minas, 127; receives letters from his father and others, 133; learns of death of two of his brothers, 133; receives money from Col. Gorham, 134; his conversation with commissary at Quebec, 148; some of his guns retaken by English, 150; translates French letter for Madame Péan, 150, 151; his ingenious plan for safe conveyance of his Journal, 154; embarks with others for Louisburg, 154; his observations on town of Quebec, 154-158; sails from Quebec, 158; on board Comet, 163; arrives at Louisburg, 163, 164; meets Bastide, 164; closes his "Journal," 164; granted letter of administration on his father's estate, 170; sketch of, 171, 172.

Pote family, xviii ; 169-173.

Pote house, description of, 170; demolished, 170.

Pote Journal, xxvii; account of the, xi-xix.

keeper, 110; thankful for good Pratt, Amos, captured at Fort

Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 117, 117, n, 166.

Prejon, John, French neutral, visits Pote, 21.

Presumscot Lower Falls, 89, n. Pretender, the, xxiii; reported to have disappeared from Scotland, 110.

- Price, James, lad captured at Saratoga, sent to live with priest, 112.
- Prince, Isaac, captured with Pote by French and Indians, 4, n; redeemed from captivity, 5, n, 30; visits Pote, 31.

Prince Edward's Island. See St. John's Island.

Prindle, William. See Pringle, John.

- Pringle, John, also called William Prindle, captured by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 145, 145, n, 166.
- Prisoners, 81; mutual exchange of, xxxvi; narrow escape from death of, 58, 59; interrogated concerning Canada, 75; their reception at Quebec, 77, 78; seven imprisoned at Quebec, 82; given option to go to France or remain at Quebec, 83, 84; their redemption delayed, 84; captured at Saratoga, 85 n, 86, 143, 143, n, 144, 145, 146, 151, 152; at

Number Four, 87, 87, n, 118; at Gorhamtown, 88, 88, n; at Sheepscott, 89; at New Hopkinton, 89, 89, n; at Contoocook, 90, 90, n; at George's Fort, 90, n, 91, 91, n; eight imprisoned at Quebec, 91; captured at Rochester, N. H., 93, 93, n; on St. John's Island, 93, 93, n, 94; at Fort Massachusetts, 94, 95; at Albany, 95; by the Le Castor and L' Aurore, 96, 97, 97, n; die of epidemic, 97, n; census of, taken at Quebec, 97, 99; from Bay Verte, 98, 99; one captured at New Casco, 98; two escape from prison at Quebec, 99, 100; voyage of, to France, 100; six from Montreal, imprisoned at Quebec, 101; disappointed in their hope of sailing for France, 101; their freedom at Ouebec curtailed, 103; several captured by Mohawks near Montreal, 103, 103, n; send Christmas greetings to intendant at Quebec, 106, 107; write petition from Quebec to Gov. Shirley, 107; celebrate Christmas in prison at Quebec, 108; several converts to Catholicism at Quebec, 109; twenty sick, carried to prison hospital at Quebec, 109; great number ill at Quebec, 110, 116, 129; seven

from Montreal imprisoned at Quebec, III, III, n; some captured by Mohawks near Montreal, 112; number at Quebec, 112, 113; two captured at Albany, 114; condition of those at Quebec, after burning of prison, 122-126; petition for better quarters, 126; reply to petition of, 126; account of those left at Minas, 127; frame house built for, 131, 134; several imprisoned at Quebec, 132; Mohawks said to have captured one hundred, 134; petition for release, 135; women at Quebec quarrel, 135, 136; promised to sail for Boston, 137, 138; from Bay Verte, expected at Quebec, 137; arrive at Quebec, 137, 138, 139; at Quebec celebrate capture of Louisburg, 140; from Montreal arrive at Quebec, 140; Shirley and Knowles write to Marquis de Beauharnois concerning exchange of, 146, 146, n; to be sent to Boston and Louisburg, 147; with Indians not exchanged, 147, 148; embark from Quebec for Boston, 152, 153, 153, n; list of deaths in Quebec, 153, n; embark from Quebec for Louisburg, 154, 154, n; sail, 158; transported on board Norwich, 163; on Comet to Louisburg, 163;

arrive at Louisburg, 163; list of, who died in Quebec, 165, 166; captured at Gut of Canso arrive at Quebec, 175.

- Putney, Vermont. See Great Meadows Fort.
- Quackinbush, one, returned to prison from hospital at Quebec, 110, 110, n.
- Quackinbush, Isaac, 110, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 135, 166.
- Quackinbush, Jacob, 110, n; 113; 114; dies in captivity at Quebec, 135; his wife ill, 135; his brother-in-law dies in captivity at Quebec, 135, 166; his wife's parents in prison at Quebec, 135.
- Quackinbush, Martha, captured at Saratoga, dies in captivity at Quebec, 106, 106, n, 165. Quackinbush, Rachel, daughter of Jacob Quackinbush, 135; visits parents in prison at Quebec, 113, 114; remains in Canada, 113, n; escapes from Indians, 145, 146; visits her mother in prison, 146, 149; her redemption sought, 149.
- Quackinbush family at Quebec, 114, 135, 135, n.
- Quebec, xii; xiii; xxvii; 14; 74; 76; 84, n; 87; 88, n; 89, n; 90, n; 92, n; 93, n; 102, n; 106, n; 109; 118, n; 131, n;
- 214

133, n; 134, n; 144, n; 160; 161; Huron village near, 14, n; most common route between, and Beaubassin, 50, n; Marin, Jr., arrives at, 71, n; Indians and prisoners arrive at, 76, 77; prisoners at, 80, n; false rumors of war received at, 82, 83; expedition against, 85, 86, 88, 92; prisoners from Saratoga at, 85, n, 86, 86, n, 118, 143, 143, n, 144, 145, 146, 151, 152; prisoners captured by Le Castor and L'Aurore transported to, 97, n; marriage of Sarah Bryant in prison at, 97, n; town major of, makes inventory of necessaries for voyage of prisoners to France, 100; ships from, sail for France, 101; prison hospital constructed at, 109, 109, n; many prisoners ill at, 110, 116, 129; number of prisoners at, 112, 113, 144, 145; climate in, 116; man-of-war at, 117; four prisoners sent to hospital at, 117, 118; account of burning of prison at, 122-125; guard house built at, 125; magazine erected at, 126; dungeon in, 129; Bishop Pontbriant visits prisoners at, 130; frame house built for prisoners at, 131, 134; lad imprisoned at, 134; women prisoners quarrel at, 135, 136;

army under De Ramezay arrives at, 139, 139, n; tent for prisoners built at, 141; some of Duke d' Anville's fleet arrive at, 141, 143; Swiss guard at, 144; eight hundred militia march out of, 150; town major of, 150, n; prisoners embark from, for Boston, 152, 153; list of prisoners who died in, 153, n; prisoners embark from, for Louisburg, 154, 154, n; Pote's general observations on town and surroundings of, 154-158; contemporary descriptions of, 154, n; ships built at, 155; ammunition at, 157; prisoners sail from, 158; prisoners from Gut of Canso arrive at, 175.

Quebecet. See Cobequid.

Queen Anne's War, prisoners during, 37, 105.

- Rackleff, Chandler, captain, purchases Pote farm, 170.
- Rackleff, George, 170, resident on site of Pote farm, 170.
- Ramezay, Jean Baptiste Nicholas Roch de, general, sends detachment under Croisille de Montesson, 93, n; surprises English at Minas, 121, 122; arrives with army at Quebec, 139, 139, n.
- Ray, Patrick, wounded near Bridgman's Fort, 92, n.
- 215

- Raymond, Charles, spy from Minas, 10, n; outlawed, 10, n. Read, Jacob, 30, n; 101; his son prisoner among Hurons, 15, n; captured at Gorhamtown and imprisoned at Quebec, 88, 88, n; dies at Quebec, 99, 165.
- Read, John, 15, n; 30; 30, n; 71; 73; captive among Hurons, 15; escapes, 70; retaken, 72; his life saved through Pote's cunning, 72; dies in prison at Quebec, 100, 101, 165. Read family, 88, n.
- Resolution, sloop, Capt. David Donahew, commander, 174.
- Rhode Island, xxix; 97; 116.
- Rich, Jonathan, of schooner Seaflower, 8, n; redeemed from captivity, 5, n, 30.
- Richards, John, captured at Rochester, N. H., imprisoned at Quebec, 93; account of, 93, n.
- Richards, Joseph, killed by Indians at Rochester, N. H., 93, n.
- Rider, John, of Falmouth, 170. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Pierre François, besieges and captures Fort Massachusetts, 95; sketches of, 95, n.
- Rinckhout, Margriet. See Fort, Margriet.
- Rioux, 71, n.
- Robbins, William, killed near Bridgman's Fort, 92, n.

- Roberts, David, captain, of Dartmouth, England, 134; imprisoned at Quebec, 97; dies in captivity, 97, n, 136, 166; his apprentice dies, 107; very ill at Quebec, 135; delirious, 136; condition critical, 136; burial, 136.
- Rochester, N. H., depredation by Indians of St. François at, 93, 93, n.
- Rott I., in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.
- Rouse, John, captain, 108, n; 112; 118; three of his men prisoners at Quebec, 94; sketches of, 94, n; his wife killed, 94, n; deserter from, 141. Roxbury, Mass., xxxvi.
- Sable Island, La Legère, French ship, wrecked off, 104, 104, n. Saccarappe, Maine, 132.
- Saco, 165; Indian incursion at, 106, 106, n.
- Saillies, M. de, commander of French vessel Le Castor, 96, n. Saint Castin, Bonus, of Penobscot, converses with Pote, 65, 66; probably descended from Baron Vincent Saint Castin,
- 65, n. Saint Castin, Vincent de, baron,
- chief of the Penobscots, 65, n. St. Charles River, Canada, Hu-
- ron village situated on, 14, n. St. François, Abenakis of, 84, n;
- 216

prisoners at Rochester, N. H., 93, 93, n.

- St. François, the Order of, 100. St. Gabriel, seigniory of, grant
- in, made to Hurons, 14, n.
- St. Georges, Maine. See George's Fort.
- St. George's River, Maine, 65, n.
- St. John, city, falls near, 56, n. St. Johns, the, river in New Brunswick, 50; 51; 52; 53; 53, n; 54; 55; 56; 59; 60; 66; 67; 68; description of, 50, n; Indian villages on, 57, n; island in, 61; Grand Falls in, described, 67, n; a carrying place between, and the Ouelle in Morris map, 71, n.
- St. John's Indians, 59; war declared against, 59, n.
- St. John's Island, now Prince Edward's, 94; 102; 102, n; 108, n; 112; 118; 145; 146; 146, n; Micmacs take prisoners on, 93, 93, n.
- St. Lawrence River, 50, n; 71, n; 73; 74; 77; 78; 101; 116; 141; 145; 155; 156; 161; names of some islands in, 75, n; English capture sloop in, 150; its course, 154.
- St. Martins, town on Isle du Roy, captured by English, 119.
- Saint Patrick's Day, celebrated by prisoners at Quebec, 114. 28

detain prisoners, 90, n; take Salavy, Margaret de, married to Jean Mascarene, 176.

- Salter, Jonathan, commander of sloop Endeavour, 112; 135; 144; 147; 148; imprisoned at Quebec, 97; his mate dies, 117. Sanders, Thomas, captain, at St. George's River, 65, n.
- Saratoga, now Schuylerville, 87: 87, n; 103; 105, n; 106, n; 108; 112; 135, n; Indian depredations at, 85, n, 143, 143, n; prisoners captured at, arrive at Quebec, 86, 86, n, 118, 132, 143, 143, n, 144, 145, 146, 152; Lieut. Chew's account of depredation at, 144; woman captured at, 151, 152. Sault St. Louis, Indians from, dispatched to Albany, 80, n. Saybrook, Conn., 130, n.
- Scaffield, Philip, imprisoned at Quebec, III, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 116, 116, n, 166.
- Scatarie Island, 162; 162, n.
- Schavolani, George. See Sivelana.
- Schenectady, 103, n; 130, n; 139, n.
- Schuylerville, New York. See Saratoga.
- Scoffil, Philip. See Scaffield.
- Scofield. See Scaffield.
- Sconce, Andrew, captured by Indians, dies in captivity at Quebec, 103, 103, n, 165.
- 217

- Scot, William, imprisoned at Shenarack River. Quebec, 111, n.
- Scotch Fort, xii; xxvi; 1; its name and location in maps, I, n; ambush of French and Indians at, 2-5.

Scotland, 88, n; Pretender in, 119.

- Scott, Miriam, wife of Moses Scott, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 106, 165; account of, 106, n.
- Scott, Moses, captured at Fort Massachusetts, in prison at Quebec, 106, 106, n; his infant son dies, 110, 110, n, 165.
- Scott, Jr., Moses, child, son of Moses and Miriam Scott, dies in captivity at Quebec, 106, n, 110, 110, n, 165.

Scott, Rebecah. See Perry.

- Seaflower, schooner, James Sutherland, commander, 1; 30; 80; captured by French and Indians and plundered, xxvi, 3-5; prisoners transported on, 32.
- Secconnectau. See Beaubassin. Sewell, Samuel, 172.
- Sheepscott, 103; 103, n; 104; 118; Indian incursions at, 85, 85, n, 101, n, 102, 130; lads captured at, 89, 89, n, 101, n. Sheffield, William P., strictures on his "Privateersmen of Newport," 174.

- See Stewiacke River.
- Shepard, Jacob, captured at Fort Massachusetts, imprisoned at Quebec, 98, 98, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 136, 136, n, 166.
- Sherburne, 90, n.
- Shirley, Mary, of Chester, N.H. See McNear.
- Shirley, Elizabeth, married to Eliakim Hutchinson, 151, n.
- Shirley, Frances, first wife of Gov. William Shirley, 151, n.
- Shirley, Frances, married to William Bollan, 151, n.
- Shirley, Harriet, married to Robert Temple, 151, n.
- Shirley, John, 151, n.
- Shirley, Judith, 151, n.
- Shirley, Maria Catherine, married to John Erving, 151, n.
- Shirley, Ralph, 151, n.
- Shirley, Thomas, governor of Leeward Islands, 151, n.
- Shirley, William, governor of Massachusetts Bay, xxxv; 52, n; 82; 150; 175; projector of siege against Louisburg, xxix; his opinion of troops, xxxiii; his partiality for mother country, xxxvi; dies, xxxvi, n; Beauharnois proposes exchange of prisoners to, 80, n; Mayor Cuyler, of Albany, forwards proposals to, 83; receives letters from Quebec, 85; Hocquart

believes he is dead, 85; prisoners at Quebec petition him for redemption, 91; message of, to General Court, 103, n; another petition from prisoners to, 107; Warren sends dispatches to, 119; writes to Marquis de Beauharnois on exchange of prisoners, 146, 146, n; son of, at Quebec, 151; his family, 151, n; acknowledges Bastide's services at Louisburg, 173; reconciles Indians of western Acadia, 177.

Shirley, Jr., William, 151, n.

Shirley family, 151, n.

Shrewsbury, 117, n.

- Shubenacadie, river in Nova Scotia, inhabitants on, 33, n.
- Sidney, Cape Breton, 163, n. Simonin, Sieur, captain of
- schooner L'Aimable Marthe, captures sloop Tertola, 132, 132, n.
- Simson, John, prisoner at Quebec, his strange union with Susanah Boillison, 115, n, 147.
- Simson, Susanah. See Boillison, Susanah.
- Sivelana, George, of Corinth, Greece, arrives at prison in Quebec, 132; his versions concerning Duke d'Anville's fleet and surprise at Minas, 132.
- Skilling, Benjamin, of Falmouth, 170.
- Slade, Dr. D. D., article by, on

site of Fort Massachusetts, 95, n.

- Smeed, Captivity, child born in captivity after surrender of Fort Massachusetts, 95, 115, n, 132; dies at Quebec, 95, n, 115, n, 131.
- Smeed, Daniel, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 115, n, 129, 166.
- Smeed, John, 115; 116; 129; 131; captured at Fort Massachusetts, 95, n; released from captivity, 115, n; killed by Indians, 115, n.
- Smeed, Jr., John, captured at Fort Massachusetts, dies in captivity at Quebec, 115, n, 116, 166.
- Smeed, Mary, wife of John Smeed, Sr., 129; 131; delivered of child in captivity, 95, 95, n, 115, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 115, 115, n, 166.
- Smeed family, captured at Fort Massachusetts, 115, n.
- Smith, John, imprisoned at Quebec, 111, n.
- Smith, Richard, imprisoned at Quebec, 111, n.
- Society of Colonial Wars, celebrates one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of surrender of Louisburg, xviii.
- South Hadley, 115, n.
- Spafford, John, captain, captured at Number Four and im-
- 219

prisoned at Quebec, 87, 87, n, 88, 88, n; put in mess with Pote, 147.

Spain, war between Great Britain and, xxii.

Spaniard's Bay, 163; 163, n.

Spanish River, 161; 162.

Spey River. See Trois Pistoles. Springfield, 92, n.

Stacy, Samuel, captured at Minas, dies in captivity at Quebec, 140, 140, n, 166.

Stevens, Rev. Phinehas, his slave killed at Contoocook, 90, n.

Stewiacke River, in Nova Scotia, inhabitants on, 33, n.

Stockman, Joseph, in captivity at Quebec, 147.

Stoddert, Benjamin, lieutenant, procures exchange of prisoners detained at Quebec, 113, n.

Stroudwater, Maine, 89, n; 170. Stubs, Richard, appraiser of Pote's estate, 171.

Stubs, Richard, captured at New Casco, imprisoned at Quebec, 98, 98, n.

Sunderland, 115, n; 166, n.

- Sunderland, John, imprisoned at Quebec, 111, n.
- Suratt, Paul, detained at Fort Annapolis Royal, 10, n.

Sutherland, James, commander of schooner Seaflower, xxvi; 1; 8, n; 30; 51, n; 99; 159; 163; captured by French and Indians, 3-5; in prison at Quebec, 80; befriended by Marin, Jr., 81.

Swan, Captain, 174.

Swanzey, N. H. See Lower Ashuelot.

Swindal, James, captain, 97, n; 104; 108; captured by L'Heureuse Marie, Sieur De Gay, commander, 79; his mate, 82; with his mate and others, sails from Quebec for France, 84.

Tainter, Benjamin, of Westborough, imprisoned at Quebec, 111, n.

Tainter, Simon, lieutenant, of Westborough, his son in prison at Quebec, 111, n.

Tartar, sloop, Capt. Daniel Fones, commander, 174.

Tatmagouche, 36; 44; 45; various spellings in maps, 35, n; carrying place between Cobequid and, 35, n; army of French and Indians at, 37; Indians make canoes at, 37, 38.

- Tatmagouche Harbor, Nova Scotia, Donahew's engagement in, xiv, xxvii, 29, n, 41-46, 174.
- Taylor, John, bearer of flag of truce to Canada, 96, n.

Temiscouata. See Lake Temiscouata.

Temple, Robert, 151, n.

Tertola, sloop, George Morris, master, captured by schooner L'Aimable Marthe, Capt. Simonin, commander, 132, 132, n; prisoners transported to Martinico on board, 132. Three Rivers. See Trois Rivières. Ticonderoga, 35, n; 96, n. Tobin, John, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152. Tobique River, 67, n. Togmiguish. See Tatmagouche. Toledo River, described, 69, n; carrying place between, and Trois Pistoles, 70, n. Tonnancourt, M. de, a priest, 112; 112, n. Topliff, Dr. A. P., 170. Trial, schooner, Joseph Denen,

master, captured by French, 118, 118, n.

Trois Pistoles, the, river in New Brunswick, 71; 73; 75; 75, n; called also Spey River, 50, n; carrying place between, and Toledo River, 70, n; described, 71, n; falls in, 74.

Trois Pistoles, seigniory of, 71, n.

Trois Pistoles, village, 71, n.

Trois Rivières, 112, n; 145. Truro, Nova Scotia, site of Co-

bequid parish, 33, n.

Tuladi River. See Toledo River. Two-heads I., in St. Lawrence River, 75, n.

Upper Ashuelot, now Keene, N. H., 96, n.

Utrecht, treaty of, xxi, xxii, 10, n.

Vader, Christian. See Vedder. Van Antwerpen, Rebecca. See Fort, Rebecca.

Vanderverick, Geret, captured at Albany, dies in captivity at Quebec, 105, 105, n, 165; his parents and sister in prison at Quebec, 105.

Vanderveriske, Gratis. See Vanderverick, Geret.

Vaudreuil, Chevalier de. See Rigaud de Vaudreuil.

Vaughan, Samuel, captured by Indians on St. John's Island, 93, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 118, 118, n, 166.

Vaughan, William, colonel, xxxii; 121, n; his share in siege of Louisburg, xxix; takes Grand or Royal Battery, xxxii; dies, xxxii.

Vedder, Christian, dies in captivity at Quebec, 130, 130, n, 166.

Vera Cruz, 127, n.

Vernon, Vermont, site of Bridgman's Fort, 92, n.

Vigilant, man-of-war, captured off Cape Breton, xxxiv, 143, 143, n.

22 I

Vila Noel, inhabitants at, 32, n.

Village Robere, inhabitants at, 32, n.

Ville Burke, inhabitants at, 33, n.

Ville Condé, inhabitants at, 33, n.

Ville Jean Burke, inhabitants at, 33, n.

Ville Jean Domet (Doucet ?), inhabitants at, 33, n.

Ville, Michael Oquin, inhabitants at, 33, n.

Ville Perce Burke, inhabitants at, 33, n.

Vincent, head captain among Hurons, 19; 62; 79; shelters prisoners under his care, 25, 26; converses with Pote, 26.

Wainwright, George. See Winwright.

Wanton, Colonel, his regiment raised in New England for West Indies, 176.

Warren, Sir Peter, rear-admiral, 119, n; 174; his fleet captures Vigilant, xxxiv; promoted, xxxv; to sail from England with fleet against Canada, 119; at capture of Louisburg, xxxiv; captures French man-of-war Le Mars, 143.

Washedamoak River, 53, n. Wear, Joseph, mate of schooner Montague, 4, n; 30; captured with Pote, 3-5; his wages, 3, n; redeemed from captivity, 5, n; Pote's partner in chains, 8; his liberty purchased by neutral French, 30.

Welch, Benjamin, 172.

Wendall, John, 172.

Wentworth, Benning, governor of New Hampshire, petition to, 88, n.

Wentworth, John, killed by Indians at Rochester, N. H., 93, n. Westborough, Mass., 98, n; 111,

n; 148, n.

- West Indies, 98, n; 99; 132; 138; ships from Quebec sail for, 100; fleet under Marquis de la Jonquière designed for, 120; ships destined for, 142; troops raised in New England for, 176.
- Wheeler, Everett Pepperrell, his address at Louisburg Memorial celebration, xviii.
- Whitefield, Rev. George, his influence upon Pepperrell and Louisburg expedition, xxx.
- Wigudi River, 50, n. See St. Johns.
- Williams, Robert, Englishman in captivity at Quebec, ill, 128; dies in Quebec, 134, 166.
- Williamson, Jonathan, captain, 119, n; captured at Wiscasset, imprisoned at Quebec, 118;

sketch of, 118, n; situation of Woodwell, Mary, wife of David affairs explained by, 118-122; his account of massacre at Minas, 121, 122; his account confirmed, 132.

Wilson, Robert, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152. Windham, 89, n.

Winniett (Winnit), William, French neutral, 10; 11; interpreter to Marin, 7; another of same name, 7, n; visits Pote, 8; his second visit to Pote, 12; his deception, 13.

Winniett family, 7, n.

- Winwright, George, prisoner at Quebec, deserts to French, 152.
- Wiscasset, Lincoln Co., Maine, 118, n.

Woods, Michael. See Dugan. Woodwell, Benjamin, 90, n; 107, n.

Woodwell, David, captured at New Hopkinton, imprisoned at Quebec, 89, 89, n, 90, n; his wife dies, 107, 107, n; endeavor to recover his daughter from Indians, 128, 129.

Woodwell, 90, n; dies in captivity at Quebec, 107, 107, n, 165.

- Woodwell, Mary, daughter of David Woodwell, 107, n; sketch of, 90, n; married to Jesse Corbett, 90, n; married again, to Jeremiah Fowler, 90, n; captive among Indians, 107; her father endeavors to speak with her, 128; and seeks to recover her, 128, 129.
- Woodwell, Thomas, 90, n; 107, n.
- Woodwell, William. See Woodwell, David.
- Woodwell family, 89; 90, n; 107; 107, n.

Wyer. See Wear.

Yale College, 131, n.

Yendat tribe. See Hurons. York Co., in province of Massa-

- chusetts Bay, now in Maine, 104; deeds relating to, 171.
- Young, Jonathan, of schooner Seaflower, 8, n; in prison at Quebec, 80.