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PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL REPORT

St. Croix Island

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September 1949

National Park Service

PREFACE

The purpose of this preliminary historical report on St. Croix Island, Maine, is to provide an organized and integrated collection of facts relating to the history of the island and description of the physical structure of the Sieur de Monts' colony of 1604-1605. The report is designed to serve as an aid to the archeologist in planning his program and interpreting whatever remains are discovered in the course of an archeological excavation on the island. In addition, the report will assist in the interpretive planning and in the development of the St. Croix Island National Monument.

Although a large amount of the materials relating to the history of St. Croix Island was examined in the course of gathering data for this report, no pretense is made that this preliminary study constitutes a complete or well-balanced history of the island. In fact, it was impossible to exhaust completely all available sources on the subject, since references are practically innumerable, and it was impossible to travel in order to examine other materials in the brief time allotted for the preparation of the report.

The report is divided into four parts; viz., a brief history of St. Croix Island; a study of the physical structure of de Monts' habitation of 1604-1605; brief recommendations concerning

future work; and a bibliography. Appendices include excerpts of pertinent information from the principal sources, a collection of the more important maps and plans relating to the history of St. Croix Island, and a group of photographs taken by Mr. Roy E. Appleman, Regional Historian, Region One, and Mr. Jean C. Harrington, Regional Archeologist, Region One, during recent visits to St. Croix.

One disadvantage under which the writer worked was that it was not possible for him to visit St. Croix Island to check his facts on the ground. This handicap was overcome, in part, by the assistance of Messrs. Appleman and Harrington. Their kindness in supplying necessary details for this report, and in suggesting methods of presentation of the material, is acknowledged with gratitude by the writer.

In addition, the writer wishes to acknowledge the contributions made to the preparation of this report by the staffs of the Virginia State Library, the Virginia Historical Society, and the Library of the College of William and Mary. Much important material, including exceedingly rare books, was made available to the writer. Also, much assistance was received in tracing and locating materials to which the writer had inadequate references.

Special thanks are due Mrs. Harriette Taber Richardson of Pemaquid Point, Maine, who shared her intimate knowledge of the St. Croix and Port Royal habitations. Her manuscript article on the placement of the former colony was of great assistance in the preparation of this preliminary report.



9. View of the central portion of St. Croix Island looking toward the north. De Monts' colonists planted gardens in the area shown in the foreground during the summer of 1604. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.



10. View taken from the southern end of the island showing Chapel Nubble in the foreground, and Little Dochet Island in the background. This is the area of great erosion. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	i
PART I	
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	
Location of the Island	1
Physical Description of the Island	1
Historical Significance of St. Croix Island	2
Brief History of St. Croix Island	4
Early French Colonization Attempts	4
De Monts' Commission	6
Organization of de Monts' Company	8
The Voyage	10
The Discovery of St. Croix Island	13
Establishment of the Colony	16
Winter sufferings	19
Removal to Port Royal	21
St. Croix Island After Its Abandonment, 1605-1612	23
Argall's Attack, 1613	25
Subsequent History of St. Croix Island Under	
French Rule	28
St. Croix Island Is Lost	29
St. Croix Island in the Boundary Dispute	30
Recent History of St. Croix Island	37
PART II	
HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	
Sources of Information	42
Location and General Description of the Settlement	43
Type of Construction	46
The Barricade	52
The Storehouse	53
De Monts' House	56

	Page
The General Assembly House	58
The Swiss Barracks	59
Artisans' Houses and Blacksmith Shop	60
Champlain's House	61
The Well	63
Unknown House	64
The Priest's House	64
House of the Sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte, Bourioli, and Fougeray	65
The Bakery	65
House of the Sieurs de Geneston, Sourin, and Other Artisans	66
The Kitchen	67
Cemetery and Chapel	69
The Palisade	70
Gardens	71
Gun Platforms	75
The Water Mill	76
Charcoal Burners	76

PART III
RECOMMENDATIONS

Additional Research	78
Archeological Program	79
Artifacts of the St. Croix Colony of 1604	81

PART IV

BIBLIOGRAPHY	83
--------------------	----

APPENDIX A

Excerpts from Sources:

Samuel de Champlain's narrative	96
Account from <u>Le Mercure Francois</u> , 1608	110

Marc Lescarbot's narrative	113
Robert Pagan's Deposition, 1797	127
Thomas Wright's Deposition, 1797	130

APPENDIX B

Maps and Plans	136
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APPENDIX C

Illustrations	144
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PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

LOCATION OF THE ISLAND

St. Croix (Dochet) Island is within the boundaries of Calais County, Maine. The island is located in the middle of the St. Croix River, approximately four and a half miles above the mouth of that river at Joes Point. The latitude of the island is $45^{\circ} 07' 44''$, and the longitude is $67^{\circ} 08' 03''$.

U. S. Highway No. 1 runs along the American shore of the St. Croix River and follows generally the course of that river. St. Croix Island lies opposite Red Beach, Maine, and is about nine miles southeast of Calais, Maine. (See vicinity maps, Appendix B, Figs. 3 and 4.)

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND

The island is a very small one, less than 300 yards in length in its main part, and not over 125 yards in breadth. The land area of the island is about five acres. The highest point, on a rocky ledge a little to the east of its center, is about 52 feet above extreme high tide mark, or about 62 feet above mean low tide. From this point there is a slope in all directions. The entire island is tilted towards the west, so that while the eastern shore is a continuous bluff rising nearly forty feet above high tide, on the west it slopes in places almost down to high tide level. The eastern bluffs of the island are of clay and sand resting upon red granite rock except at the southern end, where the

bluffs apparently rest on sand with no visible granite rock beneath it. The low shore of the western side shows a thin soil resting upon rock, while the remainder of the island is covered with sandy soil excepting the rocky band of red granite ledges running across the island. At the southern end of the island stand two partially isolated islets, called "nubbles" by local inhabitants, which were obviously once a part of the main island.

Since the St. Croix River below Devil's Head is actually an estuary of Passamaquoddy Bay, the river at St. Croix Island is subject to the extreme tides of that bay. These tides have caused a steady erosion of the island. Dr. Ganong, in his monograph on the island, illustrated the amount of erosion by reducing the ancient map of 1604 (published in 1613) by Champlain with the much later map drawn by Thomas Wright in 1797, with the Coast Survey map of 1885, and his own survey of 1902. (See Appendix B, Fig. 6.) This comparison shows that in three hundred years the island has lost little on its northern and western sides, but has lost greatly at its southern end and on the southwest. Much of the island north of Wright's Nubble has also been totally removed.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ST. CROIX ISLAND

Selected by the Sieur de Monts and Samuel de Champlain as the site of the ill-fated French colony of 1604, St. Croix

Island witnessed the real beginning of the permanent settlement of the North American continent by the French. This settlement was made three years before the establishment of the English colony at Jamestown and sixteen years before the famed landing at Plymouth. From St. Croix Island the intrepid explorer, Samuel de Champlain, explored and mapped the coast of North America as far south as Cape Cod, and from here the French colonists spread over the northern part of the North American continent. This advance by the French brought them inevitably into conflict with the English, their European rival, and brought about a conflict for supremacy in North America between the two nations which lasted for a century and a half. This small island, therefore, becomes the focal point from which the story of the French colonization in North America can be told.

Later St. Croix Island became prominent in the dispute between the United States and Great Britain over their boundaries, and it was the principal determinant in fixing the present St. Croix River as the international boundary. This boundary between two great nations is the greatest undefended frontier in the world. Therefore, St. Croix Island may be considered a symbol of international accord. By commemorating the heroic French colonists, as well as the friendship between Canada and the United States, St. Croix Island may be considered an international commemorative monument.

BRIEF HISTORY OF ST. CROIX ISLAND

Early French Colonization Attempts

The close of the sixteenth century found not a single European settled in the northern parts of the continent of North America. Even the ownership of the country was in dispute, for England claimed it by right of the discoveries of the Cabots (1497-1498), while France claimed it by virtue of the discoveries of Verranzano (1524). Although the Grand Banks of Newfoundland were visited very soon after the voyages of the Cabots by fishermen from the maritime nations of Western Europe, and before 1534 fur traders were engaged in an active business, no successful settlement had been made in this region.¹

With the ascension of Henry IV to the throne of France in 1589, the period of conflict and fratricidal war was soon brought to an end. France, exhausted with thirty years of conflict, sank into a repose, uneasy and disturbed, yet enabling her to expend her energies in peaceful enterprise. Despite the failures of the

¹
As early as 1518 the Baron de Lery made an abortive attempt at settlement on Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia. The famed explorer, Jacques Cartier, spent the winter on the St. Lawrence in 1535-36 and again in 1541-42. The Sieur de Roberval failed in an attempt to establish a colony on the St. Lawrence in 1542. In 1598 the Marquis de la Roche landed about sixty convicts on Sable Island. The survivors, numbering only eleven, were not rescued until 1603. See Francis Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World (Boston, 1884) 174-213; Morris Bishop, Champlain The Life of Fortitude (New York, 1948), 25-34, 347-349.

various attempts at colonization, Henry IV was disposed to look with favor on renewed efforts to establish a New France.

Near the close of the century, the King granted a monopoly of the fur trade on the St. Lawrence River to Pierre Chauvin, a Huguenot merchant of Honfleur, on condition that he settle fifty colonists a year in that region. Chauvin's chief associate was Francois du Pont Gravé of St. Malo. In 1600 these two associates with the Sieur de Monts voyaged to the New World. Upon sailing up the St. Lawrence, Chauvin chose Tadoussac, the usual meeting place of the Indians and traders, as the site of his colony, although the location was opposed by Pont Gravé and de Monts. Here they built a cluster of huts and left sixteen men to gather the expected harvest of furs during the winter. Before the winter was over, several of them had died, and the rest had scattered among the Indians. Upon his return to the St. Lawrence in 1601, Chauvin rescued the survivors. Apparently he made no further attempt to colonize the region.²

The merchants of the French seaports bitterly assailed Chauvin and his monopoly of the fur trade. They petitioned the King for relief, and after much hesitation, he annulled, in effect,

²-
Ibid., 34-36.

Chauvin's monopoly in 1602 but proposed to study the matter further. He then commissioned Aymar de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, to draw up regulations for the fur trade and the colonization of New France. Chauvin very conveniently died at this time, and de Chastes was granted a monopoly of the fur trade by the King on approximately the same terms as Chauvin. In order to forestall the jealousies of the merchants, de Chastes organized a company composed of the more prominent of them. Pont Gravé was then chosen to make the preliminary exploration. In 1603 he sailed with three vessels to the St. Lawrence accompanied by Samuel de Champlain. Upon their return to France, they learned that de Chastes had died during their absence.³

De Monts' Commission

The man chosen to fill the vacancy created by de Chastes' death was Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts. Like Chauvin he was a Huguenot, and like him also had at one time held the post of governor of Honfleur. During Henry IV's struggles for the crown, de Monts rendered good service in his cause, and now enjoyed, as a reward, the title of Gentleman in Ordinary of the King's Chamber

³
Ibid., 37-55; H. P. Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America (Toronto, 1901), 45-50.

and the governorship of the town of Pons in Saintonge. In his petition to the King, de Monts had requested permission to explore and colonize La Cadie, a region defined as lying from the fortieth to the forty-sixth parallels of latitude, or from Philadelphia to Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. De Monts offered to bear all of the expense of the undertaking if he could be given as compensation a monopoly of the fur trade in that region. The commission was readily granted by the King. All previous commissions and grants were cancelled, and de Monts was given a monopoly of the fur trade in La Cadie for a period of ten years with authority to seize any illicit traders.⁴

By a patent of the King, dated Fontainebleau, November 8, 1603, de Monts was appointed lieutenant-general of La Cadie, between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels. De Monts was required to

4

In the Massachusetts Archives are ten volumes of transcripts and two volumes of engraved maps made by Mr. Benjamin Perley Poore in the 1840's of documents in the French archives relating to the early history of Massachusetts and the relations of New England with New France. These volumes, entitled Massachusetts Archives: Documents Collected in France, contain much information on de Monts' colony. A copy of de Monts' proposition to the King, dated November 6, 1603, is in vol. I, p. 435, with the King's remarks, and on p. 445 is a copy of the "Lettres Patentes expediees en faveur de M. de Monts," signed by the King at Paris, December 18, 1603. These letters-patent made him lieutenant-general of La Cadie for ten years; and by an ordinance (p. 451) all persons were prohibited to trade within his government; and an ordinance of the King (p. 453) ordering all duties to be remitted on merchandise sent home by de Monts. Justin Winsor, ed., Narrative and Critical History of America (Boston, c. 1884), IV, 136, 366-67.

establish the name, power, and authority of the King of France throughout his new territory; to summon the natives to a knowledge of the Christian religion; to make peace with the said peoples and their princes; to people, cultivate, and settle the said lands; to make explorations and especially to seek out mines of precious metals.⁵

Organization of de Monts' Company

In the organization of his new company, de Monts followed de Chastes' lead by retaining the members of that old company. In addition, he enlarged the membership so that the chief malcontents became sharers in his exclusive rights. By the terms of the articles of association, signed on February 10, 1604, the new company was to engage in fishing, timber, and mineral trades, as well as in the fur trade, of which alone it had the monopoly. The company possessed a capital of 90,000 livres divided into five portions of

5

The commission given to de Monts, with other documents confirming his claims, was printed at the time in a small volume, a copy of which is in the Carter-Brown Library. Ibid., IV, 136 fn. This commission, dated November 8, 1603, is given in Marc Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1609), book IV; in English translation by Pierre Erondelle in Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia A Description of Acadia, 1606, edited by H. P. Biggar (New York and London, 1928), 1-6, William D. Williamson, The History of the State of Maine; from its First Discovery, A.D. 1602, to the Separation, A.D. 1820, Inclusive (Hallowell, Me., 1832), I, 651, and Beamish Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, or Acadia (Halifax, N. S., 1865), I, 21; and in both French and English in Charles W. Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration to America (New York, c. 1885), I, 341.

18,000 livres each. Two of these portions, or 36,000 livres, were subscribed by the merchants of St. Malo, two more by those of La Rochelle and St. Jean-de-Luz, while the fifth portion was supplied by the merchants of Rouen, although more than half of it stood in the name of de Monts himself. During the first year the company was to send out five vessels—four fur traders and one whaling vessel. The two trading vessels were to be dispatched from Havre de Grace with sixty colonists. On the return of the vessels in the autumn the results of the season's trade were to be sent to the offices of the company at Rouen, but for the second year again all the profits of the previous year were to be expended in sending out the colonists and no dividend was to be paid until the close of the second season. In point of fact no dividend was paid, and the repeal of the monopoly when it had still seven years to run inflicted great loss on all concerned.⁶

⁶
Biggar, Early Trading Companies of New France, 53-4. Opposition of mercantile interests and of Finance Minister Sully to de Monts' monopoly caused the King to cancel de Monts' patent in 1607 when it still had seven years to run. De Monts himself reckoned his losses at more than 10,000 livres. Ibid., 60-66. Cf. Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, translated by C. P. Otis (Prince Society, Boston, 1878-1882), II, 4-5. In 1608 Henry IV granted de Monts a monopoly for one year with no stipulations as to colonists or other expenses. Three vessels were dispatched in the spring of 1608. Biggar, Early Trading Companies of New France, 66.

The Voyage

After publishing copies of his commission and monopoly in all the seaports of France, Sieur de Monts chartered Pont Gravé's vessel, the Eonne Renommée, of 120 tons with Captain Morel of Honfleur to serve as master under Pont Gravé. He engaged also a 150-ton vessel to be commanded by de Monts with Captain Timothée of Le Havre as master. Samuel Champlain was appointed the geographer for the new expedition by the King.⁷ A number of gentlemen joined up for the expedition. Chief among them was Jean de Biencourt, seigneur de Poutrincourt. Other gentlemen mentioned by Champlain were les Sieurs de Geneston, Sourin, d'Orville, de Beaumont, Fougeray, Miquelet, and Raleau, secretary of de Monts. De Monts was far too intelligent to overload his ship with gentlemen alone. He recruited 120 artisans, including joiners, carpenters, masons, stone-carvers, lock-smiths, tailors, board-sawyers, and mariners, and apparently a group of Swiss mercenary soldiers. The personnel included also two surgeons, des Champs of Honfleur, and Bonnerme, and a priest, Father Aubry.⁸

⁷ Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia A Description of Acadia, 1606, translated by P. Erondelle (New York, 1928), 7; Bishop, Champlain, 59; Champlain, Voyages, II, 7-8.

⁸ See Champlain's plan entitled "habitation de liles ste. croix" in Samuel de Champlain, Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Xainton-geois... (Paris, 1613); Charles W. Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration to America (New York, c. 1885), I, 89-90.

De Monts' ship sailed from Havre de Grace on March 7, 1604, and Pont Gravé followed on March 10, to rendezvous at Canseau (now Canso, Nova Scotia).⁹ Apparently the plan was to settle on the St. Lawrence, but de Monts changed his mind in mid-ocean and decided to find a more southern location on the Atlantic coast.¹⁰ It is probable that he remembered only too well the sufferings of Chauvin's ill-fated settlement at Tadoussac in 1600-1, but if he sought a refuge from the cold, he was sadly mistaken. In any case, it was impossible to notify Pont Gravé of the change of plan, and he sailed directly to Canso.

The passage was long and stormy, but, finally, on May 1 the ship sighted Sable Island and was nearly lost on it, for the pilots were a hundred miles off in their reckonings. On May 8 they reached land at Cape La Have on the Nova Scotia coast. De Monts then headed south, searching for a good site for a temporary headquarters. On May 12 they entered another port, where they

⁹ Apparently Champlain erred in naming April 7 as the sailing date. Lescarbot's date of March 7 is generally accepted as the actual day. Champlain later confuses the months of May and June in his narrative. Champlain, Voyages, II, 7-8; Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 7. Cf. "Settlement of Acadia" (translation of 1608 account in Le Mercure Francois), The Magazine of American History, vol. II, No. 4 (Jan., 1878), p. 49.

Biggar states that de Monts' company dispatched five vessels in 1604; two traders from St. Malo and a whaler from St. Jean-de-Luz sailed in addition to the two ships carrying the colonists and supplies. Biggar, Early Trading Companies of New France, 54.

¹⁰ Champlain, Voyages, II, 8.

found a vessel from Le Havre under the command of Captain Rossignol, trading in furs in defiance, or ignorance, of the monopoly. De Monts promptly confiscated the vessel, but, perhaps in recompense, he named the site Le Port du Rossignol.¹¹

The ship, accompanied by Rossignol's vessel, proceeded southward and on May 13 they arrived at a very fine harbor. This the French named Port du Mouton, because here a sheep was drowned, recovered, and eaten. The ships anchored, and the passengers came ashore. As soon as they had disembarked, the colonists began constructing huts on a point at the entrance to the harbor near two fresh-water ponds.¹² Friendly Indians appeared, and some of them were persuaded to guide the shallop north to Cape Canseau to notify Pont Gravé of the whereabouts of de Monts' ship. He was urged by de Monts to join him as quickly as possible since Pont Gravé's vessel had a large part of the supplies of the expedition.¹³

Champlain and de Monts' secretary, Ralleau, with ten men

11

The dates and places are taken from Champlain's account. Ibid., II, 8-11. Cf. Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 8.

12

When Lescarbot visited Port du Mouton on July 23, 1606, he found "the cabins and lodgings, yet whole and unbroken, that Mons. de Monts made two years before...." Ibid., 86.

13

Champlain, Voyages, II, 11-12.

were sent exploring the coast to the westward in a small barque or pinnace of about eight tons. They left on May 19, explored the coast of Nova Scotia and entered the Bay of Fundy. About three weeks were spent on this preliminary exploration, and Champlain returned to Port du Mouton on June 15 or 16.¹⁴

Champlain found on his return that Pont Gravé had been delayed over long in joining the party. The colonists, fearful that their supply vessel had been lost, were proposing to abandon the enterprise and return to France. Fortunately, Pont Gravé arrived at this crucial point. He explained his delay by the fact that he had found four Basque ships trading for furs. He had seized the ships, confiscated the furs, and taken the captains prisoners.¹⁵ After unloading his supplies, Pont Gravé departed to carry on the business of the fur trade.

The Discovery of St. Croix Island

De Monts left Port du Mouton on June 16 and sailed to

¹⁴

Ibid., 12-29.

¹⁵

While at Port du Mouton, the colonists had consumed the supplies in Rossignol's vessel as well as those brought by their vessel. Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 9-10.

The Basque vessels were from St. Jean-de-Luz. Ibid., 10. De Monts received the captives "civilly," and sent them back to Pont Gravé "with orders to take the vessels he had captured to Rochelle, in order that justice might be done." Champlain, Voyages, II, 36.

St. Mary's Bay. Here the ships lay at anchor, sending boats' crews to explore the adjacent coasts. The priest, Aubry, was lost on one of these expeditions and spent sixteen days roaming the forest subsisting on berries and fruits.¹⁶ De Monts and Champlain, meanwhile, set forth in the pinnace, and explored the Bay of Fundy, called by de Monts La Bay Françoise. After exploring Port Royal (Annapolis Royal), which was granted by de Monts to Poutrincourt,¹⁷ the explorers sailed along the northern coast of Bay of Fundy, seeking mines of valuable metals, as well as a site for settlement. On June 24 they visited and named the St. John River, and continued southward to the present Passamaquoddy Bay. Sailing up the present St. Croix River, called the river of the Etechemins by Champlain, they came to a small island in the middle of the river. This island, named the Isle de Sainte Croix by de Monts because of the curious cross-formed meeting of the waters above it, was selected as the permanent site of the settlement.¹⁸ Its situation was

16

The details of the experiences of the lost priest can be found in Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 12, 20-21.

17

De Monts' grant to Poutrincourt was later confirmed by the King. Ibid., 13-14.

18

Champlain clearly states that the name was given the island by de Monts, but he does not give the reason for the name. Champlain,

beautiful in the summer, and all the physical features of the island were favorable for settlement and defence against the Indians, and, in addition, the season was growing very late.

Champlain recorded a most interesting description of St. Croix Island at the time of its discovery:

...we entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth, sailing up which a league or two we found two islands: one very small near the western bank; and the other in the middle, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces, with rocky sides three or four fathoms high all around, except in one small place, where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other useful articles. There is another place affording a shelter for vessels from eighty to a hundred tons, but it is dry at low tide. The island is covered with firs, birches, maples, and oaks. It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where for

18--continued

Voyages, II, 32. Lescarbot explains that it was suggested by the resemblance of the meeting of the rivers above the island to a cross. Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 20. This is confirmed by the fact that both Champlain and Lescarbot give the river a marked cross shape on their maps. The Lescarbot map is in the 1609 edition of his Histoire de la Nouvelle France, and Champlain's map is in the 1613 edition of his Voyages.

The exact date of the discovery of St. Croix Island is nowhere stated, nor is there any conclusive incidental evidence in the contemporary narratives. It is known that de Monts reached the St. John on June 24, 1604, and apparently left the river on the 25th. Allowing for their slow progress in a small open barque, they could hardly have reached St. Croix Island in less than two days; i.e., June 26 or 27. Cf. W. F. Ganong, "Dochet (St. Croix) Island,—A Monograph," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, VIII (second series; May, 1902), 188-189. Hereafter cited as Ganong, "Dochet Island."

about forty paces it is lower than elsewhere: this, however, is easily fortified, the banks of the main land being distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces. Vessels could pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the savages of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time to put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by Sieur de Monts the Island of St. Croix.¹⁹

Establishment of the Colony

Having decided upon the location of the colony, the French landed and began to erect defensive fortifications by "making a barricade on a little islet a short distance from the main island, which served as a station for placing our cannon."²⁰ Despite great annoyance from insects, the "barricade" was soon finished, and de Monts sent his barque to notify the remainder of the expedition that had remained at St. Mary's Bay.

Upon the arrival of the colonists, they "all set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods, to make frame work, to carry earth and other things necessary for the buildings."²¹

¹⁹ Champlain, Voyages, II, 31-32.

²⁰ Ibid., II, 35.

²¹ Ibid., II, 35-36.

Champlain prepared the plan of the settlement at the request of de Monts. The fort and buildings stood on the nearly level, elevated north end of the island. The principal buildings were the residence of the commander, de Monts, and a strongly built storehouse. Just east of de Monts' lodging was a long covered "gallery" in which the settlers could work or play during the rainy days. These three buildings were enclosed by a palisade to form the fort, which was ample protection against the Indians. Cannon were mounted north of the settlement, on the knoll at the foot of the island, and on the bluff on the southeast of the island. Near the fort were constructed the barracks of the Swiss mercenary soldiers, "large and commodious," dwellings for the gentlemen, the priest, and for the workmen. A blacksmith's shop, oven house, and a kitchen were built, and a well was dug though it proved of slight service. A water mill for grinding grain was started, but not completed, on the mainland, and as a result reliance was placed on a hand mill. The chapel and cemetery were detached from the main settlement on a projecting point of rock near the middle of the island. Gardens were laid out both among the dwellings, and on the level ground to the south of the settlement, and also on the mainland of both banks of the river and at the falls some distance

above the island.²²

De Monts, in obedience to the instructions contained in his patent, sent Champlain and Champdore to search again for the "mine of pure copper" which had been reported by a previous explorer. This expedition discovered a mine which the miner reported as good, but not pure; and farther on they found others, but all were inferior.²³

Upon Champlain's return to Saint Croix, Sieur de Monts decided to send his two large ships back to France, leaving the colonists with two small boats of fifteen and seven tons. The Sieur de Poutrincourt, who had "come only for his pleasure, and to explore countries and places suitable for a colony, which he desired to found,"²⁴ and Ralleau, de Monts' secretary, returned to France with the vessels. They sailed from St. Croix Island on the

22

The description of de Monts' settlement is taken largely from Lescarbot, *Nova Francia*, 32-33, and from Champlain's plan of the habitation published in the 1613 edition of his Voyages. For a more detailed description of the settlement, see "Description of the French Settlement on St. Croix Island," infra pp. 42-77.

23

Ibid., II, 37.

24

Ibid., II, 37.

last day of August, 1604. Seventy-nine men remained in the settlement.²⁵

Following the departure of the vessels for France, Champlain was again dispatched on September 2 on an exploring expedition to the southwest. Twelve sailors accompanied him; two friendly Indians went along as guides. Champlain explored the coast as far as present-day Pemaquid, before bad weather and lack of provisions forced him to return. He reached St. Croix Island on October 2.²⁶

Winter Sufferings

Upon reaching St. Croix, Champlain found that the dwellings have been finished, but that the gardens on the island had been failures. The dwellings were finished none too soon for four days after Champlain returned, the snows began.²⁷ Winter set in very early and proved exceptionally severe. The frigid north winds swept down the river, little broken in force by the thin fringe of trees left around the island, and penetrated the hastily

25

Ibid., II, 51.

26

Ibid., II, 38-48

27

Champlain specifically gives October 6 as the date of the first snow. Ibid., II, 50.

built dwellings. The island had been largely deforested by the colonists, and a shortage of wood soon developed. Snow fell to the depth of three or four feet and lay unmelting till the end of April. The only water that could be obtained was on the mainland, and there was no available game on the island. Great quantities of ice formed in the river, so that it became very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to get wood and water from the mainland, and for the same reason little fish or other fresh food could be obtained. All the beverages froze except the Spanish wine, and the frozen cider was issued by the pound. The men drank melted snow and ate salt meat and frozen vegetables. The men, weakened by the cold, by work on the hand mill, by the constant watches against hostile attacks, and by the poor diet, bad water, and lack of exercise, soon fell ill with scurvy. This disease, called mal de terre by the French, was apparently unknown. Both Champlain and Lescarbot describe in detail the great sufferings of the sick. The scurvy got so far beyond the skill and control of the surgeons, that nearly half (35) of the men died, and nearly all were affected by the disease. The survivors were saved only by the return of spring.²⁸

28

Both Champlain and Lescarbot describe the winter sufferings of the colonists in great detail. Cf. Champlain, Voyages, II, 50-53; Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 33-47.

The dreadful winter had passed, but the spring did not alleviate all of the colony's troubles. The Indians came in the month of March and gave the colonists a portion of their game in exchange for bread and other things which the French could trade.²⁹ Supplies were soon practically exhausted, however, and the colonists anxiously awaited the arrival of Pont Gravé and the supply vessels which were supposed to arrive by the end of April. After waiting until May 15 without any sign of the relief ships, de Monts decided to fit up the two small boats and sail to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence at the end of June in order to find a French vessel to return them to their homes. But on the evening of June 15 Pont Gravé reached St. Croix with some supplies and about forty new settlers. He brought news that another supply ship from St. Malo was following him.³⁰

Removal to Port Royal

The arrival of the relief ships completely changed de Monts' plans. He decided not to abandon his purpose to establish

²⁹
Champlain, Voyages, II, 54.

³⁰
Ibid., II, 54

a colony, but the great sufferings of the past dreadful winter had made him discontented with St. Croix Island as the place of settlement. He determined to search for a more healthful spot, in a warmer clime. On June 17, therefore, he departed in the larger boat to explore the coast to the south and west. Champlain, with some other gentlemen, twenty sailors, and an Indian named Panounias with his wife, accompanied de Monts.³¹ They started on June 18 and sailed along the coast as far south as Cape Cod. They returned to St. Croix on August 2 without finding a suitable location for the colony.³²

Upon their return, they found the St. Malo vessel had arrived with provisions and other supplies for the settlers.³³ De Monts then decided that the harbor of Port Royal, on the sheltered western coast of Nova Scotia, was the best possible site for his new settlement. He immediately dispatched Champlain and Pont Gravé to make a reconnoissance. They sailed into the excellent harbor and selected a site on the north side, well protected from the northwest winds by a slight rise, well fed with water, and

³¹
Ibid., II, 55.

³²
Ibid., II, 55-93.

³³
Ibid., II, 93.

beside a good landing place. In view of the short time remaining for building houses, it was decided that the framework of the St. Croix houses should be taken to the new site. The buildings, with the exception of the storehouse, were torn down, loaded on the two small boats, and transported to Port Royal.³⁴

Having transported the colony to the new site, and having seen the majority of the new buildings completed, Sieur de Monts determined to return to France. He then placed Pont Gravé in command of the colony, and sailed for France with many of the survivors of the St. Croix settlement. Between forty or forty-five men remained at Port Royal.

St. Croix Island After Its Abandonment, 1605-1612

After the transfer of the French to Port Royal in August, 1605, St. Croix Island, with its abandoned storehouse and a few other buildings, was visited from time to time by the Port Royal colonists, and it also served as quarters for mariners.

On September 7, 1606, Champlain and Poutrincourt visited the island and described the visit as follows:

...The next day we proceeded in a shallop to the Island of St. Croix, where Sieur de Monts had wintered,

34

Lescarbot said of the transfer to Port Royal: "So everyone began to pack up his things: that which was built with infinite labour was pulled down, except the store-house, which was too great and painful to be transported, and in executing of this many voyages are made." Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 55-56.

to see if we could find any spikes of wheat and other seeds which we had planted there. We found some wheat which had fallen on the ground, and come up as finely as one could wish; also a large number of garden vegetables, which also had come up fair and large. It gave us great satisfaction to see that the soil there was good and fertile.³⁵

A year later, in July, 1607, Lescarbot, in company with Poutrincourt, visited the island, and wrote an excellent description of the site at that time:

Being arrived at the Isle Sainte-Croix, we found there the buildings left there all whole, saving that the storehouse was uncovered of one side. We found there yet sack in the bottom of a pipe, whereof we drank, and it was not much the worse. As for gardens, we found there coleworts, sorrel, lettuces, which we used for the kitchen. We made also good pasties of turtle-doves, which are very plentiful in the woods; but the grass is there so high that one could not find them when they were killed and fallen in the ground. The court was there, full of casks, which some ill-disposed mariners did burn for their pleasures; which thing when I saw, I did abhor, and I did judge, better than before, that the savages were (being less civilized) more humane and honest men than many that bear the name of Christians, having during three years spared that place, wherein they had not taken so much as a piece of wood, nor salt, which was there in great quantity, as hard as a rock.³⁶

The next recorded visit to the island occurred in 1610. In that year Poutrincourt again visited the island, "where the

35

W. L. Grant, ed., Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1618 (New York, 1907), 89.

36

Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 86.

Sieur had prayers offered for the dead who had been buried there since the first voyage made by Sieur de Monts, in the year 1603 [1604]."37

In addition to Lescarbot's mention of the use of St. Croix Island by the mariners, there is proof that a trader, Captain Platrier, spent the winter of 1611-12 on the island. The Sieur de Biencourt learned that Captain Platrier had decided to winter on the island, and since the trader owed Biencourt a fifth "of all his merchandise and trade, for wintering in the country," the latter decided that he would go to St. Croix Island before the trader "had means of fortifying himself."³⁸ Accordingly, Biencourt, accompanied by eight well-armed men went to the island and obtained a barque from Platrier. Later in the same year Biencourt again visited the island with Father Biard, and Platrier gave them "two barrels of peas or beans...."³⁹

Argall's Attack, 1613

Whether Platrier or anyone else wintered at St. Croix

³⁷ Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents... (Cleveland, 1896-1901), II, 132-133.

³⁸ Ibid., III, 198-201.

³⁹ Ibid., III, 224-225.

in 1612-13 is unknown, but in the next year, 1613, occurred the final event in the history of the buildings left by the French colonists on the island. In the summer of that year, Captain Samuel Argall was sent by the English in Virginia to drive the French from the Bay of Fundy. He made two attacks on the settlement—the first hostilities between the English and French colonists in America.

Argall's first attack was made against the French missionary settlement on Mount Desert Island. This settlement had been founded by Madame de Guercheville, the protectress of the Jesuit missions, after she received a grant of land from Louis XIII. She dispatched two missionaries, Father Jacques Quentin and Lay Brother Gilbert du Thet, to the New World to work as missionaries among the Indians, together with some colonists. The ship, commanded by Captain La Saussaye, sailed on March 12, 1613. At Port Royal, the presence of the priests led to acrimonious discussions, which finally became so bitter that Captain La Saussaye and his followers, joined by Fathers Biard and Massé, who had come over the previous year, removed to Fernald's Point on the western side of Soames Sound in Mt. Desert Island. There in the month of May, 1613, the colonists landed, and gave the site the name of St. Sauveur.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ William Otis Sawtelle, Mount Desert The Story of Saint Saveur (Bangor, Me., 1921); Abiel Holmes, The Annals of America... (Cambridge, Mass., 1829), I, 143.

The new settlement was short-lived, however, for in the middle of July it was captured and destroyed by Captain Argall since they had trespassed, unwittingly perhaps, on the soil of the Virginia Company, which by the charter of 1606 was authorized to repel invaders.

Information regarding the settling of the French in Acadia was brought to Virginia probably by returning fishing vessels, who made annual trips to the coasts of Maine to fish for cod, or perhaps the English learned of the expedition when the vessel in which Father Biard sailed in 1612 was forced by storms to seek refuge in the Isle of Wight. Whatever the source, Argall was completely successful and returned to Virginia with fifteen of the thirty Frenchmen, including two Jesuit priests, and a French ship of 100 tons, a barque of twelve tons, and sundry supplies.⁴¹

Following the success of this expedition, the government of Virginia ordered Argall to equip his ship and the captured French vessels, and to destroy the remaining French settlements. He sailed in October, and first visited Mt. Desert, where they

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Excellent accounts of Argall's attack can be found in Alexander Brown, The First Republic in America (Boston, 1898), 178-79 and in his volume The Genesis of the United States (Boston, 1890), II, 700-706. The latter contains Father Biard's letter to Acquaviva, dated Amiens May 26, 1614, describing the first attack.

burned the French structures, cut down the French cross, and erected another cross with the name of the King of Great Britain carved on it. Here they remained more than eight days, and then went to St. Croix Island. There, Argall and his men destroyed all remains of the French occupation. In the words of Father Biard: "They plundered it and reduced everything to ashes."⁴² In his Relation of 1616, Father Biard wrote in more detail, stating that Argall "took away a good pile of salt, which he found there, burned the settlement, and destroyed all traces of the name and claims of France, as he had been commanded to do."⁴³

Leaving St. Croix, Argall; guided by a captured Indian, attacked Port Royal about the first of November. The inhabitants were not in the settlement, but the settlement was plundered and reduced to ashes.⁴⁴

Subsequent History of St. Croix Island Under French Rule

Apparently the only other mention of St. Croix Island during the remainder of the seventeenth century is to be found in the grant given Isaac de Razilly by the King of France in 1632.

⁴²
Ibid., II, 703.

⁴³
Brown, First Republic, 193.

⁴⁴
Ibid., 192-93.

In this document the description of the boundaries of the granted land mention "St. Croix Island, where the Sieur de Monts wintered...."⁴⁵

Thus ended the history of St. Croix Island under French rule. French settlers in small numbers lived in the vicinity towards the close of the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century, but none of them are known to have occupied the island. Nor in any other way, in document, or on map, does it make any appearance during the remainder of the French colonial period, which ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and the cession of the region to England.

St. Croix Island is Lost

St. Croix Island, then vanished from original historical records in 1632. It does not appear again until 1772, 140 years later, when it was shown upon Wright's map of the Passamaquoddy region, but the name is Bone Island.⁴⁶ Wright did not assign the name to the island, but obtained it from the local inhabitants. There are no facts to explain the origin of the name. It is logical to assume that, since the cemetery of 1604-05 has been gradually

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Quoted in Ganong, "Dochet Island," 196.

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The original map drawn by Wright is in the Public Record Office, London, England. A copy can be found in ibid., 197.

washed away, it was the exposing of the bones of the French dead which gave origin to the name.⁴⁷ With Wright's map the island again vanishes, not to reappear until 1796, when it becomes prominent in the boundary dispute.

St. Croix Island in the Boundary Dispute

The Treaty of Paris in 1783, which formally closed the American Revolution, established the St. Croix River from its source to its mouth as a part of the international boundary between the United States and Canada. The map used by the negotiators of the treaty was Mitchell's map of 1755, on which the River St. Croix appears as a stream of considerable volume emptying in Passamaquoddy Bay. To the westward on the same map is another stream called the "Passamacadie," emptying into a small bay of the same name. But, while Mitchell's map was correct in representing two streams of large size emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay, it did not give their true courses or positions, nor was there in the region any river then commonly known as the St. Croix.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid., 144-45, 197-98.

⁴⁸ A copy of Mitchell's map can be found in John Bassett Moore, History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party, Together with Appendices Containing the Treaties Relating to such Arbitrations, and Historical and Legal Notes on Other International Arbitrations Ancient and Modern, and on the Domestic Commissions of the United States for the Adjustment of International Claims (Washington, 1898), I, 1; hereafter cited as Moore, International Arbitrations.

The treaty was not a year old, therefore, before disputes arose locally as to the identity of the River St. Croix of the treaty. The British residents claimed the Scoodic, and the American residents claimed the Magaguadavic. All that was definitely known about the River St. Croix was that it was one of the rivers emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay, and that it had been named by the French when they settled there. But all tradition of de Monts' settlement had long since vanished, and there was nothing known to the residents to enable them to identify the river.

Finally the question became so pressing that in 1794 the matter was considered by John Jay and the British commissioners. The resulting treaty provided for a commission of three men, one to be appointed by each nation, and these two to choose a third, to settle the question as to the identity of the River St. Croix meant by the Treaty of 1783.⁴⁹ The decision of any two of the commissioners was to be accepted as final. Accordingly, Great Britain chose Thomas Barclay, a prominent Loyalist of Annapolis, Nova Scotia who had been forced to leave his home in Ulster County, New York, during the Revolution because of his Loyalist sympathies, and the United States chose David Howell, an eminent citizen of Rhode Island, who had been attorney-general of the State and a

⁴⁹
Ibid., I, 5-6.

member of its supreme court. These two gentlemen then agreed on Egbert Benson, a prominent lawyer of New York and at one time a judge of its supreme court, as the third commissioner. Meanwhile each government had appointed an agent to represent it before the commissioners. The British agent was Ward Chipman, a native of Massachusetts, but at that time a leading Loyalist of St. John, Nova Scotia, while the American agent was James Sullivan, a citizen of Massachusetts, and a native of the District of Maine, of which he was the Historian, and one of the most eminent lawyers of his time. The secretary of the commission was Edward Winslow, another Loyalist of New Brunswick.⁵⁰

The commission convened at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in August, 1796, transacted routine business in connection with its organization and the making of surveys, and gathered all the local information it could from residents and Indians. The members visited the Magaguadavic and the Scoodic, examined the various islands in them, and then adjourned to meet the next year in Boston. It was known to the members that the St. Croix River was named by de Monts, and that he had settled on an island in that river, but on their visits to the various islands they did not have Champlain's narrative and maps, and the brief excerpts which they possessed

⁵⁰

Ibid., I, 6-7, 8-9, 14-15.

from the narratives were insufficient to identify the island and the river. The determination of the island on which de Monts settled in 1604 was, therefore, the crux of the matter. The American agent tried to convince the commissioners that Hog Island, near the mouth of the Digdeguash, was the island described by Champlain, thus seeking to sustain his contention that the Magaguadavic was the St. Croix. The British agent seems to have hit upon the correct island; viz., Dochet, as St. Croix Island, but his proof was not strong enough to convince the commissioners.⁵¹

When the commission reconvened in Boston in August, 1797, very lengthy arguments were presented by the agents of the two countries. After listening to the arguments, and examining the exhibits, the commissioners unanimously decided that the contention of the British was correct and that Dochet Island was the

51

W. F. Ganong, "Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, VII (second series; May, 1901), 202-3.

The origin of the name Dochet (also spelled Docias, Doceas, and Dochez) is unknown, but Ganong states that local tradition associated the name with that of a young woman named Dosia (Theodosia) who was formerly connected with the island. Ganong, "Dochet Island," 142-44.

site of de Monts' settlement and that the Scoodic was the true River St. Croix.⁵² This decision was reached in an interesting manner.

In June or July, 1797, Mr. Chipman received from Europe copies of Champlain's plan of the settlement, and of his map of St. Croix Island and its environs. He sent a copy of this map to Robert Pagan, a justice of the court of common pleas for Halifax. Guided by this map, Pagan proceeded to Dochet Island and made a careful examination of the island. He then prepared a deposition for the boundary commissioners in which he stated clearly that Dochet Island was the true St. Croix Island and the site of de Monts' colony. In this deposition, Pagan declared that he and a group of friends found on July 7, 1797, four "Piles of ruins" on the northern end of the island in the same location as the settlement on Champlain's map of 1613. A close examination of the ruins convinced him that they were the foundations of the houses built by de Monts' colonists.⁵³

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The decision of the boundary commissioners was reported fully to the President of the United States by Egbert Benson in 1799. The report is printed in full in Moore, International Arbitrations, 33-43.

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A copy of Pagan's deposition can be found in Ganong, "Dochet Island," 200-201. This copy has been embodied in this report and can be found in Appendix A.

The British agent obtained other testimony in addition to Pagan's deposition. Later in the same year, Thomas Wright, Surveyor-General of Isle St. John (Prince Edward Island), an experienced cartographer, visited Passamaquoddy on behalf of the Boundary Commissioners, and on October 24, 1797, gave sworn testimony on his findings. Mr. Wright was emphatic in his statement that Dochet Island was the true St. Croix Island. In his deposition he not only gave the distances and exact location of the foundations themselves, but attempted to obtain exact measurements of the foundations. Mr. Wright and his party found the foundations of five buildings, which he described carefully, and

53—continued

There is a brief statement in Holmes, Annals, regarding the investigation: "Professor, afterwards President Webber, who accompanied the Commissioners in 1798 informed me that they found an Island in this river, corresponding to the French description of the Island of Ste. Croix, and near the upper end of it, the remains of an ancient fortification, overgrown with large trees; that the foundation stones were traced to a considerable extent, and that the bricks (a specimen of which he showed me) were found there. These remains were undoubtedly the relics of De Mont's fortification." Holmes, Annals, I, 122.

prepared a map of the island and its environs.⁵⁴

This testimony was transmitted to the commissioners for their consideration. The British agent, of course, rested his case largely on these depositions, while the American agent attempted to explain them away. The latter claimed that the ruins found on the island were not proven to be those of de Monts' settlement. In addition, he stated that the question at issue was not the determination of the St. Croix of de Monts, but rather the St. Croix of the maps used by the negotiators of the Treaty of 1783. The commissioners, however, unanimously agreed that the River St. Croix of the Treaty of 1783 could be traced back continuously to the St. Croix of de Monts and Champlain, and that the two were one and the same river.⁵⁵ Thus the identification of St. Croix

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See Appendix A for a copy of the deposition of Thomas Wright dated October 24, 1797. This document was printed in Ganong, "Dochet Island," 202-204. Two copies of Wright's map of 1797 are accessible, one in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton, New Brunswick, and another with the Benson Manuscripts in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The map has been published in ibid., 205, 207; W. F. Ganong, "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, V (second series; May, 1899), 264; and William Francis Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island—A Monograph, edited by Susan Brittian Ganong (Monograph Series No. 3 of the New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N. B., 1945), p. 93. Hereafter cited as Ganong, Ste. Croix.

55

Ibid., 92-3

Island, served to identify the River St. Croix. On October 25, 1798, the commissioners rendered a unanimous decision in which they declared the Scoodic to be the River St. Croix truly intended by the Treaty of 1783, and that river thus became the international boundary between the United States and Canada.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris, 1783, the international boundary was to be a line drawn "along the middle of the River St. Croix." Since the middle line of the St. Croix lies on the east of the island, St. Croix Island became the property of the United States.

Recent History of St. Croix Island

Apparently there was no occupancy of St. Croix Island by the Americans before 1799. The permanent settlement of the region began in 1763 with a few New England fishermen and traders. A few other settlers continued to arrive until 1784. In that year a large number of Loyalists settled on the British side of the St. Croix, and various settlers began to occupy the American side. There is no record of any settlers on the island, however, until the year 1799.⁵⁶ This fact is borne out by the omission of any mention of a settlement in the testimony submitted to the boundary commissioners in 1797, and no buildings are indicated on Wright's map of 1797. Dr. Ganong, in his monograph on the island, quotes a letter from Ward Chipman, the British agent, to Sir John Wentworth,

⁵⁶

Ibid., 98.

Governor of Nova Scotia, dated August 6, 1799, in which it is mentioned that the island "has been during the present year taken possession of by Subjects of the United States...."⁵⁷ There is no record of the identity of these early settlers, but there is tradition that a man named Haliker and his wife were the earliest settlers. Their graves, marked by rude unlettered stones, are located near the lighthouse.⁵⁸

During the War of 1812, local tradition is that the island was used as a "neutral island," on which the British and American vessels traded. This would explain the name Neutral Island, which is one of many borne by the island. British vessels are said to have unloaded their plaster upon a wharf built for the purpose in Treats Cove, where it was loaded by American vessels.⁵⁹

The first settlers on the island must have been squatters, since the island was not granted until March 1, 1820. On that date St. Croix Island, called Great Island, and Little Dochet Island, called Little Island, were sold to John Brewer of Robbinston in return for thirty dollars.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ganong, "Dochet Island," 212.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 213.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 213-14.

⁶⁰ Original deed in Washington County, Register of Deeds, Machias, Me., vol. 11, p. 337. Excerpts from the deed are in Ganong, Ste. Croix Island, 100.

Brewer did not long retain the island, for, on August 15, 1826, he sold it for \$600.00 to Stephen Brewer of Northampton, Massachusetts. In this deed, the island is called St. Croix Island and mention is made of a "house, barn and all other buildings thereon, and also the wharf...."⁶¹

It is evident that a number of buildings were erected by various tenants of the island. The cellars in the southwestern angle of the island and in the area south of the lighthouse were apparently the remains of these buildings. Other holes on the island have a different origin, that northeast of the lighthouse being a pit from which sand was taken in erecting the buildings, and other holes were dug by treasure seekers.⁶²

In 1856 a large part of the island passed into the possession of the United States, to be used for lighthouse purposes. The deed of conveyance from the heirs of Stephen Brewer described the deeded property as follows:

...Two undivided third parts of the northerly half of the Island aforesaid, beginning on the westerly shore of said island at a rock marked with a cross at high

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Original deed in Washington County, Deeds, vol. 17, p.11. Excerpts from the deed are in Ganong, Ste. Croix Island, 101.

62

Ibid., 101-2.

water mark, thence running south sixty-three degrees east across the said island to the eastern shore of the same where there is a marked stake at high water mark, thence northerly westerly and southerly by the shore of said island to the place of beginning, containing two and a half acres of upland, more or less, with the beach and flats pertaining to the said northern half....⁶³

The lighthouse was built the following year, and, with the exception of the period from 1859 to 1869, has been in operation. 1557

The sale of the northern half of the island to the United States in 1856 left the remainder in possession of the heirs of Stephen Brewer. On May 5, 1869, they sold their portion of the island to Charles H. Newton, Joseph A. Lee, Herbert Barnard, and Benjamin F. Kelley.⁶⁴ The property remained in the possession of these families, or some of them, until the land was acquired by the United States for the establishment of St. Croix Island National Monument.

As far as is known, the only celebration of the anniversary of the St. Croix colony occurred on June 25, 1904. At this

⁶³

Ibid., 103.

⁶⁴

Ganong, "Dochet Island," 217.

celebration, the navies of the United States, Great Britain, and France participated, and a metal commemorative plaque was unveiled on the island.⁶⁵

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A full account of the celebration was published in Maine Historical Society, Tercentenary of De Monts' Settlement at St. Croix Island, June 25, 1904 (Portland, Me., 1905).

PART II

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

Sources of Information

The sources of information on the physical structure of de Monts' settlement on St. Croix Island in 1604-1605 are the written descriptions by Champlain and Lescarbot, the map of St. Croix Island and its environs, and the detailed plan of the habitation drawn by Champlain (See Appendix B, Figs. 1 and 2).

The published map and plan of the St. Croix settlement prepared by Champlain must be used with great caution. Due allowance must be made for the fact that the drawings were probably prepared several years after the events, so that Champlain undoubtedly supplied details from his own imagination. Furthermore, errors must have been introduced by the engraver. If the drawings are read, however, along with contemporary written descriptions, it is possible to obtain a very clear idea of the physical structure of the French settlement on St. Croix Island. These sources form the only contemporary sources of information on the colony, and they must be relied upon until proven erroneous by an archeological investigation of the site.

The dimensions of the various buildings were obtained from a manuscript article prepared by Mrs. Harriette Taber Richardson entitled "A Study in the Placement of the Ste. Croix Colony, New France, in accordance with the Boulder on Dochet Island,

Maine." This study is based on an investigation of the French system of linear measurement of the early seventeenth century made during the restoration of Port Royal. Archeological investigation at that site confirmed the previously determined length of a toise to be $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet.¹ Using the dimensions of the storehouse, found in Champlain's Voyages, as a base, Mrs. Richardson determined very cleverly the dimensions of the other structures. In addition, Mrs. Richardson advances an intriguing argument that the large boulder on St. Croix Island, upon which a tablet was placed in 1904, was the base point used by Champlain in the development of his plan.

Location and General Description of the Settlement

The Sieur de Monts selected the northern end of the island for the site of his fort, or, as described by Lescarbot, "at the end of the island, opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon."²

1

According to Mrs. Richardson, Champlain's toise was founded on the Pied du Roi, unchanged from the time of Henri II. Research at Port Royal determined that the Pied du Roi measures 13 inches. Six pieds made one toise. The dimensions of the storehouse, found in Champlain's Voyages as nine toises by three toises and the height of the walls as two toises, were used by Mrs. Richardson as the key to the Champlain plan of the habitation on St. Croix Island.

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Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia A Description of Acadia, 1606, translated by P. Erondelle and edited by H. P. Biggar (New York, 1928), 32.

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¹ According to Mrs. Richardson, Champlain's toise was founded on the Pied du Roi, unchanged from the time of Henri II. Research at Port Royal determined that the Pied du Roi measures 13 inches. Six pieds made one toise. The dimensions of the storehouse, found in Champlain's Voyages as nine toises by three toises and the height of the walls as two toises, were used by Mrs. Richardson as the key to the Champlain plan of the habitation on St. Croix Island.

² Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia A Description of Acadia, 1606, translated by P. Erondelle and edited by H. F. Biggar (New York, 1928), 32.

the fort stood the house of the Swiss soldiers. Southwest of this house were two lines of houses, four in each line facing each other across a path leading to the shore. Apparently these houses were given to the artisans, with the blacksmith shop among them. Just to the south of the artisans' houses stood the home of Champlain, d'Orville, and Champdoré. The well, which seemed to be of small use, was located between Champlain's house and the house of the priest. An unidentified building is shown near the priest's home. It might have been the home of Sieur Boulay and some artisans (since the letter Q might apply to it or to the house beside the one marked R), or it might have been the home of the unnamed Protestant minister. Across a path were the houses of other gentlemen, with some of the artisans, with the oven house at the extreme southeastern corner. South of, and opposite to, de Monts' house stood two buildings which were apparently occupied by gentlemen of the expedition and artisans. The lower edge of the palisade appears to be built to the corner of the easternmost house. Two large gardens were planted in the north and southwest corners of the habitation, and two smaller gardens were located directly in front of (south of) the buildings marked R and T on the plan. Detached from the principal buildings, in an absurd position, overhanging the eastern cliff, was a small kitchen. From the kitchen to the general-assembly house was a curving path which

apparently led through the palisade. Another path is shown from the palisade to the oven house, from which it continued by means of a branch to the southern part of the island. Two paths on the western side of the settlement balanced these eastern pathways. The chapel was also detached from the settlement on a point (perhaps the present Chapel Nubble) which overlooked the present Treats Cove. A cemetery was laid out near the chapel. Cannon were mounted north of the settlement, on a detached islet at the southern end of the island, on a knoll at the southern end of the island, and on the bluff on the southeastern edge of the island.⁵

Gardens were also planted on the mainland on both banks of the river and at the falls above the island. A water mill was started on the mainland, but it was never completed. Several of the colonists seemed to have lived on the mainland for Lescarbot mentions that they constructed huts there.⁶

Type of Construction

As soon as the plan of the settlement was determined,

5

The positions of the cannon are indicated by drawings of mounted cannon on Champlain's map of the island and its environs.

6

Lescarbot said on this subject: "There is right over against the island freshwater brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Monsieur de Monts his men did their business, and builded there certain cabins." Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 26.

the men "all set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods, to make the frame-work, to carry earth and other things necessary for the buildings."⁷ This statement tends to refute the allegation made by many later writers that the framework and other building materials were brought over from France. For example, Dr. Biggar writes in his introduction: "Mont's residence was, Lescarbot informs us, built of timbers brought from France and the same was true apparently of the storehouse...."⁸

This passage does not seem to be in Lescarbot, and the suggestion is very questionable. Professor Ramsey Traquair, probably the leading authority on French Canadian architecture, could find no basis for the belief that the materials were transported from France. On this subject he wrote: "Why should an expedition well equipped with craftsmen, going to a country well furnished with timber, burden itself with the bulky beams and framing of a house, and a storehouse over fifty feet long? When the expedition moved to Port Royal it took two 'barques' to carry the timbers of the houses only and that for a few miles. They could not take the timbers of the storehouse which were too big

⁷ Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, translated by C. P. Otis (Prince Society, Boston, 1878-1882), II, 35-6.

⁸ H. P. Biggar, et al., eds., The Works of Samuel de Champlain.... (The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1922-36), I, xiv.

to carry. Yet it is suggested that they had been brought across the Atlantic."⁹

Another common belief is that the early settlers built log cabins. This seems to have been based on the assumption that they had no skilled craftsmen. But both Champlain and Lescarbot speak of the "artisans" included among de Monts' colonists. The latter expressly states that the Port Royal colony had joiners, carpenters, masons, stone-carvers, locksmiths, tailors, board-sawyers, etc.¹⁰ Again to quote Professor Traquair: "Any expedition of those days had to carry with it craftsmen; they might have to rebuild their ship at any time. The ship carpenters were quite able to build a house and to build it better than most carpenters of today."¹¹ In addition, Lescarbot describes de Monts' house at St. Croix as being "made with very fair and artificial carpentry-work," and the storehouse was "likewise made with fair carpentry-work...."¹²

⁹Ramsay Traquair, The Old Architecture of Quebec A Study of the Buildings Erected in New France from the Earliest Explorers to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century (Toronto, 1947), 16-17.

¹⁰Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 46.

¹¹Traquair, The Old Architecture of Quebec, 16.

¹²Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32.

As Mr. Shurtleff, in The Log Cabin Myth, suggests the early settlers did not know how to build a log cabin, for the art of log building seems to have been brought to North America by the first Scandinavian settlers.¹³ This type of construction, then, was quite unknown to the early French settlers.

As to the type of construction used by de Monts' settlers, much research on the subject was made during the restoration of the Port Royal Habitation. The following excerpt from an article written by K. D. Harris, the architect in charge of the restoration, summarizes their findings:

At the beginning of the research work it was assumed that the buildings would have been of log construction, but during a visit to Quebec City last year when I had the privilege of discussing the probabilities with two prominent French architects, and examining drawings and data in the libraries of the Seminary and Beaux Arts School relating to some of the earliest buildings in French Canada, it became evident to me that the earliest type of French construction in this country was what was called colombage and not log construction....

Colombage construction is the old French term for walls framed up on sills with heavy squared posts and wall plates (corresponding in a way with modern framed stud walls) and filled or nogged in between with whatever suitable material was handiest. In Northern France often stone or brick and mortar were used, in other districts such walls were nogged with wattle and clay and

13

Harold R. Shurtleff, The Log Cabin Myth A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America (Cambridge, 1939).

they were either lathed or plastered outside or covered with boards and inside too if the nogging was a kind of material which might otherwise fall out.¹⁴

It is evident that the settlers used shingles to cover the storehouse, and possibly the other buildings on the island. Lescarbot clearly states that the storehouse was covered with shingles (bardeaux). Unfortunately, Pierre Erondelle translated this bardeaux as reeds, and has led to a false impression of the construction.¹⁵ Shingles could be easily made by a skilled carpenter, of which there appear to have been a number among the colonists.

Some additional information on the type of construction used at St. Croix is to be found in the testimony given by Robert Pagan and Thomas Wright before the boundary commissioners in 1797. Both of these gentlemen found that the foundation walls were constructed of stone laid in clay mortar. In fact, Mr. Pagan stated that "he discovered distinctly several tiers of stone in

¹⁴

K. D. Harris, "The Champlain Habitation," reprinted from The Spectator, Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, Nov. 14, 1939, p. 2.

¹⁵

Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32.

each of the Files laid in clay mortar, one on the Top of an other, the Clay is perfectly distinct from the stone, and of the usual thickness (between the Tiers of stone) of mortar made use of in laying Stone or Brick at this Day."¹⁶

The use of stone for the foundations, therefore, appears to be well-established. The discovery of bricks described by Thomas Wright as being "of a light yellow colour which measured eight Inches long -- four broad -- and one Inch and four-tenths in Thickness,"¹⁷ raises an interesting question. Were these bricks brought over from France, or were they made on St. Croix? Although Champlain spoke of the "clayey earth adapted for making brick"¹⁸ as being on the island, there appears to have been insufficient time for the colonists to construct a kiln and bake brick before the winter set in. Furthermore, there is no mention of a brick kiln in the contemporary accounts. The location of these particular bricks, as given by Wright, would indicate that they may

16

The deposition is copied in full in William F. Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island--A Monograph (Monographic Series No. 3, the New Brunswick Museum, 1945), 87-89. A copy is included in this report in Appendix A.

17

Ibid., 90.

18

Champlain, Voyages, 31.

have formed the chimney to de Monts' house. Pagan speaks of finding bricks "so laid together as to convince him that a large oven has formerly been built there...."¹⁹ An oven is shown on Champlain's detail plan of the habitation. It is possible, therefore, that the bricks necessary for the construction of the chimney, or chimneys, to de Monts' house, and the oven were brought from France.

In the French documentary sources, there is no suggestion of preliminary crude or temporary structures at St. Croix Island during the winter of 1604-1605. There is mention of lack of finish and of hasty construction due to the necessity of quickly providing shelter; but the good carpentry, careful workmanship, and the employment of craftsmen is emphasized.²⁰

The Barricade (Marked C on Champlain's map; see Appendix B, Fig. 1.)

Following the discovery of St. Croix Island on June 26, or 27, 1604, the members of the reconnoissance party under de Monts landed. Their first thoughts were to provide for the defense of the selected site, and they immediately "commenced making a

¹⁹

Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 88.

²⁰

Charles W. Jefferys, "The Reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation of 1605-13," reprinted from The Canadian Historical Review, Dec., 1939, p. 10.

barricade on a little islet a short distance from the main island, which served for placing our cannon."²¹ Lescarbot described this site as follows: "... on the sea side [south], there is a mount or small hill, which is, as it were, a little isle severed from the other, where Mons. de Monts' cannon was placed...."²² Champlain's map of St. Croix Island shows that the site was clearly detached from the main island in 1604.

Evidence seems to show that the site of de Monts' barricade has been totally destroyed by erosion. The late Dr. Ganong, the foremost authority on St. Croix, at first thought that Wrights Nubble was the site, but after a more thorough study of the subject, he was convinced that "the present Wrights Nubble is a remnant of the point on Champlain's map, and that the islet on which his cannon were placed was farther to the southward, and is now entirely washed away."²³

The Storehouse (Marked C on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2)

The construction of this building, "wherein consisted

²¹ Champlain, Voyages, II, 34.

²² Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 26.

²³ Ganong, "Dochet Island," VIII, 161 fn.

the safety and life of every one,"²⁴ seems to have been considered of primary importance by de Monts. In fact, the leader personally selected the location in the northeastern corner of the habitation.²⁵ Work was started on the building as soon as the entire expedition was reunited on St. Croix, probably around the first of August. Special care was taken in its construction, for Champlain mentions that the carpenters were employed on the storehouse and de Monts' house, while the remainder of the buildings were constructed by the occupants.²⁶

The size of the storehouse, as recorded by Champlain, was "neuf toises de long, trois de large & douze pieds de haut."²⁷ Translated into English, these dimensions would be $58\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 13 feet high.

The building was probably of heavier construction than the remainder of the buildings. It was left on St. Croix when the

²⁴

Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32.

²⁵

"After Sieur de Monts had determined the place for the storehouse...." Champlain, Voyages, II, 35.

²⁶

Ibid., II, 35.

²⁷

Abbé C. H. Laverdière, Oeuvres de Champlain Publiées sous les Patronage de l'Université Laval (Quebec, 1870), III, 36.

colony moved to Port Royal, since "it was too great and painful to be transported."²⁸ Lescarbot described it as being "made fair with carpentry work and covered with shingles."²⁹ The building was still in good condition in July, 1607, when Lescarbot visited the island. He found the storehouse standing, but "uncovered on one side."³⁰ This building was probably used by various tenants until burned by Argall in 1613.

The foundation of this building may have been found by Thomas Wright when he visited the island in 1797. In his statement for the boundary commissioners, Wright described the foundation of a building "in Form of an oblong square, which he measured with a six Feet Rod; and found one Side twenty Feet long, laying in the Direction (by his pocket compass) of North North East and South South West - The other side at right angles to it (and facing nearly the North End of the Island) measured sixty-six Feet in length, the remaining two Sides of the oblong square measured the same."³¹

²⁸
Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 55.

²⁹
Ibid., 32.

³⁰
Ibid., 86.

³¹
Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 90.

Champlain shows the storehouse as being divided into three adjoining buildings with two arched doorways in the southern face. On the western end of the building is shown a ladder apparently leading to a loft. The type of materials used in the construction is not indicated.

De Monts' House (Marked A on Champlain plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

This building, as shown on Champlain's plan, stood south of the storehouse and west of the assembly-house. A palisade was constructed to connect these three buildings to form a fort for defense against the Indians. Champlain shows the house as a square building of one and a half stories, with a tall chimney through the hipped roof. By applying Champlain's scale, it is found that the structure was three toise by three toise, or $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The walls are shown as being $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Two wooden or iron ornaments are shown in the ends of the roof. A dormer window is shown on the southern side. No doorway is visible.

Champlain stated that after de Monts had selected the site for the storehouse, "he adopted the plan for his own house, which he had promptly built by good workmen, and then assigned to each his location."³² De Monts appears to have taken special pains

³²

Champlain, Voyages, II, 34.

with his house, for Champlain wrote: "Meanwhile, work on the houses went on vigorously and without cessation; the carpenters engaged on the storehouse and dwelling of Sieur de Monts, and the others each on his own house...."³³

Lescarbot gave more details about the actual construction of the house: "But within the fort was Mons. de Monts's lodging, made with very fair and artificial carpentry work, with the banner of France upon the same."³⁴

When Thomas Wright investigated the site on St. Croix Island in 1797, he possibly found and described de Monts' house as follows:

...At about twenty-four Feet from the Southern End of the said Foundation [the storehouse], towards the Middle of the area thereof, he observed a large Heap of Stones, with some Bricks of a light yellow colour which measured eight Inches long -- four broad -- and one Inch and four-tenths in Thickness; which Heap of Stones and Bricks -- evidently appeared to have resulted from the tumbling down of a Stack of Chimnies; and (upon removing the upper part of the Rubbish) was regularly bedded in a stiff light coloured clayey mortar: as in like manner, was the whole of the said Foundation. -- Some of the Stones about this supposed Chimney-Heap appeared black, as if burnt on one Side:-- There was, also some Charcoal about the said Heap, that appeared in its usual Form; but easily crumbled, when squeezed between the Fingers,

³³
Ibid., II, 36.

³⁴
Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32.

as rotten:— There was, also, (about the said Heap) some pieces of very hard burnt Earthen Ware.— And this Deponent further saith that he took some Bricks from under a Cedar and Fir Tree (whilst the people were grubbing and pulling them down) which trees measured from ten to twelve Inches through at their But:— there were, besides, Wind Falls of rotten Trees, over the said Foundation, about eighteen or twenty Inches in Diameter; and various Roots of Trees that had insinuated themselves between almost all the Stones of the said Foundation to the Earth, beneath.--35

It would seem that Wright may have found the foundation of de Monts' house and the remains of the chimney. It is curious that he mentions brick in connection with the chimney. As explained above, this find would indicate that de Monts brought brick from France for his chimney.

The General Assembly House (Marked B on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

This building is shown on Champlain's plan as a long, narrow structure lying just east of de Monts house and connected by a jutting palisade with the gentlemen's houses to the south, and probably with the storehouse. Apparently a low wall, or a step, stood between de Monts' house and the assembly house. The building appears one story, or one and a half stories, in height, with no chimney shown on the plan. A rectangular doorway is shown in the southern end of the building. Champlain's scale would

35

Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 90.

indicate that the building was seven by three toises, or $45\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The walls are shown as 13 feet high.

Champlain does not give a written description of this building, but Lescarbot described it as follows: "Opposite to Mons. de Monts's said lodging there was a gallery covered for to exercise themselves, either in play, or for the workmen in time of rain!"³⁶ This description is at variance with the building shown on Champlain's plan, since the structure, as described by Lescarbot, appears to have been merely a covered shed rather than a finished building as shown by Champlain.

The Swiss Barracks (marked D on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

According to Lescarbot, this building stood outside of the fort, and this seems to be verified by Champlain's plan. On the latter, the house is shown as lying southwest of the storehouse. The building was, apparently, a story and a half structure with two chimneys. Four windows are in the southern wall; and three windows, in two levels, are in the eastern wall. A rectangular doorway is near the southeastern corner. The building, measured, according to Champlain's scale, six by three toises, or 39 feet by $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the walls were 13 feet high.

³⁶

Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32

Although Champlain does not mention the building in his account, Lescarbot describes it as being "large and spacious."³⁷ There is no other information on the type of construction or size in contemporary accounts.

Evidently Thomas Wright did not find the foundation of this building when he investigated the site in 1797.

Artisans' Houses and Blacksmith Shop (Marked F and E on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

Although the marking of these houses is not clear on Champlain's plan, it is possible that the artisans were housed in these two lines of houses, four in each line facing each other. Probably the letter F, designating the carpenters' homes, was meant to apply to the northern line of four dwellings, while the letter E, designating the blacksmith shop, applied to the southern line. The northern line consists of four joined houses with steep gabled roofs, and a chimney for each building. There appears to be some ornamentation on the roofs of these buildings. An arched doorway is indicated in the southern wall of each house. Two windows are shown in the western wall of the westernmost house, with four windows in three levels (arranged one, one, and two) in the southern wall. Champlain's scale gives the dimensions of eight

³⁷
Ibid., 32.

by three toises for these four buildings, or 52 feet by $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The walls were 13 feet high.

The southern line of four houses shows the same steep roofs, but only three chimneys are indicated. These buildings have the same type of ornamentation on the roofs, and the same type doors in the southern walls. Although the westernmost house has two windows in the western wall, all of the houses have only one window each in the southern wall. The overall dimensions are the same as those of the northern line.

There are no contemporary written descriptions of these houses. Champlain does state that each man built his own house.

Apparently Thomas Wright found the foundations to one of these groups in 1797, but he did not give a description of this "pile of Stones."³⁸

Champlain's House (Marked P on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

This building stood just to the south of the southern line of artisans' houses. Champlain, Champdoré, and the Sieur d'Orville lived together. The building has a steep gabled roof, an arched doorway near the southeast corner, and four windows in the southern wall. No chimney is shown; but it may have been

³⁸

Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 90.

omitted by the engraver because it would deface the buildings behind. The dimensions of the building were three by three toises, or $19\frac{1}{2}$ by $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The walls were 13 feet high.

Champlain wrote that he built the house "with the assistance of some servants belonging to Sieur d'Orville and myself. It was forthwith completed, and Sieur de Monts lodged in it until his own was finished."³⁹

Lescarbot seems to be rather confused in his description. "Right over against the said storehouse," he wrote, "were the lodgings and housings of these gentlemen, Monsieur d'Orville, Monsieur Champlain, Monsieur Champdoré, and other men of reckoning."⁴⁰ According to Champlain's plan, these three men lived in one house.

Wright seems to have located ^{the} foundations of this building in 1797 for he wrote in his sworn testimony: "From this last mentioned pile [Building E], he found another Heap of Stones in the Direction (from the preceeding) of South by West, Distance about thirty or forty feet; for the pile covered so much Space as to render it difficult to measure the exact Distance: This Heap of

³⁹ Champlain, Voyages, II, 36.

⁴⁰ Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32.

Stones, &c., resembled in every particular the former, as described and, like them, evidently appeared the Result of a tumbled chimney."⁴¹

Wright indicates that he found the remains of a chimney, but this statement may not be true. It seems logical, however, for Champlain to have provided himself with a fireplace and chimney. The Well (Marked G on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

Although a well is shown on Champlain's plan in front of his door, neither Champlain nor Lescarbot mention it in their accounts. It is apparent that the well must have yielded little, if any, water, for Champlain stated that "we were obliged to use very bad water, and drink melted snow, as there were no springs nor brooks...."⁴² Lescarbot wrote on this subject: "When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over the river, which is thrice as broad of every side as the river of Seine."⁴³

This lack of water on the island was one of the chief causes of the terrible sufferings during the winter. It is pro-

⁴¹

Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 90-91.

⁴². Champlain, Voyages, II, 52. An old well, locally reputed to be French, is still to be seen on the island. It cannot possibly be the original well.

⁴³.

Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 33.

bable that the "bad water" was one cause of the sickness which killed almost half of the settlers.

Unknown House (Unmarked on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2)

This building stands just north of the priest's house. This building may be that marked by Q on the plan and described as the home of the Sieur Boulay and other artisans, or it might have been the home of the unknown Protestant minister. Because of the fact that the building is almost entirely hidden by the priest's home, it is impossible to obtain the dimensions of the structure, but it appears to have the same dimensions as the priest's home. It does have the steep roof similar to the other buildings, and it has a chimney.

The Priest's House (Marked V on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

The cure's house stood near the southern boundary of the settlement proper. It had a steep roof, a chimney, and a door in the western wall. Three windows are shown in the southern wall, and one window is shown above the door. The dimensions shown on the plan are five by three toises, or $32\frac{1}{2}$ by $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

There is no mention of the priest's house in the accounts of Champlain and Lescarbot, and Wright did not locate the foundation in 1797.

"on one side of one of the Piles he discovered a number of Bricks, so laid together as to convince him that a large oven has formerly been built there, all these Bricks are in a tolerable state of preservation."⁴⁵

In a letter from Mr. J. W. Lee, dated September 10, 1904, he wrote: "I have been here [St. Croix] today and seen the place where Captain Hodgekins found what he thinks was an oven, very old and queer, the spot is about one hundred and twenty feet due east from the Light-house."⁴⁶ Mrs. Harriette Taber Richardson measured this distance and found that it would reach the eastern line of the settlement.

It seems evident, therefore, that this structure, or at least the oven part, was built of brick. It is probable that the bricks were brought over from France since there was insufficient time for the colonists to make them.

House of the Sieurs de Geneston, Sourin, and other artisans (Marked R on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

The location of the letter Q in the middle of the courtyard is confusing, but it may be intended for the westernmost house of this particular group. This would make this particular dwelling

⁴⁵

Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 88.

⁴⁶

Ibid., 93.

the home of the Sieur Boulay and other artisans. The sequence followed in marking the houses would seem to indicate that Champlain intended the letter Q to apply to this house. In addition, this arrangement would place the gentlemen, with the exception of d'Orville, Champlain, and Champdoré, in the eastern half of the settlement, while the guards and artisans lived in the western half.

These two houses are very similar in design to de Monts' house with steep hipped roofs, ornamentation, and chimney, but with no indications of a dormer window on either house. An arched doorway is shown in the center of the southern wall of each house. The southern end of the projecting palisade extending to the assembly house appears to be attached to the northeastern corner of the house marked R. The dimensions of this group of two houses is six by three toises, or 39 by 19½ feet. The walls were 13 feet high.

There are no contemporary descriptions of these houses, and the foundations were not discovered by Wright or Pagan in 1797.

The Kitchen (Marked I on Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

The kitchen of the settlement, as depicted on Champlain's plan, is a little building absurdly clinging to the side of the

eastern cliffs and supported by one plank. It is located outside of the boundaries of the settlement on a line about midway between the storehouse and the assembly house. The building is a small structure with a flat roof, and a tall chimney. The northern wall is approximately three toises, or $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet, wide, but the building narrows toward the south and the southern wall is only one toise, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Three windows are shown in the eastern wall, and there are indications of windows in the southern wall, but it is impossible to be certain of this fact.

Mrs. Harriette Taber Richardson, in her interesting manuscript entitled "A Study in the Placement of the Ste. Croix Colony, New France, in accordance with the Boulder on Dochet Island, Maine," was puzzled by the picture plan of the kitchen on Champlain's plan. Upon visiting the island, Mrs. Richardson made an investigation of the site of the kitchen. By using the distances shown on Champlain's plan, she was suprised to find, when she reached the edge of the cliff, a very logical answer to the problem. "Some nine feet below is a ledge, now six to ten feet wide, some twenty feet long and below the surface of the island approximately ten feet." There were signs of heavy erosion at the site, which would "argue the ledge formerly to have been of size to hold

the kitchen called for by the plan."⁴⁷

Cemetery and Chapel (Marked E and F on Champlain's map; see Appendix B, Fig. 1)

The cemetery of the settlement was situated on a knoll to the southwest of the large community gardens. Champlain's map shows the cemetery by means of a large cross on the top of the knoll and the letter E.

There is no mention of the cemetery in contemporary accounts, and it was not located by Wright and Pagan in 1797. Dr. Ganong believed that the cemetery had been destroyed by erosion before he prepared his Monograph in 1902. He based his belief on a comparison of the island as drawn on Champlain's map and a survey he made in 1902. He also advanced the theory that the name, Bone Island, was given St. Croix after the bones of the French were exposed by erosion.⁴⁸ Archeological investigation of the site should answer this question.

The chapel is shown as a small structure standing on a point above the present Treat's Cove on the southwestern side of

⁴⁷

Harriette Taber Richardson, "A Study in the Placement of the Ste. Croix Colony, New France, in accordance with the Boulder on Dochet Island, Maine"; MSS. article in historical files of Region One, National Park Service, Richmond, Virginia.

⁴⁸

Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 19-20, 37, 52 fn.

the island. It is possible that the present Chapel Nubble is the remains of this point.

Champlain does not mention the chapel in his narrative, and Lescarbot merely speaks of "a little chapel built after the savage fashion."⁴⁹ Dr. Ganong believed the the silence on religious matters was due to the fact "that Protestant influence was prominent in the settlement, and they were writing in and for a country overwhelmingly Roman Catholic."⁵⁰

It does seem strange that the chapel was located so far from the habitation. There is no apparent explanation for this fact.

The Palisade (Marked O in Champlain's plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2.)

There is a question as to whether the entire habitation was enclosed by a palisade. A log palisade is shown on Champlain's plan in only two locations; viz., between the houses marked B and R on the eastern boundary of the settlement, and at the angle midway between the buildings marked A and C. Lines are drawn, however, completely around the settlement which might indicate that the palisade enclosed the entire habitation.

⁴⁹
Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 27.

⁵⁰
Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 65.

On the other hand, Lescarbot very clearly differentiates between the fort and the remainder of the settlement. He described the arrangement of the settlement as follows:

...Monsieur de Monts his people did work about the fort, which he seated at the end of the island, opposite to the place where had had lodged his cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the river up and down. But there was an inconvenience — the said fort did lie towards the North, and without any shelter but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down. And out of the same fort was the Switzers' lodging, great and large, and other small lodgings, representing (as it were) a suburb.... But within the fort was Monsieur de Monts his lodging.... At another part was the store-house....⁵¹

Champlain's plan shows the palisade to be constructed of pointed staves, approximately eight pieds, or 8.65 feet high, set two pieds (or 26 inches) apart, and cross-barred by three sets of logs.

Gardens

Champlain states that after the construction of the houses was started: "Some gardens were afterwards laid out, on the main land as well as on the island. Here many kinds of seeds were planted, which flourished very well on the main land, but not on the island, since there was only sand here, and the whole were

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Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32.

burned up when the sun shone, although special pains were taken to water them."⁵²

Later in this narrative, Champlain describes the work on the gardens:

Nevertheless, Sieur de Monts did not fail to have some gardens made on the island. Many began to clear up the ground, each his own. I also did so with mine [possibly garden L], which was very large, where I planted a quantity of seeds, as also did the others who had any, and they came up very well. But since the island was all sandy, every thing dried up almost as soon as the sun shone upon it, and we had no water for irrigation except from the rain, which was infrequent.

Sieur de Monts caused also clearing to be made on the main land for making gardens, and at the falls three league from our settlement he had work done and some wheat sown, which came up very well and ripened.⁵³

On September 7, 1606, Champlain and Poutrincourt visited St. Croix Island "to see if we could find any spikes of wheat and other seeds which we had planted there. We found some wheat which had fallen on the ground, and come up as finely as one could wish; also a large number of garden vegetables, which also had come up fair and large. It gave us great satisfaction to see that the soil

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Champlain, Voyages, II, 36-37.

⁵³

Ibid., II, 49-50.

there was good and fertile."⁵⁴

Lescarbot states on this subject that "between the said fort and the platform, where lay the cannon, all was full of gardens, whereunto everyone exercised himself willingly."⁵⁵ It is evident that he is describing the gardens which lay on the island south of the ledge.

Of the gardens on the mainland, Lescarbot mentions only those planted on either bank of the river opposite the island. His account of these was apparently based on their appearance when he visited the island in July, 1606:

...There is right over against the island fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Monsieur de Monts his men did their business, and builded there certain cabins. As for the nature of the ground, it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitful. For the said Monsieur de Monts, having caused there some piece of ground to be tilled and the same sowed with rye (for I have seen there no wheat), he was not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and notwithstanding, the grain, fallen, hath grown and increased so wonderfully that two years after we reaped and did gather it as fair, big, and weighty as any in France, which the soil had brought forth without any tillage; and yet at this present it doth continue still to multiply every year.⁵⁶

54

Laverdière, Oeuvres de Champlain, III, 113.

55

Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 32.

56

Ibid., 26.

Four gardens are shown on Champlain's map of the habitation. Two large gardens are shown in the western half of the settlement, one in the northwestern corner (marked M on the plan; see Appendix B, Fig. 2), and one in the southwestern corner (marked L on the plan). Small gardens are shown in front, or just to the south of, the dwellings of Sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte Bourlioli, and Fougeray (marked X on the plan), of Sieurs de Geneston, Sourin, and other artisans (unmarked on the plan). Garden M is shown as being eight by five toises, or 52 by $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet; garden L is eight by six toises, or 52 by 39 feet; garden X is two by six toises, or 13 by 39 feet; and the dimensions of the unmarked garden are the same as garden X.

The main gardens on the island stood to the south of the habitation, probably south of the granite ledge which runs across the island. These gardens do not appear on Champlain's detailed plan of the settlement, but on his map of St. Croix Island and surroundings which was published in the 1613 edition of his Voyages (See Appendix B, Fig. 1). By applying the scale on the map to the gardens, it is seen that the overall dimensions of the gardens are approximately 20 by 40 toises, or $120\frac{1}{2}$ by $240\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The gardens appear to have been laid out into three plots with work paths separating the plots. Seven small squares are shown along the northern boundary of the gardens. It is possible that

these squares indicate huts for keeping the gardening tools, or for dwellings for the workers.

Other gardens were planted by the settlers on both banks of the river opposite the island and at the falls above the island near the present site of Calais and St. Stephen. On the western shore, a small garden divided into two plots, was planted on a prominent point directly opposite the island, and east of the present Red Beach. The gardens on the eastern shore were larger, and were situated on a little stream south of Sandy Point which empties into Johnson's Cove directly opposite the island. The eastern gardens are shown as being divided into four plots. A house is shown south of the garden. This building is undoubtedly one of the huts built by the settlers on the mainland.⁵⁷

Gun Platforms (Marked D or depicted by cannon on Champlain's map; see Appendix B, Fig. 1.)

After the construction of the first defense barricade on a detached islet south of the main island, a gun platform was built north of the northern boundary of the habitation, and guns were emplaced on the southeastern cliffs and on the southern end of the island. According to Lescarbot these cannon were provided by the Sieur de Poutrincourt, who, upon leaving St. Croix in the

⁵⁷
Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 40-41.

fall of 1604, "left his armours and provisions of war in the Isle of Sainte-Croix, in the keeping of the said Monsieur de Monts as a gage and token of the good will he had to return thither."⁵⁸

No other mention is made of these gun positions in contemporary accounts, and the investigators of 1797 found no traces of them.

The Water Mill (Marked I on Champlain's map; see Appendix B, Fig. 1.)

The only information pertaining to the mill is found on Champlain's map in the following description: "I. Place where Sieur de Monts had a water-mill commenced." The water mill probably stood on the present Lows Brook on the western side of the river.⁵⁹

Charcoal Burners (Marked L on Champlain's map; see Appendix B, Fig. 1.)

This site, according to Champlain's map, was located southwest of the gardens (marked M on the map) on the western bank of the river. It was probably situated at the head of the little cove east of present Beaver Lake Brook.⁶⁰ The only mention of the

58

Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 30-31.

59

Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, 38.

60

Ibid., 38.

site is found in the legend on Champlain's map. It reads simply:
"L. Place where we made our charcoal."

It is impossible to tell whether the colonists built a kiln, or used cruder methods. It seems probable that they merely stacked logs, and then burned them under a covering of earth.

PART III
RECOMMENDATIONS

Additional Research

There are four main sources of information which have not been examined by the writer; viz., the collection of transcripts from the French Archives in the Massachusetts Archives; the papers of the Boundary Commission of 1797-1799; the research files of the Fort Royal Restoration; and the papers of Dr. William F. Ganong.

The transcripts in the Massachusetts Archives were made by Mr. Benjamin Perley Poore after he was appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts in 1845 to select and copy documents in the French Archives which pertained to the early history of Massachusetts and the relations of New England with New France. His transcripts, covering papers from the discovery until 1780, were bound into ten volumes of text and two volumes of engraved maps. The entire collection bears the title: Massachusetts Archives: Documents Collected in France. A report of the project is to be found in Senate Document No. 9 (1848), Massachusetts Documents. Some material may be found in this collection dealing with the background of de Monts' company and the colony on St. Croix.

It is possible that the papers of the Boundary Commission are now located in the National Archives. In the course of the investigation to determine the identity of the St. Croix

River, a careful examination was made of the remains of the early French settlement on St. Croix Island. Full reports of these investigations were prepared, and they must have been preserved in the papers of the Commission. Any maps or plans, which may have accompanied the reports, would be most helpful.

Dr. William F. Ganong was deeply interested in the history of St. Croix Island, and pursued the subject for many years. His library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, as well as his research notes, were presented by Dr. Ganong to the New Brunswick Museum, St. John, in 1941. These papers should be consulted as soon as possible.

The intensive research program carried out at the time of the restoration of the Port Royal Habitation gathered together much information relating to the early French settlements in the New World. A thorough examination of the historical and architectural files at Port Royal should reveal a great deal of information on the St. Croix colony.

Archeological Program

Although the archeological program will be developed by Regional Archeologist Harrington, the following suggestions are offered:

It is obvious that some arrangement will have to be made with the Coast Guard before any archeological program can be undertaken. At the present time, the remains of the principal buildings erected in 1604 lie within the boundaries of the Coast Guard Reservation. Since the buildings were located on the northern end of the island, it is apparent that the archeological investigation should be concentrated in that area. The only site of interest lying south of the granite ledge is the cemetery, and it is possible that it has washed away. The remains of the chapel, the gardens, and gun platforms have probably been totally destroyed by erosion.

It is suggested that the first object of the archeological program be to locate and identify the foundations of the storehouse. This is the only building erected by de Monts' colonists of which we have a clear record of the dimensions. If this foundation can be located, it could serve as the means of identifying the other remains on the island. In addition, this building remained on the island after the removal to Port Royal and was probably burned by Argall in 1613. Its remains, therefore, should be in a better state of preservation than those of the other structures.

Artifacts of the St. Croix Colony of 1604

Efforts should be made to locate the artifacts which have been discovered from time to time on the island. Some of these artifacts may have value for museum displays. The following notes on the subject were found in the course of the preparation of this preliminary report.

Robert Pagan and Thomas Wright, during their investigations on the island in 1797, carried on some excavations on the site of the habitation. The following artifacts are mentioned in their depositions: A stone pitcher, a metal spoon, a musket ball, a piece of an earthen vessel, a spike nail, "very hard burnt Earthen Ware," bricks of an odd size, and foundation stones. These articles, with the exception of the stones, were probably taken from the island by the investigators. In fact, Abiel Holmes, in his Annals, I, 122, mentions that Professor Webber accompanied the Commissioners to the island in 1798, and that he had one of the bricks in his possession. Perhaps the papers of the Boundary Commission will give some lead to the location of the artifacts.

Five cannon balls were found about the middle of the nineteenth century on the southern end of the island. The Rev. Slafter, in his notes in the Prince Society's edition of Champlain's Voyages, II, 33, gives the following description of the incident:

On the Southern extremity of the island, where De Monts placed his cannon, about twenty-five years ago, a workman, in excavating, threw out five small cannon balls, one of which was obtained by Peter E. Vose Esq. of Dennysville, Maine, who then resided near the island and was conversant with all of the circumstances of the discovery. They were about a foot and a half below the surface, and the workmen, excavating for another purpose, knew nothing of the history of the island. At our solicitation, the ball, belonging to Mr. Vose has recently been presented to the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, of which he is a member. It is of iron, perfectly round, two and a quarter inches in diameter, and weighs 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. There can be no reasonable doubt that those balls are relics of the little French colony of 1604, and probably are the only memorial of the kind now in existence.

In the New Brunswick Museum, St. John, there is a large stone medallion, carved with the profile of a human head, known as the Utopian Medallion. The Medallion was found in November, 1862, near Lake Utopia. Dr. Ganong believed that it came from St. Croix Island and was probably an attempt at a portrait of de Monts or Champlain. No proof of this supposition is available, and it seems highly improbable that the Medallion had any connection with the St. Croix settlement of 1604.

PART IV
BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography by no means constitutes a complete list of the source materials relating to the history of St. Croix Island. For the most part, the bibliography includes only those works which have been consulted during the preparation of this preliminary report.

It should be pointed out that there are in existence only three contemporary narratives of the settlement on St. Croix Island. The narratives by Champlain and Lescarbot, and the brief account which appeared in Le Mercure Francois in 1608, are the only extant original sources of information on the subject, and all later writers have derived their facts from these alone.

Of these sources, the most important is Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain written by Samuel de Champlain, companion of de Monts in 1604, and published at Paris in 1613. This work is now extremely rare, but it is accessible in the edition of Champlain's writings published in six volumes at Quebec in 1870, under the editorship of Abbé Laverdière. Champlain's Les Voyages has been translated into English by C. P. Otis, and published in three volumes by the Prince Society of Boston in 1878-1882. A translation of the complete works of Champlain has been published in six volumes under the editorship of H. P. Biggar by The Champlain Society of Toronto in 1922-1936.

The brief account in Le Mercure Francois is an earlier account of the voyage and settlement of 1604, but its brevity limits its value. The author of this account is unknown, but it has been attributed to Champlain. This narrative has been translated and published in the Magazine of American History, II (Jan., 1878), 49-51.

Second in importance to Champlain's work is Marc Lescarbot's Histoire de la Nouvelle France published at Paris in 1609. Lescarbot did not reach North America until July, 1606. He was dependent, therefore, on information gathered from others in regard to the St. Croix settlement. For this reason, Champlain is a much better source of information on this subject. His narrative, however, does supplement Champlain's account and serves to round out the facts regarding this early colony. Lescarbot's Histoire appears to have been extremely popular, for new editions were published in 1611, 1612, and 1618. The different editions not only differ from one another in the amount of material included, but they also vary considerably in the details of the text. So far as the parts relating to St. Croix Island are concerned, however, the differences appear to be merely in diction and not in subject matter. The part of Lescarbot's Histoire relating to de Monts' voyage and settlement were translated into English by a

clergyman named Pierre Erondelle and published at London in 1609 under the title Nova Francia; or the Description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia.... This translation by Erondelle is printed in full in Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill, editors, Collection of Voyages and Travels . . . published in four volumes at London in 1704. A recent edition of Erondelle's translation has been published under the editorship of H. P. Biggar at New York in 1928.

Original narratives of the later history of St. Croix Island are found in the Relations of the Jesuit Missionaries, which have been collected and republished in original and translation in seventy-three volumes under the editorship of Reuben G. Thwaites at Cleveland in 1896-1901. The papers of the Boundary Commission of 1796-1799 form another important source of information on the history of the island. These latter papers have not been consulted by the writer, but excerpts have been printed by Dr. William F. Ganong in his monographs on the history of St. Croix Island.

Although the references to the French settlement on St. Croix Island in 1604 are well-nigh innumerable, the outstanding student and authority on the subject is the late Dr. William F. Ganong, former Professor of Botany and Director of the Botanic

Gardens at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Several of Dr. Ganong's studies were published by the Royal Society of Canada. The most important of these studies is "Dochet (St. Croix) Island,— A Monograph" published in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, VIII (May, 1902), 127-231. This monograph has recently been revised and enlarged under the editorship of Susan Brittan Ganong and published under the title Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island A Monograph (Monographic Series No. 3 of the New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N. B., 1945).

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APPENDIX A

1. Excerpts from: Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1613. Edited by W. L. Grant. New York, 1907.

Chapter 3

p. 40

...Sailing west-north-west three leagues through the islands, we entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth,¹ sailing up which a league or two we found two islands: one very small² near the western bank; and the other³ in the middle, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces, with rocky sides three or four fathoms high all around, except in one small place, where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other useful articles. There is another place affording a shelter for vessels from eighty to a hundred tons, but it is dry at low tide.⁴ The island is covered with firs, birches, maples, and oaks. It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where for about forty paces it is lower than

¹ Now the St. Croix River with its mouth at Joes Point.

² Now Little Dochet Island.

³ St. Croix (Dochet) Island.

⁴ This is Treats Cove.

elsewhere: this, however, is easily fortified, the banks of the main land being distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces. Vessels could pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the savages of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by Sieur de Monts the Island of St. Croix.... [p.41] This place is in latitude $45^{\circ} 20'$, and $17^{\circ} 32'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle.

Chapter 4
[p. 42]

Not finding any more suitable place than this island, we commenced making a barricade on a little islet a short distance from the main island, which served as a station for placing our cannon.⁵

⁵ This islet has probably been totally destroyed by erosion. Champlain's map seems to show the little islet on which the cannon were mounted as connected by a narrow neck with the main island (cf., Appendix B, Fig. 1). Champlain's description, as well as that of Lescarbot, speaks of the site as separated from the island. Probably the islet was partially separated from the island in 1604 with a "saddle" or dip between them.

All worked so energetically that in a little while it was put in a state of defence, although the mosquitoes (which are little flies) annoyed us excessively in our work. For there were several of our men whose faces were so swollen by their bites that they could scarcely see. The barricade being finished, Sieur de Monts sent his barque⁶ to notify the rest of our party, who were with our vessel in the bay of St. Mary,⁷ to come to St. Croix. This was promptly done, and while awaiting them we spent our time very pleasantly.

Some days after, our vessels⁸ having arrived and anchored, all disembarked. Then, without losing time, Sieur de Monts proceeded to employ the workmen in building houses for our abode, and allowed me to determine the arrangement of our settlement. After Sieur de Monts had determined the place [p. 43] for the storehouse, which is nine fathoms long, three wide, and twelve feet high,⁹ he

⁶ This barque is frequently mentioned in the narrative. It may be the vessel pictured on Champlain's map to be north of the island. (Cf. Appendix B, Fig. 1)

⁷ Still so called, on the coast of Nova Scotia.

⁸ De Monts' vessel and that of Rossignol. The latter was confiscated by de Monts for illegal trading.

⁹ The translation is not correct, since the dimensions were 9 by 3 toises, and 12 pieds high. A toise was about 6½ feet and a pied was approximately 13 inches. Cf. supra pp. 42-43.

adopted the plan for his own house, which he had promptly built by good workmen, and then assigned to each one his location.¹⁰ Straightway, the men began to gather together by fives and sixes, each according to his desire. Then all set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods, to make the frame-work, to carry earth and other things necessary for the buildings.

While we were building our houses, Sieur de Monts despatched Captain Fouques in the vessel of Rossignol, to find Pont Gravé at Canseau, in order to obtain for our settlement what supplies remained.

Some time after he had set out, there arrived a small barque of eight tons, in which was Du Glas of Honfleur, pilot of Pont Gravé's vessel, bringing the Basque ship-masters, who had been captured by the above Pont Gravé while engaged in the fur-trade, as we have stated. Sieur de Monts received them civilly, and sent them back by the above Du Glas to Pont Gravé, with orders for him to take the vessels he had captured to Rochelle, in order that justice might be done. Meanwhile, work on the houses went on vigorously and without cessation; the carpenters engaged on the storehouse and dwelling of Sieur de Monts, and the others each on

10

Lescarbot gives a fuller description of the physical structure of the settlement. See also Champlain's plan of the habitation, Appendix B, Fig. 2.

his own house, as I was on mine, which I built with the assistance of some servants belonging to Sieur d'Orville and myself. It was forthwith completed, and Sieur de Monts lodged in it until his own was finished. An oven was also made, and a hand-mill for grinding our wheat, the working of which involved much trouble and labor to the most of us, since it was a toilsome operation. Some gardens were afterwards laid out, on the main land as well as on the island. Here many kinds of seeds were planted, which flourished very well on the main land, but not on the island, since there was only sand here, and the whole were burned up when the sun shone, although special pains were taken to water them.

Some days after, Sieur de Monts determined to ascertain [p. 44] where the mine of pure copper was which we had searched for so much.¹¹ With this object in view, he despatched me together with a savage named Messamouet, who asserted that he knew the place well. I set out in a small barque of five or six tons, with nine sailors. Some eight leagues from the island, towards the river St. John, we found a mine of copper which was not pure, yet good according to the report of the miner, who said that it would yield

11

A mine of copper had been reported near the Bay of Fundy the preceding year by Sieur Prevert, as related in an earlier volume of Champlain's writings.

eighteen per cent.¹² Farther on we found others inferior to this. When we reached the place where we supposed that was which we were hunting for, the savage could not find it, so that it was necessary to come back, leaving the search for another time.

Upon my return from this trip, Sieur de Monts resolved to send his vessels back to France, and also Sieur de Poutrincourt, who had come only for his pleasure, and to explore countries and places suitable for a colony, which he desired to found; for which reason he asked Sieur de Monts for Port Royal, which he gave him in accordance with the power and directions he had received from the king. He sent back also Ralleau, his secretary, to arrange some matters concerning the voyage. They set out from the island of St. Croix the last day of August, 1604.

Chapter 6
[p. 52]

When we arrived at the Island of St. Croix,¹³ each one had finished his place of abode. Winter came upon us sooner than

12

Dr. Ganong believed this mine to be in the vicinity of Beaver Harbor, where small veins of copper ore have been found.

13

Champlain had been on a voyage of explorations as far as Kennebec from September 2 to October 2.

we expected, and prevented us from doing many things which we had proposed. Nevertheless, Sieur de Monts did not fail to have some gardens made on the island. Many began to clear up the ground, each his own. I also did so with mine, which was very large,¹⁴ where I planted a quantity of seeds, as also did the others who had any, and they came up very well. But since the island was all sandy, everything dried up almost as soon as the sun shone upon it, and we had no water for irrigation except from the rain, which was infrequent.

Sieur de Monts caused also clearings to be made on the main land for making gardens,¹⁵ and at the falls three leagues from our settlement¹⁶ he had work done and some wheat sown, which came up very well and ripened. Around our habitation there is, at low tide, a large number of shell-fish, such as cockles, muscles, sea-urchins, and sea-snails, which were very acceptable to all.

The snows began on the 6th of October. On the 3d of December, we saw ice pass which came from some frozen river. The

¹⁴

This was no doubt the garden marked L on the plan (Appendix B, Fig. 2) adjoining Champlain's house.

¹⁵

Shown on Champlain's map (Appendix B., Fig. 1).

¹⁶

At the present site of Calais and St. Stephen.

cold was sharp, more severe than in France, and [p. 53] of much longer duration; and it scarcely rained at all the entire winter. I suppose that is owing to the north and north-west winds passing over high mountains always covered with snow. The latter was from three to four feet deep up to the end of the month of April; lasting more longer, I suppose, than it would if the country were cultivated.

During the winter, many of our company were attacked by a certain malady called the mal de la terre; otherwise scurvy, as I have since heard from learned men. There were produced, in the mouths of those who had it, great pieces of superfluous and drivelling flesh (causing extensive putrefaction), which got the upperhand to such an extent that scarcely any thing but liquid could be taken. Their teeth became very loose, and could be pulled out with the fingers without its causing them pain. The superfluous flesh was often cut out, which caused them to eject much blood through the mouth. Afterwards a violent pain seized their arms and legs, which remained swollen and very hard, all spotted as if with fleabites; and they could not walk on account of the contraction of the muscles, so that they were almost without strength, and suffered intolerable pains. They experienced pain also in the loins, stomach, and bowels, had a very bad cough,

and short breath. In a word, they were in such a condition that the majority of them could not rise nor move, and could not even be raised up on their feet without falling down in a swoon. So that out of seventy-nine, who composed our party, thirty-five died,¹⁷ and more than twenty were on the point of death. The majority of those who remained well also complained of slight pains and short breath. We were unable to find any remedy for these maladies. A post-mortem examination of several was made to investigate the cause of their decease.

In the case of many, the interior parts were found mortified, [p. 54] such as the lungs, which were so changed that no natural fluid could be perceived in them. The spleen was serous and swollen. The liver was legueux? and spotted, without its natural color. The vena cava, superior and inferior, was filled with thick coagulated and black blood. The gall was tainted. Nevertheless, many arteries, in the middle as well as lower bowels, were found in very good condition. In the case of some, incisions with a razor were made on the thighs where they had purple spots, whence there issued a very black clotted blood. This is what was observed on the bodies of those infected with this malady.

17

The dead were undoubtedly buried in the cemetery marked E on Champlain's map (Appendix B, Fig. 1).

Our surgeons could not help suffering themselves in the same manner as the rest. Those who continued sick were healed by spring, which commences in this country in May. That led us to believe that the change of season restored their health rather than the remedies prescribed.

During this winter, all our liquors froze, except the Spanish wine. Cider was dispensed by the pound. The cause of this loss was that there were no cellars to our storehouse, and that the air which entered by the cracks was sharper than that outside. We were obliged to use very bad water, and drink melted snow, as there were no springs nor brooks; for it was not possible to go to the main land in consequence of the great pieces of ice drifted by the tide, which varies three fathoms between low and high water. Work on the hand-mill was very fatiguing, since the most of us, having slept poorly, and suffering from insufficiency of fuel, which we would not obtain on account of the ice, had scarcely any strength, and also because we ate only salt meat and vegetables during the winter, which produce bad blood. The latter circumstance was, in my opinion, a partial cause of these dreadful maladies. All this produced discontent in Sieur de Monts and others of the settlement.

[p. 55] It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for, on

arriving here in summer, every thing is very agreeable in consequence of the woods, fine country, and the many varieties of good fish which are found there. There are six months of winter in this country.

The savages who dwell here are few in number. During the winter, in the deepest snows, they hunt elks and other animals, on which they live most of the time. And, unless the snow is deep, they scarcely get rewarded for their pains, since they cannot capture anything except by a very great effort, which is the reasons for their enduring and suffering much. When they do not hunt, they live on a shell-fish, called the cockle. They clothe themselves in winter with good furs of beaver and elk. The women make all the garments, but not so exactly but that you can see the flesh under the arm-pits, because they have not ingenuity enough to fit them better. When they go a hunting, they use a kind of snow-shoe twice as large as those hereabouts, which they attach to the soles of their feet, and walk thus over the snow without sinking in, the women and children as well as the men. They search for the track of animals, which, having found, they follow until they get sight of the creature, when they shoot at it with their bows, or kill it by means of daggers attached to the end of a short pike, which is very easily done, as the animals

cannot walk on the snow without sinking in. Then the women and children come up, erect a hut, and they give themselves to feasting. Afterwards, they return in search of other animals, and thus they pass the winter. In the month of March following, some savages came and gave us a portion of their game in exchange for bread and other things which we gave them. This is the mode of life in winter of these people, which seems to be a very miserable one.

We looked for our vessels at the end of April; but, as this passed without their arriving, all began to have an ill-boding, fearing that some accident had befallen them. For this reason [p. 56] son, on the 15th of May Sieur de Monts decided to have a barque of fifteen tons and another of seven fitted up, so that we might go at the end of the month of June to Gaspé in quest of vessels in which to return to France, in case our own should not meanwhile arrive. But God helped us better than we hoped; for, on the 15th of June ensuing, while on guard about 11 o'clock a night, Pont Gravé, captain of one of the vessels of Sieur de Monts, arriving in a shallop, informed us that his ship was anchored six leagues from our settlement, and he was welcomed amid the great joy of all.

The next day the vessel arrived, and anchored near our habitation. Pont Gravé informed us that a vessel from St. Malo,

called the St. Estienne, was following him, bringing up provisions and supplies.

On the 17th of the month, Sieur de Monts decided to go in quest of a place better adapted for an abode, and with a better temperature than our own. With this view, he had the barque made ready, in which he had purposed to go to Gaspe.

.....

Chapter 10
[p. 78]

Sieur de Monts determined to change his location, and make another settlement, in order to avoid the severe cold and the bad winter which we had had in the Island of St. Croix. As we had not, up to that time, found any suitable harbor, and, in view of the short time we had for building houses in which to establish ourselves, we fitted out two barques, and loaded them with the frame-work taken from the houses of St. Croix, in order to transport it to Port Royal, twenty-five leagues distant, where we thought the climate was much more temperate and agreeable. Pont Gravé and I set out for that place; and, having arrived, we looked for a site favorable for our residence, under shelter from the north-west wind, which we dreaded, having been very much harassed by it.

After searching carefully in all directions, we found no place more suitable and better situated than one slightly elevated, about which there are some marshes and good springs of water. This place is opposite the island at the mouth of the river Equille. To the north of us about a league, there is a range of mountains, extending nearly ten leagues in a north-east and south-west direction. The whole country is filled with thick forests, as I mentioned above, except at a point a league and a half up the river, where there are some oaks, although scatter and many wild vines, which one could easily remove and put the soil under cultivation, notwithstanding it is light and sandy. We had almost resolved to build there; but the consideration that we should have been too far up the harbor and river led us to change our mind.

Recognizing accordingly the site of our habitation as a good one, we began to clear up the ground, which was full of trees, and to erect houses as soon as possible. Each one [p. 79] was busy in this work. After everything had been arranged, and the majority of the dwellings built, Sieur de Monts determined to return to France, in order to petition his Majesty to grant him all that might be necessary for his undertaking. He had desired to leave Sieur d'Orville to command in this place in his absence. But

the climatic malady, mal de la terre, with which he was afflicted would not allow him to gratify the wish to Sieur de Monts. On this account, a conference was held with Pont Gravé on the subject, to whom this charge was offered, which he was happy to accept; and he finished what little of the habitation remained to be built. I at the same time, hoping to have an opportunity to make some new explorations towards Florida, determined to stay there also, of which Sieur de Monts approved.

2. Excerpts from: "Settlement of Acadia," The Magazine of American History, II (Jan., 1878), 49-51, translation of an account in Le Mercure Francois, 1608.

We have already reported that the Hollanders continued their voyages in the West Indies and the English in Virginia. As to the French voyagers in New France the Sieur des Monts obtained from the King in this year (1608) a new confirmation of his privilege for the traffic in Beaver skins in New France, in order to enable him better to establish his colonies for the future, and in the month of March he sent three ships, carrying good workmen and their families, to establish the Republics there. It will not be out of place to relate when he began his voyage thither.

In the year 1603, the Sieur des Monts having proposed to the King that a settlement should be begun in New France, and

that he should not be satisfied with a simple reconnoissance of the country, obtained from his Majesty permission to go thither with the title of Vice-Admiral and with prohibition to all, except those associated with him in the enterprise, to fit out any vessels for the trade in furs or other merchandize for the period of the ten years his privilege, that is from the Cap de Raze up to the fortieth degree, including the entire coast of Cadie-land and Cap Breton, the Bays of St. Cler; Isle-percé, Gachepe, Chichedec, Mesamechi, Lesquemin, Tadousac, and Canada river.

On the seventh of March in the year 1604, Sieur des Monts set sail with two ships from Havre de Grace, to begin the afore-said settlement there and to pass a winter. Arrived after several storms at sea, he established his first settlement in the river of Canada in the island of St. Croix, where he built a fort, which he armed with cannon, and supplied with several wooden houses; others constructed huts for themselves after the manner of the savages. In short they cleared the island, and divided some land in the neighborhood, where they [p. 50] sowed grain and put everything in the best order possible to pass the winter. However, the Sieur de Poitricourt, who had accompanied him on this voyage, returned to France with two ships, which carried several bales of Beaver and other kinds of fur.

The winter, which is very severe in this country, arriving, these new settlers suffered great inconvenience, first for want of wood and next for fresh water, having only a single boat in which to pass the great river in search of these things, their boat not being repaired; then it was pitiful; the frosts and snows were so severe that the cider froze in the casks; and wine was only served out certain days of the week; many who drank snow water fell suddenly ill of diseases unknown in Europe, similar to those which those had who accompanied Jacques Cartier in former times: First their legs swelled, their muscles became shrunken and black, then the disease crept up the hips, thighs and shoulders to the arms and neck; their mouths were covered with rotten flesh which spread all over and grew afresh between night and morning when they thought to remove it, so that in a short time thirty-six died of it. There were about forty men who were cured of it when Spring returned.

The winter over, the Sieur des Monts refitted the bark to explore other land where settlement might be more healthy than at Saint Croix; he coasted along several countries until he reached Malebarre, but not finding a suitable place he returned to his first settlement, awaiting the arrival of some vessel in which to return to France. While he was in this state the Sieur de Pont

Grave arrived from Honfleur with a company of some forty men to succor him; their coming decided them to establish themselves as a part at which the Sieur de Poitricourt has asked permission of the said Sieur des Monts to settle on his return; which he had called Port Royal and which is in the Baye Françoise.

This determined upon each one takes down his lodging; all were transported to the new settlement....

3. Excerpts from: Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia A Description of Acadia, 1606. Translated by P. Erondelle and edited by H. P. Biggar. New York, 1923.

Chapter IV [19]

Leaving Saint John's River, they came following the coast twenty leagues from that place, to a great river (which is properly sea), where they fortified themselves in a little island seated in the midst of this river, which the said Champlain had been to discover and view.¹⁸ And, seeing it strong by nature and of easy defence and keeping, besides that the season began to slide away and therefore it was behoveful to provide of lodging without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there. I will not sift out curiously the reasons of all parts

18

This seems to imply that Champlain discovered the island when unaccompanied by de Monts. The narrative of Champlain shows that he and de Monts were together on this voyage.

upon the resolution of this their dwelling; but I will always be of opinion that whosoever goes into a country to possess it must not stay in the isles, there to be a prisoner. For, before all things, the culture and tillage of the ground must be regarded. And I would fain know how one shall till and manure it, if it behoveth at every hour in the morning, at noon and the evening, to cross a great passage of water, to go for things requisite from the firm land. And, if one feareth the enemy, how shall he that husbandeth the land, or [is] otherwise busy in necessary affairs, save himself if he be pursued—for one findeth not always a boat in hand, in time of need, nor two men to conduct it. Besides, our life requiring many commodities, an island is not fit for to begin the establishment and seat of a Colony, unless there be currents [p. 20] and streams of sweet water for to drink and to supply other necessaries in household which is not in small islands. There needeth wood for fuel, which also is not there. But, above all, there must be shelters from the hurtful winds and cold; which is hardly found in a small continent environed with water of all sides. Nevertheless the company sojourned there in the midst of a broad river, where the North wind and North-West bloweth at will. And because that two leagues higher there be brooks that come crosswise to fall within this large branch of sea, the isle

of the Frenchmen's retreat was called Sainte-Croix,¹⁹ twenty-five leagues distant from Port Royal. Whilst that they begin to cut down cedars and other trees of the said isle to make necessary buildings, let us return to seek our Master Nicolas Aubry, lost in the woods, which long time since is holden for dead. [Aubry, the priest, was lost at St. Mary's Bay about two weeks earlier. He was found by Champdore on his arrival at St. Mary's Bay, and was returned to St. Croix.]

[p. 24] After he²⁰ had been cherished, and they sojourned yet some time to order the business and to view the lands round about the Isle Sainte-Croix, motion was made to send back the ships into France before winter, and so they that went not thither to winter prepared themselves for the return. The meanwhile the savages from about all their confines came to see the manners of the Frenchmen, and lodged themselves willingly near them: also, in certain variances happened amongst themselves, they did make Monsieur de Monts judge of their debates, which is a beginning of voluntary subjection, from whence a hope may be conceived that these people will soon conform themselves to our manner of living.

²⁰

Aubry, the priest.

Amongst other things happened before the departing of the said ships, it chanced one day that a savage called Bituani, finding good relish in the kitchen of the said Monsieur de Monts, settled himself therein, doing there some service: and yet did make love to a maid, by way of marriage; the which not being able to have with the good liking and consent of her father, he ravished her and took her to wife. Thereupon a great quarrel ensueth. And in the end the maid was taken away from him, and returned to her father's. A very great debate was like to follow, were it not that, Bituani complaining to the said Monsieur de Monts for this injury, the others came to defend their cause saying (to wit, the father assisted with his friends) that he would not give his daughter to a man unless he had some means by his industry to nourish and maintain both her and the children that should proceed of the marriage: As for him he saw not anything that he could do: That he loitered about the kitchen of the said Monsieur de Monts, not exercising himself a-hunting. Finally, that he should not have the maid, and ought to content himself with that which was passed. The said Monsieur de Monts having heard both parties, [p. 25] told them that he detained him not, and that the said Bituani was a diligent fellow and should go a-hunting to make proof of what he could do. But yet for all that they did not

restore the maid unto him until he had showed effectually that which the said Monsieur de Monts had promised of him. Finally, he goeth a-fishing, taketh great store of salmons; the maid is redelivered him, and the next day following he came clothed with a fair new gown of beavers well set on with matachias to the fort which was then a-building for the Frenchmen, bringing his wife with him, as triumphing for the victory, having gotten her, as it were, by force of arms: from he hath ever since loved dearly, contrary to the custom of the other savages, giving us to understand that the thing which is gotten with pain ought to be much cherished....

Chapter V
[p. 26]

Before we speak of the ships' return into France, it is meet to tell you how hard the Isle of Sainte-Croix is to be found out to them that were never there. For there are so many isles and great bays to go by before one be at it, that I wonder however one might pierce so far for to find it. There are three or four mountains,²¹ imminent above the others, on the sides; but on the North side, from whence the river runneth down, there is but a sharp

21

These mountains are evidently the ones along the Canadian shore, Chamcook, Greenlaw, McLaughlan, Simpson, and Leighton.

pointed one above two leagues distant. The woods of the mainland are fair and admirable high and well grown, as in like manner is the grass. There is right over against the island fresh-water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Monsieur de Monts his men did their business, and builded there certain cabins. As for the nature of the ground, it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitful. For the said Monsieur de Monts, having caused there some piece of ground to be tilled and the same sowed with rye (for I have seen there no wheat), he was not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and notwithstanding, the grain, fallen, hath grown and increased so wonderfully that two years after we reaped and did gather of it as fair, big, and weighty as any in France, which the soil had brought forth without any tillage; and yet at this present it doth continue still to multiply every year. The said island containeth some half a league of circuit, and at the end of it on the sea side, there is a mount, or small hill, which is (as it were) a little isle severed from the other, where Monsieur de Monts his cannon was placed. There is also a little chapel built after the [p. 27]^{savage} fashion. At the foot of which chapel there is such store of mussels as is wonderful, which may be gathered at low water, but they are small: I believe that Monsieur de Monts' people did not forget to choose and take the

biggest, and left there but the small ones to grow and increase. As for the exercise and occupation of our Frenchmen during the time of their abode there, we will mention it briefly, having first conducted back our ships into France.

The sea and maritime charges in such enterprises as that of Monsieur de Monts be so great that he who hath not a good stock and foundation shall easily sink under such a burden, and for to supply in some sort those expenses, one is forced to suffer and bear infinite discommodities, and put himself in danger to be discredited among unknown people, and, which is worse, in a land which is unmanured and all overgrown with forests. wherein this action is the more generous, by so much as the peril is more evidently dangerous; and, notwithstanding all this, fortune is not left unattempted, and to tread down so many thorns that stop the way. Monsieur de Monts his ships returning into France, he remaineth in a desolate place, with one barque and one boat only.

.....

[p. 28] ...Monsieur de Poutrincourt made the voyage into these parts with some men of good sort, not to winter there but, as it were to seek out his seat and find out a land that might like him. Which he, having done, had no need to sojourn there any longer. So then, the ships being ready for the return, he shipped

himself and those of his company in one of them

.....
[p. 30] ...the said Monsieur [p. 31] de Poutrincourt having left his armours and provisions of war in the Isle of Sainte-Croix, in the keeping of the said Monsieur de Monts as a gage and token of the good will he had to return thither....
.....

Chapter VI
[p. 32]

During the foresaid navigation²² Monsieur de Monts his people did work about the fort,²³ which he seated at the end of the island, opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the river up and down. But there was an inconvenience—the said fort did lie towards the North, and without any shelter but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down. And out of the same fort was the Switzers' lodging,²⁴ great and large, and other small lodgings, representing (as

22

Return voyage of Poutrincourt to France.

23

Cf. supra pp. 70-71.

24

It is not clear whether the Swiss were workmen or soldiers, but it is believed that they were mercenary soldiers hired by de Monts.

it were) a suburb. Some had housed themselves on the firm land, near the brook. But within the fort was Monsieur de Monts his lodging, made with very fair and artificial carpentry-work, with the banner of France upon the same. At another part was the store-house, wherein consisted the safety and life of everyone, likewise made with fair carpentry-work, and covered with reeds.²⁵ Right over against the said store-house where the lodgings and houses of these gentlemen, Monsieur d'Orville, Monsieur Champlain, Monsieur Champdoré, and other men of reckoning. Opposite to Monsieur de Monts his said lodging there was a gallery, covered for to exercise themselves either in play or for the workmen in time of rain. And between the said fort and the platform, where lay the cannon, all was full of gardens, whereunto everyone exercised himself willingly. All autumn quarter was passed on these works, and it was well for them to have lodged themselves, and to manure the ground of the island, before winter; whilst that in these parts pamphlets were set out under the [p. 33] name of Maistre Guillaume, stuffed with all sorts of news, by the which, amongst other things, this prognosticator did say that Monsieur de Monts did pull out thorns²⁶ in Canada: and, all well considered, it may well be termed

25

An error in translation; bardeaux means shingles, not reeds.

26

Is this the equivalent of the present expression, "draw the teeth!?"

the pulling out of thorns, to take in hand such enterprises, full of toils and continual perils, with cares, vexations, and discommodities. But virtue and courage that overcometh all these things, makes those thorns to be but gilli-flowers and roses to them that resolve themselves in these heroical actions, to make themselves praiseworthy and famous in the memory of men, despising the vain pleasures of delicate and effeminated men, good for nothing but to coffer themselves in a chamber.

The most urgent things being done, and hoary, snowy father being come, that is to say winter, then they were forced to keep within doors, and to live everyone at his own home: during which time our men had three special discommodities in this island, videlicet, want of wood (for that which was in the said isle, was spent in buildings), lack of fresh water, and the continual watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the savages that had lodged themselves at the foot of the said island, or some other enemy. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels—a thing which grieveth me to speak. Would to God I were a liar in this respect, and that I had no cause to speak it! When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over the river, which is thrice as broad of every side as the river of Seine.

It was a thing painful and tedious in such sort that it was need-
ful to keep the boat a whole day before one might get those neces-
saries. In the meanwhile the cold and snows came upon them, and
the ice so strong that the cider was frozen in the vessels, and
everyone his measure was given him out by weight. [p. 34] As for
wine, it was distributed but at certain days of the week. Many
idle, sluggish companions drank snow-water, not willing to take
the pains to cross the river. Briefly, the unknown sicknesses
like to those described unto us by James Cartier, in his relation,
assailed us. For remedies there was none to be found. In the
meanwhile the poor sick creatures did languish, pining away by
little and little, for want of sweet meats, as milk or spoon-meat
for to sustain their stomachs, which could not receive the hard
meats by reasons of let, proceeding from a rotten flesh, which grew
and over-abounded within their mouths: and, when one thought to
root it out, it did grow again in one night's space more abundantly
than before. As for the tree called annedda, mentioned by the said
Cartier, the savages of these lands know it not. So that it was
most pitiful to behold everyone, very few excepted, in this misery,
and the miserable sick folks to die, as it were full of life, with-
out any possibility to be succoured. There died of this sickness
36, and 36 or 40 more that were stricken with it recovered themselves

by the help of the spring, as soon as the comfortable season appeared. But the deadly season for that sickness is in the end of January, the months of February and March, wherein most commonly the sick do die, everyone at his turn according to the time they have begun to be sick: in such sort that he which began to be ill in February and March may escape, but he that shall overhaste himself, and betake him to his bed in December and January, he is in danger to die in February, March, or the beginning of April--which time being passed, he is in good hope, and, as it were, assured of his safety. Notwithstanding, some have felt some touch thereof, having been sharply handled with it.

Monsieur de Monts, being returned into France, did consult with our doctors of physic upon the sickness, which (in my opinion) they found very new and [p. 35] unknown, for I do not see that, when we went away, our apothecary was charged with any order for the cure thereof: and notwithstanding it seemeth that Hippocrates hath had knowledge of it, or at least of some that was very like to it. For in the book De Internis Affectionibus he speaketh of a certain malady where the belly, and afterward the spleen, do swell and harden itself, and feel grievous and sharp gripes; the skin becometh black and pale, drawing towards the colour of a green pomegranate; the ears and gums do render and

yield a bad scent, the said gums disjoining themselves from the teeth; the legs full of blisters; the limbs are weakened, etc....

.....

Chapter VII
[p. 48]

The rough season being passed, Monsieur de Monts wearied with his bad dwelling at Sainte-Croix, determined to seek out another port in a warmer country and more to the south; and to that end made a pinnace to be armed and furnished with victuals, to follow the coast and, discovering new countries, to seek out some happier port in a more temperate air.... [De Monts explored the coast to Cape Cod in an unsuccessful search for another site.] [p. 53] ...And so the said Monsieur de Monts caused all things to be in a readiness for the return to Sainte-Croix, where he had left a good number of his men, yet weak by the winter sickness, of whose health he was careful....

Chapter VIII
[p. 55]

The springtime season being passed in the voyage of the Armouchiquois, Monsieur de Monts did temporize at Sainte-Croix for the time that he had agreed upon, in the which, if he had no news from France, he might depart and come to seek some ship of them

that come to Newfoundland for the drying of fish, to the end to repass in France within the same, he and his company, if it were possible. This time was already expired, and they were ready to set sails, not expecting more any succour nor refreshing, when Monsieur de Pont, surnamed Gravé, dwelling at Monfleur, did arrive [1605] with a company of some forty men for to ease the said Monsieur de Monts and his troupe, which was to the great joy of all, as one may well imagine; and cannon-shots were free and plentiful at the coming according to custom, and the sound of trumpets. The said Monsieur du Pont, not knowing yet the state of our Frenchmen, did think to find there an assured dwelling and his lodgings ready; but, considering the accidents of the strange sickness whereof we have spoken, he took advice to change place. Monsieur de Monts was very desirous that the new habitation had been about 40 degrees,²⁷ that is to say, 4 degrees farther than Sainte-Croix; but, having viewed the coast as far as Malebarre²⁸ and with much pain, not finding what he desired, it was deliberated to go and make their dwelling in Port Royal until means were had to make an ampler discovery. So everyone began to pack up his things:

27

De Monts' patent gave him rights of settlement as far south as 40° latitude.

28

Cape Cod

that which was built with infinite labour was pulled down, except the store-house, which was too great and painful to be transported, and in [p. 56] executing of this many voyages are made. All being come for Port Royal, they found out new labours: the abiding place is chosen right over against the island, that is at the coming in of the river l'Equille, in a place where all is covered over and full of woods as thick as possible may be. The month of September did already begin to come, and care was to be taken for the unlading of Monsieur du Pont his ship, to make room for them that should return back into France....

.....

4. Deposition of Robert Pagan, dated July 20, 1797, as quoted in William F. Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island (Monographic Series No. 3, The New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N. B., 1945), pp. 87-89.

[p. 87] Robert Pagan Declares, that having obtained a Plan of St. Croix Island said to have been published at Paris Anno 1613 and having compared it with the Shore Coves and Points of the Island laying a few miles below the mouth of Scoodiac

[p. 88] River at the Devils Head commonly called Doceas Island, and also with the shores &ca of the main Land westward and Eastward of it, as laid down in the Plan, and having found a most striking agreement between every part of these shores, coves and points and that plan.

He on the 7th day of this Instant July went to said Doceas Island accompanied by William Cookson, Thomas Greenlaw, Mehemiah Gilman and John Rigby for the purpose of making further discoveries there. On the North End of said Doceas Island where in the plan above mentioned the French buildings are laid down, he found four distant Files of ruins agreeing in their situation and distances from each other with the spot at A, as laid down in that plan, and these four Files of Ruins are directly abreast of the long sandy Point at low water in said Plan.

On examining these Files he found them considerably raised above the general level of the Ground around them, some parts of them covered with roots of Trees and wind Falls, and all of them with mould or rotten leaves from six to eighteen inches deep.

On further examining he discovered distinctly several tiers of stone in each of the Files laid in clay mortar, one of the Top of an other, the Clay is perfectly distinct from the stone, and of the usual thickness (between the Tiers of stone) of mortar made use of in laying Stone or Brick at this Day.

In some parts of these ruins the Clay is as soft and Perfect as if newly dug out of a Pit, and in other parts appears as clay does in chimnies where fire has been, and there are evident

marks on the stone in many Places.

In digging he found charcoal in a perfect state only it was easily crumbled to pieces in handling he also found part of a stone Pitcher in full preservation. On one side of one of the Piles he discovered a number of Bricks, so laid together as to convince him that a large oven has formerly been built there, all these Bricks are in a tolerable state of preservation. He further Declares—that on the 18th day of this Instant, July being at said Doceas Island on a party of pleasure with a large Company part of the Company went with him to view the ruins above described, and on further examination in presence of John Brewer Esqr., John Campbell, The Revd. Mr. Andrews, Daniel McMasters Esq., Donald McLauchlan, Donald Grant, William Pagan and Thomas Pagan. He uncovered another Pile of Ruins distinct from the four Piles found on the 7 Instant which they found to be laid in clay mortar with Tiers of Stone in the same manner as the first four Piles are laid.

In digging with a spade for a few minutes near one of these piles they turned up a metal spoon, a muskett Ball, a piece of an earthen Vessel and a spike Nail all of which shew evident marks of having laid a long time under the surface.

He further in presence of these Gentlemen discovered on that part of the Island agreeing with the spot in the plan between

A & B a ledge of Rocks extending from the middle of the Island towards the shore on each side a considerable breadth in many places the Rocks are some height above the surface and in other places the Ledge is lightly covered with earth and leaves.

That this Declaration may be more fully understood he has affixed the plan referred to.

(Signed), Robert Pagan.

St. Andrews 20th July 1797.

[p. 89] Personally appeared before me Daniel McMaster Esqr. one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Charlotte Robert Pagan Esqr. also made oath to the truth of the Declaration contained in the first and second pages of Sheet of Paper subscribed by him.

(Signed), Danl McMaster, J. P.

5. Deposition of Thomas Wright, dated October 24, 1797, as quoted in William F. Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island (Monographic Series No. 3, The New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N. B., 1945), pp. 89-91

[p. 89] The Deposition of Thomas Wright, Esquire, His Majesty's Surveyor General of the Island of St. John in the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, respecting what he saw of Remains of Habitations on Isle de Saint Croix, or Bone Island &c. whilst on the

[p. 90] Survey thereof October the eleventh and twelfth one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven--in company with Robert Pagan, Esquire, and a party of men assisting upon the said Survey &c.

Thomas Wright, Esquire, above named, upon his Oath doth testify and declare that--

1st. He examined the Foundation of a building (as the People cleared away the Trees, Rubbish, &c.) in Form of an oblong square, which he measured with a six Feet Rod; and found one Side twenty Feet long, laying in the Direction (by his pocket compass) of North North East and South South West--The other side at right angles to it (and facing nearly the North End of the Island) measured sixty-six Feet in Length, the remaining two Sides of the oblong square measured the same.²⁹ At about twenty-four Feet from the Southern End of the said Foundation, towards the Middle of the area thereof, he observed a large Heap of Stones, with some Bricks of a light yellow colour which measured eight Inches long--four broad--and one Inch and four-tenths in Thickness; which Heap of Stones and Bricks--evidently appeared to have resulted from the tumbling down of a Stack of Chimnies;³⁰ and (upon removing the

29

Evidently the storehouse.

30

De Monts's own house apparently. There is some difficulty in homologizing the distances and direction of the ruins given by Wright with the locations of the buildings on Champlain's plan (Appendix B, Fig. 2), but it is to be remembered that both are only approximate.

upper part of the Rubbish) was regularly bedded in a stiff light coloured clayey mortar: as in like manner, was the whole of the said Foundation.—Some of the Stones about this supposed Chimney-Heap appeared black, as if burnt on one Side:—There was also, some Charcoal about the said Heap, that appeared in its usual Form; but easily crumbled, when squeezed between the Fingers, as rotten:—there was, also, (about the said Heap) some pieces of very hard burnt Earthen Ware.—And this Deponent further saith that he took some Bricks from under a Cedar and Fir Tree (whilst the people were grubbing and pulling them down) which trees measured from ten to twelve Inches through at their but:—there were, besides, Wind Falls of rotten Trees, over the said Foundation, about eighteen or twenty Inches in Diameter; and various Roots of Trees that had insinuated themselves between almost all the Stones of the said Foundation to the Earth, beneath.—

2nd. In the Direction of about South by West (by his pocket compass) from the above mentioned chimney pile. Distance from seventy to eighty Feet, he observed another like pile of Stones and Brick,³¹ to all appearance as the former, and bedded in like Manner with clayey mortar of same light or bluish colour—that had evidently the same appearance of a tumbled chimney—with

³¹

Apparently the house T of Champlain's plan.

Roots of Trees, interwoven.

3rd. That from this last mentioned pile of to appearance tumbled chimnies in Direction (by his pocket compass) of about West by North, Distance seventy or eighty feet,³² he observed another pile of Stones; which, in every particular, resembled the former.—

4th. From this last mentioned pile, he found another Heap of Stones in the \surd p. 91 \surd Direction (from the preceeding) of South by West, Distance about thirty or forty feet;³³ for the pile covered so much Space as to render it difficult to measure the exact Distance: This Heap of Stones, &c., resembled in every particular the former, as described and, like them, evidently appeared the Result of a tumbled chimney.

5th. Everywhere they dug about the Island, they found nought else but a sandy hungry soil, above and beneath for the Depth of from three to six Feet—then Rock.--

6th. He observed a remarkable Ridge of Rocks, somewhat to the Southward of the above mentioned Foundations, and running some distance athwart, or across The Island.—

7th. The Sea-Coast around the Island is very rocky--

³² Apparently the house E of Champlain's plan.

³³ Apparently the dwelling of Champlain, P on the plan.

except at its South End (opposite a small Peninsula) where is a high sloping Sand Bluff, and some clay; in chaining from which, over a Shoal to the Ledges South thereof, he observed large Quantities of Muscles and some Clams--on a Bed of Sand--Clay--and Rocks.--

8th. In surveying around the Island, he did not observe the least Run, or any Springs, of fresh water; though the People with him made diligent Search for some to drink; but, they were obliged to send to the Main Land for some.

9th. In the Neighbourhood of the before mentioned Foundations and piles of (to Appearance tumbled chimnies, he observed several deep Holes that seemed to have been dug in Search of Water.

10th. And, further, this Deponent saith that, the Island is covered with Wood--some of considerable Size--The Species are chiefly of Fir--Spruce--some Pines--White Birch--Maple--Cedar and Beech--He saw but one Oak Tree:--that appeared to have been lately fallen with an axe, for some of its Leaves were on the Branches:--It measured from eighteen to twenty Inches in Diameter, near the But.--

11th. And lastly, this Deponent saith that, a plan of the said Survey now in his hand intituled a plan of Isle de Sainte

Croix, or Bone Island situated in the Scoodiac or Great River
"Sainte Croix, in Fassamaquoddy Bay"—is a true plan of a Survey
of the said Island made by Him, the said Deponent, on the Twelfth
Day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred
and Ninety-seven.—³⁴

St. Andrews Oct. 24th 1797.

Tho. Wright,

Surv. Genl.
of the Isl St. John.

St. Andrews, County of Charlotte,
Oct. 24th 1797.

Personally appeared the above named Thomas Wright,
Esquire, and made Oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God
to the Truths of the foregoing Deposition by him subscribed.—

Phineas Brunce, Esquire, was notified and present at the
taking of this Deposition.—

Before us,

Jno. Curry, J. P.
Danl. McMaster, J. P.

³⁴

See Appendix B, Fig. 5, for copy of Wright's plan.

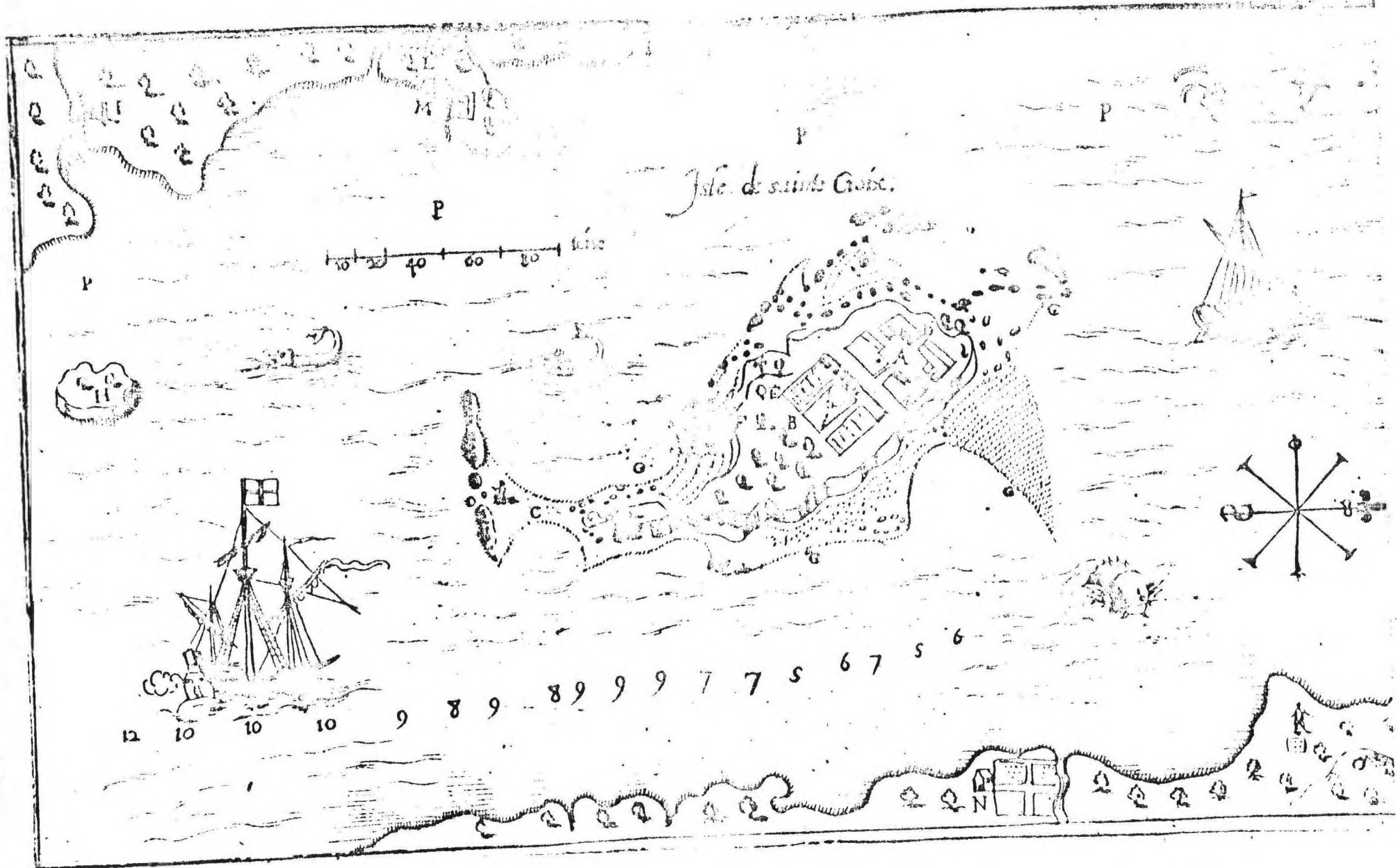
A P P E N D I X B

Maps and Plans

FIG. 1. Map of the "Isle de sainte Croix" and environs, by Samuel de Champlain. The map and explanations form page 34 of Samuel de Champlain, Les Voyages... (Paris, 1613). Original map in Harvard University Library.

EXPLANATIONS OF CHAMPLAIN'S MAP

<u>Original.</u>	<u>Translations.</u>
Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.	The figures indicate fathoms of water.
A. Le plan de l'habitation.	A. A plan of the settlement
B. Iardinages.	B. Gardens
C. Petit islet servant de platte forme à mettre le canon.	C. Little islet serving as a platform for cannon.
D. Platteforme où on mettoit du canon.	D. Platform where cannon were placed.
E. Le cimetiére.	E. The cemetery.
F. La chappelle.	F. The chapel.
G. Basses de rochers autour de l'isle sainte Croix.	G. Rocky shoals about Saint Croix Island.
H. vn petit islet.	H. A little islet.
I. Le lieu où le sieur de Mons auoit fait commencer vn moulin à eau.	I. Place where Sieur de Monts had a watermill commenced.
L. Place où l'on faisoit le charbon.	L. Place where we made charcoal.
M. Iardinages à la grade terre de l'Ouest.	M. Gardens on the western shore.
N. Autres iardinages à la grande terre de l'Est.	N. Other gardens on the eastern shore.
O. Grande montaigne fort haute dans la terre.	O. Very large and high mountain on the mainland.
P. Riuiere des Etechemins passant au tour de l'isle sainte Croix.	P. River of the Etechemins flowing about the Island of Saint Croix.



Isle de sainte Croix.

10 20 40 60 80 leagues

12 10 10 10 9 8 9 8 9 9 7 7 5 6 7 5 6

FIG. 2. Plan of the "habitation de l'île Ste Croix" of 1604, drawn by Samuel de Champlain. The plan and explanations were published in the 1613 edition of Champlain's Les Voyages. Original plan in the Harvard University Library.

EXPLANATIONS OF CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF DE MONTS' SETTLEMENT

Original.

Translations.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Logis du Sieur de Mons. | A. Dwelling of Sieur de Monts. |
| B. Maison publique où l'on passoit le temps durant la pluie. | B. Public building where we spent our time when it rained. |
| C. Le magasin. | C. The storehouse. |
| D. Logement des suisses. | D. Dwelling of the Swiss. |
| E. La forge. | E. The blacksmith shop. |
| F. Logement des charpentiers. | F. Dwelling of the carpenters. |
| G. Le puis. | G. The well. |
| H. Le four où l'on faisoit le pain. | H. The oven where the bread was made. |
| I. La cuisine. | I. The kitchen. |
| L. Iardinages. | L. Gardens. |
| M. Autres Iardins. | M. Other gardens. |
| N. La place où au milieu y a un arbre. | N. Place in the center where a tree stands. |
| O. Palissade. | O. Palisade. |
| P. Logis des sieurs d'Oruille, Champlain & Chandore. | P. Dwelling of the Sieurs d'Orville, Champlain and Champdore. |
| Q. Logis du sieur Boulay, & autres artisans. | Q. Dwelling of the Sieur Boulay, and other artisans. |
| R. Logis où logeoiet les sieurs de Genestou, Sourin & autres artisans. | R. Dwelling where the Sieurs de Geneston, Sourin, and other artisans lived. |
| T. Logis des sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte Bourioli & Fougeray. | T. Dwelling of the Sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte Bourioli, and Fougeray. |
| V. Logement de nostre curé. | V. Dwelling of our curate. |
| X. Autres iardinages. | X. Other gardens. |
| Y. La riuiere qui entoure l'île. | Y. The river surrounding the island. |

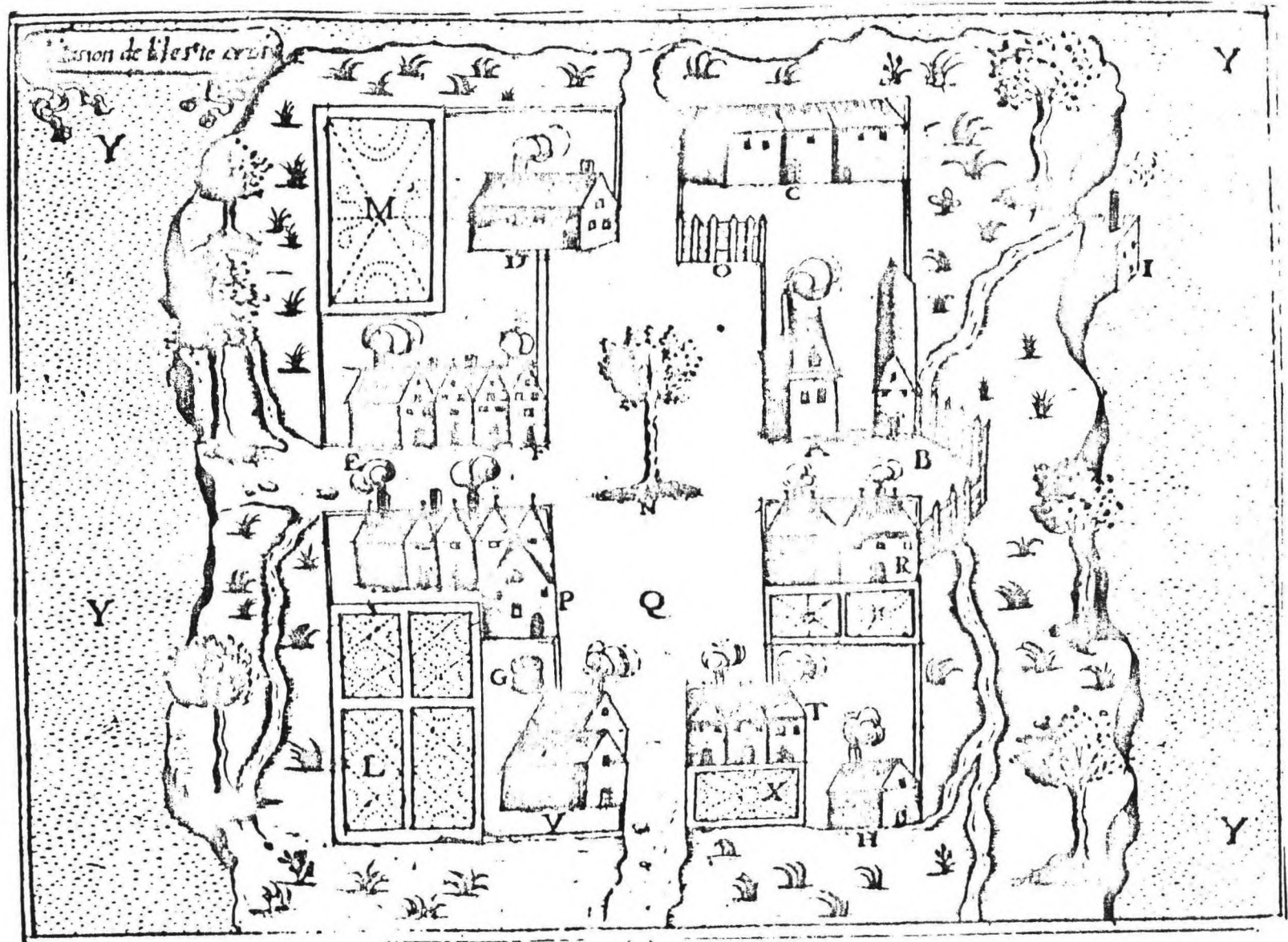


FIG. 3. Map to show the environs of St. Croix (Dochet) Island.
W. G. Ganong, "Dochet (St. Croix) Island,—A Mono-
graph," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal
Society of Canada, VIII (second series; May, 1902),
p. 128.

N E W B R U N S W I C H



U N I T E D

S T A T E S

1 1/4 1/2 3/4 0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

Passamaquid Bay

FIG. 4. Vicinity Map of St. Croix (Dochet) Island. United States Geological Survey, Calais and Robbinston, Me., quadrangles, surveyed in 1929.

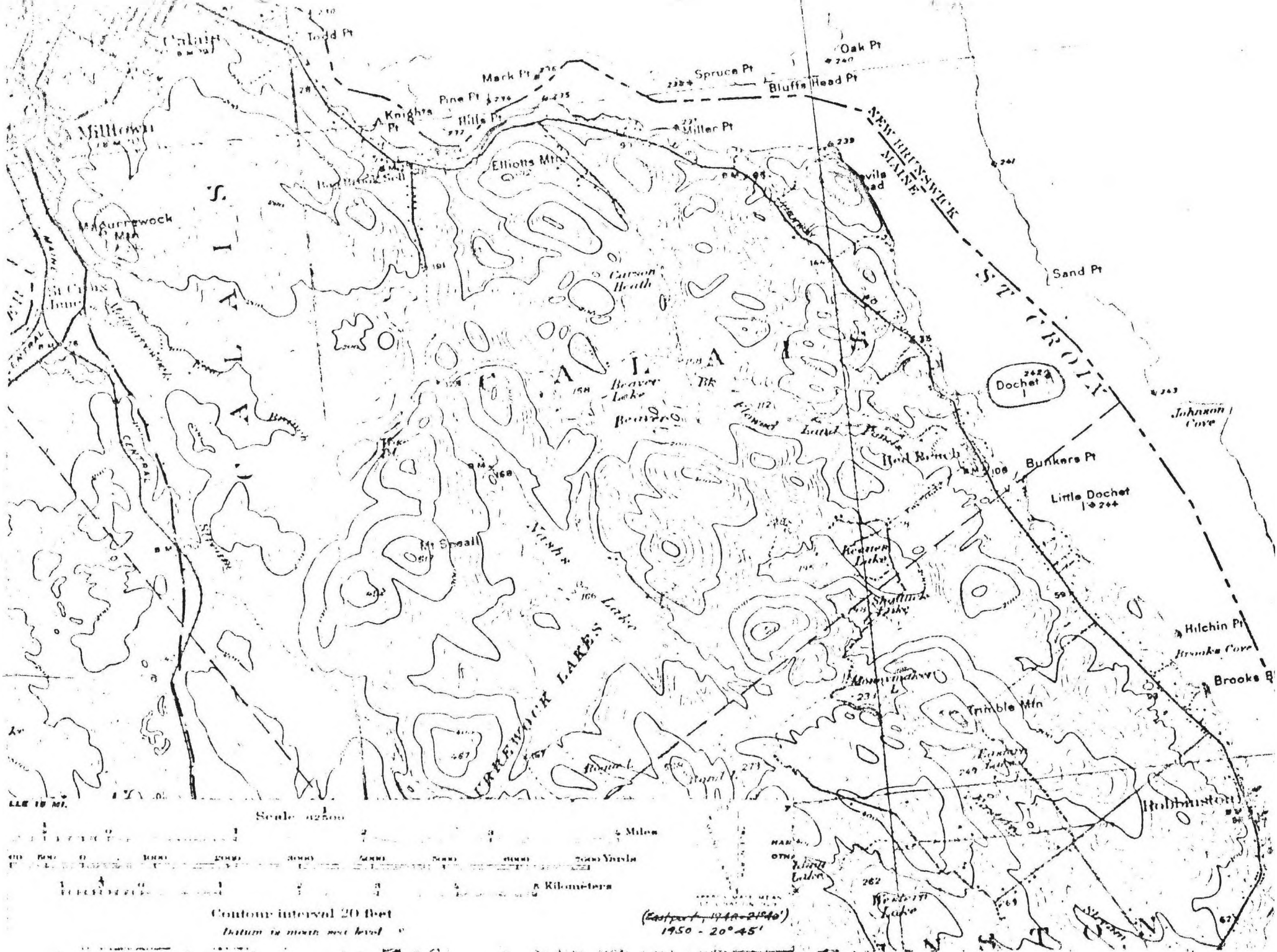


FIG. 5. Map by Thomas Wright of "Isle de Sainte Croix or Bone Island," 1797. Copy published in William F. Ganong, Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island A Monograph, Monographic Series No. 3, New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N. B., 1945, p. 207.

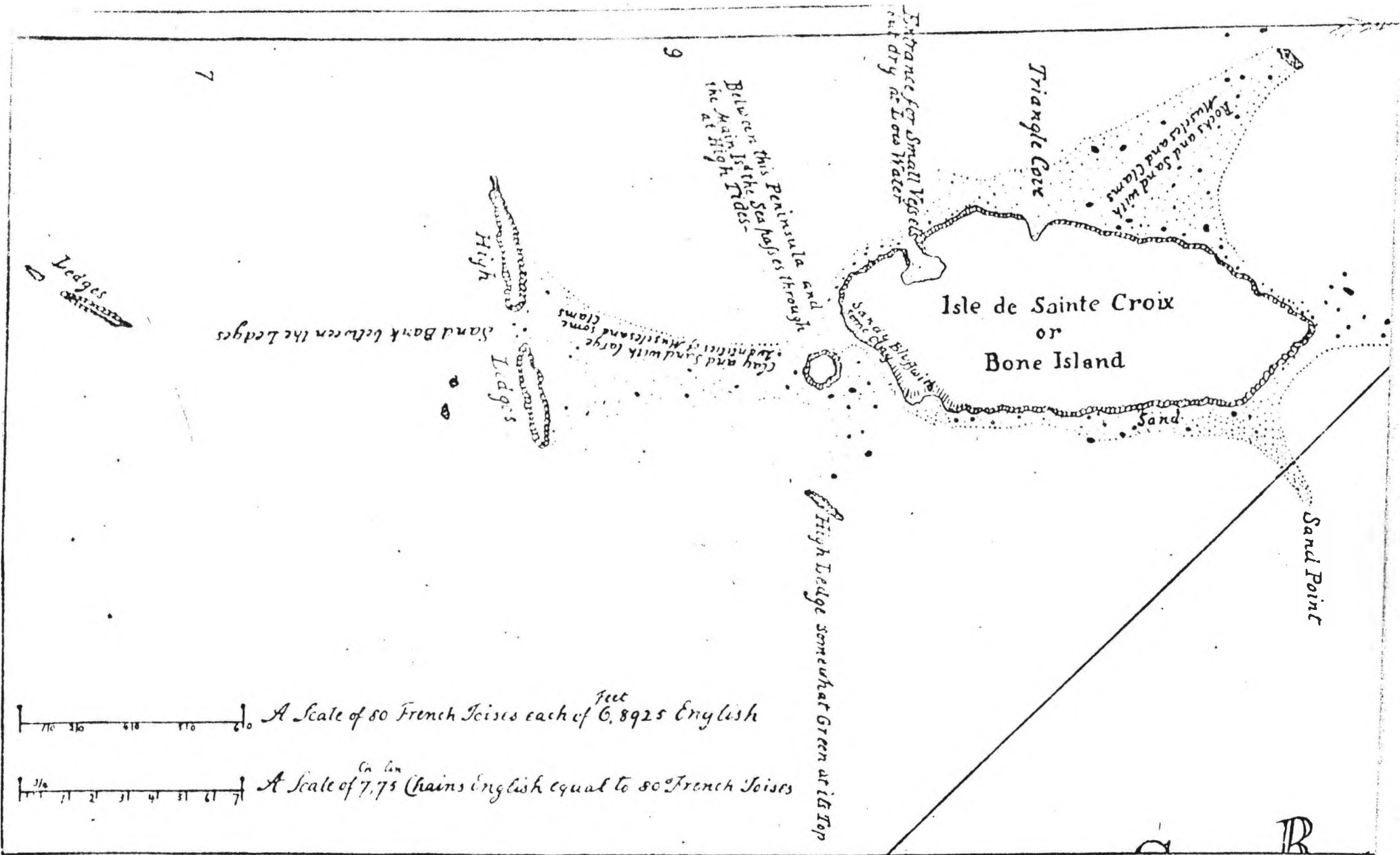


FIG. 6. Comparison map of St. Croix Island to show erosion. Map shows conditions in 1902 in black, with its approximate features from Champlain's plan and map in red. The original map prepared by W. F. Ganong, and published in his "Dochet (St. Croix) Island,--A Monograph," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, VIII (second series; May, 1902), p. 221.

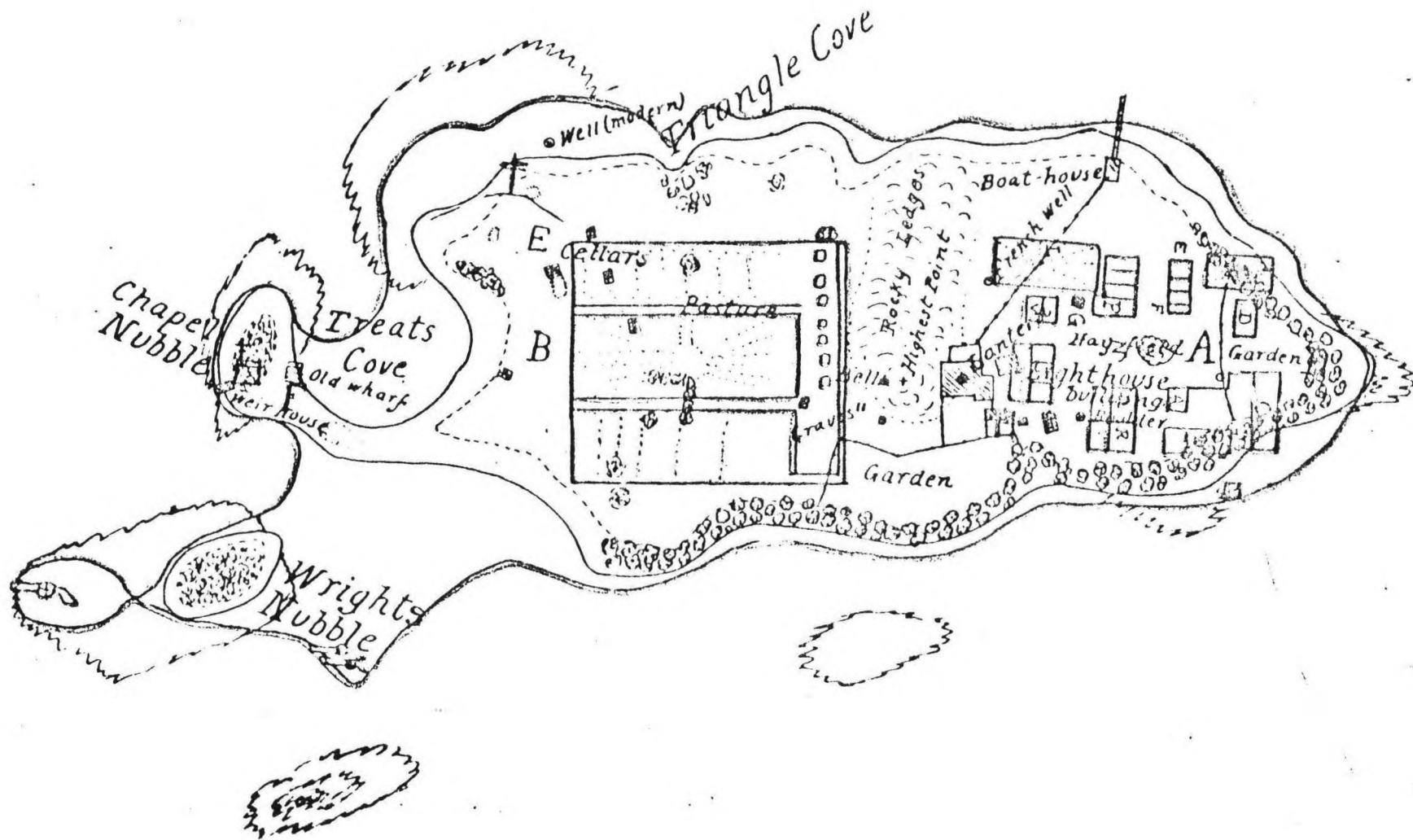
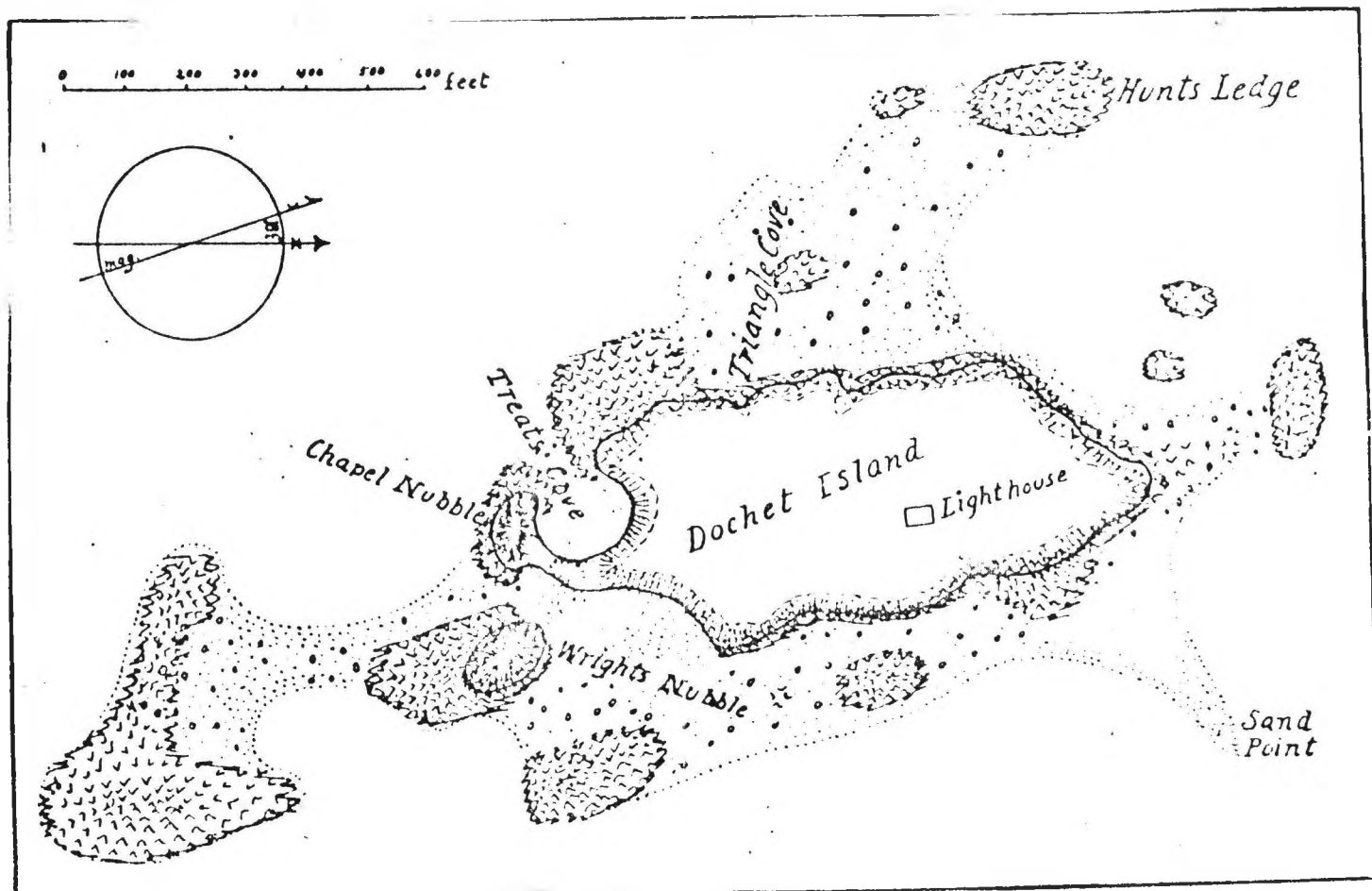


FIG. 7. Map of Dochet (St. Croix) Island with its surrounding ledges. From a survey by W. F. Ganong in September, 1902. Published in W. F. Ganong, "Dochet (St. Croix) Island," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, VIII (second series; May, 1902), p. 129.



A P P E N D I X C

Illustrations



1. General view of St. Croix Island as seen from the American shore. Chamcook and Greenlaw Mountains can be seen on the Canadian side in the background. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.



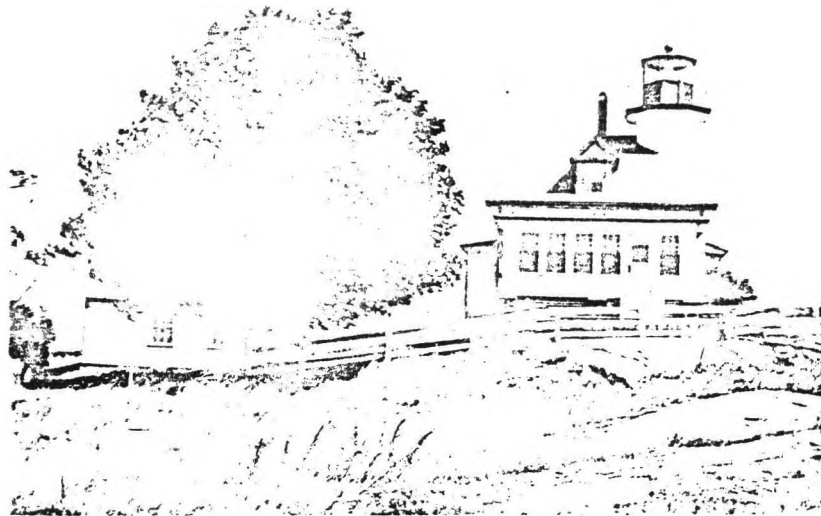
2. Site of de Monts' water mill on Lowes Brook near Red Beach, Maine. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.



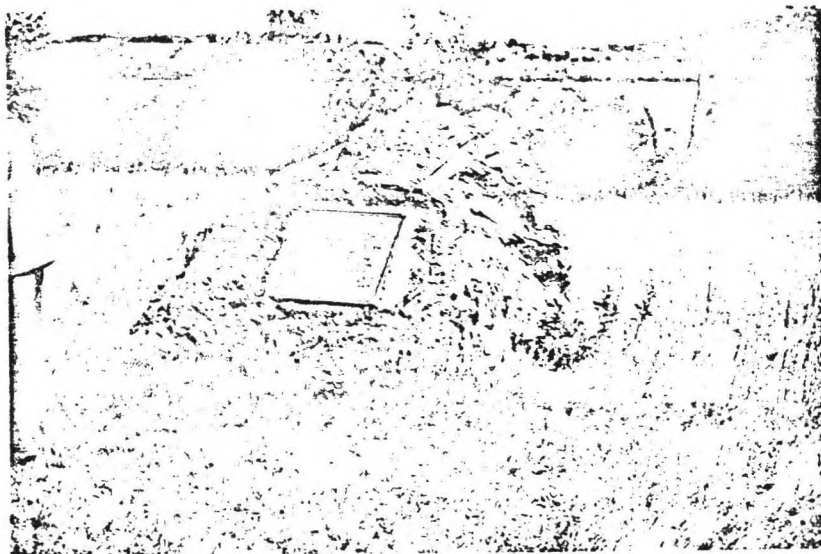
3. General view of the site of de Monts' habitation on the northern end of St. Croix Island as seen from the lighthouse. Photo by Harrington, Sept. 16, 1949.



4. Another view of the site of de Monts' habitation looking from the ledge toward the north. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.



5. The St. Croix light and lightkeeper's residence. These structures stand on the granite ledge which runs across the island. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.



6. The boulder on the site of de Monts' settlement of 1604. Mrs. Harriette Taber Richardson believes that this stone served as the base point for Champlain's plan. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.



7. Commemorative plaque placed on boulder during the Tercentenary Celebration of de Monts' settlement at St. Croix Island in 1904. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.



8. Northeastern tip of St. Croix Island looking toward the American shore. Note the typical granite formation in the foreground. Photo by Appleman, Aug. 21, 1949.