GOD’S GUYS AT WORK ON THE RIVER:
MORE THAN A CENTURY OF SERVICE ON THE KENNEBEC

There were four of them: two French, and two English.

Two were black-robed Jesuits. One was a Bay Colony Puritan, the other an Anglican priest. Two of them were Harvard graduates. One refused to read the Declaration of Independence in his church and was forced by mob violence to emigrate to Nova Scotia. One sought to create a linkage between English Puritan Boston and French Catholic Quebec in an alliance against the Iroquois. One led his mission natives unsuccessfully drive the English from the land and was murdered by a military venture sent out specifically to do away with him. Another’s sudden cure from blindness convinced his flock he was a miraculous being. One was a Latin scholar, another a gardener, poet and satiric playwright. All loved God

Over a period of a hundred and thirty-three years along the Kennebec these four men of God from three different faiths ministered to their flocks – native and settler, French and English. Though their lives we gain an insight into mid-coast Maine’s most perilous era. Their labors reflect the hardscrabble life of sixteenth and seventeenth century life in this Kennebec Valley.

Meet Gabriel Druillettes, Sebastien Rale, Joseph Baxter and Jacob Bailey. Their words and deeds are this week’s activity. Try to sense their world and the basis for their attitudes. Bring your thoughts, questions and responses to our discussion.

Details are always important, but what’s important at the start is to get a feel for these people as they respond to challenges in their lives.
A HEADS UP ABOUT THE FOUR:

Gabriel Druilettes -1646-1652: French Jesuit, responded to a call by the Kennebec Abenaki for a missionary. He learned the language in three months and gained the affection of the people through his preaching and amazing cures (his own blindness included). In 1650 he was the Quebec governor’s ambassadors attempt to create an alliance with New England against the Iroquois. (from The Jesuit Relations)

Sebastian Rale – 1694-1724: French Jesuit, began his missionary work on the Kennebec in 1694. He was beloved by his flock at Norridgewock and sometimes accompanied his local warriors on war parties. Active and influential in leading them in their resistance to English efforts to settle the upper Kennebec Valley. A scholar, he compiled a 500 page dictionary of the Abenaki language. In 1724 was killed in an attack on his village specifically arranged to target him. (from The Jesuit Relations)

Joseph Baxter – 1717-1718: A minister from the Boston area, was chosen by the Colony’s Governor to be missionary to the Kennebec Indians and attended the important 1717 Arrowsic conference between natives and the English. (from A Journal of Several Visits to the Indians on the Kennebec)

Jacob Bailey – 1760-1779: He left the Puritan church and went to London to be ordained an Anglican missionary. He served in the Dresden/Richmond area. Refusing to read the Declaration of Independence from his pulpit, some of his parishioners and neighbors subjected him to mob retaliation and he was forced to flee to Nova Scotia.

THEIR WORDS

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Father Gabriel Druillettes to John Winthrop, Esquire

While on the Kennebec, Druilette had visited Fort Western at Cushnoc (Augusta) and met John Winthrop, heading up that trading post. The Jesuit and the Puritan hit it off and become close friends. This letter was written after Druilette’s trip to Boston.

To the Most Illustrious Seigneur John Wintrop, Esquire. At Pequott River.
Distinguished and most honorable Sir,
As in consequence of the deep snows of winter I was debarred from the pleasure of seeing you, and from communicating to you orally and at length the great hopes reposed in your singular kindness by the Most Illustrious Governor of new France in Canada, at Kebec,—who appointed me his Envoy to all [6] the magistrates of your new England,—I now approach you by letter in order to beseech and implore you—by that Spirit of exceeding benevolence toward all, but especially toward our new France, which Sieur Wintrop, whose memory is both happy and grateful to all, bequeathed to you, the heir to all that he possessed—not to refuse your Protection to the cause that has brought me to these shores. That cause is the same as that which your Father of most grateful memory—by the letters which he sent, in the name of your (:Commonwealth, to Monsieur our Governor in new France, at Kebec—took up as far back as the year 1647, and which he would long since have brought to a happy conclusion had not death prevented him, as I have learned from many responsible persons. This, [7] I believe, was wrought by God most good and great, with the design of making us indebted to you for the happy [page 75] issue of that cause, the beginning and origin whereof we owed to your most honorable Father. After having orally explained the whole matter to the Governors of Boston and Plymoutth, I desired with all my heart to travel to the country wherein you now reside; and it was not so much the troublesome snows that prevented me, as the authority of several persons of importances—to whom I owe deference, and who dissuaded me therefrom,—which recalled me from Plymoutth to Boston. So great was the hope held forth to me by your kindness toward Strangers, however Barbarian they may be, that to me—who have lived for the past nine years among Barbarians, whom it has been my duty to instruct in their forests, far from the sight of Europeans—[8] it seemed that you would have nothing to dread from my barbarism. Nay, more, I saw nothing that I might not hope for from your well-known kindness and your unusually Compassionate and Conscientious feelings toward the Savages who are Catechumens of the Christian Faith and Profession. These are, in truth, beyond all other mortals, that Hundredth Sheep Straying and forsaken in the Desert, which alone the Lord Jesus Christ,—Luke, 15th,—after having left the ninety and nine others, anxiously seeks and, having found it, joyfully places on his shoulders. That is to say, he who burns with the most ardent zeal toward the same Lord Jesus Christ must likewise embrace, with the most tender affection of his heart, that hundredth sheep in which alone that best of Shepherds, the
Lord Jesus, seems to place his whole delight. Now this most tender [9] affection of your heart toward your delight, because it is that of Christ our Lord,—I mean toward the Barbarian Catechumens,—easily leads me to believe that the testimony shown by this [page 77] letter of my gratitude and of my confidence in you, however small it may be, will not be displeasing in your sight. Wherefore suffer that I implore by letter your Protection—in which, after God, I consider that nearly all my hopes rest—in favor of the cause of the Lord
Jesus Christ,—in other words, of the defense of the Christians against the Moaghs. These not only have long harassed the Christian Canadians near Kebec, and most cruelly torture them by slow fire, out of hatred of the Christian Faith, but they even intend by a general massacre to destroy my Akenebek Catechumens dwelling on the banks of the Kennebec River, [10] because they have been for many years allied to the Canadian Christians. It is chiefly for this reason that our Most Illustrious Governor of Kebec commanded me to offer you in his name the most ample Commercial advantages, and considerable compensation for the expenses of the war, in order to obtain from new England some Auxiliary troops for the defense of the Christian Canadians (which he has already begun against the Moaghs), and which through his affection for the Christian Savages he wishes to promote, at the same time and by the same undertaking, in favor of the Akenebek Catechumens, their allies, who are Inhabitants of New England and the special clients of Plymough Colony.

He therefore hopes that, in the same manner as your Colony of Kenetigouk [11] subdued the ferocity of the naraganses, in favor of its dependents who live on the Pecot River,—that is to say, the Mobjighens,—so likewise the Colony of Plymough will undertake to wage war, with the consent of the Assembly called that of the Commissioners, against the Moaghs,—the most cruel enemies of their Akenebek dependents, as well as of their alliesnamely, the Canadian Christians near Kebec.

This twofold Commission of mine,—to wit, in the name of Monsieur the Governor of New France, at Kebec; and separately in the name of the Savages, both the Christians and the Akenebek Catechumens,—after having been summarized, and translated into the English Tongue from my barbarous Latinity, [12] will be joined to my present letter, I think, by a man who is an excellent friend of mine, and to whom, with that object, I gave a copy to be sent to you. For this reason, I add nothing further; but I implore you to display your kindness toward the Barbarians, and your signal Compassion toward the Poor of the Lord Jesus; not to disdain, in your General Assembly,—which, I hear, is usually held in the month of June in Hartford,—to expose the whole matter at length; to urge it upon your Magistrates; and, finally, to recommend a favorable settlement of the whole affair to the two personages who are called the commissioners of your Colony, when they go to the place where the Assembly of the Commissioners is to be held. Meanwhile,—wheresoever on earth I may be detained by the Lord Jesus, who has called me to devote my life and death [13] to labors among the barbarians, who need instruction,—I shall live and die the most devoted servant, in the Lord Jesus, of your entire Family, and, above all,

Distinguished Sir,

Of yourself,—in the Lord Jesus, for whom, because it is for his brethren, the Christian Barbarians, I execute this Commission.
DRUILETTE’S DIPLOMATIC VISIT TO BOSTON: AN EFFORT TO LINK PURITANS AND FRENCH AGAINST THE IROQUOIS

In 1650, Plymouth Colony and Governor William Bradford received a visit from a French Jesuit, Father Gabriel Druillettes. Druillettes was a missionary among the Abenakis along the Kennebec River. He was sent by the Governor of Canada (then a French territory) to ask the New England colonies for their assistance in subduing the hostile Iroquois. Druillettes' description of his visit to the New England colonies, Narre du Voyage..., is included in Volume 36 of the "Jesuit Relations" (La Mission des Jesuites chez les Hurons: 1634-1650). Druillettes was kindly received in Boston and Plymouth but his mission was ultimately unsuccessful.

Druillettes' narration of his visit to Plymouth tells how his courteous reception extended as far as a dinner of fish on Friday. This was in deference to Druillettes' Catholicism, even though days of abstinence were a custom abhorred by English Puritans.

I left Boston on the twenty-first of that month, December [1650], for Plimouth, where I arrived on the morrow, with my [----] who lodged me with one of the five farmers of Koussinoc [Cushnoc], named padis [William Paddy]. The governor of the place, named Jehan Brentford [William Bradford], received me with courtesy, and appointed me an audience the next day; and he invited me to a dinner of fish, which he prepared on my account, knowing that it was Friday. I found considerable favor in this settlement, for the farmers -- and among other the captain, Thomas Willets -- spoke to the governor in advocacy of my negotiation.

A more complete version of Druillettes' interactions with Bradford and other New England notables, from The Narrative of the Journey made in behalf of the Mission of the Abnaquiois, and of information obtained in New England, by Gabriel Druillette of the Society of Jesus, 1651:

"I arrived on Michaelmas eve at this highest settlement of the English—which, alike by the English and Savages, is called Coussinoc [Cucshnoc] … The Agent, named John Winslau [John Winslow], a merchant and a citizen of the Plimouth colony, who has a very kindly disposition, as we shall relate hereinafter, answered… "I will lodge him at my house, and will treat him as my own brother; for I know very well the good that he does among you, and the life which he there leads." This he said because he has a special zeal for the Conversion of the Savages, as also has his brother Edward Winslow,—agent for this New England before the parliament of old England…

"I left Coussinoc by land, with that agent, since the frigate which was to convey us had had some occasion to delay… Contrary winds prevented us from reaching Kepane [Cape Ann], which forms the Cape of the great bay of Boston, until the fifth of December; for the same reason we were compelled to go partly by land and partly by boat, in order to cross over the great bay to Charleston; we there crossed the river which separates it from Boston, where we arrived on the eighth. The principal men of Charleston, knowing that I came on behalf of the Sieur governor, went ahead to give notice to
Major-General Gebin [Edward Gibbon], so that he might be present at my entrance into his abodes… he also gave me a key to an apartment in his house, where I could with complete liberty offer my prayer, and perform my religious exercises; and begged me to take no other lodgings while I should sojourn at Boston… On the thirteenth, the Sieur Governor of Boston and the Magistrates invited me to dine, and, at the close, gave me audience. Besides the Magistrates and the Secretary, there was present a man deputed by the people, whom they call a "representative" …

"In regard to the character which I assumed of ambassador for my Catechumens of the Kenebec, they told me that Boston took no interest therein, and that I must address myself to Plimouth. I left Boston on the twenty-first of that month, December, for Plimouth, where I arrived on the morrow, with my [blank space] who lodged me with one of the five farmers of Koussinoc, named padis [William Paddy]. The governor of the place, named Jehan Brentford [William Bradford], received me with courtesy, and appointed me an audience for the next day; and he invited me to a dinner of fish, which he prepared on my account, knowing that it was Friday. I found considerable favor in this settlement, for the farmers—and among others the captain, Thomas Willets [Thomas Willett] —spoke to the governor in advocacy of my negotiation…

"I left on the twenty-fourth, and returned to Boston by land, in company with the son and the nephew of my [blank space], who paid for me during the journey. I arrived at Rosqbray [Roxbury], where the minister, named Master heliot [John Eliot], who was teaching some savages, received me at his house, because night was overtaking me; he treated me with respect and kindness, and begged me to spend the winter with him…

"On the last of the said month, I returned to Rosquebray to ask permission from Sieur Dudley, the Governor, that safe-conduct might be inserted in the letter for the passage of the French who might wish to go through Boston against the Iroquois; and, grasping my hand, he said to me: " Assure Monsieur your governor that we wish to be his good friends and servants, whatever war there may be between the crowns. I am very glad that the governor of Plimout is willing to further the assistance that you desire against the Iroquois: I will aid him with all my power."…

"I went to Salem, to converse with Sieur Indicot [John Endicott], who speaks and understands French well; he is a good friend to our nation, and desirous that his children should continue in this friendship. Seeing that I had no money, he paid my expenses, and had me eat with the Magistrates, who during eight days gave audience to every one. I left with him, in the form of a letter, a power of attorney which he asked front me, in order to act efficiently during the general Court of Boston, which was to be held on the thirteenth of May. He assured me that he would do his utmost to obtain consent from the colony of Boston, which served as a standard for the others,—telling me that the governor of Plimout had good reason for seeking to obtain that from the colonies…

"On the eighth of February, I depart for the river of Kenebec, where I continue my interrupted mission. All the English who are on this river received me with many demonstrations of friendship. On the thirteenth of April, Monsieur John Winslau my true [blank space], arrived from Plimout and Boston at Koussinoc. He assures me that all the Magistrates and the two Commissioners of Plimout have given their word, and resolved that the other colonies should be urged to join them against the Iroquois in favor of the Abnaquiois, who are under the protection of this colony of Pleymout,—which has the proprietorship of Koussinoc, and for its rights of lordship takes the sixth part of what accrues from the trade. He said, moreover, that Monsieur Brentford, the governor,—who is one of the five merchants, or farmers, who furnish everything necessary for the trade,—had already despatched, by
the twentieth of March, Captain Master Thomas Wilhet,—who is greatly attached to the Abnaquiois, with whom he has been acquainted at Koussinoc for several years,—with letters presented in behalf of aid against the Iroquois. He carries these to the governors of Harfort [Hartford], or Kenetigout [Connecticut], which is on the river of the Sokouckiois, fifty leagues from Pleymout; and of Nieuffhaven [New Haven] …

"I think, that we have fairly good prospects of this aid by means of the English, because we have a moral certainty that, of four colonies, three are for consenting... The governor of Pleymout, with all his magistrates, not only consents, but urges this affair in favor of the Abnaquiois, who are under the protection of the Plymouth Colony. The whole Colony has a very considerable interest therein, because by the right of Proprietorship it takes, each year, the sixth part of all that accrues from the trade on this river of Quinebec. And, in particular, the governor himself, with four others of the most important citizens,—who are, as it were, farmers of this trade,—would lose much, by losing all prospect of the trade of Kennebec and of Kebec, by means of the Abnaquiois,—which will soon inevitably happen if the Iroquois continues to kill it, and to hunt to death those Abnaquiois, as he has been doing for some years… As to what this governor has answered and has done, add that every one affirms that this governor's authority is all-powerful… Boston and Pleymout, which are the two most important colonies, and a sort of standard for the others, urge him on. Besides all that, I have written, with Monsieur John Winslau, to Monsieur Edward Winslau,—the agent in England for the affair of these four Colonies,—in order that he write a word in favor of the Christians and the Savage Catechumens, whom he tenderly loves. A word from him is all-powerful upon the mind of the deputies of these four Colonies."

Father Druillettes’ hopes were not, however, realized. When his petitions and letters were presented to the United Colonies of New England, the alliance was rejected. *The Records of Plymouth Colony, Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies (PCR, Vol. 110, p. 199-203)* report:

"Monsieur Dalliboust Gounr of New France sent Mr. Gabriell Derwellets as his agent about october i650 to treat with the Massachusetts and Plym: Collonies about a league offensive and deffencive but being enformed that the 4 English Collonies are confederate and that all treaties and leagues concerning warr or peace with others naighboring nations or Collonies are now Referred to the Consideracon and conclusion of ye Commissioners who meet yearely in September and the next yeare in course in New haven, hee then Returned …"

The case was presented for an alliance for the purpose of action against the Mohawks and, secondarily, for purposes of trade.

The Commissioners returned this answer: "We give due Credite to yourer Deputies and can conceive you may have Just grounds for a warr but wee have yet noe cause of Just quarrell with the Mohaukes nor is it safe for us to engage in a controversy which wee neither doe nor have means satisfyingly to understand, the Mohaukes neither being in subjection to nor in any Confederacon with us.”
Letter of Sebastian Rale –
Misionary of the Society of Jesus in new France,
to Monsieur his nephew. 8-17-1714

NANRANTSOUAK¹,  
October 15, 1722.

ONSIEUR MY DEAR NEPHEW, 

The peace of Our Lord. 

During the more than thirty years that I have spent in the midst of forests with the Savages, I have been so occupied in instructing them and training them in Christian virtues that I have scarcely had leisure to write frequent letters, even to the persons who are dearest to me. Nevertheless, I cannot refuse you the little account that you ask of my occupations. I owe it in gratitude for the friendship which makes you so much interested in what concerns me.

I am in a district of this vast extent of territory which lies between Acadia and new England. Two other Missionaries are, like myself, busy among the Abnakis Savages; but we are far distant from one another. The Abnakis Savages, besides the two Villages which they have in the midst of the French Colony, have also three other important ones, each situated on the bank of a river. These three rivers empty into the sea to the South of Canada, between new England and Acadia.

The Village in which I dwell is called Nanrantsouak; [Page 85] it is situated on the bank of a river, which empties into the sea thirty leagues below. I have built here a Church which is commodious and well adorned. I thought it my duty to spare nothing, either for its decoration or for the beauty of the vestments that are used in our holy Ceremonies; altar-cloths, chasubles, copes, sacred vessels, everything is suitable, and would be esteemed in the Churches of Europe. I have trained a minor Clergy of about forty young Savages, who, in cassocks and surplices, assist at divine Service; each one has his duty, not only in serving at the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, but in chanting the divine Office at the Benediction of the blessed Sacrament, and in the Processions — which are made with a great concourse of Savages, who often come from a great distance in order to be present at them. You would be edified with the good order which they observe, and with the reverence which they show.

Two Chapels have been built, about three hundred steps from the Village: one, which is dedicated to the most blessed Virgin, and in which her statue in relief is seen, stands at the head of the river; the other, which is dedicated to the Guardian Angel, is below, on the same river. As they both are on the path that leads either to the woods or to the fields, the Savages never pass them without offering prayers therein. There is a holy emulation among the women of the Village regarding the best decoration of the Chapel, of which they have care, when the Procession is to

¹ Norridgewock
enter it; all that they have in the way of trinkets, pieces of silk or chintz, and other things of that sort — all are used for adornment.

The many lights contribute not a little to the decoration of the Church and Chapels; I have no need to economize in wax, for this country furnishes me with abundance. The islands of the sea are bordered with wild laurel, which in autumn bears berries closely resembling those of the juniper-tree. Large kettles are filled with them and they are boiled in water; as the water boils, the green wax rises, and remains on the surface of the water. From a minot of these berries can be obtained nearly four livres of wax; it is very pure and very fine, but is neither soft nor pliable. After a few experiments, I have found that by mixing with it equal quantities of tallow, — either beef, mutton, or elk, — the mixture makes beautiful, solid, and very serviceable candles. From twenty-four livres of wax, and as many of tallow, can be made two hundred tapers more than a royal foot in length. Abundance of these laurels are found on the Islands, and on the shore of the sea; one person alone could easily gather four minots of berries daily. The berries hang in clusters from the branches of the shrub. I sent a branch of them to Quebec, with a cake of wax, and it was pronounced excellent.[19]

None of my Neophytes fail to come twice every day to Church, — in the early morning to hear Mass, and in the evening to be present at the prayer which I offer at sunset. As it is necessary to fix the thoughts of the Savages, which wander only too easily, I have composed some prayers, suited to make them enter into the spirit of the august Sacrifice of our Altars; they chant these — or, rather, they recite them aloud — during Mass. Besides the sermons that I preach to them on Sundays and On Feast-days, I seldom pass over a Working-day [Page 89] without making them a short exhortation, in order to inspire them with horror for the vices to which they have most inclination, or to strengthen them in the practice of some virtue.

After Mass, I Catechize the children and the young people; a great number of older persons are present, and answer with docility to the questions which I ask them. The remainder of the morning, until noon, is devoted to all those who have anything to tell me. At that time they come in crowds, to reveal to me their griefs and anxieties, or to tell me the causes of complaint which they have against their tribesmen, or to consult me about their marriages or their other private affairs. I must instruct some, and console others; reëstablish peace in disunited families, and calm troubled consciences; and correct a few others with reprimands, mingled with gentleness and charity, — in fine, send them all away content, as far as I can.

In the afternoon, I visit the sick and go to the cabins of those who have need of special instruction. If they are holding a council, which often happens among the Savages, they send one of the chiefs of the meeting, who begs me to be present at their deliberations. I go immediately to the place where the council is in session. If I think that they are taking a wise course, I approve it; if, on the contrary, I find anything amiss in their decision, I declare my own opinion, which I support with a few sound reasons and they conform to it. My advice always determines their decisions. I am invited even to their feasts. Each guest brings a dish of wood or of bark; I bless the food; then the prepared portion is placed upon each dish.
distribution [Page 91] having been made, I say grace, and each one withdraws, for such is the order and the custom of their feasts.

In the midst of these continual occupations you can hardly believe with what rapidity the days pass away. There has been a time when I scarcely had leisure to recite my Office, or to take a little rest during the night, for discretion is not a virtue of the Savages. But for some years past I have made it a rule not to speak with any one from the hour of evening prayer until after Mass the next day; and I have forbidden them to interrupt me during that time, unless it were for some important reason — as, for instance, to aid a dying person, or for some other matter that could not be delayed. I use that time for attending to prayer, and resting from the labors of the day.

When the Savages go to the sea to spend some months hunting ducks, bustards, and other birds that are found there in great numbers, they build on some island a Church which they cover with bark, near which they set up a little cabin for my dwelling. I take care to transport thither a part of the ornaments; and the service is performed there with the same propriety and the same throng of people as in the Village.

You see, my dear nephew, what my occupations are. As for what concerns me personally, I assure you that I see, that I hear, that I speak, only as a savage. My food is simple and light; I never could relish the meat and smoked fish of the Savages; my only nourishment is pounded Indian corn, of which I make every day a sort of broth; that I cook in water. The only improvement that I can supply [Page 93] for it is, to mix with it a little sugar, to relieve its insipidity. There is no lack of sugar in these forests. In the spring the maple-trees contain a fluid somewhat resembling that which the canes of the islands contain. The women busy themselves in receiving it in vessels of bark, when it trickles from these trees; they boil it, and obtain from it a fairly good sugar. The first which is obtained is always the best.

The whole Abnakis Nation is Christian and is very zealous in preserving its Religion. This attachment to the Catholic Faith has made it thus far prefer an alliance with us to the advantages that it would have obtained from an alliance with its English neighbors. These advantages are very attractive to our Savages; the readiness with which they can engage in trade with the English, from whom they are distant only two or three days’ journey, the convenience of the route, the great bargains they find in the purchase of goods which suit them, — nothing would be more likely to attract them. Whereas in going to Quebec they must travel more than fifteen days to reach it; they must be supplied with provisions for the journey; there are several rivers to cross and frequent portages to make. They feel these inconveniences, and they are not indifferent to their own interests; but their faith is infinitely dearer to them, and they believe that if they were to break off their connection with us they would very soon be without a Missionary, without Sacraments, without the Sacrifice, almost without any service of Religion, and in manifest danger of being plunged back into their former unbelief. This is the bond which unites them to the French. There have been vain endeavors [Page 95] to break this bond — both by snares that have been laid for their simplicity, and by
violence, which could not fail to irritate a Tribe so infinitely jealous as is this of its rights and its liberty. These beginnings of misunderstanding continue to alarm me, and make me fear the dispersion of the flock which Providence has confided to my care for so many years, and for which I would willingly sacrifice all that remains to me of life. See the various artifices to which the English have resorted to detach them from the alliance with us.

Some years ago, the Governor-general of new England sent to the foot of our river the most able man among the Ministers of Boston², that he might open a School there, instruct the children of the Savages, and maintain them at the expense of the Government. As the salary of the Minister was to increase in proportion to the number of his pupils, he neglected nothing to attract them; he went to seek the children, he flattered them, he made them little presents, he urged them to come to see him; in short, he worked for two months with much useless activity, without being able to win a single child. The disdain with which his attentions and his invitations were treated did not discourage him. He spoke to the Savages themselves; he put to them various questions touching their faith; and then, from the answers that were made to him, he turned into derision the Sacraments, Purgatory, the invocation of the Saints, the beads, the crosses, the images, the lights of our Churches, and all the pious customs that are so sacredly observed in the catholic Religion.

I thought it my duty to oppose these first attempts to mislead; I wrote a civil letter to the Minister, in [Page 97] which I told him that my Christians knew how to believe the truths which the catholic Faith teaches, but that they did not know how to discuss them; that as they were not sufficiently learned to solve the difficulties which he had proposed he had evidently intended that they should be communicated to me; that I seized with pleasure this opportunity that he had offered me, to confer with him either by word of mouth, or by letter; that I thereupon sent him a Memoir and besought him to read it with serious attention. In this Memoir, which was of about a hundred pages, I proved by scripture, by tradition, and by theological arguments the truths which he had attacked by such stale jests. I added, in closing my letter, that if he were not satisfied with my proofs, I would expect from him a precise refutation, supported by theological proofs, and not by vague arguments which prove nothing, — still less by injurious reflections, which befitted neither our profession nor the importance of the subject in question.

Two days after receiving my letter, he set out to return to Boston; he sent me a short answer, which I was obliged to read several times in order to comprehend its meaning, so obscure was its style and so extraordinary its Latin. However, by dint of reflection, I understood that he complained that I had attacked him without reason; that zeal for the salvation of souls had led him to teach the Savages the way to Heaven; and that, for the rest, my proofs were absurd and childish. Having sent to him in Boston a second letter, in which I pointed out the defects of his own, he answered me at the end of two years, without even entering upon the subject; and said that I had a peevish and fault-finding spirit [Page 99] which was the sign

² Rev. Joseph Baxter
of a temperament inclined to anger. Thus was finished our dispute, which drove away the Minister, and brought to naught the scheme that he had formed to mislead my Neophytes. [21]

This first attempt having had so little success, resort was had to another artifice. An Englishman asked permission of the Savages to build by their river a sort of warehouse, for the purpose of trading with them; and he promised to sell his goods much cheaper than they could buy them even in Boston. The Savages, who found this to their advantage, and who would be saved the trouble of a journey to Boston, gladly consented. Shortly after, another Englishman asked the same permission, offering still more advantageous conditions than the first. To him likewise permission was granted. This accommodating spirit of the Savages emboldened the English to settle all along the river without asking consent; they built houses and erected forts, three of which were of stone.

This proximity of the English at first somewhat pleased the Savages who did not perceive the trap that was set for them, and who were thinking only of the satisfaction they had in finding at the stores of the new settlers all that they could desire. But at last — seeing themselves gradually, as it were, surrounded by English settlements — they began to open their eyes, and to become suspicious. They asked the English by what right they had thus settled in their territory, and had even constructed forts therein. The answer that was given them — to wit, that the King of France had ceded their country to the King of England — threw them into the greatest alarm; for there is not one savage Tribe [Page 101] that will patiently endure to be regarded as under subjection to any Power whatsoever; it will perhaps call itself an ally, but nothing more. Therefore the Savages immediately sent a few of their number to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-general of new France, to inquire if it were true that the King really had thus disposed of a country of which he was not master. It was not difficult to quiet their uneasiness; all that was done was to explain to them those articles in the treaty of Utrecht which concerned the Savages, and they appeared content. [22]

At about that time, a score or so of Savages entered one of the English dwellings, either to trade, or to rest themselves. They had been there only a short time when they saw the house suddenly invested by a force of nearly 200 armed men. We are dead men, cried one of the Savages, let us sell our lives dearly. They were already preparing to rush upon this force when the English, perceiving their intention, and knowing also of what a Savage is capable in his first outbursts of fury, endeavored to appease them. They assured them that they had no evil design, and that they only came to invite a few of them to repair to Boston, for the purpose of conferring with the Governor about methods of maintaining the peace, and the good understanding that ought to exist between the two Nations. The Savages, a little too credulous, appointed four of their tribesmen who went to Boston; but, when they arrived there, the conference with which they had been beguiled ended by their being made prisoners.

You will, without doubt, be surprised that such a little handful of Savages should have presumed to [Page 103] cope with so numerous a force as that of the English. But our Savages have performed numberless acts that are much more
daring. I will relate to you only a single one, which will enable you to judge of the others.

During the late wars, a party of thirty Savages were returning from a military expedition against the English. As the Savages, and especially the Abnakis, know not how to guard themselves against surprises, they had gone to sleep in their first resting-place without even a thought of posting a sentinel for the night. A body of 600 English, commanded by a Colonel, pursued them as far as their cabbage; and, finding them plunged in sleep, he ordered his troops to surround them, fully expecting that not one of them would escape. One of the Savages, having awakened and perceiving the English troops, immediately informed his tribesmen—crying out, according to their custom: We are dead men, let us sell our lives dearly. Their decision was very soon made; they instantly formed six platoons of five men each; then, with a hatchet in one hand, and a knife in the other, they rushed upon the English with so much impetuosity and fury that, after having killed more than sixty men, among which number was the Colonel, they put the remainder to flight.

The Abnakis had no sooner learned in what manner their tribesmen were treated in Boston, than they bitterly complained that, in the midst of the peace which was then reigning, the rights of men should be thus violated. The English answered that they were holding the prisoners only as hostages for the injury that had been done them in killing some cattle that belonged to them; that, as soon as the Savages should have made reparation for this loss—which amounted to two hundred livres of beaver—the prisoners should be released. Although the Abnakis did not acknowledge this pretended injury, they nevertheless paid the two hundred livres of beaver—being unwilling that for such a trifling thing any one could reproach them with having abandoned their brothers. Notwithstanding the payment of the contested debt, liberty was, however, refused to the prisoners.

The Governor of Boston, fearing that this refusal might force the Savages to take violent measures, proposed to treat this affair amicably in a conference, and the day and place for holding it were agreed upon. The Savages went to the place with Father Rasles, their Missionary; Father de la Chasse, Superior-general of these Missions, who was at that time making his visitation, was also there; but Monsieur the Governor did not appear. The Savages foreboded evil from his absence. They resolved to let him know their opinions by a letter written in the savage tongue, in English, and in Latin; and Father de la Chasse, who was master of these three languages, was charged with writing it. It seemed needless to use any other language than the English tongue; but the Father was very glad that, on the one hand, the Savages should know for themselves that the letter contained only what they had dictated; and that, on the other, the Englishmen could not doubt that the English translation was faithful. The purport of this letter was: 1st, that the Savages could not understand why their tribesmen had been retained in captivity, after the promise that had been made to surrender them as soon as the two hundred livres of beaver should be paid; and, that they were not less surprised to see how their Country had been seized without their consent; 3rd, that the English were to quit the country as soon as possible, and set the prisoners
at liberty; that they would expect an answer within two months, and that if, after that time, satisfaction were refused them they would know how to obtain justice.

It was in the month of July of the year 1721 that this letter was carried to Boston, by some Englishmen who had been present at the conference. As two months passed by without receiving an answer from Boston, and as, besides, the English had ceased to sell the Abnakis powder, lead, and provisions as they had been doing before this contention, our Savages were disposed to retaliate; all the influence which Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil had over their minds was needed to make them put off for some time longer violent proceedings.

But their patience was exhausted by two acts of hostility committed by the English, about the end of December in the year 1721, and the beginning of the year 1722. The first was the abduction of Monsieur de Saint Casteins. This Officer is a Lieutenant in our army; his mother was an Abnakis, and he has always lived with our Savages, whose esteem and confidence he has deserved to such a degree that they have chosen him for their Commandant-General. In this capacity he could not be exempt from attending the conference of which I have just spoken, in which the question was to settle the interests of the Abnakis, his brothers. The English blamed him for this; they sent a little vessel to the place of his abode. The Captain took care to have his men concealed, with the exception of two or three whom he left upon the deck. He sent to invite Monsieur de Saint Casteins, with whom he was acquainted, to come on board and take some refreshment. Monsieur de Saint Casteins, who had no reason to be suspicious, went there alone and unattended; but hardly had he appeared before they set sail, and carried him to Boston. There he was placed in the prisoner's dock, and was questioned as if a criminal. He was asked among other things, wherefore and in what capacity he had been present at the conference that was held with the Savages; what the regimental coat with which he was clothed signified; and if he had not been sent to that assembly by the Governor of Canada. Monsieur de Saint Casteins answered that he was an Abnakis on the side of his mother, and had spent his life among the Savages; that, his tribesmen having established him as Chief of their Tribe, he was obliged to participate in their meetings, in order to sustain their interests; that it was in this capacity alone that he had been present at the late conference; as for the rest, the coat that he wore was not a regimental coat, as they imagined; that it was, in truth, handsome and very well decorated, but it was not above his condition — even independently of the honor that he had in being an Officer in our army.

When Monsieur our Governor learned of the detention of Monsieur de Saint Casteins, he immediately wrote to the Governor of Boston to make complaint. He received no answer to his letter. But about the time that the English Governor was expecting to receive a second one, he restored [Page 111] liberty to the prisoner, after having kept him confined for five months.[23]

The attempt of the English against myself was the second act of hostility which brought to a climax the excessive irritation of the Abnakis tribe. A Missionary can scarcely fail to be an object of hate to these Gentlemen. Love for the Religion which he endeavors to impress upon the hearts of these Savages holds these Neophytes
firmly in union with us, and separates them from the English. The latter therefore regard me as an invincible obstacle to their plan of spreading themselves over the territory of the *Abnakis*, and of gradually seizing this mainland which is between new England and Acadia. They have often attempted to remove me from my flock and more than once a price has been set on my head. It was about the end of January in the year 1722 when they made a new attempt, which had no other success than to manifest their ill will toward me.

I had remained alone in the village with a small number of old men and feeble folk, while the rest of the Savages were at the hunt. That time appeared favorable to the enemy for surprising me; and, with this in view, they sent out a detachment of two hundred men. Two Young *Abnakis*, who were hunting on the Seashore, heard that the English had entered the river; they immediately turned their steps to that quarter, so as to observe the movements of the English. Having perceived them about ten leagues from the Village, these Savages outran them by crossing the country, that they might inform me, and help the old men, women, and children to retire in haste. I had only [Page 113] time to consume the hosts, to enclose in a small box the sacred vessels, and to escape into the woods. Toward evening, the English reached the Village; and, not having found me there, they came the next day to look for me in the very place of our retreat. They were within only a gunshot when we descried them; all that I could do was to plunge with haste into the forest. But as I had no time to take my snowshoes, and as, besides, I still experienced great weakness caused by a fall,—in which, some years ago, my thigh and my leg were broken,—it was not possible for me to run very far. The only resource that remained to me was to hide behind a tree. They immediately searched the various paths worn by the Savages when they go for wood, and came within eight steps of the tree that was sheltering me, where naturally they must have perceived me, for the trees had shed their leaves; nevertheless, as if they had been driven away by an invisible hand, they suddenly retraced their steps, and again took the way to the Village.

Thus it was by a special protection of God that I escaped from their pursuit. They pillaged my Church and my little house, thereby almost reducing me to a death from starvation in the midst of the woods. It is true that, when my adventure was known in Quebec, provisions were sent to me immediately; but they could not arrive for some time, and during that period I was deprived of all aid, and in extreme need.

These reiterated insults made the Savages feel that there was no answer to be expected, and that it was time to resent violence, and let open force succeed to pacific negotiations. On their return [Page 115] from hunting, after having planted their fields they resolved to destroy the newly-constructed English houses, and drive from among them those restless and formidable settlers who were gradually encroaching on their territory, and were planning to conquer them. They sent to the several Villages of the Savages to interest them in their Muse, and to urge them to lend a hand in this their necessity of righteous defense. The deputation was successful. War was sung among the Hurons of Lorette, and in all the Villages of the *Abnakis* tribe. *Nanrantsouak* was the place appointed for the meeting of the warriors, that they might there together deliberate upon their plan.
In the meantime the Nanrantsouakians descended the river; when they reached its mouth, they seized three or four little English vessels. Then ascending the same river, they pillaged and burned the new houses that the English had built. However, they abstained from all violence toward the inhabitants; they even permitted them to retire to their quarters, — except five, whom they retained as hostages until their tribesmen, who were detained in the prisons of Boston, should be restored. This moderation of the Savages did not have the effect that they hoped; on the contrary, a party of English, having found sixteen Abnakis asleep on an island, fired a volley at them; and five Savages were killed and three wounded.

This is a further indication that war is about to break out between the English and the Savages. The latter expect no aid from the French, on account of the peace which exists between the two Nations; but they have a resource in all the other Savage tribes, who will not fail to enter into their quarrel and to undertake their defense.

My Neophytes moved by the danger to which I am exposed in their Village, often urge me to retire for a little time to Quebec. But what will become of the flock, if it be deprived of its Shepherd? Death alone can separate me from them. They tell me, but to no purpose, that in case I fall into the power of their enemy, the least that can happen to me will be to linger out the rest of my days in wretched imprisonment; I shut their mouths with the words of the Apostle, which divine goodness has deeply impressed upon my heart. I say to them: “Do not be anxious about that which concerns me. I do not fear the threats of those who hate me when I have not deserved their hatred; and I do not consider my life more precious than myself, so that I may finish my course, and the ministry of the word which has been entrusted to me by the Lord Jesus.” Pray to him, my dear nephew, that he may strengthen in me this feeling, which comes only from his mercy, in order that I may live and die working unceasingly for the salvation of these neglected, who were bought with his blood and whom he has deigned to commit to my care.

I am, etc. [Page 119]

Two letters to Father Sébastien Rale, 1721.

I HAVE received, my Reverend Father, the Letter that you did me The honor of writing to me on The 18th of last month. As Monsieur Devaudreuil Was at montreal when the Savages whom you Sent here arrived, I Hired Four of Them to convey to Him The Letter that you had Written. I sent with It one that I had also Written, to communicate to him Reverend Father de la Chasse’s ideas and mine respecting what seemed,. to us Most Advisable to do until The Council of Marine has Explained Whether The king’s
intention

whether he will Content himself with supplying Them with Munitions of War, As the Council wrote that Monsieur De Vaudreuil might do, in the Event of the english sending any Expedition Against Them. I Send you A Copy of my Letter, in order that you may also tell me the views that seem to you the best.

Monsieur De Vaudreuil Came down here with Those Savages, and stopped at St. François and at Becancourt to Invite The Savages of Those Missions to Send Deputies from Their Villages to the conference That is to be Held. He had Intended to write to the english governor; but since his return he has Changed his mind, and has Contented himself with Following the principal articles of the Memorial That you Sent Him — which are, that they are to Remain [Page 55] on their Land, and in the religion which they have embraced; and to have no more divided Opinions among Themselves, but to unite together in Speaking Firmly to The englishman. He has also Considered that it would be more Advisable for Reverend Father de La Chasse to accompany The Savages of St. François and Of Becancourt than Monsieur De Croisil, — a Lieutenant in the Troops, whom he had brought with Him, intending to send Him with Those Savages, because the journey of Reverend Father De la Chasse is of No Consequence as Regards the English. The Treaty of peace does not prevent a Missionary from going to see another in his Mission; while, if a french officer were Sent, they might complain that we were Sending frenchmen Into A country that they claim to Belong to Them, in order to Incite The Savages to War against them. Whereupon we Think it advisable To await orders from The Court regarding Them, in order not to Commit ourselves. But As you cannot abandon Your Mission to come yourself to inform us of all that you think on The Subject, — Which Is rather Difficult To explain at sufficient length in A Letter, — and also to tell us all that you may Know About The Boundaries to be determined, We have Considered Reverend Father Delachasse’s Journey most Advisable under present Circumstances. We send him, that he may thoroughly inform you with reference to The prudence with which we Deem ourselves obliged To act toward The English, so that we may not Commit ourselves; and that he may, on his return, communicate to us All your ideas as to The Dispositions of your Savages, and of Those of the two other Missions. Monsieur de [Page 57] Vaudreuil Read to your Savages and to Those who accompany Them the memorial that he sends you, Containing his words, so that they may no longer Say that They are the Words of Their Missionary. I Think that you will Find that they are in The Sense proposed by you.

I have caused a Blanket, a Shirt, A pair of Mitasses, and some Tobacco, Powder, and Lead to be Given to Each of the Five Savages whom you Sent; and I Think that they return Satisfied, and with Very good intentions.

As you Are Always Too reserved with regard to What concerns yourself, I have Begged Reverend Father DelaChasse, to Ascertain from you, as a good friend, what I could Send you that would be Most agreeable to you, On this point I beg you to make use of me, without any Compliments.
Nothing could be better than All that you Said to your Savages on receiving The News that the english Governor, your Great Enemy, was removed. I Trust that He who shall replace him will be more reasonable, and will Leave you and your Savages in peace. This Is to be desired Until such time as we are fully Informed Whether It Be the king’s intention that we should openly Join the Savages against Them, If they attack Them ill-advisedly, — because meanwhile we could help them only by The Munitions that we would Give Them; and they may Rely upon our not Leaving Them in Want of these. With Reference to Taxou, [10] I Find that you have Great reason to act toward Him As you have done: and you cannot Be Less firm than you have Been, for it Is necessary that no Consideration be shown toward Those who Appear to be more attached to [Page 59] the english than to us. I Remain with All my Heart and with All Possible attachment, my reverend Father, your Very Humble and Very obedient Servant.

Signed: BEGON.

At Quebec, June 14, 1721.

Since my Letter was Written, The Savages of St, François and Becancourt have Asked Monsieur De Vaudreuil that Monsieur Decroisil might go with Them, to Be a Witness of Their good Intentions; he Consented, and that officer has Joined Reverend Father de La Chasse.

[Endorsed: “A true Copy from the Original in the Secretaries Office in Boston

(signed) SAMl SHUTE
attest. J. Willard Secy.”]


“Recd May 15th. } 1722”]

“Read Do. 25th


QUEBEC, September 25, 1721.

I HAVE received, my reverend Father, Your Letters of august 4th, and of the 10th and 14th of This month. I feel great Satisfaction at your having Found means, with The Reverend Father Superior, to reunite All The Savages in One and the same [Page 61] Sentiment, and to Inspire Them with The firmness with which they spoke to The englishman in The interview which they Had with Him. I am also Very well satisfied with the message that they Sent to the Governor of Baston. [11] I am convinced that they cause Him embarrassment, and that he will Avoid, as well as he can, giving an answer to them. But It is for your savages to see What they will have to do ‘ If, after The explanations that they have Given him, he does not
Comply with Their Requests. For my part, I am of opinion that, if they have taken
a sincere resolution not to allow the English on their land, they must not
hesitate to drive them therefrom as soon as possible, by every kind of means,
from the moment the English do not set about withdrawing of their own accord.

Your people must not be afraid of being short of ammunition, for I am sending
them enough, as you may see by the annexed memorandum; and I shall
continue to supply them with it, as well as with the other assistance they may
need,—as I have orders not to allow them to remain in want of, aid, and also to
support them should the English attack them ill-advisedly.

I am quite charmed that Waourene has distinguished himself in that party,
and that he worked as he did in order that the word of the nation should be as it
was told to the Englishman. He will receive for his son tokens of the satisfaction
that I feel for his services, as I send him all that you have asked for him. It is
not the Maluines [people from St. Malo] who are settling the island of St. Jean.
This island, and the Margdelein, and other islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence,
have been conceded by the king to Monsieur the count de St. Pierre,
who is causing a settlement to be made there for the cod, seal, and walrus
Fishery. Thus your Abenakis can expect nothing in that quarter. I shall arrange
with the reverend father superior as to the manner in which I shall receive those
of your villages, who, being attached to the English, have set out to bring you to
Quebec about all saints’ day; but you may rest assured that I shall make the
degraded one feel how much I am displeased at his conduct. I remain most
truly, my reverend father, your very humble and very obedient servant.

Signed: VAUDREUIL.

You may promise a large medal from the reigning King to him who
shall be chosen as chief in place of the degraded one.

[Endorsed: “A true copy from the original in the Secretaries Office in
Boston (signed) SAMLL SHUTE J WILLARD Sec cy March. 6. 1721 [sc. 1722].”]
Letter from Father Sebastien Rasles, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in New France, to Monsieur his Brother.

NARANTSOUAK, this 12th of October, 1723.

ONSIEUR AND VERY DEAR BROTHER,

The peace of Our Lord.

I can no longer refuse the affectionate entreaties which you have made, in all your letters, that I would inform you somewhat in detail of my occupations, and of the character of the Savage Tribes in the midst of which Providence has placed me for so many years. I do it the more gladly because, in complying with such earnest desires on your part, I satisfy even more your affection than your curiosity.

It was the 23rd of July in the year 1689, when I set sail from la Rochelle; and, after a fairly prosperous voyage of three months, I arrived at Quebec on the 13th of October in the same year. I devoted myself at first to learning the language of our Savages. This language is very difficult; for it is not sufficient to study its terms and their signification, and to acquire a supply of words and phrases, — it is further necessary to know the turn and arrangement that the Savages give them, which can hardly ever be caught except by familiar and frequent intercourse with these tribes.

I then went to dwell in a Village of the Abnakis Tribe which is situated in a forest, and only three leagues from Quebec. This village was inhabited by two hundred Savages, nearly all of whom were Christians. Their cabins were ranged almost like houses in cities; an enclosure of high and closely set stakes formed a sort of wall, which protected them from the incursions of their enemies.

Their cabins are very quickly set up; they plant their poles, which are joined at the top, and cover them with large sheets of bark. The fire is made in the middle of the cabin; they spread all around it mats of rushes, upon which they sit during the day and take their rest during the night.

The clothing of the men consists of a loose coat of skin, or perhaps a piece of red or blue cloth. That of the women is a covering which extends from the neck to the middle of the leg, and which they adjust very decently. They put on the head another covering which descends as far as the feet, and serves them as a cloak. Their leggings reach from the knee only to the ankle. Socks made of elk-skin, and lined inside with hair or with wool, take the place of shoes. This foot-gear is absolutely necessary for the purpose of adjusting their snowshoes, by means of which they easily walk on the snow. These snowshoes, made in lozenge shape, are more than two feet long and a foot and a half broad. I did not believe that I could
ever walk with such appliances; but when I made a trial of them, I suddenly found
myself so skillful that the Savages could not believe that that was the first time
when I had used them.

The invention of these snowshoes has been of great use to the Savages, not only
for traveling over [Page 135] the snow, — with which the ground is covered during
a great part of the year, — but also for hunting wild beasts, and especially the elk.
These animals, larger than the largest oxen of France, walk only with difficulty on
the snow; therefore it is easy for the Savages to overtake them, and often with an
ordinary knife fastened to the end of a stick they kill them, and live upon their
flesh. After having dressed the skins, in which the Savages are skillful, they sell
them to the French and the English, — who give them in exchange loose coats,
blankets, large kettles, guns, hatchets, and knives.

To have an idea of a Savage, picture to yourself a tall, strong man, agile, of a
swarthy complexion, without a beard, with black hair, and with teeth whiter than
ivory. If you wish to see him in fine array, you will find his only ornaments to be
what are called “rassades;” these are a sort of shell-work, or sometimes of stone,
fashioned in the form of small beads, some white, some black, — which are strung
in such a way that they represent different and very exact figures, which have their
own charm. It is with these strings of beads that our Savages tie and braid their
hair, above the ears and behind; they make of them earrings, necklaces, garters,
and belts, five or six inches broad; and with this sort of finery they value
themselves much more than does a European with all his gold and precious
stones.

The occupation of the men is hunting or war. That of the women is to remain in
the village, and with bark fashion baskets, pouches, boxes, bowls, dishes, etc.
They sew the bark with roots, and with it make various articles, very neatly
wrought. [Page 137] The canoes are also made of a single sheet of bark, but the
largest can scarcely hold more than six or seven persons.

It is in these canoes made of bark — which has scarcely the thickness of an écu
— that they cross the arms of the sea, and sail on the most dangerous rivers, and
on lakes from four to five hundred leagues in circumference. In this manner I have
made many voyages, without having run any risk. Only it once happened to me, in
crossing the river saint Lawrence, that I suddenly found myself surrounded by
masses of ice of an enormous size; the canoe was cracked by them. The two
Savages who were piloting me immediately cried out: “We are dead men; all is over;
we must perish!” Notwithstanding, they made an effort, and jumped upon one of
those floating cakes of ice. I did likewise; and, after having drawn the canoe out of
the water, we carried it to the very edge of the ice. There we were obliged again to
enter the canoe, in order to reach another cake of ice; and thus by jumping from
cake to cake we at last came to the bank of the river, without other inconvenience
than being very wet and benumbed with cold.

There is nothing equal to the affection of the Savages for their children. As soon
as they are born, they put them on a little piece of board covered with cloth and
with a small bearskin, in which they are wrapped, and this is their cradle. The
mothers carry them on their backs in a manner easy for the children and for themselves.

No sooner do the boys begin to walk than they practice drawing the bow; they become so adroit in this that at the age of ten or twelve years they do not fail to kill the bird at which they shoot. I have been surprised at it, and I would scarcely believe it if I had not witnessed it.

The thing which most shocked me when I began to live among the Savages, was being obliged to take my meals with them; for nothing could be more revolting. When they have filled their kettle with meat, they boil it, at most, three-quarters of an hour, — after which they take it off the fire, serve it in basins of bark, and distribute it among all the people who are in their cabin. Each one bites into this meat as one would into a piece of bread. This spectacle did not give me much appetite, and they very soon perceived my repugnance. Why doss thou not eat? said they. I answered that I was not accustomed to eat meat in this manner, without adding to it a little bread. Thou must conquer thyself, they replied; is that a very difficult thing for a Patriarch who thoroughly understands how to pray? We ourselves overcome much, in order to believe that which we do not see. Then it was no longer a time to deliberate; we must indeed conform to their manners and customs, so as to deserve their confidence and win them to Jesus Christ.

There meals are not regular, as in Europe; they live from day to day. While they have any good food they use it, without being troubled as to whether they will have any at all for following days.

They are devoted to tobacco; men, women, and girls, all smoke the greater part of the time. To give them a piece of tobacco pleases them more than to give them their weight in gold.

In the beginning of June, or when the snow is almost wholly melted, they plant skamounar; this is what we call “Turkey wheat” or “Indian corn.” Their manner of planting it is to make with the finger, or with a little stick, separate holes in the ground, and to drop into each one eight or nine grains which they cover with the same soil that had been taken out to make the hole. Their harvest is made at the end of August.

It was in the midst of these Tribes, which are considered the least rude of all our Savages, that I served my Missionary apprenticeship. My chief occupation was the study of their language; it is very difficult to learn, especially when one has no other masters than Savages. They have several sounds which are uttered only by the throat, without making any motion of the lips; ou, for instance, is of this number, and that is why in writing we indicate it by the figure ō, in order to distinguish it from other letters. I spent part of the day in their cabins, hearing them talk. I was obliged to give the utmost attention, in order to connect what they said, and to conjecture its meaning; sometimes I caught it exactly, but more often I was deceived, — because, not being accustomed to the trick of their guttural sounds, I repeated only half the word, and thereby gave them cause for laughter.

At last, after five months of continual application, I succeeded in understanding all their terms; but that did not enable me to express myself to their satisfaction. I
had still much progress to make before catching the form of expression and the spirit of the language, which are entirely different from the spirit and form of our European languages. In order to shorten the time, and thus enable me [Page 143] sooner to perform my duties, I selected a few Savages who had most intelligence, and who used the best language. I repeated to them in a clumsy manner some passages from the catechism, and they gave them to me again, with all the nicety of their language; I immediately wrote these down; and, by this means, in a reasonably short time I had made a dictionary, and also a Catechism which contained the precepts and Mysteries of Religion.[27]

It cannot be denied that the language of the Savages has real beauties; and there is an indescribable force in their style and manner of expression. I am going to quote you an example. If I should ask you why God created you, you would answer me that it was for the purpose of knowing him, loving him, and serving him, and by this means to merit eternal glory. If I should put the same question to a Savage, he would answer thus, in the style of his own language: “The great Spirit has thought of us: ‘Let them know me, let them love me, let them honor me, and let them obey me; for then I will make them enter my glorious happiness.’” If I desired to tell you in their style that you would have much difficulty in learning the Savage language, I would express myself in this way: “I think of you, my dear brother, that he will have difficulty in learning the Savage language.”

The Huron language is the chief language of the Savages, and, when a person is master of that, he can in less than three months make himself understood by the five Iroquois tribes. It is the most majestic, and at the same time the most difficult, of all the Savage tongues. This difficulty does not come alone from the guttural sounds, but still more [Page 145] from the diversity of accents; for often two words composed of the same letters have totally different significations. Father Chaumont, who lived fifty years among the Hurons, composed a Grammar of that language which is very helpful to those who come without experience to that Mission. Nevertheless a Missionary is fortunate if he can, even with this aid, express himself elegantly in that language after ten years of constant study.

Each Savage Tribe has its own special tongue; thus the Abnakis, the Hurons, the Iroquois, the Algonkins, the Illinois, the Miamis, and others, have each their own language. There are no books to teach these languages, and even though we had them, they would be quite useless; practice is the only master that is able to teach us. As I have labored in four different Missions of the Savages,—to wit, among the Abnakis, the Algonkins, the Hurons, and the Illinois,—and as I have been obliged to learn these different languages, I will give you a specimen of each, so that you may perceive how little resemblance there is between them. I choose a stanza from a hymn to the blessed Sacrament, which is usually sung during Mass at the elevation of the blessed Host, and which begins with these words: O salutaris Hostia. The following is the translation, in verse, of this stanza into the four languages of these different Tribes.

In the Abnakis Tongue.
Kighist wi-nuanurwinns
Spem kik papili go ii damek
Nemiani wi kwidan ghabenk
Taha sai grihine. [Page 147]

*In the Algonkin tongue.*

Kwerais Jesus tegousenam
Nera weul ka stisian
Ka rio vllighe miang
Vas mama vik umong.

*In the Huron Tongue.*

Jesous outo etti x'ichie
Outo etti skualichi-axe
J chierche axerawensta
D'aotierti xeata-wien.

*In the Illinois Tongue.*

Pekiziane manet we
Piaro nile hi Nanghi
Keninama wi ou Kangha
Mero winang ousiang hi.

This signifies in French: “O saving Victim, who art continually sacrificed, and who givest life, thou by whom we enter into Heaven, we are all tempted; do thou strengthen us.”

When I had remained nearly two years among the Abnakis, I was recalled by my Superiors; they had assigned me to the Mission of the Illinois, who had just lost their Missionary. I then went to Quebec, whence, after I had devoted three months to studying the Algonkin language, I set out on the 13th of August in a canoe for the land of the Illinois; their Country is more than eight hundred leagues distant from Quebec. You may well believe that so long a journey in these uncivilized regions cannot be made without running great risks, and without suffering many inconveniences. I had to cross lakes of an immense extent, on which storms are as frequent [Page 149] as on the Sea. It is true that we had the advantage of landing every night; but we were happy if we found some flat rock on which we could pass the night. When it rained, the only way of protecting ourselves was to keep under the overturned canoe.

We ran still greater hazards on the rivers, especially in the places where they flow with extreme rapidity. Then the canoe flies like an arrow; and, if it happen to touch any of the rocks, which are very numerous there, it is broken into a thousand pieces. That misfortune befell some of the people who were accompanying me in other canoes; and it was by a special protection of divine goodness that I did not meet the same fate, for my canoe several times went up on those rocks, but without receiving the least injury.

Finally one risks suffering the most cruel torture from hunger, for the length and difficulty of this sort of journey permits him to carry only a bag of Indian corn. It is supposed that hunting will supply food on the way; but, if there be a lack of game, one runs the risk of fasting many days. Then the only resource is to seek a
sort of leaf which the Savages call *Kenghessanach*, and the French *Tripes de roches*. You would take them for chervil, of which they have the shape, except that they are much larger. They are served either boiled or roasted; in this latter manner I have eaten them, and they are less distasteful than in the former.

I had not suffered much from hunger when I reached Lake Huron; but the case was different with my fellow-travelers, the bad weather having scattered their canoes, they were not able to join me. I arrived first at *Missilimakinak*, whence I sent them provisions without which they would have died from hunger. They had passed seven days without any other food than the flesh of a crow, which they had killed rather by chance than by skill, for they had not strength to stand upright.

The season was too far advanced for continuing my journey to the Illinois, from whom I was still distant about four hundred leagues. Thus I was obliged to remain at *Missilimakinak*, where there were two of our Missionaries — one among the Hurons, and the other with the *Outaouacks*. These latter are very superstitious, and much attached to the juggleries of their charlatans. They assume for themselves an origin as senseless as it is ridiculous.' They declare that they have come from three families, and each family is composed of five hundred persons.

Some are of the family of *Michabou*, — that is to say, of “the Great Hare.” They affirm that this Great Hare was a man of prodigious height; that he spread nets in water eighteen brasses deep, and that the water scarcely came to his armpits. They say that one day, during the deluge, he sent out the Beaver to discover land; then, as that animal did not return, he despatched the Otter, which brought back a little soil covered with foam. He then proceeded to the place in the Lake where this soil was found, which made a little island; he walked all around it in the water, and this island became extraordinarily large. Therefore, they attribute to him the creation of the world. They add that, after having finished this work, he flew away to the Sky, which is his usual dwelling-place; but before quitting the earth he directed that, when his descendants should die, their bodies should be burned, and their ashes scattered to the winds, so that they might be able to rise more easily to the Sky. But he warned them that, should they fail to do this, snow would not cease to cover the earth, and their Lakes and Rivers would remain frozen; and, as thus they could not catch fish, which is their ordinary food, they would all die in the spring-time.

Indeed, when, a few years ago, the winter had lasted much longer than usual, there was general consternation among the Savages of the Great Hare family. They resorted to their customary juggleries; they held several assemblies in order to deliberate upon means of dissipating this unfriendly snow, which was persistently remaining on the ground; when an old woman, approaching them, said: “My children, you have no sense. You know the commands that the Great Hare left with us, to burn dead bodies, and scatter their ashes to the winds, so that they might more quickly return to the Sky, their own country; but you have neglected those commands by leaving, at a few days’ journey from here, a dead man without burning him, as if he did not belong to the family of the Great Hare. Repair your fault at once; be careful to burn him, if you wish that the snow should disappear.”
“Thou art right, our Mother,” they answered, “thou hast more sense than we; and the counsel thou hast given us restores us to life.” Immediately they sent twenty-five men to go to burn this body; about fifteen days were consumed in this journey, during which time the thaw came, and the snow disappeared. Praises and presents were heaped upon the old woman who had given the advice; and this occurrence, wholly natural as it was, greatly served to uphold them in their foolish and superstitious belief.

The second family of the Outaouacks maintain that they have sprung from Namepich, — that is to say, from the Carp. They say that the carp having deposited its eggs upon the bank of a river, and the sun having shed its rays upon them, there was formed a woman from whom they are descended; thus they are called “the family of the Carp.” The third family of the Outaouacks attributes its origin to the paw of a Machoua, — that is to say, of a Bear; and they are called “the family of the Bear,” but without explaining in what way they issued from it. When they kill one of these animals, they make it a feast of its own Flesh; they talk to it, they harangue it, they say: “Do not have an evil thought against us, because we have killed thee. Thou hast intelligence, thou seest that our children are suffering from hunger. They love thee, and wish thee to enter into their bodies; is it not a glorious thing for thee to be eaten by the children of Captains?

It is only the family of the Great Hare that burns dead bodies; the two other families bury them. When a great Captain has died, an immense coffin is prepared; after having laid therein the body, clothed in the man’s handsomest garments, they put in it with him his blanket, his gun, his store of powder and lead, his bow, his arrows, his kettle, his dish, his provisions, his war-club, his calumet, his box of vermilion, his looking-glass, his porcelain collars, and all the presents which were made at his death, according to custom. They fancy that with this equipment he will make his journey to the other world more successfully, and will be better received by the great Captains of the Tribe, who will lead him with them into a place of delights.

While they are arranging everything in the coffin, the relatives of the dead man are present at the ceremony, weeping after their manner, — that is to say, chanting in a mournful tone, and swinging in harmony a rod to which they have attached several little bells.

Where the superstition of these tribes appears the most extravagant is in the worship that they pay to what they call their Manitou; as they know hardly anything but the animals with which they live in the forests, they imagine that there is in these animals, — or, rather, in their skins, or in their plumage, — a sort of spirit who rules all things, and who is the master of life and of death. According to them, there are Manitous common to the whole Tribe, and there are special ones for each person. Oussakita, they say, is the great Manitou of all the animals that move on the earth or fly in the air. He it is who rules them; therefore, when they go to the hunt, they offer to him tobacco, powder, and lead, and also well-prepared skins. These articles they fasten to the end of a pole, and, raising it on high, they say to him: “Oussakita, we give thee something to smoke, we offer thee something for killing animals. Deign to accept these presents, and do not permit the animals
to escape our arrows; grant that we may kill the fattest ones, and in great number, so that our children may not lack clothing or food.”

They call the Manitou of waters and fishes Michibichi; [Page 159] and they offer him a somewhat similar sacrifice when they go to fish, or undertake a voyage. This sacrifice consists of throwing into the water tobacco, provisions, and kettles; and in asking him that the water of the river may flow more slowly, that the rocks may not break their canoes, and that he will grant them an abundant catch.

Besides these common Manitous, each person has his own special one, which is a bear, a beaver, a bustard, or some similar animal. They carry the skin of this animal to war, to the hunt, and on their journeys, — fully persuaded that it will preserve them from every danger, and that it will cause them to succeed in all their undertakings.

When a Savage wishes to take to himself a Manitou the first animal that appears to his imagination during sleep is generally the one upon which his choice falls. He kills an animal of this kind, and puts its skin — or its feathers, if it be a bird — in the most conspicuous part of his cabin; he makes a feast in its honor, during which he addresses it in the most respectful terms; and thereafter this is recognized as his Manitou.

As soon as I saw the coming of spring I left Missilimakinak, that I might go the country of the Illinois. I found on my way many Savage Tribes, among them the Maskoutings, the Sakis, the Omikoues, the Ouinipegouans, the Outagamis, and others. All these Tribes have their own peculiar language; but, in all other respects, they do not differ in the least from the Outaouacks. A Missionary who lives at the bay des Puants, makes excursions, from time to time, ’ to the homes of these Savages, in order to instruct them in the truths of Religion. [Page 161]

After forty days of travel I entered the river of the Illinois, and, after voyaging fifty leagues, I came to their first Village, which had three hundred cabins, all of them with four or five fires, One fire is always for two families. They have eleven Villages belonging to their Tribe. On the day after my arrival, I was invited by the principal Chief to a grand repast, which he was giving to the most important men of the Tribe. He had ordered several dogs to be killed; such a feast is considered among the Savages a magnificent feast; therefore, it is called “the feast of the Captains.” The ceremonies that are observed are the same among all these Tribes. It is usual at this sort of feast for the Savages to deliberate upon their most important affairs, — as, for instance, when there is question either of undertaking war against their neighbors, or of terminating it by propositions of peace.

When all the guests had arrived they took their places all about the cabin, seating themselves either on the bare ground or on the mats. Then the Chief arose and began his address. I confess to you that I admired his flow of language, the justness and force of the arguments that he presented, the eloquent turn he gave to them, and the choice and nicety of the expressions with which he adorned his speech. I fully believe that, if I had written down what this Savage said to us, offhand and without preparation, you would readily acknowledge that the most able Europeans could scarcely, after much thought and study, compose an address that would be more forcible and better arranged.
When the speech was finished, two Savages, who performed the duty of stewards, distributed dishes. [Page 163] to the whole company, and each dish served for two guests; while eating, they conversed together on indifferent matters; and when they had finished their repast they withdrew, — carrying away according to their custom, what remained on their dishes.

The Illinois do not give those feasts that are customary among many other Savage Tribes, at which a person is obliged to eat all that has been given him, even should he burst. When any one is present at such a feast and is unable to observe this ridiculous rule, he applies to one of the guests whom he knows to have a better appetite, and says to him: “My brother, take pity on me; I am a dead man if thou do not give me life. Eat what I have left, and I will make thee a present of something.” This is their only way out of their perplexity.

The Illinois are covered only around the waist, otherwise they go entirely nude; many panels with all sorts of figures, which they mark upon the body in an ineffaceable manner, take with them the place of garments. It is only when they make visits, or when they are present at Church, that they wrap themselves in a cloak of dressed skin in the summer-time, and in the winter season in a dressed skin with the hair left on, that they may keep warm. They adorn the head with feathers of many colors, of which they make garlands and crowns which they arrange very becomingly; above all things, they are careful to paint the face with different colors, but especially with vermilion. They wear collars and earrings made of little stones, which they cut like precious stones; some are blue, some red, and some white as alabaster; to these must be added a flat piece of porcelain which finishes the collar., The Illinois are [Page 165] persuaded that these grotesque Ornaments add grace to their appearance, and win for them respect.

When the Illinois are not engaged in war or in hunting, their time is spent either in games, or at feasts, or in dancing. They have two kinds of dances; some are a sign of rejoicing, and to these they invite the most distinguished women and young girls; others are a token of their sadness at the death of the most important men of their Tribe. It is by these dances that they profess to honor the deceased, and to wipe away the tears of his relatives. All of them are entitled to have the death of their near relatives bewailed in this manner, provided that they make presents for this purpose. The dances last a longer or shorter time according to the price and value of the presents, — which, at the end of the dance, are distributed to the dancers. It is not their custom to bury the dead; they wrap them in skins, and hang them by the feet and head to the tops of trees.

When the men are not at games, feasts, or dances, they remain quiet on their mats, and spend their time either in sleeping or in making bows, arrows, calumets, and other articles of that sort. As for the women, they work from morning until evening like slaves. It is they who cultivate the land and plant the Indian corn, in summer; and, as soon as winter begins, they are employed in making mats, dressing skins, and in many other kinds of work, — for their first care is to supply the cabin with everything that is necessary.

Among all the Tribes of Canada, there is not one that lives in so great abundance of everything as do the Illinois. Their rivers are covered with swans
bustards, ducks, and teal. We can hardly travel a league without meeting a prodigious multitude of Turkeys, which go in troops, sometimes to the number of 200, They are larger than those that are seen in France. I had the curiosity to weigh one of them, and it weighed thirty-six livres. They have a sort of hairy beard at the neck, which is half a foot long.

Bears and deer are found there in great numbers; there are also found countless numbers of oxen and of roebucks; there is no year when they do not kill more than a thousand roebucks, and more than two thousand oxen; as far as the eye can reach, are seen from four to five thousand oxen grazing on the prairies. They have a hump on the back, and the head is extremely large. Their hair, except that on the head, is curly and soft, like wool; their flesh is strong in its natural state, and is so light that, even if it be eaten wholly raw, it causes no indigestion. When they have killed an ox that seems to them too lean, they are satisfied to take its tongue and go in search of one that is more fat.

Arrows are the principal weapons that they use in war and in hunting. These arrows are barbed at the tip with a stone, sharpened and cut in the shape of a serpent’s tongue; if knives are lacking, they use arrows also for flaying the animals which they kill. They are so adroit in bending the bow that they scarcely ever miss their aim; and they do this with such quickness that they will have discharged a hundred arrows sooner than another person can reload his gun.

They take little trouble to make nets suitable for catching fish in the rivers, bemuse the abundance of all kinds of animals which they find for their subsistence renders them somewhat indifferent to fish. However, when they take a fancy to have some, they enter a canoe with their bows and arrows; they stand up that they may better discover the fish, and as soon as they see one they pierce it with an arrow.

Among the Illinois the only way of acquiring public esteem and regard is, as among other Savages, to gain the reputation of a skillful hunter, and, still further, of a good warrior; it is chiefly in this latter that they make their merit consist, and it is this which they call being truly a man. They are so eager for this glory that we see them undertake journeys of four hundred leagues through the midst of forests in order to capture a slave, or to take off the scalp of a man whom they have killed. They count as nothing the hardships and the long fasting that they must undergo, especially when they are drawing near the country of the enemy; for then they no longer dare to hunt, for fear that the animals, being only wounded, may escape with the arrow in the body, and warn their enemy to put himself in a posture of defense. For their manner of making war, as among all the Savages, is to surprise their enemies; therefore they send out scouts to observe the number and movements of the enemy, and to see if they are on their guard. According to the report that is brought to them, they either lie in ambush, or make a foray on the cabins, war-club in hand; and they are sure to kill some of their foes before the latter can even think of defending themselves.

The war-club is made of a deer’s horn or of wood, shaped like a cutlass, with a large ball at the end. They hold the war-club in one hand, and a knife in the other. As soon as they have dealt a blow at the head of their enemy,
they make on it a circular cut with a knife, and take off the scalp with surprising quickness.

When a Savage returns to his own country laden with many scalps, he is received with great honor; but he is at the height of his glory when he takes prisoners and brings them home alive. As soon as he arrives, all the people of the village meet together, and range themselves on both sides of the way where the prisoners must pass. This reception is very cruel; some tear out the prisoners’ nails, others cut off their fingers or ears; still others load them with blows from clubs.

After this first welcome, the old men assemble in order to consider whether they shall grant life to their prisoners, or give orders for their death. When there is any dead man to be resuscitated, that is to say, if any one of their warriors has been killed, and they think it a duty to replace him in his cabin, — they give to this cabin one of their prisoners, who takes the place of the deceased; and this is what they call “resuscitating the dead.”

When the prisoner has been condemned to death, they immediately set up in the ground a large stake, to which they fasten him by both hands; they cause the death song to be chanted, and — all the Savages being seated around the stake, at the distance of a few steps — there is kindled a large fire, in which they make their hatchets, gun-barrels, and other iron tools red hot. Then they come, one after another, and apply these red-hot irons to the different parts of his body; some of them burn him with live brands; some mangle the body with their knives; others cut off a piece of the flesh already roasted, and eat it in his presence; some are seen filling his wounds with powder and rubbing it over his whole body, after which they set it on fire. In fine, each one torments him according to his own caprice; and this continues for four or five hours, and sometimes even during two or three days. The more sharp and piercing are the cries which the violence of these torments make him utter, so much the more is the spectacle pleasing and diverting to these barbarians. It was the Iroquois who invented this frightful manner of death, and it is only by the law of retaliation that the Illinois, in their turn, treat these Iroquois prisoners with an equal cruelty.

What we understand by the word Christianity is known among the Savages only by the name of Prayer. Thus, when I tell you in the continuation of this letter that such a savage Tribe has embraced Prayer, you must understand that it has become Christian, or that it is about to become so. There would be much less difficulty in converting the Illinois, if Prayer permitted them to practice Polygamy; they acknowledge that prayer is good, and they are delighted to have it taught to their wives and children; but, when we speak of it to them for themselves, we realize how difficult it is to fix their natural inconstancy, and to persuade them to have only one wife and to have her always.

At the hour when we assemble, morning and evening, to pray, all persons repair to the Chapel, Even the greatest Jugglers — that is to say, the greatest enemies to Religion — send their children to be instructed and baptized. This is the greatest advantage that we have at first among the Savages, and of which we are most certain, — for, of the great number of children whom we baptize, no year
passes that many do not die before they have attained the use of reason; and, as for the adults, the greater part are so devoted and attached to Prayer that they would suffer the most cruel death rather than abandon it.

It is fortunate for the Illinois that they are very far distant from Quebec; for brandy cannot be taken to them, as is done elsewhere. Among the Savages this liquor is the greatest obstacle to Christianity, and is the source of countless numbers of the most enormous crimes. It is known that they buy it only in order to Plunge themselves into the most furious intoxication; the disturbances and the melancholy deaths which are witnessed every day ought indeed to outweigh the profit that is made in the trade of so fatal a liquor.

I had remained two years with the Illinois, when I was recalled, that I might devote the remainder of my days to the Abnakis Tribe. This was the first Mission to which I had been appointed on my arrival in Canada, and apparently it is the one in which I shall finish my life. I was then obliged to return to Quebec, in order to set out from there to rejoin my dear Savages. I have already told you of the length and hardships of that journey; therefore I shall speak to you only of a very cheering incident which befell me about 40 leagues from Quebec.

I was in a sort of Village where there were twenty-five French households, and a Curé, who was in charge. Near this Village was seen a cabin of [Page 177] Savages, in which was a girl sixteen years old, whom a disease of several years' duration had brought to the point of death, Monsieur the curé, who did not understand the language of these Savage begged me to go to hear the confession of the patient, and he himself guided me to the cabin. In the conversation that I had with this young girl on the truths of Religion, I learned that she had been very well instructed by one of our Missionaries, but that she had not yet received baptism. After having spent two days in putting to her all the questions suited to assure me of her preparation, she said to me:” I implore thee, do not refuse me the grace of baptism which I ask from thee. Thou seest how my lungs are oppressed, and that I have a very short time to live; what a calamity it will be for me, and what reproaches must thou not cast upon thyself, should I die without receiving this grace!” I answered her that she should be prepared for it the next day, and I withdrew. The joy that my answer caused her produced in her such a sudden change that she was able to go early in the morning to the Chapel. I was extraordinarily surprised at her entrance, and at once, in a solemn manner, administered baptism to her; she then returned to her cabin, where she did not cease to thank divine mercy for so great a blessing, and to long for the happy moment which should unite her to God for all eternity. Her wishes were granted, and I had the happiness to be present at her death. What an ordering of providence for this poor girl, and what a consolation for me to have been the instrument that God chose to use in order to place her in Heaven!

Do not demand of me, my dear brother, that I [Page 179] should enter into a minute account of all that has happened to me during the many years that I have spent in this Mission; my occupations are always the same, and, should I enlarge upon them, I would run the danger of tiresome repetitions; I shall content myself with relating to you certain facts which seem to me the most worthy of your
attention. I can say to you that generally you would have difficulty in restraining your tears were you in my Church, with our Savages gathered there; and were you witness of the piety with which they repeat their prayers, chant the divine Office, and participate in the Sacraments of Penance and of the Eucharist. When they have been illuminated by the light of Faith, and have sincerely embraced it, they are no longer the same men; and the greater part of them preserve the innocence that they received at baptism. It is this that fills me with the sweetest joy when I hear their confessions, which are frequent; whatever questions I may put to them, it is often with difficulty that I can find anything that requires absolution.

My occupations with them are continual. As they expect assistance only from their Missionary and have entire confidence in him, it is not enough for me to perform the spiritual duties of my ministry for the sanctification of their souls; I must also enter into their temporal affairs, must always be ready to console them when they come to consult me, and must decide their little differences; I must take care of them when they are sick, bleed them, give them medicines, etc. My days are sometimes so full that I am obliged to shut myself up, that I may find time to attend to prayer and recite my Office. [Page 181]

The zeal with which God has filled me for my Savages caused me to be much alarmed in the year 1697, when I heard that a Tribe of Amalingan Savages were coming to settle at a day's journey from my Village. I had reason to fear that the juggleries of their charlatans,—that is to say, the sacrifices that they make to the demon,—and the disorders which are the usual consequence of those rites, might make an impression on some of my young Neophytes; but, thanks to divine Mercy, my fears were very soon dissipated, in the manner which I am about to describe to you.

One of our Captains, celebrated in this country for his valor, having been killed by the English, from whom we are not distant, the Amalingans sent several men of their Tribe as envoys to our Village, to dry the tears of the relatives of this illustrious dead man,—that is to say, as I have already explained to you, to visit them, to make them presents, and to declare by the usual dances the interest that they were taking in their affliction. They arrived on the eve of Corpus Christi Day. I was then employed in hearing the confessions of my Savages, which continued all that day, the following night, and the next day until noon,—when the Procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament began. It was made with great order and piety, and although in the midst of these forests, yet with more pomp and magnificence than you would suppose. This spectacle, which was new to the Amalingans, touched them, and struck them with admiration, I believed it my duty to profit by the favorable mood in which they were; and, after having brought them together, I made them the following address in savage style. [Page 183]

“My children, for a long time I have desired to see you; now that I have this happiness, my heart is almost bursting. Think of the joy that a father has who tenderly loves his children, when he sees them again after a long absence in which they have run great dangers, and you will conceive a part of mine. For, although you do not yet pray, I nevertheless look upon you as my children, and have for you a father’s tenderness,—because you are the children of the Great Spirit, who has
given life to you, as well as to those who pray; who has made Heaven for you as well as for them; who thinks of you as he thinks of them and of me; and who desires that all should enjoy eternal happiness. What causes my sorrow and diminishes my joy in seeing you is the thought, which I have at this moment, that some day I shall be separated from a part of my children, whose destiny will be eternally unfortunate because they do not pray; while the others, who pray, will be in joy which shall never end. When I think of this sad separation, can I have a contented heart? The happiness of those who pray does not give me so much joy as the unhappiness of those who do not pray grieves me. If you have insurmountable obstacles to prayer, and if, remaining in the condition in which you are, I were able to make you enter into Heaven, I would spare nothing in order to procure for you this happiness. I would urge you on, I would make you all enter there, so much do I love you, and so much do I desire that you should be happy; but that is not possible. You must pray, and you must be baptized, that you may be able to enter that place of delight.”

After this preamble, I explained to them at great length the principal articles of the Faith, and continued thus:

“All these words that I have just explained to you are not human words; they are the words of the Great Spirit. They are not written like the words of men, upon a collar, on which a person can say everything that he wishes; but they are written in the book of the Great Spirit, to which falsehood cannot have access.”

In order to make you understand this savage expression, my dear brother, I must mention that the custom of these Tribes, when they write to another Tribe, is to send a collar or a broad belt, upon which they make many figures with porcelain beads of different colors. They instruct him who bears the collar, by saying to him: “This is what the collar says to such a Tribe, to such a person,” and they send him away. Our Savages would have difficulty in understanding what we say to them, and would not be very attentive, if we did not conform to their manner of thought and expression. I continued in this way:

“Take courage, my children; listen to the voice of the Great Spirit, who speaks to you by my mouth; he loves you, and his love for you is so great that he has given his life, that he may procure for you an eternal life. Alas! perhaps he permitted the death of one of your Captains only that he might draw you to the place of prayer, and cause you to hear his voice. Consider that you are not immortal. The day will come when, in like manner, tears Will be wiped away because of your death; what will it advantage you to have been in this life great Captains, if after your death you are cast into eternal flames? He whom you come to bewail with us rejoiced a thousand times that he had heard the voice of the Great Spirit, and that he had been faithful to prayer, pray as he did, and you will live eternally. Be of good cheer, my children; do not let us separate,—do not let some go in one direction, and some in another. Let us all go to Heaven, it is our own Country; the one and only master of life,—of whom I am but the interpreter,—exhorts you to this. Think upon it seriously.”

As soon as I had finished speaking, they conversed together for some time; and afterward their Orator made me this answer in their name: “My father, I am
overjoyed to hear thee. Thy voice has penetrated even to my heart, but my heart is still closed, and I am not able to open it at this moment, to make known to thee what is in it, or to which side it will turn. I must await many Captains and other important men of our Tribe, who will come with me next autumn; then I will open to thee my heart. Thou hast heard, my dear father, all that I have to say to thee at this time."

"My heart is satisfied," I replied to them; "I am very glad that my words have given you pleasure, and that you ask for time to think them over; you will, for that reason, be only the firmer in your attachment to prayer when you have once embraced it. In the meantime, I shall not cease to address myself to the Great Spirit, and ask him to look upon you with eyes of mercy, and to strengthen your thoughts so that they may turn toward Prayer," After that, I left their assembly, and they returned to their own Village.

When the autumn had come, I heard that one of [Page 189] Our Savages Was intending to go to the Amalingans in search of grain for planting his fields. I sent for him and charged him to tell them for me that I was impatient to see my children again, that they were always present in my mind, and that I begged them to remember the promise which they had given me. The Savage delivered his message faithfully. The following is the answer that the Amalingans made to him:

"We are obliged to our father for constantly thinking of us. For our part, we have thought much about what he said to us. We cannot forget his words while we have a heart; for they are so deeply impressed upon it that nothing can efface them. We are persuaded that he loves us; we wish to listen to him, and to obey him in what he desires of us. We approve the prayer that he proposes to us, and we see in it nothing but what is good and praiseworthy; we are all resolved to embrace it, and we would already have gone to our father in his own Village, if there had been sufficient provisions for our subsistence during the time that he would devote to our instructions. But how could we find provisions there? We know that there is hunger in the cabin of our father, and that is what doubly afflicts us — that our father should be hungry, and that we should not be able to go to him for the purpose of receiving instruction. If our father could come here, and spend some time with us, he could have food, and could instruct us. Thou hast heard what thou shalt say to our father."

This answer of the Amalingans was brought to me at a favorable time; the greater Part of my savages had gone away for a few days, to seek means of. [Page 191] subsistence to last them until they should harvest their Indian corn. Their absence gave me leisure to visit the Amalingans, and, on the very next day, I embarked in a canoe to go to their Village, I had Only a league more to make in order to reach it, when they perceived me; and immediately they saluted me with a continual discharge of guns, which did not cease until I left the canoe. This honor which they were paying me assured me, at the outset, of their present inclinations. I lost no time; as soon as I landed I had a Cross set up, and those who had accompanied me raised, as soon as possible, a Chapel, which they made of sheets of bark in the same way that they make their cabins, and they erected in it an altar. While they were employed in that work, I visited all the cabins of the
Amalingans, so as to prepare them for the instructions that I was to give them. As soon as I began the instructions, they came most assiduously to hear them. I summoned them three times a day to the Chapel, — to wit, in the morning after Mass, at noon, and in the evening after prayer. During the remainder of the day I went around among the cabins, in which I also gave private instructions.

When, after several days of continuous work, I believed them to be sufficiently instructed, I set the day on which they should come to be regenerated in the waters of holy Baptism. The first who came to the Chapel were the Captain, the Orator, three of the most important men of the Tribe and two women. Immediately after their Baptism, two other companies, each of twenty Savages, followed them and received the same grace. Finally, all the others [Page 193] continued to come for this purpose, on that day and the next.

You may well believe, my dear brother, that, whatever hardships a Missionary may undergo, he is well repaid for his trials by the sweet consolation he experiences at having admitted an entire Tribe of Savages into the way of salvation. I was preparing to leave them and return to my own Village, when a messenger came to tell me for them that they were all collected in one place, and begged me to come to their assembly. As soon as I appeared in their midst, the Orator spoke to me in the name of all the others, saying: “Our father, we have no words to declare to thee the inexpressible joy that we all experience at having received Baptism. It seems to us now that we have another heart; all that gave us anxiety has entirely disappeared; our thoughts are no longer wavering; Baptism strengthens us internally, and we are truly resolved to honor it all the days of our life. Thou hast heard what we say to thee before thou leavest us.” I answered by a short address, in which I exhorted them to persevere in the peculiar grace which they had received, and to do nothing unworthy of the name of children of God, with which they had been honored by holy Baptism. As they were preparing to set out for the sea, I added that on their return me would decide whether it would be better that we should go to live with them, or that they should come to form with us one and the same Village.

The Village in which I live is called Nanrantaouack, and is situated in the continental region between Acadia and new England. This Mission is about eighty leagues from Pentagouet, and it is a hundred [Page 195] leagues from Pentagouet to Port Royal. The river of my Mission is the largest of all those that water the territories of the Savages. It ought to be marked on the map under the name of Kinibeki; this has led the Frenchmen to give these Savages the name of Kanibals. This river empties into the sea at Sankderank,[39] which is only 5 or 6 leagues from Pemquit. After having ascended the river 40 leagues from Sankderank you reach my Village, which is on the height of a promontory. We are, at most, only two days’ journey from the English settlements; it takes us more than a fortnight to go to Quebec; and that journey is very difficult and arduous. It was natural that our Savages should trade with the English, and there are no advantages that these latter have not offered to them, for the purpose of winning them and gaining their friendship; but all their efforts have been useless; and nothing has been able to detach them from their alliance with the French. The only band which has united them to us so closely is their firm attachment to the catholic Faith. They are
convinced that if they submitted to the English they would soon be without any Missionary, without any Sacrifice, without any Sacrament, and almost without any exercise of Religion; and that gradually they would be plunged back into their former unbelief. This firmness of our Savages has been put to every sort of test by these formidable neighbors, who have never yet been able to obtain any influence over them.

At the time when war was on the point of breaking out between the European Powers, the English Governor, who had recently arrived at Boston, asked our Savages to give him an interview on an island [Page 197] in the sea, which he designated. They consented, and begged me to accompany them, that they might consult me about the crafty propositions that would be made to them — so as to be sure that their answers should contain nothing contrary to Religion, or to the interests of the Royal service. I followed them, and my intention was to keep wholly within their quarters, in order to aid them by my counsel without appearing before the Governor. As we — numbering more than two hundred canoes — were approaching the island, the English saluted us by a discharge of all the guns of their vessels; and the Savages responded to this salute by a like discharge of all their guns. Then, the Governor appearing on the island, the Savages landed in haste; thus I found myself where I did not wish to be, and where the Governor did not wish that I should be. As soon as he perceived me, he came forward a few steps to meet me; and, after the usual compliments, he returned to the midst of his people, and I to the Savages.

"It is by command of our Queen," he said to them," that I come to see you: she desires that we should live in peace. If any Englishman should be imprudent enough to do you wrong, do not think of avenging yourselves upon him, but immediately address your complaint to me, and I will render you prompt justice. If we should happen to have war with the French, remain neutral, and do not take part in our differences; the French are as strong as we, therefore leave us to settle our quarrels with each other. We will supply all your wants, we will take your peltries, and we will give you our goods at a reasonable price." My presence prevented his [Page 199] saying all that he intended; for it was not without a design that he had brought a Minister with him.

When he had finished speaking, the Savages withdrew for the purpose of deliberating together upon the answer that they should make. During that time, the Governor, taking me aside, said to me: “Monsieur, I beg you, do not influence your Indians to make war upon us.” I answered him that my Religion and my Office of Priest were a security that I would give them only exhortations to peace. I was still speaking, when I suddenly found myself surrounded by about twenty young warriors, who were fearing that the Governor intended to carry me off. In the meantime the Savages advanced, and one of them made the following reply to the Governor:

“Great Captain, thou tellest us not to join ourselves with the Frenchman, in case thou declare war upon him; know thou that the Frenchman is my brother. We have the same prayer, he and I; and we are in the same cabin with two fires; he has one fire, and I have the other. If I see thee enter the cabin on the side of the
fire where my brother the Frenchman is seated, I watch thee from my mat, where I am seated by the other fire. If, in watching thee, I perceive that thou carriest a hatchet, I shall think, ‘What does the Englishman intend to do with that hatchet?’ Then I stand up on my mat, to behold what he will do. If he raise the hatchet to strike my brother the Frenchman, I take my own, and I run toward the Englishman to strike him. Could I see my brother struck in my cabin, and I remain quiet on my mat? No, no, I love my brother too well not to defend him. Therefore, I say to thee, Great Captain, do nothing to my brother, and I shall do nothing to thee; remain quiet on thy mat, and I shall remain at rest on mine.”

Thus ended our conference. A short time afterward some of our Savages came from Quebec, and announced that a French vessel had brought news that war was raging between France and England. Immediately our Savages, after having deliberated according to their custom, ordered the young men to kill dogs for the purpose of making the war-feast, and to find out those men who were inclined to enlist. The feast took place, the kettle was put on, they danced, and 250 Warriors were present. After the feast they set a day for coming to confess. I exhorted them to be as devoted to prayer as they were in their own Village; to observe strictly the Laws of war, to practice no cruelty, to kill no person except in the heat of combat, to treat humanely those who should surrender themselves prisoners, etc.

The manner in which these tribes make war renders a handful of their warriors more formidable than a body of 2 or 3,000 European soldiers would be. As soon as they have entered the enemy’s country, they divide into separate companies, — one of thirty warriors, another of forty, and so on. They say to some: “To you is given this hamlet to eat” (that is their expression), to others: “To you is given this village,” etc. Afterward the signal is given to strike all together, and at the same time in the different places. Our two hundred and fifty warriors spread themselves over more than twenty leagues of country, where there were villages, hamlets, and houses: and, on the appointed day they made simultaneous attacks, very early in the morning. [Page 203] In one Single day they ruined all the English; they killed more than two hundred, and took a hundred and fifty prisoners, while on their side only a few Warriors were wounded, and these but slightly. They returned from this expedition to the Village, each of them having two canoes laden with booty that he had taken.

During the whole time while the war continued, they carried desolation into all the country that belonged to the English; they ravaged their Villages, their Forts, and their Farms; they took away great numbers of cattle, and seized more than six hundred prisoners. Moreover, these Gentlemen — rightly persuaded that I, by upholding my Savages in their attachment to the catholic Faith, was drawing more and more closely the bond which unites them to the French — have employed all sorts of, wiles and artifices to separate them from me. There are no offers or promises which the English have not made to them, if they would but deliver me into their hands, — or at least send me away to Quebec, and take in my place one of their Ministers. They have made several attempts to surprise me and to have me taken away; they have even gone so far as to promise a thousand pounds sterling to the man who should bring them my head. You may well believe, my dear Brother, that these menaces are not enough to intimidate me or to slacken my
zeal; I shall be only too happy if I become their victim, and if God deem me worthy to be loaded with irons, and to shed my blood for the salvation of my dear Savages.

When the first news came of the peace that had been made in Europe, the Governor of Boston sent word to our Savages that, if they were inclined to [Page 205] assemble in a place which he named for them, he would confer with them upon the present juncture of affairs. All the Savages repaired to the appointed place, and the Governor spoke to them thus:

“O thou, Naranhous man! I inform thee that peace has been declared between the King of France and our Queen; and that, by the treaty of peace, the king of France cedes to our Queen Plaisance and Portrait [Port Royal], with all the adjacent country. Therefore, if thou wilt, we shall live in peace, thou and I: formerly we were at peace, but the suggestions of the Frenchman made thee break it, and it was to please him that thou earnest to kill us. Let us forget all those wretched affairs, and let us cast them into the Sea, so that they may no longer be seen, and that we may be good friends.”

The Orator responded in the name of the Savages: “It is well that the Kings should be at peace; I am very glad, and I no longer have any difficulty in making peace with thee. It is not I who have been striking thee for twelve years; it is the Frenchman who has used my arm to strike thee. It is true, we were at peace, I had even hurled away my hatchet, whither I know not; and while I was in repose upon my mat, thinking of nothing, some young men brought me a message that the Governor of Canada sent me, and which said to me: ‘My son, the Englishman has struck me, help me to avenge myself; take thy hatchet and strike the Englishman.’ I who have always listened to the word of the French Governor — I sought my hatchet, but I found it all rusty; I put it in order, and hung it to my belt, that I might come to strike thee. Now, when the Frenchman tells me to lay it down, I [Page 207] throw it far away, that we may no longer see the blood with which it is reddened. Therefore, let us live in peace, I am agreed.

“But thou sayest that the Frenchman has given Plaisance and Portrait, which are in my neighborhood, with all the adjacent country; he may give thee all that he will. As for me, I have my own land, that the Great Spirit has given me on which to live; as long as there shall be a child of my tribe, he will tight to retain it.” Thus everything was settled amicably; the Governor made a great feast for the Savages after which each one retired.

The happy event of the peace and the tranquillity which we were beginning to enjoy, suggested to our Savages the thought of rebuilding our Church, which had been ruined in a sudden foray that the English made while our people were absent from the Village. As we are very far distant from Quebec, and much nearer to Boston, the Savages sent there a few of the chief men of the Tribe to ask for laborers, promising to pay them liberally for their work. The Governor received them with great demonstrations of friendship, and showed them every kind of attention. “I myself wish to rebuild your Church,” he said to them, “and I will treat you better than your French Governor has done, — he whom you call your father. It is his duty to rebuild it, since it was he who in a certain way destroyed it, by inducing you to strike me, — for, on my part, I defend myself as I am able; whereas
he, after having used you for his defense, abandons you. I shall deal better with
you; for not only do I give you workmen, but I also will pay them myself and bear
all the expense of the edifice that you are intending to construct. But, as [Page
209] it is not reasonable that I, who am English, should build a Church without
putting in it an English Minister to take care of it, and to teach you prayer, I will
give you one with whom you will be content, and you shall send back to Quebec
the French Minister who is in your Village."

"Thy words astonish me," responded the Deputy of the Savages, ** and I wonder
at the proposition that thou makest me. When thou earnest here thou sawest me a
long time before the French Governors did; neither those who preceded thee, nor
thy Ministers, ever spoke to me of prayer or of the Great Spirit. They saw my furs,
my beaver and elk-skins, and of those alone did they think; it was those that they
sought with eagerness; I was not able to furnish them enough, and, when I
brought many, then I was their great friend, and that was all. On the contrary, my
canoe having one day been misguided, I lost my way and wandered at random for a
long time, until at last I landed near Quebec, at a large village of the Algonkins,
where the black Robes were teaching. I had hardly landed when a black Robe came
to see me. I was loaded with furs, but the French black Robe did not deign even to
look at them; he spoke to me first of the Great Spirit, of Paradise, of Hell, and of
Prayer, which is the only way of reaching Heaven. I listened to him with pleasure,
and I enjoyed his talks so much that I remained a long time in that Village for the
sake of hearing him. In short, the Prayer pleased me, and I besought him to
instruct me; I asked for Baptism, and received it. Afterward I returned to my own
Country and I recounted what had happened to me; my people envied my
happiness, and wished [Page 211] to participate in it; accordingly they set out to
go to the black Robe, to ask him for Baptism. It was thus that the Frenchman
treated me. If, when thou didst first see me, thou hadst spoken to me of Prayer, I
would have had the misfortune to pray as thou dost; for I was not capable of
distinguishing whether or not thy prayer were right. Therefore I tell thee that I hold
to the prayer of the Frenchman; I accept it, and I shall keep it until the world shall
burn and come to an end. Accordingly keep thy Workmen, thy money, and thy
Minister; I shall speak of them no more, but I shall ask the French Governor, my
father, to send me some."

Indeed, Monsieur the Governor had no sooner heard about the ruin of our
Church than he sent us Workmen to rebuild it. It has a beauty that would make it
favorably regarded in Europe, and I have spared nothing in its decoration. You
could see by the details which I gave you in the letter to my nephew that, in the
depths of these forests and among these Savage Tribes, divine Service is performed
with much propriety and ceremony, I am very attentive to this, not only when the
Savages remain in the Village, but also when they are obliged to live at the
Seashore, — where they go twice every year, for the purpose of finding provisions.
Our Savages have so destroyed the game of their Country that for ten years they
have no longer either elks or deer. Bears and Beavers have become very scarce.
They seldom have any food but Indian corn, beans, and squashes. They crush the
corn between two stones, reducing it to meal; afterward they make of it a porridge,
which they sometimes season with fat or with dried fish. When they are without
corn, [Page 213] they search the cultivated fields for potatoes, or even for acorns, which they value as highly as corn; after having dried these, they roast them in a kettle with ashes, in order to take away their bitterness. As for me, I eat them dry, and they take the place of bread.

At a certain season, our people go to a river not very far distant, where during one month the fish ascend the river in so great numbers that a man could fill fifty thousand barrels with them in a day, if he could be equal to that work. These fish are a sort of large herring, very agreeable to the taste when they are fresh; they crowd upon each other to the depth of a foot, and are drawn up as you would draw water. The Savages put them to dry for eight or ten days, and they live upon them during the whole time while they are planting their fields.

They plant corn only in the spring, and do their last tilling about Corpus Christi day; after that, they consider to which place by the Sea they shall go to seek food until the time of harvest, which generally takes place shortly after the Assumption. After having conferred together, they send to beg me to come to their Assembly. As soon as I arrive, one of the number speaks thus, in the name of all the others: “Our father, what I say to thee is what all those whom thou seest here say to thee; thou knowest us, and thou knowest that we are in need of provisions. We have scarcely been able to give the last work to our fields, and we have no other resource, until harvest, but to go to the shore of the Sea in search of food. It would be hard for us to give up our Prayer; therefore we hope that. [Page 215] thou wilt be disposed to accompany us, so that, while seeking for food, we shall not interrupt our Prayer. Such and such men are going to take thee in their canoe, and what thou hast to carry shall be distributed among the other canoes. Thou hast heard what I have to say to thee.” I have no sooner responded kekikberba this is a savage expression which means, “I hear you, my children; I grant what you ask”), than all cry out at the same time ouriounie, which is an expression of thanks. Immediately after this, they set out from the Village.

As soon as we have reached the place where we are to spend the night, they set up poles at certain intervals, in the form of a Chapel, they surround it with a large tent-cloth, and it is open only in front. The whole is set up in a quarter of an hour. I always have them take for me a smooth cedar board, four feet long, with something to support it: this serves for an Altar, above which is placed a very appropriate canopy. I adorn the interior of the Chapel with most beautiful silk fabric; a mat of rushes colored and well wrought, or perhaps a large bearskin, serves as a carpet. These are carried all ready for use, and, as soon as the Chapel is set up, we need only to arrange them. At night I sleep upon a rug; the Savages sleep uncovered in the open fields, if it do not rain; if it rain or snow, they cover themselves with sheets of bark, which they carry with them, and which are rolled up like cloth. If the journey be made in winter, they remove the snow from the place where the Chapel is to be placed, and then it is set up as usual. Every day we have evening and morning Prayers, and I offer the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. [Page 217]

When the Savages have come to the end of their journey, they busy themselves on the very next day in erecting a Church, which they cover with their sheets of
hark. I carry with me my Chapel and everything that is necessary to adorn the chancel, which I cause to be hung with silks and handsome calicoes. Divine Service is performed as it is in the Village; and in truth they, with all their bark cabins, which they erect in less than an hour, constitute a sort of Village. After the Assumption they leave the Sea, and return to the village to gather their harvest. They have from it something to live upon, although in a very wretched way, until after All Saints’ day, when they return a second time to the Sea. At that season they have very good food. Besides large fish, shell-fish, and fruit, they find bustards, ducks, and all sorts of game, with which the Sea is covered at the place where they encamp — which is divided into a large number of small islands. The hunters who go out in the morning to hunt ducks and other kinds of game sometimes kill a score at a single shot. At the Purification, — or, at the latest, on Ash Wednesday, — they return to the Village; it is only the Hunters who separate from the people and go to hunt bears, elks, deer, and beavers.

These good Savages have often given proofs of the most sincere attachment to me, — especially on two occasions when, being with them at the Seashore, they became greatly alarmed on my account. One day, when they were engaged in hunting, the report suddenly went forth that a party of English had burst into my quarters and carried me away. They instantly assembled, and the result of their deliberation was that they should Pursue this company until they overtook them, and should snatch me from their hands, even should it cost them their lives. They forthwith sent two young Savages to my quarters, although it was late in the night. When they entered my cabin, I was occupied in writing the life of a Saint in the Savage tongue. “Ah! our father,” they exclaimed, “how glad we are to see thee!” “I am likewise very glad to see you,” I responded; “but what brought you here in such frightful weather?” “We have come to no purpose,” they said; “we were assured that the English had carried thee away, and we came to look for their tracks. Our Warriors will not long delay coming to pursue them, and to attack the Fort, — where, if the news had been true, the English would doubtless have imprisoned thee.”” You see, my children,” I replied to them, “that your fears are unfounded; but the friendship that my children show me fills my heart with joy; for it is a proof of their attachment to Prayer. To-morrow you shall depart immediately after Mass, in order to undeceive our brave Warriors, as soon as possible, and free them from all uneasiness.”

Another alarm, equally false, threw me into great perplexity, and exposed me to danger from hunger and distress. Two Savages came in haste to my quarters to inform me that they had seen the English at the distance of half a day’s journey. “our father,” said they, “there is no time to lose; thou must go away, thou wouldst risk too much in remaining here; as for us, we shall wait for the enemy and perhaps we shall go to meet them. The runners are setting out at this very moment to watch. [Page 219] for them; but, as for thee, thou must go to the Village with these people whom we have brought to conduct thee thither, When we have learned that thou art in a place of safety, we shall be at ease.”

I departed at daybreak with ten Savages who served me as guides; but, after a few days’ journey, we came to the end of our small stock of provisions. My guides killed a dog which was following them, and ate it; afterward they were reduced to
their sealskin pouches, which they also ate. It was not possible for me to touch them. Sometimes I lived upon a kind of wood which they boiled, and which when cooked is as tender as half-cooked radishes — excepting the heart, which is very hard and is thrown away; this wood has not a bad favor, but I had extreme difficulty in swallowing it. Sometimes they found attached to trees certain excrescences of wood, which are as white as large mushrooms; these are cooked and reduced to a sort of porridge, but it is very far from having the flavor of porridge. At other times they dried by a fire the bark of green oak, then they pounded it and made it into porridge; or perhaps they dried those leaves that grow in the clefts of rocks and are called “rock-tripe;” when these are cooked they make of them a very black and disagreeable porridge. I ate of all these, for there is nothing which hunger will not devour.

With such food, we could make but short stages each day. In the meantime, we came to a Lake which was beginning to thaw, and where there were already four inches of water on the ice. We were obliged to cross it with our snowshoes on; but as these snowshoes are made of strips of skin, as soon as they were wet they became very heavy and [Page 223] rendered our walking much more difficult. Although one of our men went in advance of us to sound the way, I suddenly sank knee-deep; another man, who was walking by my side, suddenly sank waist-deep, crying out: “My father, I am a dead man!” As I was approaching him to give him my hand, I myself sank still deeper. Finally, it was not without much difficulty that we extricated ourselves from this danger, on account of the impediment caused us by our snowshoes, of which we could not rid ourselves. Nevertheless, I ran much less risk of drowning than of dying from cold in the middle of this half-frozen Lake.

New dangers awaited us the next day at the crossing of a river, which we were compelled to pass on floating cakes of ice. We went over safely, and at last reached our Village. At once I had them dig out some Indian corn that I had left at my house; and I ate of it, wholly uncooked as it was, to appease my pressing hunger, while those poor Savages were making every effort to entertain me well. And, in truth, the repast which they were making ready for me, however frugal and little appetizing it may appear to you, was, in their opinion, a veritable feast. They served me at first a dish of porridge made of Indian corn. For the second course, they gave me a small piece of bear-meat, with acorns, and a cake of Indian corn baked in the ashes. Finally, the third course, which made the dessert, consisted of an ear of Indian corn roasted before the fire, with a few grains of the same roasted in the ashes. When I asked them why they had made me such a fine feast, they answered: “What, our Father! for two days thou hast eaten nothing. [Page 225] could we do less? Alas! would to God that we could very Often regale thee in this manner!”

While I was endeavoring to recover from my fatigue, one of the Savages who had camped on the Seashore, and who was ignorant of my return to the Village, caused a new alarm. Having come to my quarters, and not finding me, or any of those who had camped with me, he did not doubt that we had been carried away by a party of Englishmen; and, going on his way in order to inform the people of his own neighborhood, he came to the shore of a river. There he stripped the bark from a tree on which he drew with charcoal the English surrounding me, and one of the
number cutting off my head. (This is the only writing of the Savages, and they understand each other by figures of that kind as well as we understand each other by our letters.) He immediately put this sort of letter around a pole, which he set up on the shore of the river, so that passers-by might be informed of what had happened to me. A short time after, some Savages who were paddling by the place in six canoes, for the purpose of coming to the Village, perceived this sheet of bark: “Here is some writing,” said they, “let us see what it says. Alas!” exclaimed they on reading it, “the English have killed the people in our Father’s neighborhood; as for him, they have cut off his head.” They immediately loosened the braids of their hair, which they left to hang carelessly over their shoulders; and seated themselves around the pole, until the next day, without speaking a single word. This ceremony is among them a mark of the greatest affliction. The next day, they continued their way to within half a league of the Village, where they stopped; then they sent one of their number through the woods to the Village, in order to ascertain whether the English had come to burn the fort and the cabins. I was reciting my breviary while walking beside the fort and the river, when this Savage came opposite to me on the other shore. As soon as he saw me he exclaimed: “Ah, my Father, how glad I am to see thee! My heart was dead, but it lives again on seeing thee. We saw a writing which said that the English had cut off thy head. How glad I am that it told a lie!” When I proposed sending him a canoe that he might cross the river, he responded: “No, it is enough that I have seen thee; I shall retrace my steps and carry this pleasant news to those who are waiting for me, and we shall very soon come to join thee.” Indeed, they came that very day.

I believe, my dearest Brother, that I have satisfied your desires by the details that I have just given you of the nature of this Country, of the character of our Savages, of my occupations, of my labors, and of the dangers to which I am exposed. Doubtless you will judge that I have the most to fear from the English Gentlemen of our neighborhood. It is true that they long ago resolved upon my death; but neither their ill will toward me, nor the death with which they threaten me, can ever separate me from my old flock; I commend them to your devout prayers, and I am with the tenderest affection, etc. [Page 229]
JOURNAL OF SEVERAL VISITS

TO THE

INDIANS ON THE KENNEBEC RIVER,

BY THE REV. JOSEPH BAXTER,
Of Medfield, Mass.

1717.

WITH NOTES,
BY THE REV. ELIAS NASON.

Reprinted from the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register for January, 1867.

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1867.
JOURNAL OF THE REV. JOSEPH BAXTER.

We are happy to be able, through the courtesy of Mr. John Langdon Sibley, the learned librarian of Harvard College, to present to the readers of the Register, *verbatim, litteratim et punctatim*, the very valuable Journal kept by the Rev. Joseph Baxter while missionary to the Indians at Arrowsic island, Maine, in the early part of the 18th century.

The Journal, which is written in Mr. Baxter’s own hand, has upon the title-page the following memoranda:

“Medfield, 16th Jan., 1826. This MS. was sent to me by Rev. Thomas Mason, of Northfield, Mass., a lineal descendant of Rev. Joseph Baxter. Reference is perhaps made to this book at the beginning of Medfield Church Records.

D. C. Sanders.”

This diary sheds new light upon an interesting period in the Colonial history of Maine, and shows that the attempts to evangelize the Eastern Indians were more earnest and effectual than is generally supposed.

The Rev. Joseph Baxter was the son of Lt. John Baxter of Braintree, Mass., and was born in that town in 1676. His grandfather, Gregory Baxter, possibly a relative of the celebrated author of the “Saints’ Rest,” settled in Braintree in 1632. Joseph was graduated at Harvard College in 1693, and ordained at Medfield (Allen erroneously says Medford) April 21, 1697. *Ante*, xx. 57. He kept an exact record of the baptisms, admissions to the church, &c. during his ministry, the last entry in which is, “The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was administered Nov. 2, 1729. Total 197 times.”

He was a man of promise, and when Gov. Samuel Shute visited Arrowsic for the purpose of forming a treaty with the Indians in the summer of 1717, he selected Mr. Baxter as a person well qualified to disseminate the gospel among the aborigines of the East, and to win them to the English, as well as to the celestial, crown.

Inspired by the great example of Eliot and Mayhew, he most heartily dedicated himself to the self-denying task of publishing the gospel among the Indians, and though he had not the scholarship or wit of his opponent Sebastian Rale, he nevertheless engaged in his work with all his heart, and continued laboring faithfully until the hostile attitude of the Indians broke up the mission.

It will be seen by the journal that he began at once to learn the Abnaki language, and that he labored as he had opportunity to instruct the savages in the principles of the gospel, and to fulfill every duty of his holy mission.

In a letter addressed to him, as also in another to Gov. Shute, the Jesuit, who was truly a fine Latin scholar, speaks contumuously of Mr. Baxter’s want of skill in Latin composition; but the Governor most sensibly tells the Frenchman that the main qualification of a missionary to the barbarous Indians was “not to be an exact scholar as to the Latin tongue, but to bring them from darkness to the light of the

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47.

A part of the second letter of Mr. Baxter to Rale, written in Latin, April, 1719, is extant, and it must be allowed that the style is far from elegant; but many people know the Latin well, who are not able to compose in it.

That Mr. Baxter was acceptable to the friendly Indians appears from the fact that a petition, dated at Fort George, Brunswick, Oct. 3, 1717, and signed by several chiefstains, was sent to the Governor and Council, praying that Mr. Baxter "may be at Pejepecot where there is an interpreter, for he is a good man; we heard him speak well," &c. V. Mass. State Papers.

It will be seen by the journal that Mr. Baxter visited the Eastern Indians three several times, and then returned to his flock in Medfield, with whom he remained a faithful pastor until his death, May 2, 1745.

On the first day of August, 1717, being ye first day of ye 4th year of the Reign of King George, His Excellency Samuel Shute, Esq. set off, from ye Long wharfe in Boston about six a clock at night in order to go to Arousick, and Casco Bay, &c.: being attended with Honourable Samuel Sewal, Penn Townsend, Andrew Belcher, and Edmund Quincy, Esq." The Rev'd M. Henry Gibbs, M. Henry Flint, and divers other Gentlemen, and that night they fell down about a mile or Two below ye castle, and there came to an anchor, and lay that night.

The next day being ye 2d of August about Ten of ye clock they weighed Anchor the wind blowing very fair, and briskly, till towards night, then we had some rain, and thunder for a little while, afterwards we had a calm, and ye sloop rouleth about till we were almost all sick, and especially my wife, and it was so calm ye we gained but little that night.

On Saturday ye 3d of August we had ye wind blowing fair some part of ye day, but a great part of ye day we had a calm, so ye we got along but slowly; my wife remained sick that day altho ye most of us were well, and all ye night following, and the next morning was very calm, so ye we gained but little, and were upon ye water, and under sail upon ye Sabbath day, which was ye 4th of August, and then we had Two exercises about ye middle of ye forenoon ye wind blew up briskly, and continued blowing so till night, and about five of ye clock we...
arrived at ye harbour of Casco-bay, and there cast anchor. All that day we were all of us very well, and my wife did eat stoutly as well as others.

On Monday August 5th, we weighed anchor about twelve of ye clock, and sailed towards Arousick the wind very fair, and about 3 of ye clock came to an anchor before ye Great Chebeego-land. That day it rained at times: but we were all of us very well, and some of us went on shoar at ye Great Chebeeg.* Judg Sewal went on shoar upon cousens’s Island,† and before ye Governour, and Divers other Gentlemen took possession of that Island for ye Indian-Corporation.

On Tuesday August 6th, about Twelve a clock we set sail from Chebeeg Island. That day we had but little wind, and so got along but slowly, we were under sail all ye following night. About Sun rise we came by Segwin Island.‡

On Wednesday, August ye 7th in ye forenoon we came to an Anchor near ye Island of Arousick, and there we lay till towards night, and then we sailed up to George-Town§ and landed at Mr. Watts’s,∥ and lodged in his House divers of us that night.

Thursday ye 8th of August was dark, and a little wet, so ye man of war[,] did not come up, and the Governour remained on board.

On Friday August ye 9th, the man of war came up in ye forenoon and cast anchor before Mr. Watts’s house, and ye cables of ye anchors coming foul of one another the ship run upon ye rocks and was likely to be lost. In ye afternoon the Governour came ashore and about 3 of ye clock had a Treaty** with ye Heads of ye Indians. He made a

* An island—Great Gebeag—in Casco Bay—containing about 1800 acres, and situated some six miles from the main land.
† This beautiful Island forms a part of North Yarmouth, Me., and was purchased of Richard Vines, an agent of Sir Fernando Gorges, by John Cousins, or Cossins, who resided here until 1673. He removed to York, where he died in 1688, at the age of about 87 years. V. Williamson’s “Maine,” 1. 679.
‡ Seguin, anciently Salquin Island, lies at the mouth of the Sagadahock River, about two miles from the S. E. corner of Phipsburg. It contains about 42 acres.
§ Georgetown, one of the oldest towns in Lincoln Co., Me., was incorporated June 13, 1716, and then included all the territory within the present limits of Bath, Woolwich, and a part of Phippsburg. It embraced Parker’s Island, where the Pattees of the Plymouth Colony began to lay the foundation of a State in 1667. It received its name from “Fort St. George.”
∥ John Watts, who married a granddaughter of Major Clark, an original proprietor of Arrowsic, removed from Boston in 1714, and erected a large brick house on the lower end of the island, near a place called Butler’s Cove. He brought the bricks from Medford. In 1718, his and Mr. Preble’s, near the upper end of the island, were the only two houses left—the others having been destroyed by the Indians. Mr. Watts’s house was occupied in 1720, by John Penhallow. V. “Collections of Maine Hist. Society,” ii. p. 198; also p. 201-2.
* His Majesty’s Ship the Squirrel.
** An account of this celebrated treaty was printed by B. Green, Boston, 1717, under the following title:—“Georgetown on Arrowsick Island, Aug. 9, 1717. Annoque regni regis Georgii magnæ Britanniae, &c. A conference of his Excellency the Governour with the Sachems and chief men of the Eastern Indians.” Quarto. Eight Indian Sachems and chief captains attended, and Capt. John Gyles and Samuel Jordan were the interpreters. In the treaty Gov. Shurnk addressed these words to them, “Tell them that King George and the British nation are Christians of the reformed Protestant religion; that the great and only aim of their faith and worship and life is contained in the Bible [the governor holding one in his hand], here in this book, which is the word of God, and we would gladly have you of the same religion with us, and therefore we have agreed to be at the charge of a Protestant missionary among you to instruct you, and this is the gentleman (showing Mr. Baxter to them), and I hope also in a little time to appoint a schoolmaster among you to teach your children; and that I hope and expect that they treat this Protestant missionary with all affection and respect, not only for the sake of the King’s government, but of his own character, he being a minister of Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour, who will judge them and us at the last day.” See “Collections of Maine Hist. Society,” vol. iii. p. 364; also, vol. vi. p. 231, where the treaties are printed in full, with the faces of the signatures.
speech to ye" and after a complement they desired time to consider of what was said before they gave their answer, which was readily complied with. And on Saturday ye" 10th of August they came and gave an Answer to what the Governour proposed, and manifested a dislike of ye" building of Forts in ye" Eastern parts, and pretended ye" they had a right to ye" lands which the English claimed. The Governour told them ye" what was their own they should peaceably and quietly possess, but what ye" English had purchased they would hold and improve as they saw meet, only the Indians might have liberty to fish, and fowl, and hunt on ye" lands belonging to ye" English, at length ye" Indians broke away disorderly, and in an ill humour. The Governour was resolved not to buckle to them, and on ye" Lords Day went aboard and acted as if he were going away, whereupon the Indians quickly sent on board and desired to speak with ye" Governour before he went away, and in answer to their desire the Governour came ashore and in ye" evening they came to him, and declared ye" they were sorry for what had happened, and manifested their willingness ye" the English sh" do what they would with their lands, and in regard of Forts, c. c.: notwithstanding a scurrilous Letter sent by Sebastian Ral"e* ye" French Jesuit to the Governour, wherein he declared ye" what the English had said concerning ye" French Kings resigning ye" lands in New England to ye" English had been reported to ye" Governour of Canada, and he said ye" it was false, and he would assist ye" Indians in defending these lands.

On Monday ye" 12th of August, ye" Indians Signed Articles of agreement which was a confirmation of what they had before done at former Treaties, and they manifested a desire ye" the English might peaceably enjoy all their lands, and ye" they might live in friendship with ye" English as long as the sun and moon endured having ye" day before made a present of Two Wampum Belts. After all was concluded the young Indians came on shore with their arms, and honoured ye" Governour with several volleys, and diverted him with a dance. This day Capt" Belcher on board his sloop having Col: Quincey on board, Mr. Gibbs, Capt" Harris, Capt" Chambers, and divers others weighed anchor, and set sail for Boston.

On Tuesday August ye" 13th, The Governour in ye" man of war and Capt: Wier, who had on board his sloop Samuel Sewal, and Penn Townsend, Esq", Mr. Flint, and divers others weighed anchor, and sailed for Boston. This Day uncle Minot,† Mr. Watts and his wife,

* Sebastian Ralé, called by the English Rallé and Basles, the learned French Jesuit missionary to the Abnakis at Norridgewock, or Nansonouak, was killed at that place, with some 39 of the natives, Aug. 23, 1724. He laboured as a missionary among the Abnakis about 3 years, conforming to their modes of life, and mastering their difficult language, so that he came at length to exercise a powerful religious and political influence over them, and to render himself peculiarly obnoxious to the English settlers. He left a dictionary of the Abnaki language, which is now in the library of Harvard College. It is a quarto vol. of some 500 pages, and is invaluable to the student of Ethnology. There is a very pleasant story of Ralé's mission in the "Atlantic Souvenirs" for 1829, entitled "Nanounesak." Ralé's Indian village at Norridgewock was at that beautiful place now called "Indian Oldoint." A monument was erected over his grave, Aug. 23, 1833, twenty feet in height, inscribed with an iron cross by which it is surmounted.—A good life of Ralé is now a desideratum. V. "Lettres Edifiantes." Drake's "Book of the Indians," Bk. iii. p. 127, and Life of Ralé, by Dr. Converse Francis; also, Memoir of Father Ralé, by Rev. T. M. Harris, D.D., Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d Series, vol. viii. p. 250.

† John Minot, son of Stephen, was born Dec. 27, 1690, and died at Brunswick, Jan. 11, 1694. [Ante, l. 174.]
Mr. John Minot, my wife and mysele went up to Fort-George at Brunswick.

On Wednesday Aug: 14th we came down from Brunswick to George-Town.

Thursday Aug: 15th we were at George-Town, the weather being very hot.

Friday Aug: 16th we were at George-Town y° weather being very hot.

Saturday Aug: 17th, we were at George-Town, the weather remaining very hot.

August y° 18th, we were at George-Town being sabbath day.

On Monday August 19th, I had an opportunity at Mr. Watts's to discourse with Capt. Jo, his squaw, his brother John, Robin Bone, and another Indian. Capt. Jo understood English pretty well, and interpreted what I said to the Rest. I discoursed with them about the one only True God in y° Three Persons, the creator of y° world who hath revealed his will to us in his Holy word to be y° rule of our Lives, the necessity of believing in X and depending on his righteousness alone for salvation, the necessity of confessing our sins to God, and not to man, and of praying to him alone for y° Pardon of sin, who will pardon sinners freely for y° sake of Christ, &c.: And they seemed to be very well pleased with what I said. And Capt. Jo promised to come and visit me sometimes, and learn me to speak Indian.

On Saturday August 24th, I went up to Brunswick, and the next day preached in y° fort, and 3 of y° Indians came to meeting in y° afternoon, when sermon was ended I repeated the heads of it, and Capt. Giles interpreted y° to y° Indians, and they seemed to be well pleased therewithal.

On Monday I had some discourse with y° Indians to shew them the necessity of sanctifying y° Sabbath, which was occasioned by their shooting a gun on y° Sabbath day.

On Saturday Aug: 31st, I discoursed with several Indians at Brunswick about Religion, and they seemed to be very well pleased with my discourse.

September y° 1st, I preached at Brunswick and several Indians came to hear me, Capt: Giles interpreted to them y° Heads of y° Sermons and they seemed well pleased therewithal.

September y° 8th, I preached at Augusta.†

September y° 15th, I preached at George-Town.

September y° 22d, I Preached at G: Town.

September y° 24th, I discoursed with an Indian belonging to Neredgewock.

* Capt. John Gyles, who was for a time Commander of the garrison on St. George's River, was son of Thomas Gyles, of Pennaquid, born about 1678, married 1st, at Salisbury, Oct. 26, 1703, Ruth True, born at Salisbury, Oct. 5, 1663, daughter of Joseph and Ruth (Whittier) True of that place, who were married April 20, 1675. Mrs. Ruth Gyles died at Salisbury in 1729. Thomas Gyles married 2d, at Roxbury, Nov. 6, 172, Hannah Heath, born 1689, eldest daughter of Capt. Wm. and Hannah (Wold) Heath, all of Roxbury.

Capt. Gyles was taken captive by the Indians, Aug. 2, 1689, and on the 19th of June, 1698, arrived at Boston, after an absence of more than eight years. He excelled as an interpreter. See his Narrative in "Indian Captives"; Gyles Family, by Rev. John A. Vinton, p. 122, &c.

† Augusta. This town was once quite promising. It embraced the whole or a part of the territory of the present Phipshurg. Penhallow, p. 82, says that Doctor Noyes "built a stone Garrison at Augusta, at his own charge, which was judged to be the best in the Eastern Country." The sloop Pelegscot sailed from this place to Boston. This flourishing settlement was destroyed in the time of 'Lovewell's war.'
Sept: 25th, I discoursed with another Indian belonging to Norridge-wock at Mr. Watts’s.

Sept: 29th, I preached at George-Town.

Octb: 6th, I preached at Brunswick, and staid there ye ensuing week, and preached there on Octob: 13th, and while I was there we had news from Norridge-wock by ye Indians ye Indian was almost killed by his squaw which was a squaw ye former tended upon ye Jesuit: but afterwards we heard ye ye Indian was likely to recover.

While I was there we likewise heard by ye Indians of Terrible fires beyond Canada whereby many ye Indians were destroyed, and many being terrified fled from ye places where they used to dwell. And we had an account of about fourscore strange Indians ye were come to Penecook with their families who said ye they fled for fear of ye fire: but it was suspected ye they were come from Carolina.

The Indians said ye the Jesuit told them ye the world is now to be gradually destroyed by fire, and ye the fire would come to them by Christmas. While I was at Brunswick I was informed by Capt. Giles ye the Ambersocoggin Indians had sent a Petition to ye General Court to have a Praying-house built for them at Brunswick to meet with ye English.

Octob: 14th, I went from Brunswick to George-Town and soon after I came thither there came an Indian to inform Mr. Watts ye Capt. Jo (who was speaker on behalf of ye Indians ye. Two first Days of ye Governours treaty with them) had wounded himselfe by falling down on a knife ye banded behind him in a Pouch, and the knife ran quite through his body and he was very like to die. Octob: 20th I preached at George-Town.

Octob: 27th, I preached at George-Town in ye forenoon, and Mr. Elmore in ye afternoon. While I was at George-Town this time Capt. Jo who was wounded came to Town, and I had an opportunity to discourse with him. Here also I had an account from Capt. Giles of his being informed by ye Indians ye the Jesuit still predicted ye ye world would soon come to an end, ye it would be in 49 days.

Octob: 31st, I went on board of Mr. Watts’s sloop which was bound for Boston, and there went in ye sloop with me, Mr. Watts, Mr. Elmer, my wife, and Divers others; we sailed out of Mr. Watts’s Harbour about half an hour after sun-rising, and were favoured with a fair wind.

On Nov: 1st, we landed at Boston about an hour after sun set. When we came to Boston we heard of the death of Capt. Belcher, Judg Sewals wife, Mr. Hurst, Mr. Cable, and some others.

Nov: 2d, I went to Branty.

Nov: 3d, I preached at Branty.

Nov: 4th, I was at Weymouth.

Nov: 5th, I returned to Boston.

Nov: 8th, I waited upon ye General Court to give them an account of Affairs amongst ye Eastern Indians.

Nov: 9th, I went to Cambridg and from thence to Medfield, where I arrived a little after sun set, and found my family (through ye goodness of God) in very good health.

Nov: 10th, I preached at Medfield.

Nov: 11th, I catechised ye children at Medfield.

Nov: 17th, I preached at Medfield, and administered ye sacrament, and the evening after that Day died ye wife of Nathaniel Smith.
Nov: 18th. I went to Boston from Medfield, and while I was at Boston, and Medfield, and thereabouts died Major General Winthrop, Deacon Hubbard, Doctor Cutler, Mr. Mills, and a great many others.

Nov: 20th, Mr. Thomas Foxcroft was ordained a Pastor of ye old church in Boston.

Nov: 21st, we came on board Mr. Watts’s sloop, Mr. Watts being very ill, we sailed from ye Long wharf about Ten a clock, and the wind blowing very fair, we got into ye Harbour at Capan about 2 a clock in ye afternoon. And about 12 a clock in ye night the wind blowing very fair we sailed out of Capan Harbour, and

On Nov: 22nd, we came to Sagadahock a little before night: but ye wind, and Tide being both against us we could not get into ye River: but were forced to stand away for Cape nenaggen,* and in that Harbour we lay all night.

The next day Nov: 23rd we had very Little wind so ye it was near night before we got again to ye mouth of ye River, and then the Tide was against us again; but with a great deal of difficulty we got in at ye mouth of the River and came to an anchor by Honeywells Point, where we lay till ye Tide favoured us, which was about 9 or 10 a clock, then we sailed for Arousick, and Landed at Mr. Watts’s wharefe about 12 or 1 a clock, Mr. Watts was carried ashore very sick.

The next Day being Sabbath Day, Nov: 24th, I preached at George-Town. On Tuesday Nov: 26th, Mr. Watts died in ye evening about five a clock.

Thursday Nov: 28th, was kept as a Thanksgiving throughout ye Province, and I preached at George-Town.

On Nov: 29th, Mr. Watts was buried.

On Dec: 1st, being Sabbath Day, I preached at George-Town, from Hebr. 11: 13. All These died in faith.

Dec: 6th, Mr. Stratton sailed from G. Town bound for Boston.

The Night following Mr. Wiet sailed from thence being also bound for Boston.

Dec: 8th, I preached at G—Town.

Dec: 14th, Dies Tr.;†

Decemb: 15th, I preached at G—Town, and Baptized Lydia Watts, ye daughter of Madame Watts, Charles Stockbridge, ye son of Samuel Stockbridge, and Allen Poor, the son of Robert Poor.

Decemb: 22nd, I preached at G—Town.

Decemb: 23rd, I discoursed with some Neridgewock Indians about Religion.

Decemb: 27th, I discoursed with Capta Jo, and Kerebendit about Religion.

Decemb: 29th, I preached at G—Town.

The night after died at G—Town, Mr. Samuel Bray, a hopeful young man.

The first day of January, 1717, I went to Sagadahock and preached to the Indians. That day arrived at G—Town, Mr. Stratton in a sloop from Boston, and brought Tidings of ye death of Co. Hutchin-
son, Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Corwin,* y* Minister of Salem, M'r. Samuel Bridg of Boston, the wife of Doctor Clark, and Divers others, and they also brought news y* the sicknesse was abated, and y* our friends and Relations were in health.

The night after died at G— Town Robert Young a Hopeful young man.

January y* 5th, I preached at G— Town.
On January y* 6th, died old M'r. Bray, of George Town.
January y* 12th, I preached at G— Town.
January y* 16th, Stratton sailed from Arowsick for Boston.
January 17th, I went from Arowsick for Brunswick, and reached to Topsham, and there lodged that night.

January y* 18th, I went from Topsham to Brunswick.

January 19th, I preached at Brunswick, and there came 3 Indians to meeting, the most of y* Indians being gone from thence before I came thither.

January 26th, I reached at Brunswick. While I was at Brunswick, I understood by Capt: Giles that he had lately had Intelligence by a certain Indian who had been travelling Eastward as far as St. John's River, y* y* People that way were glad to hear of y* good agreement between y* English and Indians. But while He was at St. Johns he said y* the Friar† there read a Letter, y* he said came from Governour Vaudrel, wherein he wrote. My children if y* English propose to settle at y* Eastward, viz.: at Penobscot, and St. John's River, hinder y* by all means, and in case they come forcibly to settle drive them off, if you cannot do it yourselves Inform me, and I will assist you. As to Kenebeck Indians I leave them to work their Ruine.

Afterwards the Friar said to them, there is a strong Peace between y* French and English, and I believe it will be a lasting one.

The Informer said to Capt* Giles, we do not understand what the Governour means by hindering the English from settlement here unless he is afraid y* we shall live too Happy together.

There being a sawco Indian at Capt* Giles when this Informer was there he said y* the Indians towards Piscataqua were very easy with respect to what y* Government had done about y* man y* had killed y* Indian at Piscataqua.

He likewise said y* there was no Truth in y* Report y* there had been concerning some forreign Indians come to Pennerock.

Capt* Giles likewise said y* he had Information y* on Decemb: 14th, being y* Romish Christmas there was a meeting of y* Indians, near an Hundred of them at Pemaquid, and when They were together, The young men were for promoting a war with y* English, saying we are now certainly informed y* the English have killed us a man. They are grown Proud, Let ns make war with them immediately.

The old men and the wise men said you are Foolish children. If you do as you will do y* Devils work, &c., the Devil will take you. It is not according to our Promise to Governour Shute. We have an old man near y* Fort at Pejipscot naming Terramuggns and He hath a Friend there y* will tell him y* Truth, we will first hear their say,

* The Rev. George Curwin was born at Salem, Mass., May 21, 1683; H. C. 1701; settled May 19, 1714, and died Nov. 23, 1717.
† Father Laupierjas.
our eyes are on them. After their Discourse, the young Men hearkened to ye old men, and are now easy, and every man to his hunting.

January 27th, I came from Brunswick to Topsham on ye Ice, and thereby lodged that night.

January 28th, I came from Topsham upon ye Ice to Cheemere Island and there several of Arowsick Friends met me with a Boat. I came down with them in ye Boat; it raining pretty hard all day so ye we arrived very wet at Arousick about Half an hour after nine o'clock at night.

February 2d, I preached at G— Town.

February 3d, The Penobscot Friar came to visit me, and I had a great deal of Discourse with him.

Febr. 4th, Mr. Robinson was drowned.

Febr. 6th, The sloop arrived here from Boston, and brought tidings of ye death of some in Boston, and of Divers at Medfield, and ye two of my children had been very ill, but were pretty well recovered. Blessed be ye name of the Lord.

Febr. 9th, I preached at G— Town.

Febr. 12th, I received a Letter from ye Penobscot Friar.

Febr. 18th, I preached at G— Town and baptized William Hopkins, ye child of W. Hopkins.

Febr. 21st, Mr. Stratton sailed for Boston.

Febr. 23d, I preached at G— Town.

March 2d, I preached at G— Town.

March 3d, died Mr. Ragget a Pious man.

March 8th, died Timothy Hamant.

March 9th, I preached at George-Town, and Baptized Jacob Pike, the son of Samuel Pike, and ye next day sent a Letter to ye Penobscot Jesuit.

March 13th, Stratton in ye sloop arrived here from Boston, with a great many Passengers, and brought ye comfortable Tidings of ye health and welfare of our Friends.

March 15th, I preached at G— Town.

March 17th, &c.:

March 23d, I preached at G— Town.

March 24th, there was an unusual noise in ye air.

March 26th, Stratton sailed from Geor. Town for Boston.

March 27th, was kept as a Day of Fasting and Prayer at George-Town.*

March 30th, I preached at G— Town.

April 6th, I preached at G— Town and baptized Samuel Bray ye son of ye widdow Bray.

April ye 13th, I preached at Augusta.

April ye 15th, Stratton arrived at George-Town from Boston with divers Passengers, who brought ye comfortable Tidings of ye abatement of ye sickness in, and about Boston, and of ye health of our Friends.

April ye 18th, I went from G— Town to Topsham.

April 19th, I went from Topsham to Brunswick.

April 20th, I preached at Brunswick.

April 22d, I discoursed with three Indians. One of them was inquisi-

* Was it on account of the "unusual noise in the air"?
tive about things in Religion, and I had a great deal of discourse with him who gave an account likewise of an Apparition ye the Jesuit at Nerridgewock saw who Lying alone in his wigwam, awaked in ye night and saw a great Light as if his wigwam had been on fire, whereupon he got up, and went abroad, and after some time he returned to his wigwam, and went to sleep again ; and after awhile he waked, and felt as it were a hand upon his Throat ye almost choaked him, saw a great light again, and heard a voice saying it is in vain for you to take any pains with these Indians, your children, for I have got possession of them, and will keep possession of them. The Jesuit likewise said ye there was a Letter brought to him which was written in ye name of an Indian ye was dead, wherein he declared ye He was now burning in a most terrible fire. He showed this Letter to the Indians, but first tore off the name ye was subscribed, and did not Let them know who he was. The Letter was written in ye Indian Tongue. This Apparition he said was about forty days ago.

April ye 20th, an Indian came to desire me to go to his squaw who was very sick, and Likely to die, accordingly I went to her with Captn Giles, and discoursed with her about ye state of her soul, and directed her how to get prepared for death, and she seemed to be very well pleased with what was said to her.

April ye 27th, I preached at Brunswick.

April ye 28th, I came down to G— Town, and there I heard ye Stratton who set sail for Boston the week before had like to have been castaway.

April 30th, I received a Letter from ye Nerridgewock Jesuit. And the next day sent a letter to him.


May 4th, I preached at George-Town.

May ye 12th, I came from G— Town in ye Pejepscot sloop for Boston.

May ye 14th, we arrived at Boston.

May 16th, I went from Boston to Medfield, and found my family in health, and under comfortable circumstances. Praised be ye name of the Lord.

May 18th, I preached at Medfield.

On Friday, August 4th, 1721, we went on board ye sloop Sea Flower of which Captn Peet was commander, about Five of ye clock in ye afternoon, Capt. Westbrook setting out by land for Piscataqua. As we were coming out of ye Harbour we met, &c. We had a fair wind till about nine, or Ten a clock at night, and then there came up a sudden, and violent squall which was something surprising, and while ye were haling down the main sheet it took the master of the sloop and carried him overboard with the Tiller which broke off short in ye Rudder, He being at ye Helm and Steering, and there he perished in ye water between Marblehead and Capan to the great sorrow and amazement of all ye were on board. But we were all beside the Master carried along safely (through the great goodness of God) and the
next day we arrived at New castle, in Piscataqua River, about three of ye clock in ye afternoon, and there I staid till Monday Morning, and then I went with ye Rev. Mr. Shurtleff* and divers others up to Portsmouth, and in ye evening I went up to Mr. Adams’s† at Newington.

Tuesday August 8th, it was foul weather and the wind against us, and so I continued at Newington.

Wednesday Aug: 9th, it continued foul weather, and the wind continued against us, and so I remained at Newington.

Thursday Aug: 10th, it continued foul weather, and the wind was against us; but it did not rain so much as it did on ye foregoing days, and then I went with Mr. Adams as far as Exeter, and lodged there that night.

The next day Aug: 11th, the weather cleared up, and the wind came fair for us, and then I returned to Portsmouth and visited Mr. Emerson, who was sick, and had buried his eldest Daughter, and had 3 Daughters more very sick.

That evening we went down to new castle, viz.: Capt. Westbrook, and Capt. Sherbourn (who supplied the place of Capt. Peet) and myself; and in ye night we sailed out of Piscataqua River.

The next Day which was Saturday, Aug: 12, we had a good wind, and towards night we arrived at Casco-Bay, where we met with Mr. Hilton, of Muscongus in a small vessel with his cattle and Hogs on board, removing to ye westward, who informed us ye all the People were gone from Muscongus upon ye rumours they had heard about the Indians.

That evening we went ahoar to Capt. Moody’s and there met with Col. Wheelright‡ who was going to Arrowsick as a Commissioner from ye Governour, and Council, and was to meet with divers others to treat with ye Indians about ye disturbance they had made at Arrowsick, and other places.

The next, viz.: Aug: 13th, Collonel Wheelright came on board our sloop early in the morning, and then we sailed out of Casco-Bay, and having a good wind we arrived about noon at Small Point where we landed Col. Wheelright in order to his going to Arrowsick. And in landing that Gentleman at Small Point we had an affecting sight of a Good Fort, and several Good Houses ye were totally deserted and left empty.

Then we sailed for St. George’s River, and as we passed by Damariscove there came out Two men and a Boy in a Boat to speak with us, and enquire what news, who told us ye They had removed ye woman and children ye had been on that Island for fear of the Indians.

The evening after we arrived at Mun-Hegan where we found several

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* The Rev. William Shurtleff was born in Plymouth, Mass.; H. C. 1817; ordained at Newcastle, N. H., 1712; installed at Portsmouth, Feb. 21, 1735, and died May 9, 1747.

† The Rev. Joseph Adams was born in Braintree, Mass., Jan. 1, 1689; H. C. 1710; and was ordained pastor of the church at Newington, Nov. 6, 1715. He remained pastor of this church for the remarkable period of 68 years, and died May 26, 1788. No pastorate in New Hampshire had then exceeded his in duration. Y. "The New Hampshire Churches," P. 160.

‡ John Wheelwright was the son of Samuel, of Wells, and grandson of the Rev. Samuel, of Exeter. He was of great service to the State in defending it from the assaults of the French and Indians. He held the office of Judge, as well as that of Colonel.
Fishermen, and some Families y* were removed from Muscongus,* for fear of ye Indians.

On Monday morning Aug: 14th, we sailed from Mun-Heggin, taking aboard several Families which removed from Muscongus. That Day we were becalmed, and got along very slowly. And at the mouth of St. George's River there appeared a Canoo with Three Indians in it; who came on Board our sloop, and talked very friendly. One of them shewed us a writing which He had of Capt. Giles at Brunswick, which signified that this Indian was one with whom said Capt. Giles had formerly kept, and was one who desired to live always in friendship, and Brotherhood with the English, and ye He was one of the Chiefs of ye Indians of St. John's River. His name was Macoiller, and the names of the Two other Indians y* were with him were Mijael, and Prussey. They were all kindly, and civilly entertained by Capt. Westbrooke,† and after some discourse with them they went away leaving Two skins on board to assure us ye* They would come to us again the next Day at the House in St. George's River.

When the sloop was entered a little way in the River a Great Gun was fired to give notice to ye People in ye* Fort ye* we were coming, whereupon there came down Three men in ye* Boat to meet us, and Mr. Lebby the Head-man in Capt. West-Brooke's absence being one of them, informed ye* the People at ye* Fort were all well, and had been in good health all ye* time of Capt. West-Brooke's absence; and had followed their business ye* most of ye* Time; but hearing rumours about ye Indians, they had been some of them as far as Sagadahock to enquire how things were.

Mr. Lebby likewise informed ye* there* had been Indians with him at 2 several times at ye* Block-house while Capt. West brook was absent, who desired to come into ye* house; but were not permitted. They talked as though they wondered at ye Peoples removing away from their Habitations in several places as they did. Some of them were some of ye* chief of the Penobscot Indians, and said that they would come again with Their Brother Westbrook returned.

That night we arrived late at ye* Block-House, being necessary to

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* Muscongus Island is the southerly Island in Broad bay, towards the western shore, Muscongus Bay being on the east and Muscongus Sound on the west of the island. It contains more than 900 acres of land, and has several fine farms. Muscongus with other islands in the bay belongs to the town of Bristol, in Lincoln county, which embraces the ancient Penamquid. Joselyn, in 1674, speaking of Muscongus, says, it was then "all filled with dwelling houses and stages for fishermen, had plenty of cattle, arable land and marshes." See Joselyn's Voyages, p. 200-203.

† The proprietors of the territory, here, erected two block houses, built a double saw mill, bought a sloop to transport their people and effects to the place, employed other vessels and men, brought in neat cattle and erected near thirty frames for houses. They were making more complete arrangements towards settling the place, and were about engaging the services of a young clergyman named Smith to preach to them. At this interesting moment in the affairs of the settlement the Indians disputed the right of Madockawando to dispose of their lands, as they termed them. The natives resorted thither, daily in great numbers, and oft-times threatened those employed in building and clearing the land, who used several stratagems to get them from off those lands. The result was that the company put under command of Capt. Thomas Westbrooke, one of the "twenty associates," a garrison of twenty men, which they maintained here for more than twelve months, and furnished with "great and small Artillery to defend themselves and the workmen." See Eaton's Hist. of Thomaston, p. 31. This movement on the part of the Indians may be considered the nucleus of "Lovewell's war." In 1722, Capt. Westbrooke was promoted to the command of St. George's Fort on the river of that name. In 1723 Col. Walton was displaced, and Col. Westbrooke was made Commander in Chief of the forces in that quarter. He died Feb. 11, 1743-4.
tow ye sloop up ye River. And the next day a little after noon there
came up to us Two of the Three Indians ye were on board our sloop
ye evening before, according as they said ye They would, and They
brought with them a squaw, and a Papoose, and then we had a great
deal of Discourse with them.

Capt. Westbrook shewed them the Letter ye was sent to our Govern-
our by the Jesuit, and told them ye He wrote in ye names of all ye
Indians, and how insolently He wrote, and threatened to burn ye Eng-
lishmen’s Houses, &c. whereupon they said ye Patrahans, i.e. the
Jesuit Lied, and he was very wicked, &c. and ye They desired
always to live in friendship and Brotherhood with the English.

That afternoon we went up to ye Mill by water and viewed That,
and as we were going up we went on shoar on ye other side of ye River,
and viewed ye land there, where we found extraordinary good land,
and when we had viewed ye mill which we found in a good forward-
ness we returned to ye Block-house by Land, and saw a great deal of
Good land.

Wednesday Aug: 16th, was foul weather but not raining very hard,
we went up ye River in a Boat as far as ye Falls and as we went and
returned we went shoar in some places and saw good land, and a
Body of Pine timber, and a great many pieces of good marsh.

Thursday Aug: 17th, it continued foul weather, and was more Tem-
pestuous then the Day before ye we could not stir abroad.

Friday Aug: 18th, The storm continued and increased, it was more
rainy, and Tempestuous then the Day before ye we could not stir abroad.

Saturday August ye 19th. The storm continued, but not so bad as
the Day before; so ye some thing was done towards finishing ye Block-
house down by the River.

Sabbath Day August 20th. The storm was over tho something
showery. The forenoon we met together in ye Lower Block house, to
attend on the worship of God, and in ye Afternoon we met in ye upper
Block-house.

Monday Aug: 21st, was a fine Pleasant Day, and all Hands went
briskly to work, to finish ye log-work in ye Lower Block-house, to
dig ye. Trenches between ye Two Houses and to get stockado’s to wall
in ye yard, and to get ye shop in a readiness to defend ourselves against
ye Indians if they should assault us.

Tuesday Aug: 22nd, was a fair Pleasant Day and the men went on
briskly with their work, endeavouring to finish ye yard between ye
Block-Houses, and fit ye’sleep, &c. :

Wednesday August 23d, was a fine pleasant day, and all Hands were
employed to get up ye fortification between ye Block-Houses, &c.

Thursday Aug: 24th, was cloudy, and like to rain; but yet it rained
very little so ye all Hands were briskly employed in getting up ye for-
tification between ye Block-houses, &c. : On this Day about noon we
heard some guns over towards Wessaweshheag* at some distance,
which made us conclude ye there were Indians coming near us; but
because they gave us such warning of their coming by firing at a
distance, we concluded ye they were coming in a friendly manner, and
so all Hands kept to their work, unless a few ye were upon ye look out
round about to observe how things were every way. Towards night

* The Wessaweshheag River is in the southerly part of South Thomaston.
there appeared some Indians at ye carrying place over against ye Block-house towards Wosaewshuago who fired several Guns, and set up a white flag, whereupon Capt. Westbrook ordered a Great Gun to be fired, and a white flag to be set up, and soon after there came a canoo to ye sloop in which was nimquid, and another Indian who were courteously received, and entertained by Capt. Westbrook, and they carried themselves very friendly, saying ye they desired to live in love and friendship with ye English, and they said ye Perixus, and Hundra ye Saggamores and divers other Indians were on ye other side of ye Bay, at ye carrying-place. After a while these Two went away to the Rest, and Capt. Westbrook went with them to ye Saggamores who received him very courteously firing several Guns when He came to them, and also he left them. There were at that place fifteen Indians, and one French-man.
Friday August 25th, in ye morning came nimquid, and 2 more Indians aboard ye sloop, and informed ye ye Indian Saggamores would come by and by, and in a little time went away. After a while came Perixus, and Hundra on board with nine Indians more, and a Frenchman. After ye usual greeting of them they sate down. And Capt. Westbrook informed them ye He had acquainted Governor Shute with ye conferences He had with them in July, and the Governor was well pleased with their good behaviour. And the Captain delivered them a Letter ye was sent by the Governor.
They asked whether it was written in French or in English.
Capt. Westbrook told them it was written in English.
They said ye they had sent to ye Governor to desire ye when He wrote to them He would write in French bec: They had none among them ye understood English.
Capt. Westbrook told them ye perhaps the Letter was written before the Governor had received that message from them. Then They opened the Governour's Letter, and desired ye it might be read to them. And accordingly it was read, and interpreted to them, and they seemed to be well pleased with it.
Then Capt. Westbrook showed them a copy of the Letter ye was sent by ye Indians to Governour Shute, wherein They threatened ye they would plunder and burn ye Englishmans Houses if they did not move off their lands, &c.: and some of the most Threatening expressions in it were read and interpreted to them.
The Indians said the Penobscot men are good men, and would not hurt the English.
Then they were shewed ye Penobscot Indians as well as others had signed that Letter.
The Indians said They had come away from Manasboak while the Letter was writing and could not tell what was in it. They were asked if none of them signed that Letter. They said they did not know that any of them did. They were asked if They desired to Live in love, and peace with ye English. To this They did not readily answer, but desired time to consider it. And about an hour after desired to speak again. And then They said It is now seven years since we have lived in peace with ye English, and we desire to do so always. The King of England, and the King of France are brothers, and we desire ye the English and Indians may live as Brothers, and we will never hurt them if They do not break the Peace first. And after a while They went away in a friendly manner.
Jacob Bailey, an Anglican minister, a graduate of Harvard came to Dresden about 1760. He described the majority of the inhabitants of the area as extremely poor, and very ignorant, without twas addigned he means of either religious or secular instruction. He resided, for the first few months, in the family of Capt., (afterwards Major,) Samuel Goodwin, a Presbyterian who had been in the country a number of years, as a surveyor, and supportive of the upcoming Revolution.

In his letter to the Society, in 1766, he makes the following statement: "A great number of Indians frequent this Neighbourhood. They are the Remains of the ancient Norridgewalk Tribe, and lead a rambling Life. They support themselves entirely by hunting, are very savage in their Dress and Manners, have a Language of their own, but universally speak French, and also profess the Romish Religion, and visit Canada once or twice a Year for Absolution. They have a great Aversion to the English Nation, chiefly owing to the Influence of Roman Catholick Missionaries, who, instead of endeavouring to reform their Morals, comply with them in their most extravagant Vices, and teach them that nothing is necessary to eternal Salvation, but to believe in the Name of Christ, to acknowledge the Pope, his holy Vicar, and to extirpate the English, because they cruelly murdered the Saviour of Mankind.

He concludes one of his Letters with a Detail of the great Things Dr. Gardiner, a Physician of Boston, has done, and is doing, for the Church of England in these Parts; particularly his generosity in giving the People of Pownalborough the use of Richmond House and Farm seven Years, for Mr. Bailey’s Improvement; his subscribing largely, and soliciting a Subscription for building them a Church and Parsonage House; his publishing, at his own Expense, an Edition of Bishop Beveridge’s Sermon on the Excellency of the Common Prayer, which has been dispersed to good Purpose; his intention to give a Glebe, build a Church and Parsonage House, and endow it for the support of an Episcopal Minister, at Gardner’s Town."

Besides, those who were born and educated in these remote parts, were so little acquaintance with any religious worship, and had so long enjoyed their native ignorance, that they discovered hardly any inclination for rational or moral improvement. It is true, that these people had either been brought up, heretofore, where the Christian religion had been enjoyed, or were born of such parents as acknowledged the Gospel; but how many melancholy instances have I observed of this truth, — the impressions of religion and morality will quickly grow faint, or entirely vanish, where neither schools or Divine service are maintained. This I most positively affirm, that when I came to this country, there was no settled minister of any denomination in the whole extensive territory. I found Christians of eight different persuasions; multitudes could neither read nor write; heads of families were unbaptized; some had a very weak and imperfect notion of a future state, and fancied that they should enjoy their wives and children in another world; many, I may add, most houses were destitute of Bibles, or any other books; they had no settled principles; and, in short, their morals
were extremely deficient. * * * * I would therefore ask all sober, candid, and impartial Christians, whether a people, so much under the dominion of poverty, ignorance and immorality, were not proper objects of charity, and whether the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts has done any injury by supporting a Mission for so many years, and for dispersing, by my hands, Bibles and other pious books, to the amount of above ^30 sterling, prime cost, in London? * * " And, I would further remark, that, as no other worship has ever been established at Frankfort, but that of the English Church, it cannot be removed without prejudice to the foreigners, as well as the children and younger people, who have been constantly used to our service, and, as many of them cannot read English, they are incapable of understanding, so as to profit by any other. I am conscious that my intentions in coming among this people, were to serve them in the best manner I was able, and I flatter myself that in many instances they have received some advantage. I have ever compassionated their poverty, and been so far from making any demands upon them, that I have shared with them in many hardships and difficulties. As to the French and Dutch, I have found them, in general, a sober, honest and industrious set of people; and, notwithstanding some have been induced to sign for a Meeting, yet they all, except one or two Calvinists, declare that they had rather adhere to the Church, and besides, they acknowledge that their ministers, when they left Germany, strongly recommended their joining, if possible, with the Church of England. It appears, upon the whole, very hard, and is just matter of complaint, that in a land of religious liberty, and under a government where all religions are tolerated, any should be teased and persecuted on account of their particular modes of worship. Yet this is really the case at Pownalborough: for, can a poor, ignorant man be at liberty to act his sentiments, when he is continually persuaded, entreated, reasoned with, and perhaps threatened, by a gentle man of learning, wealth and influence, to whom he may probably be indebted? " The report to the Society, in October of this year, contains the following: " I have baptized, since October last, fifty-five persons, four of them adults; and notwithstanding the violent attempts of my inveterate enemies to injure the Church, my parish, at present, is in flourishing circumstances. Our people have built, at their own expense, an elegant pulpit and reading desk, and their wives and daughters have furnished it with a cushion, and hangings of crimson damask. Our parsonage-house and land, which occasioned me so much concern and expense, are now redeemed from the power of our enemies, and I hope to enjoy them in peace. I would likewise beg leave to recommend the people at Gardinerstown, and the settlements above, on Kennebeck river, to the Society, as objects of their charitable assistance. They are a mixture of various denominations, chiefly very poor, among which, numbers are well disposed towards the Church. Many were formerly under my care at Pownalborough, and several, communicants of good character. It appears probable, that if a Missionary was fixed at Gardinerstown, with proper encouragements, the people, in general, would adhere to the Church. I have officiated twice this summer at the last-mentioned place, and, on the 18th of August, baptized twenty-two persons, eight of them adults. These infant settlements extend, from Pownalborough, forty-five miles along the river, and contain four hundred families, among which they have no ordained minister of any denomination, to administer the ordinances, and to preserve a proper sense of religion. But such are the necessitous circumstances of the people, the difficulty of travelling, and the expense of living, that no Missionary can subsist upon Kennebeck river, with credit to his profession, without a liberal support; and every difficulty here is rather greater, I conceive, than in the adjoining Province of Nova Scotia, where many of the English
entered upon lands already improved by the former French inhabitants. I would further mention, that Dr. Gardiner, who has erected a decent Church at Gardinerstown, and provided a glebe, engages, besides, to give ten pounds sterling, per annum. I am obliged to remark, that we are indebted to the care and vigilance of this gentleman for the redemption of our parsonage at Pownalborough, and its present establishment upon a sure foundation."

_That Mr. Bailey had not lost his early passion for writing, appears from a statement which he makes, wherein he says: "I have almost finished a description of the eastern country, in three chapters. The first contains the Geography and Natural History; the second, an account of the Ancient Indians; and the third, the most remarkable events, from its discovery in 1603, to the present day, with a view of its late prodigious improvements in the character of its inhabitants. My account takes in all the country between Casco Bay and Nova Scotia. I have had unexpected assistance, both from gentlemen and books." He also states that "two gentlemen have offered me seven guineas for the copy of Madockawando (a poem penned by Bailey), for the press, but I refused. I have a wealthy parishioner, Mr. Ayling, from England, who has purchased Richmond farm, to the amount of sixteen hundred and fifty acres, and is on the spot, making great improvements."

_The first instances of political persecution which Mr. Bailey experienced, occurred at a distance from the place of his residence. On the 7th September, 1774, he set off with a friend for Boston. His journal states that he was "insulted the next day."

" Sept. Sth. Lodged at Millican's.* Ill treated. ******

"Il^/=<. Lodged at Newbury : the country all in commotion. ******

" lItJt. Convention Sermon preached by Mr. Seargent.

---- "2Sd. Mobbed at Brunswick; got home at night.

" 26th. Abroad ; fled from the mob. Lodged at George Miers'."

He afterwards writes to a friend : "I was obliged to abscond in the night, to avoid the fury of the mob, and to keep myself concealed two days." .

" Sept. Sth. Lodged at Millican's.* Iff treated. ******

"Il^/=<. Lodged at Newbury : the country all in commotion. ******

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-' The inhabitants of Frankfort, or the West Parish of Pownalborough, continued quiet and composed till about Christmas, 1775, when Mr. Goodwin, a deputy-sheriff and jail keeper, began to spirit up the people. This man was open, generous, positive, and blustering, — served this year as Church
Warden, but was intimately connected with M. and N. He suddenly attempted to raise all the young fellows among us in defence of liberty, and engaged them to assemble on New Year's day, to erect the standard of defiance. Every method of allurement and menace was practised to convene the people upon this important occasion; but about twenty persons had resolution enough to disregard every incitement, and refused to give their attendance. The confusion and uproar which ensued were beyond example; the day was consumed in the exercises of drinking, swearing, traitorous imprecations, and the most horrible effusions of profaneness and impiety. Several people, in the fervor and wantonness of their zeal, proposed that the minister should be conducted by a sufficient military force from his habitation to the pole, and there be obliged to consecrate this exalted monument of freedom: others, indeed, were so modest as to oppose the motion, and when it was committed to the common suffrage, it was carried in the negative by a trifling majority only.*

Immediately after this distinguishing event, near one-half of the congregation withdrew from the Church, the minister was stigmatized as a mortal enemy to his country for neglecting to observe a thanksgiving appointed by the Provincial Congress, though the very persons who were loudest in their exclamations certainly knew that he had received no information time enough to give publick notice.

"My Presbyterian neighbours were so zealous for the good of their country that they killed seven of my sheep out of twelve, and shot a fine heifer as she was feeding in my pasture, and my necessities were so great in the following winter that I was obliged to dispose of the remainder of my cattle except one cow. The next spring, as I was endeavoring to cultivate a garden spot, which I had prepared from a rocky wilderness, with great labour and expense, the leaders immediately began to interrupt my honest endeavours for the support of my family. They daily threatened that prodigous numbers of people were assembling in the adjacent settlements to put down the Church and to burn my habitation over my head."

"It was determined that a liberty-pole should be raised before the Church door, to affront' (as it was said) 'the parson, and to express their defiance of the King,' but Mr. Goodwin, a Church Warden, the principal conductor, (under the secret direction, as I suppose, of M.) being opposed by the Vestry, eight in number, induced the people to erect it on the plains. M., some days before, had engaged to give them a quantity of rum to elevate their spirits upon the glorious occasion. When the appointed day came this gentleman, upon their appearance, according to previous agreement, delivered his present, with the assurance that he would have cheerfully assisted in person had he not been unwell. Capt. Lovejoy insisted upon my being sent for to consecrate the pole by prayer, and, if I refused, it was purposed that I should be whipped around it, but the motion was lost by a majority of two."

"August 11th. Forbidden to pray for the King. Only delivered a sermon. Thirty-five present"


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3 A liberty pole
"October 25th. Before the Committee for not reading the Declaration of Independence, for praying for the King, and for preaching a seditious sermon."

------- The following from one of his MSS. will give an idea of his sufferings at this time:

"Mr. Bailey, Missionary at Pownalborough, having been concealed in his own house for the space of five weeks, received information that a design was formed against his life. This intelligence determined him to attempt an escape. In consequence of this determination he left his habitation in the evening of October 15th, and was conducted through intricate paths, about two miles, by his brother and Dr. Mayer. It was conjectured that some desperate ruffians were placed at a little distance from the house, either to intercept his flight, or to destroy him on the spot. A couple of young lads were fired upon as they were riding along the road, the people doubtless imagining Mr. Bailey to be on horseback, returning home. He was constrained to leave his family in circumstances truly distressing; a wife with a young infant, and two girls about eleven. August 11th. Forbidden to pray for the King. Only delivered a sermon. Thirty-five presentent, and no kind of provisions or money for their support, except a few garden roots. After spending part of the night at his brother's, he arose before daylight, and, with a couple of young persons, embarked on board a canoe, and under the concealment of a thick fog, escaped to Brunswick, beyond the limits of the county where he resided. He was here in great anxiety, having money for only one day's subsistence, and not finding Dr. Moor arrived with his horse, as he expected, he was obliged to remain several hours at a publick house in cruel suspense, and exposed to the observation of every traveller. At length the appearance of his horse relieved his perplexity, and enabled him to pursue his journey without molestation. The next day he arrived at Falmouth, and was cordially received and kindly entertained by his friends. Some unexpected benefactions raised his spirits and encouraged him to proceed as far as Portsmouth, the capital of New Hampshire; but before he reached this seat of rebellion he was greatly alarmed with the misfortune of General Burgoyne and the army under his command. At York, he encountered the barbarous exultations of the rebels upon this important occasion; and as he entered Portsmouth, the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the vociferation of the populace were circumstances that increased his chagrin. He was, however, highly caressed by the friends of government, who assisted to sympathize with him, and to console each other on the gloomy appearance of publick affairs.

------- I then repaired to Mr. Domett's, and was kindly received by that worthy and benevolent couple. They no sooner perceived the poverty and uncouthness of my apparel, than they contributed towards a repARATION, and furnished me with a handsome coat, jacket and breeches. My dress before this recruit was as follows: an old rusty thread-bare black coat, which had been turned, and the button-holes worked with thread almost white, with a number of breaches about the elbows; a jacket of the same, much fractured about the button-holes, and hanging loose, occasioned by the leanness of my carcass, which was at this time greatly emaciated by the constant exercise of temperance; a pair of breeches, constructed of coarse bed-tick, of a dirty yellow colour, and so uncoat (sic) as to sutler
Mr. Bailey, Missionary at Pownalborough, having been concealed in his own house for the space of five weeks, received information that a design was formed against his life. This intelligence determined him to attempt an escape. In consequence of this determination he left his habitation in the evening of October 15th, and was conducted through intricate paths, about two miles, by his brother and Dr. Mayer. It was conjectured that some desperate ruffians were placed at a little distance from the house, either to intercept his flight, or to destroy him on the spot. A couple of young lads were fired upon as they were riding along the road, the people doubtless imagining Mr. Bailey to be on horseback, returning home. He was constrained to leave his family in circumstances truly distressing; a wife with a young infant, and two girls about eleven, and no kind of provisions or money for their support, except a few garden roots. After spending part of the night at his brother’s, he arose before daylight, and, with a couple of young persons, embarked on board a canoe, and under the concealment of a thick fog, escaped to Brunswick, beyond the limits of the county where he resided. He was here in great anxiety, having money for only one day’s subsistence, and not finding Dr. Moor arrived with his horse, as he expected, he was obliged to remain several hours at a publick house in cruel suspense, and exposed to the observation of every traveller. At length the appearance of his horse relieved his perplexity, and enabled him to pursue his journey without molestation. The next day he arrived at Falmouth, and was cordially received and kindly entertained by his friends. Some unexpected benefactions raised his spirits and encouraged him to proceed as far as Portsmouth, the capital of New Hampshire; but before he reached this seat of rebellion he was greatly alarmed with the misfortune of General Burgoyne and the army under his command. At York, he encountered the barbarous exultations of the rebels upon this important occasion; and as he entered Portsmouth, the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the vociferation of the populace were circumstances that increased his chagrin. He was, however, highly caressed by the friends of government, who assisted to sympathize with him, and to console each other on the gloomy appearance of publick affairs.

The following from one of his MSS. will give an idea of his sufferings at this time in which he describes the poor condition of his clothing.

... “A pendiculal patch upon each knee of a different complexion from the original piece; a pair of blue thick-seamed stockings, well adapted to exclude the extreme heat of the season; a hat with many holes in the brim, adorned with much darning in other places, of a decent medium between black and white. My wig was called white in better days, but now resembled [the] colour an old greasy bed blanket; the curls, alas had long since departed, and the locks hung lank, deformed, and clam- my about my neck, while the shrinking caul left both my ears exposed to publick view. But the generous JMr. Parker soon made me a present of a very elegant wig, which, though it might not furnish my brain with an addition of wisdom, yet certainly enabled me to shew my head with greater confidence.
"I returned from Boston a few days since, but am threatened with immediate imprisonment if ever I attempt to officiate again, either in publick or private, by which means I am deprived of every support, except what arises from charity. In Boston I was treated with great compassion and tenderness, both by Whigs and Tories, and received several generous benefactions, even from the former. But during this absence my family severely felt the distresses of hunger and famine, and sometimes had nothing to eat for several days together but an handful of vegetables and a little milk and water, and at other times they remained twenty-four hours without any sustenance at all, till Mrs. Bailey had almost determined to die rather than make her situation known, for it has long been criminal for any person in this country to afford us support, and many have been prosecuted as Tories for no other reason. Human nature cannot but reflect with reluctance upon such unchristian and cruel proceedings, neither is it possible for sufferers to love and esteem those institutions which put it in the power of bad men to indulge their ill nature, their malice and revenge, on innocent and defenceless objects.

"Being afterwards at a settlement about fifty miles from my own habitation, at the requisition of the people to preach and baptize their children, I was assaulted by a violent mob armed with clubs, axes, and other weapons, who stripped me naked in search of papers, pretending that I had conceived a design of escaping to Quebeck."

"29. Concluded this morning, notwithstanding the contempt which is poured upon the Britons from every quarter, to petition the Council for liberty to depart for Nova Scotia with my family; and, because I perceived that our magistrates could not admit of pleas of conscience, I confined myself to the simple article of poverty. Mr. Parker had in the morning obtained leave of Mr. Powell, the President, to offer my petition. Accordingly, having it prepared, I went down to the Court-house and presented it to that gentleman, who engaged to give me his interest. Drank tea with 'Dr. Byles and his daughters.

--- This day being Sunday could not assist Mr. Parker for want of a suitable discourse. As I was walking to church in the morning Mr. Lash put a guinea into my hand.

"4. Received this day eight dollars from Mr. Thomas Amory.

"After dinner waited upon Dr. Lloyd. The Dr. at parting gave me nine dollars.

"This morning at Mr. Wallace's, where Mr. William Gardiner introduced me to Mr. Reed, a gentleman who had been carted out of town. He made me a present of twelve dollars. A few minutes before the hour appointed I arrived at Mr. Domett's, and just after I was seated a gentleman rapped at the door and gave Mrs. Domett a paper for me. She informed me that it was Mr. Erskine, an Irish gentleman. Upon opening the paper we found enclosed two hundred and seventeen dollars. This Mr. Erskine gave me at Portsmouth, last November, sixteen dollars. He is nephew to Sir W^illiam Erskine, Colonel of the Edinborough regiment, raised for the service against America. He now exerted himself in collecting this money for me among his acquaintance from a princi- ple of pure
generosity. When I came home, Mr. Warner sent his compliments, with a very good surtout and twenty dollars.

The following was addressed to E. S. Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and is dated October 1st, 1778:

"In order to explain a little the nature of my situation, and to elucidate the character of my persecutors, I beg leave to relate the following incident. The County Court is now sitting, and I am this minute informed that I am presented before the Grand Jury for preaching treason on the Sunday after Easter. "When I came to examine the matter I found there was nothing in either of my sermons which tended in the remotest sense to meddle with the present times; this induced me to search the lessons for the day, and I presently found that the sixteenth chapter of Numbers was the lesson appointed in the Morning Service, and that the twenty-sixth verse contained almost the very words sworn to in the deposition upon which they founded their presentment. In order to save you the trouble of opening your Bible I will quote you the words: ‘And he spake unto the congregation saying, Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins.’"

"The Grand Jury, however, at the instance of Langdon, the attorney, refused to find a bill." 

Mr. Bailey states, in a letter to a friend, that on the Sunday before Christmas, the weather being pleasant for this turbulent season, we had a full congregation, and this indignant magistrate, observing a number of people passing by his house in their attendance upon Divine Service, sent directly for one of my Wardens, and with a flaming countenance and haughty tone of voice, and the most insolent airs of authority, ordered him to deliver me the following imperious message: ‘Tell the Parson that if he presumes to discharge his functions any longer, I will immediately commit him to prison, and if he do not enter into a written agreement to forbear the exercise of Publick Worship, I will myself appear on Christmas day, attended with a number of resolute fellows, and drag him headlong out of the pulpit.’ But he firmly promised, at the same time, that he would never molest me whilst I continued in my own house.

"Some faint idea of the scarcity which prevails throughout the country. Multitudes of people, who formerly lived in affluence, are now destitute of a morsel of bread, and the remainder are reduced to a very scanty allowance. Several families in the lower towns, and in the Eastern country, have had no bread in their houses for three months together, and the anxiety and distress which this occasions are truly afflicting. Great numbers who inhabit near the sea coast, and even at the distance of twenty miles, after being starved into skeletons for want of provisions, have repaired to the clam banks for a resource; while others, who were prevented by their circumstances, or distant situation, from acquiring this kind of food, were still in a more calamitous condition. I have myself been witness to several exquisite scenes of anguish, besides feeling in my own bosom the bitterness of hunger, and the utmost anxiety for the subsistence of my family. I have seen among my neighbors the most striking horrors of nakedness and famine. Many during the pinching cold and storms of winter,

4 The High Sheriff
exposed to all the roughness and severity of the season, had the misfortune to buffer the turbulence of the weather without shoes or stockings, or even shirts. And when the spring advanced to afford them a kindly warmth, destitute of anything to answer the importunate demands of nature, except a precarious supply obtained from their charitable friends, who had not sufficient to silence their own necessitous cravings. Several families within the compass of my own knowledge have been for a long season deprived of all sustenance agreeable to their palates, or adapted to the nourishment and support of the human body. It was impossible to procure grain, potatoes, or any other species of vegetable; flesh, butter and milk, were equally scarce; no tea, sugar, or molasses, to be purchased on any terms; nothing, in a word, but a little coffee, with boiled alewives, or a repast of clams, and even of this unwholesome diet not enough to gratify the cravings of nature. I have walked abroad after a breakfast of these ingredients, weak and feeble myself, in hopes to obtain a dinner among my more wealthy acquaintance, and have returned home disappointed of my expectations, and [when] in other places I have received an invitation to eat, have refused, because I could not find an heart to deprive a number of starving children of their pitiful allowance, who were staring upon me with hollow, piercing eyes, and pale and languid faces."

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A bit about Samuel Goodwin

_The ancient colony of New Plymouth, having met with many losses and discouragements in their trade at Kennebeck, in 1661 conveyed their lands to Antipas Bois, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle and John Winslow, with all the privileges of the Patent, for the sum of X400 sterling._

"But the frequent wars and commotions which disturbed the Eastern country prevented these gentlemen and their heirs from making any improvements. And besides, this territory, being seldom visited, was generally esteemed only a barren tract, in a severe climate and a remote and wilderness country. At length, Mr. Samuel Goodwin, of Charlestown, (Mass.,) now Major Goodwin of Pownalboro', having obtained some intelligence from his ancestors concerning the above-mentioned purchase, and having procured a twenty-fourth part from his father, engaged with resolution in the affair. But the original Patent, by which they were entitled to reassume the possession could not be found, and a majority of the proprietors imagined it lost beyond recovery; it was therefore his first concern, to acquire, if possible, this necessary instrument; and it was with indefatigable industry, unwearyed application, and a great expense, he was able to obtain proper intelligence of said Patent. After searching a multitude of Records, he found it in the hands of Samuel Wells, Esq., one of the Commissioners for settling the bounds between the late Colony of Plymouth and that of Rhode Island. This Patent had been long concealed by an ancient woman with a view, it is presumed, of making some advantage to herself, or family, and it was finally wrested out of her possession by a stratagem, and delivered to the above Commissioners in order to assist in their determinations. Mr. Goodwin obtained an order from the General Court, directing Mr. Wells to resign the Patent, and having in this manner procured the original conveyance, prevailed with a number of gentlemen to be concerned by purchase, and Mr. Bowdoin, Vassal, Hancock, Dr. Gardiner, Hallowell, and other wealthy persons were engaged, and formed themselves into a company, and the first meeting was held, agreeable to a warrant, in 1749. Mr. Goodwin, by order of the proprietors, began his surveys in 1750, and continued in that employ through the whole summer, notwithstanding the Indians, by their motions, had terrified all the inhabitants into garrison."