

French Government Reports from Acadia 1693 and 1694 *translated into English by:*

Webster, J. C. (1934). *Acadia at the End of the 17th Century: Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon Documents*. Published by the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick.

Journal of Events in Acadia from September 15, 1693 to September 2, 1694 sent by Villebon* to Pontchartrain**

***Joseph Robinau de Villebon: Governor of Acadia 1691-1700.** Following the 1690 Battle of Port Royal (now Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) the Governor of Acadia de Meneval was taken to Boston as a prisoner by Sir William Phips, the Governor of Massachusetts. Port Royal, the capital of Acadia was subsequently moved to a more defensible location, first to Fort Jemseg in 1691 (near the mouth of the St John River, New Brunswick), while de Villebon built Fort Nashwaak further upriver from Fort Jemseg. Upon its completion in 1692, the capital of Acadia was situated at Fort Nashwaak (Fredericton, New Brunswick). De Villebon was age 39 in 1694.

****Louis II Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, Marquis de Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas, Comte de Pontchartrain. Official at Versailles for King Louis XIV.** Controller-General of Finances 1690-1699; Secretary of State of the Maison du Roi 1690-1699; Secretary of State of the Navy 1690-1699. In 1699, appointed Chancellor of France by King Louis XIV, served 1699-1714. De Pontchartrain was age 51 in 1694

Dates: The Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII as a modification of and replacement for the Julian calendar of Julius Caesar, in use since 45 B.C. The difference in the calendars was the method for compensating with a leap year; the accumulated difference in 1694 was about ten days, which altered the date for the celebration of Easter, the motivation for the adoption of the new Gregorian calendar. France adopted the new calendar in 1582 when 9 December was followed by 20 December 1582. The Protestant countries, including England, recognized the new calendar in trade, but England did not adopt the Gregorian calendar until 1752 when 2 September was followed by 14 September 1752. Thus, during the 17th century, the dates in the French reports are Gregorian calendar dates while dates in the English documents are Julian calendar dates; the date difference is ten days.

Journal of Events in Acadia from September 15, 1693 to September 2, 1694 sent by Villebon* to Pontchartrain**

1693

September 15th – Manidoubtik, chief of the Indians [Maliseets] on this river [St John River, New Brunswick] came to give me information he had obtained about a parley which Madokawando had held with the English at Pemaquid, likewise, Edjevemit, chief of the Kennebec River Indians: Taxous and his people had not been willing to participate. Hostages had even been given as security for trade and amity between the

English and Madokawando's followers. I, thereupon, asked Manidoubtik to see Taxous on my behalf, and to urge him to raise a faction which would put an end to these negotiations: this he undertook to do.

20th – M. de Thury, missionary, arrived here from Quebec and left for Pentagoet two days later, with the intention of arousing disapproval of Madokawando's conduct.

26th – Madokawando's son arrived from Quebec on his way back from France. I made known to him his father's behavior, and said that, having been made so welcome in France, it was his duty to induce his father to change his mind and that as soon as he arrived at his village, he should gather together a force of his own. He gave me his promise to do this, but has not fulfilled it, fearing to endanger two of his kinsmen whom his father had given as hostages to the English at Pemaquid.

January 15th – I dispatched M. de Neuville over the snow to Quebec to inform Count Frontenac of the resolve Taxous appeared to have made, and to find out if he could not send from Quebec in the Spring 40 to 50 Canadians or soldiers to encourage the Indians of Pentagoet and Kennebec, for I am still without a single soldier fit for active service, and even if some of them should be later, I could not detach them, having only enough for the defense of my fort.

During what remained of this month I sent notices to as many as possible of the Indians, who were on their hunting grounds, to hold themselves in readiness for war, and those on this river all promised me to be at hand by the end of April, which they have never failed to do.

April 15th – I received a letter from M. de Thury [Jesuit missionary to the Penobscot Indians, present at the Oyster River Massacre] at Meductic in which he said that the village Indian with whom he has lived during the winter had brought him to that point. I begged him to come to the fort to discuss the projects of our Indians.

April 29th to May 5th – M. de Thury arrived as I had requested him to do, and set out again with M. de Villieu [French career soldier at the Oyster River Massacre], whom I was sending to Pentagoet, to assure the Indians of the King's protection and of the danger in which they placed themselves by negotiating with the English, who, under the guise of friendship and extensive trade, would not fail to betray them as they had done in the past.

16th – The Srs. De Portneuf and de Neuville arrived from Quebec, I had an answer to my letter written to Count Frontenac [Governor of New France] in January. He pointed out that it was essential to make every effort to stop the negotiations between the Indians and the English, and added, if the latter were resolved to strike a momentous blow, "let them come to Quebec." He would endeavor to furnish the number of men I had asked for, although he had himself plenty to occupy them; the news which I should receive shortly from France would warrant my taking whatever measures I judged necessary.

19th – Provisions for the garrison had begun to diminish rapidly. The Sr de Villieu and his wife, de Montigny and two servants having, since their arrival, been fed at the expense of the soldiers, because they had procured no supplies for themselves by the French ship *Suzanne*, nor did they obtain any along the coast, and I begged M. des Goutins to go to Minas [Nova Scotia] to bring some back forthwith.

22nd – Taxous arrived from Pentagoet to see me and receive his presents. I adopted him as my brother and gave him the best suit of clothes I had, and he assured me on leaving that, although he was going to gather together a large war-party, he would not stop there but would make up another immediately after the first and induce Madokawando to join him, or render him contemptible to all the young Indians.

26th – He took his departure; also M. de Villieu who had returned from Pentagoet to bring back five bales of beaver skins and other pelts which he had obtained by trading during his first journey.

June 10th – M. des Goutins got back safely from Minas, bringing provisions, which will enable us to await with patience a new supply from Europe.

16th – M. de Bonaventure arrived; I received the news on the 19th as I was on my way down the river with 70 Indians to await his coming.

30th – I left the mouth of the river with the boats loaded with the King's stores and reached the fort on the 12th.

July 2nd – M. de Bonaventure set out for Placentia [Newfoundland]. I gave him 30 Indians and the Sr. de Montigny as a reinforcement in case he encountered the English frigate, and M. Baptiste, who went with him, also took 15 Indians aboard his ship.

18th – M. Baptiste arrived at the mouth of the river, having captured five prizes. He sank the first, a fishing boat. The second, taken on its way from Barbados to Boston, loaded with rum and molasses, he ransomed. A third, loaded partly with cloth from Lancaster in England, and two others with supplies and dried fish, were recaptured by the Boston frigate while he was off Cape Sable. The men whom he had placed aboard to navigate his prizes escaped to land and returned here by way of Port Royal.

19th – I learned that the party which has been assembling at Pentagoet was to leave soon for Kennebec, and would then set out on the war-path.

August 9th – I received letters from MM. de Thury and de Villieu; the latter wrote a very short letter without even telling me were the attack was made. M. de Thury gave me a detailed account and I herewith append an extract of his letter. The blow struck was important, because it will put an end to the negotiations which have been going on, and leave no chance for their renewal. There remains what may have been accomplished by Taxous who at the conclusion of this expedition had gone with Madokawando and 40 or

50 Indians to strike an even more important blow [at Groton, MA]; of this I have had, as yet, no news, but by now they should be back at Pentagoet.

Extract from letter of M. de Thury, August 2nd [July 23, 1694 O.S., describing the Oyster River Massacre]

The war-party from Pentagoet, Kennebec and the St. John River, with a few braves of Indian tribes from Boston, in all, 230 warriors, contrary to the judgement of the older chiefs, attacked the outlying houses of Piscataqua, where they killed or took prisoners 137 persons, including children. They pillaged and burned about 20 houses, of which several were surrounded by stockades, and then withdrew because they anticipated pursuit. There was great difficulty in reaching the place where the blow was struck. Taxous and Madokawando with 40 or 50 men divided into bands to harass the English; I have no doubt that they will be more successful than a large party, because they will cooperate.

24th – Manidoubtik, whom I summoned from Meductic, arrived here. I told him that he must not be satisfied with this first expedition made by his followers and the Indians of Pentagoet and Kennebec; it was my hope he would speedily assemble another party so that I might proclaim in France the bravery of those who dwelt on this river. I had no sooner spoken than he was all eagerness to go back and re-assemble his people at once, and he assured me that a party of 50 men at least would be ready to set out in 20 days. I gave him presents for his people and some especially for himself.

September 8th – I received a letter from M. de Thury, who informed me that Taxous and Madokawando had taken or killed 42 people in the neighborhood of Boston; a nephew of Taxous had been killed there, which will serve as a further incentive against the English; the prisoners had said the governor of Piscataqua had been burned in one of the houses which had been set on fire during the first attack.

Account of a Journey Made by M. De Villieu* (report of de Villieu, sent to Count Pontchartain by Gov. de Villebon)**

***Captain of a detachment of the Marine at the head of a force of Indians, Kennebecs, Penobscots and Maliseets of Acadia, making war on the English in the spring of 1694. A career soldier since 1674, he had fought in Flanders, Germany, Catalonia, and Roussillon. In 1690 he took part in the defense of Quebec. He was born c.1658, age about 36 in 1694. (http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/villieu_claude_sebastien_de_2E.html often confused with his father, of the same name, deceased before 1692)

(with comments in the margins by Governor Villebon, for Count Pontchartain); De Villebon was age 39 in 1694.

November 1693 – In order to carry out orders, received from the Government, to place himself at the head of the Acadian Indians and lead them against the English, and those given him by Count Frontenac on his departure from Quebec in October, 1693, as well as in the letters by which he had been honored, the Sr. de Villieu, having passed the winter at Fort Nashwaak on the St. John River, where the Sr. de Villebon is in command, set out on May 1, 1694, for Pentagoet to put an end to negotiations which the Indians had been carrying on for a year with the English, and to solicit them to renew the war.

The Sr. de Villieu has shown us in this first Report the character of his mind by giving the impression that he had gone with the Indians on his own initiative and that he had left the fort at Nashwaak without even informing Sr. de Villebon who was in command. This has made it necessary to inform the Government that the Sr. de Villieu, from the time of his arrival at Fort Nashwaak, had so little idea of joining the Indians on the warpath that the Sr. de Villebon was obliged to send for him and say, in the presence of M. de Thury, missionary, to whom he should have referred, that, as the Indians were ready to form a large war-party, he had summoned him to find out if he were willing to go with them. He replied, thereupon, that he would do whatever he desired, and made his preparations for departure. The Sr. de Villebon gave him an order with instructions, which he should have mentioned in his report. The Sr. de Villebon is sending copies of both to the Government.

May 3rd – He arrived at the fort of Meductic, where he assembled the Indian chiefs to tell them the object of his journey, asking them to be ready, when he returned, to go on the war-path with the Pentagoet Indians, and informing them that he had been sent from France to lead them against the English. They deferred their answer until the next day and held a Council to consider what they should do, but nothing was decided.

Nothing could be more false than the Sr. de Villieu's statement, because the Meductic Indians, who live only a day and a half from Nashwaak, had just been to the fort to receive their presents; they have always been disposed to do what the Sr. de Villebon wished, and are noted for their regularity in presenting themselves at the mouth of the river each year, on the arrival of the King's representative. The reply, which the Sr. de Villieu reported, that they had deferred their answer until the following day, is imaginary, since they were already pledged to the Indians of Pentagoet; they told the Sr. de Villieu plainly that they would do nothing without the advice of their Commander [Villebon] and their missionary.

The Sr. De Villieu should not forget that when he left Nashwaak the Sr. de Villebon had given him, in the presence of M. de Thury, two good Indians, for there was not in the fort a single soldier able to march, and not one who knew how to handle a canoe; these Indians were equipped with everything so they might remain with him during the campaign; a canoe

was provided and such supplies as he required, and all this at the King's expense, although he should have paid the cost himself.

4th – The next day they assembled and, having come to a decision, told him that they had never taken part in the negotiations which their fellow Indians had carried on with the English; they were only waiting an opportunity to renew war on them, which only their lack of strength had prevented them from continuing; they were ready to join him and would not leave him until many heads had been broken. He expressed his pleasure at finding them so disposed and gave them a feast, in the course of which he assured them that he would inform Count Frontenac of their goodwill.

25th – He left Meductic and arrived on the 9th at the fort of Metawamkeag [about 100 miles up the Penobscot River], where he found Taxous, one of the great chiefs of these Indians, to whom he revealed the reason for his journey, and persuaded him to go down to the village of Panawamskek where the majority of the Indians of this river lived. They arrived there together on the 10th about midnight, and found Father Bigot, Jesuit Missionary, with three Indians, one of whom claimed to have been sent by the Kennebecs to inform the elders of this village that it was their intention to make war on the English.

The determination of the Indians to make war on the English was so strong that, before the arrival of Srs. de Villieu and Thury, Father Bigot had been to Pentagoet with the leading chiefs of the Kennebecs, who had held council with the chiefs of Pentagoet and even considered the place to be attacked.

June 11th – This envoy spoke during a feast at which the Sr. de Villieu was present; the latter also made known the object of his journey and the reasons which should induce them to break off the negotiations which had been carried on with the Governor of Boston, who sought only to take them unprepared. He urged them with all his might to join him, assuring them that they would not fail to strike an important blow and by it acquire great reputation, as well as plunder; and to prevail upon them still further he, at the same time, invited them to go to Nashwaak to obtain the gifts sent to them by the King the year before. They answered that they would be ready to set out as soon as they had received their presents, which they needed in order to make war. They undertook also to bring the gifts destined for the Kennebecs, and made a rendezvous for the 22nd day thereafter to march from that place against the enemy.

16th – The Indians set out to obtain their gifts. The Sr. de Villieu accompanied them, with the intention of asking for a few soldiers from Sr. de Villebon's Company.

22nd – They arrived at Fort Nashwaak where the Sr. de Villebon gratified them with the presents which the King had sent to them and distributed among them part of the surplus. He afterwards provided a special feast for the chiefs and another for the warriors that they might be incited to go on the warpath.

In his reference to the general and special feasts provided for the Indians, the Sr. de Villieu should not have omitted to mention that the Sr. de Villebon adopted Taxous as a brother and gave him a laced suit. This was done, partly, to place him under the obligation to take special care of the Sr. de Villieu and not to abandon him during the campaign, and this at no cost to him.

25th – The Sr. de Villieu left Nashwaak with all these Indians and two Frenchmen; the Sr. de Villebon, dissatisfied with his enterprise, would give him no more. Even they did not prove reliable, for two days later, having reached Meductic, they left him, without a word, to return to Nashwaak, and he remained the only Frenchman among these Indians. He had no supplies, the Sr. de Villebon having refused to give him any, in spite of his entreaty to consider the importance of the undertaking at this juncture, and the impossibility of sustaining the journey across rivers and through woods unless he took with him what he needed.

One cannot imagine blacker malice than that shown by the Sr. de Villieu, since there was not a single soldier fit to paddle a canoe, and he was aware that the Sr. de Villebon had informed Taxous during the Council at Nashwaak that this was the case. But he wished to make trouble and constrain him to refuse two Canadians who had arrived from Quebec only three days before. Nevertheless, these men set out, although reluctantly, because they were very tired, and having gone with the Sr. de Villieu as far as Meductic, they became aware, moreover, of his uncertain temper. The Sr. de Villebon was surprised to see them return and was about to have them arrested, when they told him it was by the orders, and with the consent of the Sr. de Villieu. I am sending the statement of the Recollet missionary at Meductic covering this matter.

It appeared that this extremity might make it impossible for the Sr. de Villieu to proceed; however, he resolved to live with the Indians and to travel in one of their canoes.

He had taken with him a soldier whom he himself selected as the most desirable, and his own servant. Both men were accustomed to the Indians. He left them at Pentagoet, where they remained for nearly two months, and the Indians brought them back to the fort half-dead with hunger. It is very wrong of the Sr. de Villieu to say he had been refused supplies, since, as a matter of fact, he and his family as well as the Sr. de Montigny had lived on the garrison stores, and, moreover, the Sr. de Villebon had granted him extras, as may be seen by a reference to the special budget. It is ridiculous for him to repeat that, having been abandoned by the two Canadians, he was obliged to cast his lot with the Indians, because he was with them when he set out from Nashwaak by the request of Sr. de Villebon to Taxous; the Canadians were with other Indians.

They left Meductic on May 28th, and on June 3rd arrived at Pentagoet, where the Indians divided their presents, but the discovery that they had received only a portion, for they had learned, through M. de Champigny and the Indian who had come from France, what had been sent to them by the King, almost destroyed their goodwill. They murmured loudly, and, to complete our undoing, Madokawando, one of their chiefs, who returned two days later from Pemaquid, assured them that the Governor of Boston would bring back his prisoners on July 5th, which so far modified their eagerness for war, that they resolve to do nothing but to see whether the English were deceiving them or were acting in good faith. The Sr. de Villieu did his best to avert this blow which upset his plans completely. He represented to them that this delay was only intended to provide an opportunity to surprise them, since all had been asked to go in order to receive seven or eight prisoners, about whom only a few were concerned. He assured them also that this delay was asked for only to gain time, because it was impossible to restore their children, most of whom had, he knew, been sent to Europe by the officers as gifts, apparently for their kinsmen or great lords, and, it would, therefore, be difficult to get them back. These reasons, although excellent, did not convince them. Madokawando opposed them strongly, and having won over several important members of the tribe, organized a cabal to prevent the expedition which had been planned against the English. M. de Thury, their missionary, being sorry to see their enthusiasm cool, took vigorous measures to assure the success of the Sr. de Villieu's plans, and was no less troubled than he, on learning that a minister had come to the fort at Pemaquid to teach the Indian children to read and write.

This state of affairs continued until the 9th, the kinsmen of the prisoners and hostages urging that envoys be sent to Boston to find out whether the captives were actually there. To prevent any interview or negotiations with the English, lest all his preparations count for nought, which would have been the case had the English learned his designs, for they would have used every means to destroy them and to make peace with the Indians, the Sr. de Villieu suggested two expedients to recover the prisoners, presuming they were in Boston. The first, an effective attack to be made immediately in order to insure their return, by obtaining captives for whom they could be exchanged. The second, in case no prisoners were taken, to assemble those already in the hands of the Indians and, with the consent of M. de Frontenac, restore them to the Governor of Boston in exchange for the Indians in his hands. He then pointed out to them that if they did not follow this course, the English would never surrender them since hostages had been required merely as an assurance of good faith. The Indians argued this delay would lead to the death of their people, and, to dispose of this objection, he offered to write a letter to the Governor of Boston, to be transmitted by the least important of the captives they might secure, saying that he must treat the Indians in his power well if he wished the English prisoners to be kindly treated. This suggestion seemed to have pacified them and removed all difficulties, but an obstinate Indian claimed attention, maintaining that before anything else, it was absolutely necessary to send a canoe to Boston to discover whether the prisoners had in fact been brought back from Europe. He undertook to go himself and to return in twenty days. His great affection for a twelve year old daughter, and the hope of seeing her again, induced him to make this offer. The proposal pleased all those who had an interest in the prisoners, and also the family

of Madokawando, who did not desire war. The Sr. de Villieu, seeing himself thus thwarted, made every representation to them which he thought might dissuade them, but finding them determined to follow this course, made preparations to leave them and return to the St. John River.

8th – The next day he was told by an Indian, whom he had provided with tobacco and drink, that Edjevemit and Madokawando had sold the lands and rivers of their nation to the English. On inquiring into the particulars he learned this Indian had accompanied them aboard a frigate of 24 guns in which was Mr. Phips, Governor of Boston; they had been made entirely welcome and were entertained; the Governor had invited the chiefs into his cabin with his officers and his interpreter, and two hours later the two Indians had come out, and in going to the side of the vessel, had thrown their hatchets into the sea, in order, so they said, to make it impossible for them or their descendants to recover them again. Afterwards, the Governor gave them his hand in token of friendship, and they drank one another's health, and went into the saloon where they had supper. This led M. de Villieu to think that peace had been concluded, and he informed M. de Thury, who was quite prepared to believe it. At the same time a canoe from Kennebec brought a letter to the Sr. de Villieu from Father Bigot, which in some measure confirmed this news. He therefore urged M. de Thury to find Taxous and incite him against Madokawando, by mentioning such grievances as making peace without his consent and selling their lands to the English. This had a wonderful effect. Taxous, as chief, declared loudly that Madokawando had made peace, but as for himself he wished to make war and was preparing to set out.

The Sr. de Villebon's only comment on the statement relating to the distribution of presents, is that it was the Sr. de Villieu and not M. de Champigny who told the Indians that their presents had been reduced. I had a statement made by the Recollet Missionary, and signed by him, of what they had received in the presence of the Sr. de Villieu; this I sent to Taxous, who told me after the Council that it was true that M. de Villieu as well as the Sr. de St. Castin had informed them that quantities of things were due them and that they had seen only a small portion. I undeceived him.

12th – A canoe was sent in haste to notify the Indians in Meductic of the decision taken on the preceding day. On the same day the Sr. de Villieu went down to the sea with the idea of capturing one Alden, an Englishman, who in a barque of 30 tons, was trading there. He hoped to take him with the help of the Sr. de St. Castin, the Indians being unwilling to co-operate in this venture; he, however, arrived two hours late, and saw the vessel, three leagues away, sailing towards Boston. He remained with Sr. de St. Castin until the 16th when he set out for Panawampskek.

18th – While going up the river, his canoe capsized in a rapid which he was shooting; his companions at once saved themselves by swimming, but the Sr. de Villieu, clinging to the canoe in the eddies, injured his head on a rock and was forced to let go; he was cast up by the eddies on the verge of the second rapid. Thus, with a damaged

head and a belly full of water and bruises all over his body, his canoe destroyed, his equipment and arms lost, he was taken with a fever which lasted until the 23rd.

26th – A canoe arrived (at Panawampskek) from Meductic to inform him that 60 Indians had been stopped by Father Simon, Recollet, who was acting on orders from M. de Villebon, but that 16 had defied him and would arrive on the following day.

It is true that, in the Spring of 1694, the Sr. de Villebon, having assembled the chiefs of Meductic with their missionary, told them, in reference to their determination to make war, that they should divide their warriors, and, since they claimed to be 60 in number, it was his desire that 30 of them should remain with him to protect the river and be at hand to give him support when the ship arrived from France; the remaining 30 might go to Pentagoet immediately, which they did.

27th – A council was held to consider the objective of their attack, but it ended without any conclusion being reached. The next day it was the same. In the evening the Sr. de Villieu gave a feast of dog to all the Indians, at which they sang, with the exception of 30 of the relatives of Madokawando who were jeered at during the repast. When it was over Madokawando, won by the appeals and the gifts offered him by the Srs. de Villieu and de Thury, asked the former to postpone departure for one day so he might accompany them. Everyone was delighted, for he had acquired a reputation as a brave during previous wars.

30th – The Srs. de Villieu and de Thury, a French interpreter, and 105 Indians started for the mouth of the Kennebec River to join the Kennebecs, who were to be there.

July 9th – The Sr. de Villieu and three Indians, he being disguised as one of them, approached Fort Pemaquid; he gave a few pelts to these Indians so they might have a pretext to trade at the fort while he was reconnoitering the neighborhood of the post, the entrance to the harbor, and the anchorage, of which he made a most satisfactory plan.

The Sr. de Villieu nearly caused the death of the three Indians who had gone to Pemaquid on a pretext of trading; impatient for their return, he fired a pistol to recall them, and the English, who had been told by the Indians that they were alone, suspecting treachery, would have killed them if they had not given a satisfactory explanation. On leaving the fort, they went to find the Sr. de Villieu, upon whom one of them fell, giving him a very severe beating.

10th – They went to Amir Kangan Rapids, where they found the 105 Indians who had set out with them. The same day 40 Kennebecs of Narantchouan arrived, the rest and those from the fort, having taken another route, were to join them farther on.

11th – Thirty more arrived from the fort of Narakomigo and joined the others. They marched until the 16th, when they met 40 more Kennebecs while crossing a lake.

They held a Council on that day to discuss the direction of their offensive, but nothing was decided, opinions being divided. The same performance was repeated when another was held three days later at the place in which they found themselves. Some wanted to strike above Boston; others below it, so the English might be attacked in different places at the same time. The following day the elders gave way to the young men, and, their idea having prevailed, they took command of the expedition.

22nd – After having traveled about ten leagues overland, the great majority, who had been short of food for several days, murmured because the others wished to go on. The enemy were only one day's journey distant; some said that they would turn back if the plans were not changed, and it became necessary to hold another Council; it was resolved to advance.

23rd – Having covered twelve leagues, they assembled on the appeal of those who were dying of hunger. The Sr. de Villieu was one of the number; their needs made the attack of the enemy, who were nearby, a matter of urgency; the next day 10 men were sent scouting, and following them, the party advanced about four leagues.

25th – After covering three leagues they met two of the scouts, who reported that the enemy were not on guard.

26th – Three other scouts who had pushed on farther brought back the same report, and the forward movement began again so that they might arrive in the evening. About three o'clock, the remaining scouts having rejoined the party a league from some English houses, a consultation was held to determine the manner in which the attack would be made. It was decided to divide into two bands, and to attack on both sides of the river at daybreak. They separated at sunset to spread out during the night along the shore, which was well-populated.

The Indians of Kennebec imposed upon those of Pentagoet and the St John River, for, having reconnoitered, they reported that there were two well-populated places which might be attacked at the same time. They chose for themselves the one where all the houses were [south side of the Oyster River], and sent the Pentagoet and Meductic Indians with the Sr. de Villieu to the other [north side of the Oyster River], where there were only three dwellings and very little plunder.

Each band divided into several small parties which attacked at the same time, capturing two little forts without garrisons, in which the gentry of the district had sought refuge with a few of the settlers. One hundred and four persons were killed, and twenty-seven prisoners taken in 60 houses, which were pillaged and burned. A large number of cattle were killed and then the Indians withdrew to the place where they had parted the evening before. When everybody had arrived they went off to sleep on a rock, a natural fortification, with the intention of awaiting the enemy there if there should be any pursuit.

28th – The party set out rather late and covered more than 15 leagues during the day.

29th – They arrived at the place where their canoes had been left, and in them the great majority embarked without provisions.

30th – The Pentagoet Indians had not taken as many prisoners nor acquired as much booty as the Kennebecs, because none had been found to take at the point where their attack was made. At the request of Sr. de Villieu and Taxous, their chief, fifty were detached to follow the latter who had been a trifle piqued because he had accomplished so little. They were joined by some of the bravest Kennebec warriors, and, after dividing themselves into several parties of four or five, set out to crack a few heads in a surprise raid north of Boston. This cannot fail to have good effect.

Taxous, from the time he had been at Nashwaak, had planned a second war-party to follow the first, in order to win the undivided devotion of the young men, and to avenge himself on the Kennebec Indians who had obtained all the prisoners and plunder, and who were unwilling, in spite of the appeal of the Sr. de Villieu, to give up any of their prisoners, which is unusual; for this is not a thing which is refused between chiefs.

The same day the Sr. de Villieu had questions put to the prisoners, who told him that on the 25th the head man of their district had assembled the settlers to tell them that peace had been made with the Indians and that they could cultivate their lands in safety [Captain John Woodman]; and that they should make no excuses about joining the reinforcements which King William had sent out in order to make himself ruler of Canada. This support consisted of two large vessels which, on leaving the Channel, had met with the French, who had sunk one, while the other, escaping under cover of darkness, had arrived safely in port. Militia was already being raised for this force, and, as they assembled, they were being taken to some islands, on one of which, so they had been told, a hundred men were now waiting until all should be ready; they had learned that in the direction of Manhattan a considerable number of small cedar boats had been made. This news seemed to be sufficiently important to the Sr. de Villieu to warrant his going in haste to warn Count Frontenac. He set out to do this on July 31st, marching night and day, crossing five lakes, making 23 portages, and arrived on the 4th of the following month at the fort where Father Bigot was established [Norridgewock].

At this point the Sr. de Villieu seizes a pretext to go to Quebec without the knowledge of the Sr. de Villebon, in order that he might himself give utterance to the death cries of the enemy, after the manner of the Indians. This he should have left to them, especially to the Kennebecs, to whom all the honors of the fight belong. He was unwilling to wait for the Kennebec messengers who were being sent by Father Bigot to Count Frontenac; he out-distanced them, and, when the latter arrived subsequently at Quebec and learned that the war-cries had already been heard, they were of a mind to turn back again. However, they went to Montreal to see Count

Frontenac, and having been asked if they were content with the Sr. de Villieu, replied that, although they had been together in the enemy's country, they had never been united in action. The information which he claims to have secured was procured at his leisure; there is no indication that the prisoners ventured to give false evidence. The Sr. de Villieu also sent word to the Sr. de Villebon that M. de Bonaventure had most certainly been captured and taken to some place near Boston; that a large force was being raised to seize the St. John River, and four days later he set out from Kennebec for Quebec, instead of coming back to rejoin his regiment. It is well that the Government should know that neither Indian nor Frenchman ever made a portage at night, and his rapid progress between July 31 and August 4th, to which he calls attention, is nothing out of the ordinary.

The Sr. de Villieu's men were so sick and exhausted that he was obliged to take others for the journey to Quebec, where he arrived on the 22nd, and, not having found M. de Frontenac there, left his guides and took fresh men, so that he might at the earliest moment reach Montreal, which he did on 26th August.

- 1-Fort Nashwaak, St John River, New Brunswick – Capital of Acadia, Maliseet Indians at Meductic M
 - 2-Penobscot River, Indian Island Mission Village – Penobscot Indians
 - 3-Kennebec River, Norridgewock Mission Village – Kennebec Indians
- Blue Line is the Kennebec River, border of Acadia, New France
- 4-Oyster River



Memoir on Fort Pemaquid - Villebon to Count Pontchartrain, August 20, 1694 – excerpts

Circumstances could not be more favorable than at present for an attack on Fort Pemaquid, since the Indians are now resolved on warfare more fierce and cruel than in the past, as was shown in their recent raid during which they spared neither women nor children [Oyster River Massacre].

For the Pemaquid expedition, and, at the same time, to command the New England coast, three vessels are needed: one of 46 to 48 guns, a frigate of 36 guns, and a flyboat suitable for transporting all that is required for the garrison and for their use during the attack. It is indispensable, if they come direct from France to the St. John River, that a hundred good picked soldiers should be brought out in the ships as a landing party to make the attack. They would be supplemented by a hundred of the crew, whom I would replace by an equal number of Indians, who are much better marksmen with the musket than any of our soldiers, although they are less obedient and can not be depended upon to stand their ground in case of a sortie, but association with 200 Frenchmen will surely deter them from deserting.

If all the Indians go to war next year, it is certain to be a bloody campaign for our enemies. The Indians of Cape Breton cannot be summoned easily owing to the

distance, but, as these were the Indians who embarked on the warship Bretonne [to attack Newfoundland] and as M. de Bonaventure has told me he was very well satisfied with them, they could be called for on the way here. For this the ships need only enter Spanish Bay, where some of them will be found awaiting news from France, with a colonist who is to settle there this autumn.

Two months' provisions to be brought out for the maintenance of the Indians, estimated at 200, to be divided equally among the three vessels.

2,000 lbs. of flour
2 tierces of molasses, to flavor their sagamité [cornmeal mixed with animal fat]
200 lbs. of butter, for the same purpose
10 kegs of brandy, without which it will be impossible to make them fight efficiently.

Memorandum of presents to the value of 3,640 livres, accorded by His Majesty to the Indians of Acadia, for their warfare against the English. These presents will be distributed among the Indians when they assemble at the appointed rendezvous. [annual presents delivered by a ship from France to Fort Nashwaak, capital of Acadia]

2,000 lbs. of powder
40 kegs of bullets
10 kegs of swan shot
400 lbs. of Brazilian tobacco
200 tomahawks, for which M. de Bonaventure will provide a model. [hand forged metal blade with wood handle; see French trade axe, below]
60 selected muskets like those sent this year
200 Mulaix shirts, averaging 30 sous each
8 lbs. of fine vermillion [red pigment]
200 tufts of white feathers to be given to the Indians as a distinguishing mark in case of night attack, which should not cost more than 6 to 7 s. a piece; to be selected in Paris by M. de Bonaventure.



