

New England Captives Carried to Canada Between 1677 and 1760 During the French and Indian Wars

Emma Lewis Coleman

Portland, ME, 1925

Volume 1

The time and way of John's redemption is not known. He came back to Brookfield and married. The Rev. Nathan Fiske⁵² describes the manner of his death in 1728, in days of peace, and possibly by the hands of his Indian friends. He with a companion hunter was paddling down the Connecticut, bringing home their skins, when they were hailed by some Indians. Unwilling to go to them they aimed for the other bank. The Indians followed, shots were exchanged and Woolcot was killed.

NORTHAMPTON

1711, *August* 10.

STRONG, SAMUEL, b. 5 Aug., 1652.

A twin son of Elder John of Northampton and of Abigail (Ford).

He and his son Samuel, Jr., who was twenty-four years old, were on their way to the South Meadows for a load of grain when they were attacked. The people who lived on South Street heard three shots. When they reached the place the son was dead, the father gone and the team was patiently waiting.

While Mr. Strong was in Canada he wrote the following letter to his wife, Ruth (Sheldon | Wright), whom he had married in 1698, shortly after the death of his first wife.⁵³

“Dear and loving Wife after my kind love to you and all our Childrn having an oppertunity to wright un to you I was not willing to let it slip k(n)owing that it would be acceptable to you hoping it find you in good health as i am at present blessed be god for it Dear Wife it hath Pleased god to remove me a grate distance from you but tho we are absent in boddy yet I hope present in mind that do not forget each others welfare but dayly apply ourselves to the throne of grace in the behalf of each other Dear wife it hath Pleased god to make us see sad changes since we parted my condition is such as calls for pity [p]ray I say he did

⁵² “Hist. No. Brookfield,” 173.

⁵³ The original letter has been given by Mrs. Mary T. Gridley of Orange to the P. V. M. A., which has kindly allowed it to be copied.

pity me O my friends for the hand of god hath touched me I am bereaved of my pleasant things both civil and sacred I am a man that have seen affliction by the rod of gods wrath but why does A living man complain a man for the punishment of his sins When they killed my son they Wounded me in my left Shoulder I had a hard journey of it and the more tedious because of the difficult circumstances I was under by reason of my wound I have not the use of my arm as formerly and I fear I never shall get I can use it to do many things I have greate occation also to bles god for delivering me out of the hands of the indians i was taken from them the next day after I was taken [illeg.] came in because they sought for me & could have killd me as it was said but god has spared my life notwithstanding the many dangers I have ben in blessed & forever blessed be his holy name the lord help me that I may spend it to his praise & the everlasting comfort of my ouwn soul from thence I was removed to the hospital & was thence six weeks untill my wound was thourly cured & since I have been with colonel longue⁵⁴ & they carry it verry kindly to me and likewise to all the english captives with me which were taken from the eastward Dear wife I long to see you & all our children but whether this ever will be god only knows but I would leave this with our children whatever they do to make sure of that one thing needful & to Chuse that better Part which cannot be taken from them We see by sad Experience that our Dearest [illeg.] herein this world may suddenly be taken from us or we from them Therefore let us not set our affections on things here below but seek first the Kingdom of heavn

Give my service to mr stodard and madam & Desire an Intrest on their Prayers I desire allso that thanks may be returned to God in the congregation for his Goodness to me in sparing my life When in such Eminent danger and prayers also that God would santify this Auful bereavem^{ent} to us & our Children that both Mer-

⁵⁴ Probably M. Charles Le Moyne, Baron of Longueuil, Governor of Montreal, who died in 1729. He was kind to other English captives.

cies & Afflictions might work to gether for ^{the} good of our soul^s Remember my love to all my brothers & sisters as if named & to all my friend and Relations & I hope they will not be wanting in their pray^s to god for me that he would be pleased to work for my return and Deliverance Desiring Prayres also that God would enable me by his Grace to withstand all Temptation to sin No more at Present but leaving you to the Protection of Almighty God Praing that he would not only Correct me but teach me out of his laws I remain your loveing Husband

Samuel Strong A poor Afflicted
Captive 1710 II

Northampton
Mitte Egleston of Westfield
Massachusetts”

The superscription seems to show that the letter was sent by way of Westfield, the usual way eastward from Albany, to one named Submit Egleston. Sixty years later another “Mitte Egleston” was in Westfield and she was descended from Elder John Strong. Trumbull⁵⁵ says that the captive “returned on a Lecture Day and entered the Meeting-house to the surprise of the congregation who received him as one risen from the dead.”

⁵⁵ “Hist. of Northampton,” 510.

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WILLIAMS, ZEBEDIAH, b. 1675.

Son of Zebediah and Mary (Miller).

On the evening of October 8 when Zebediah Williams and John Nims went out “to look after creatures” they “were ambushed by indians” who “took W quick & N ran to y^e pond¹⁰ & then return^d to y^m (fearing to be shot) . . . Y^e men were carried to Canada where W dyed & N. ran away.”¹¹

¹⁰ Broughton’s pond.

¹¹ From Stephen Williams’ MSS.

Zebediah's father had been killed at Bloody Brook and his mother had married Godfrey Nims, so he and his fellow-captives were step-brothers. During the last months of Zebediah's life he lived on the Isle of St. Lawrence, two miles distant and across the river from his kind minister whom he frequently visited "to our mutal consolation" wrote Mr. Williams. He died April 12, 1706, at the Quebec hospital. Mr. Williams calls him "a very hopeful and pious young man who carried himself so in his captivity as to edify several of the English and recover one fallen to popery."¹²

The year after his death the town gave his widow "all her reats for this present yere." She was Sarah (Arms). They had two children.

Two weeks after their capture Parson Stoddard of Northampton sent a letter to Governor Dudley saying that the Deerfield people are "much discouraged," and "the father of the two Captives . . . has importunately desired me to write to yr Ex'cy that you wd endeavour the Redemption of his Children," and Stoddard hopes he will not be "backward to such a worke of mercy."

NIMS, JOHN, b. 1679.

Son of Godfrey and Mary (Miller | Williams).

He was evidently kept near Montreal. Mr. Sheldon quotes a tradition of his having been asked to guide the expedition of 1704, but says the plan was rejected as too dangerous.

In the spring of 1705—perhaps disappointed because he had not been redeemed with the first five captives—he, with Joseph Petty, planned an escape.¹³ Thomas Baker and Martin Kellogg joined them. In December, 1707, Parson Williams married him to Elizabeth Hull, his step-sister. They had a family of twelve children. John died in 1762.

1703/4.

Very soon after that friendly council at Casco in June, 1703,

¹² See Joseph Edgerly. ¹³ See Petty.

Rebecca's husband was a teacher in the Stockbridge School where she was an interpreter.

In 1753 a new school was about to be established by the Rev. Gideon Hawley at Ouquaga, in which she was to work. Her death prevented its beginning.¹⁰⁴

MARSH, JOHN.

Called on the list "a Hatfield person," age twenty-four. He was probably son of Samuel and Mary (Allison) and lived in Sunderland, which was first part of Hadley, then of Hatfield. He was one of the soldiers who came and fought in the North Meadows.

MATTOON.

PHILIP, b. 1680.

SARAH, b. 1687.

Son and daughter of Philip and Sarah (Hawks).

Philip's wife, Rebecca (Nims), and their infant child were killed in the assault, he a captive on the journey.

Sarah returned and in 1711 married Zechariah Field; had nine children; another husband, Deacon Samuel Childs, and d. in 1752.

THE FAMILY OF GODFREY NIMS.

His home, just within the stockade, was burned.

His wife, Mehitable (Smead | Hull), was captured and killed on the journey.

Of their nine children, John, the eldest, was already a captive.¹⁰⁵ Rebecca (Mattoon) and the second son Henry were killed.

Thankful (Munn) escaped because her little house was hidden in the drifted snow.

Three little girls perished in the house.

Ebenezer and Abigail were taken away with their mother, as was Elizabeth Hull, her child by a former marriage.

¹⁰⁴ "Kelloggs in the Old World and in the New."

¹⁰⁵ Captured with Zebediah Williams in 1703.

Ebenezer, b. 1687, was taken to Lorette. There, too, was Sarah Hoyt. As the story goes they were trying to force Sarah to marry a Frenchman when she, to free herself, offered publicly to marry any one of her fellow-captives. Ebenezer was her knight. Let us hope they were already lovers!

In 1714, when all prisoners were to be returned and Parson Williams, with Colonel Stoddard, was in Quebec, both priests and Indians made the departure of these two captives very difficult. The story is told in Stoddard's Journal.¹⁰⁶ Ebenezer feared to let the Indians know how eager they were to go home. Finally the governor demanded that they be brought to Quebec without priest or Indian, and since, as they represented, the woman was unable to walk she should come on horseback or in a cart.

Insistence at Quebec and restraint at Lorette caused delay, but finally Ebenezer, Sarah and their child were safely on board. She, having walked, and being "as well as generally women are."

The next day "a great number of the Indians" with the squaw who had adopted Ebenezer hurried to Quebec and demanded their return. Two of them were taken to the ship where Ebenezer assured them of his determination to go home. Then they demanded that the child be left behind, which, naturally, was refused.

Ebenezer, the baby, baptized Feb. 14, 1712/13, by a priest who was clad in the vestments given to the Mission by ladies of the Court of Louis XIV, "being dissatisfied," when grown to manhood, was again baptized in 1737, and Parson Ashley preached two sermons to prove that none of the administrations of the Roman Catholic Church can be valid.

ABIGAIL NIMS and JOSIAH RISING.

She in Canada was Marie-Elizabeth Naim and he Ignace Raizenne.

Abigail was three years old. Her master took her to his mission-home where the squaw Ganastasi, probably his wife or mother,

¹⁰⁶ Gen. Reg., V, 41.

took care of her. The historian of Sault-au-Recollet¹⁰⁷ says that "the parish registers show that baptism was given only to those who desired it; always after a considerable time after their coming to Canada." The parish registers also show that there was frequently very little delay. In less than four months this little child was carried by the squaw to the parish church of Montreal:

"On June 15, 1704, the rites of baptism have been administered by me, the undersigned priest, to a little English girl, named in her country Abigail, and now Marie Elisabeth, born at Dearfield in New England the (31 May O. S.) 11 June 1700, of the marriage of Geoffroi Nimbs, Shoemaker, and of Meetabel Smeed also deceased. The child, taken at the said place 11th March last and living in the wigwam of a squaw of the Mountain, called Ganastasi. The godmother was Damoiselle Marie Elizabeth Le moyne, daughter of Messire Charles Le moine *Ecuyer*, Baron de Longueuil, *Chevalier de l'Ordre de St Louis* and Captain of a company, with François Bounet who said he could not sign, inquiry having been made, according to the law.

Marie Elizabeth de Longueuil
Meriel Priest."

A Deerfield friend must have been near to give these family names. Although the Mission of the Mountain had already been removed to the Sault-au-Recollet, Ganastasi may have lingered in her wigwam on the Montreal side of the island. Sooner or later Abigail was taken to the new station where, perhaps, Soeur Marie-des-Anges, a captive from York, taught her the catechism. It is said that it was taught in English as in French and Indian, but we cannot know if the child retained her English speech and could understand her brother John when he came with Lieut. Samuel Williams in 1712 seeking her redemption and that of their brother Ebenezer.

John, or some later messenger, must have seen her for the story is told in Canada that her relations, who were "well provided

¹⁰⁷ Charles P. Beaubien, Curé.

with the gifts of fortune,"¹⁰⁸ offered a considerable sum for her ransom, which the Indians would have accepted had she been willing to return, but she "preferred to be a poor prisoner among Catholics than to become a rich heiress in a Protestant family."¹⁰⁹ Similar stories are told of other young captives.

In 1714 Stoddard and Williams were in Canada negotiating an exchange of prisoners. There was always a flutter when this was about to happen. Sometimes marriages were hurried and sometimes captives were more closely guarded or, if with the Indians, hidden in deeper woods.

The following story, whether or not it belongs to Abigail, is a curious one. In the summer of 1714 there appeared at Westfield a Macqua Indian offering for sale a girl "supposed to be an English captive carried from Deerfield, it appearing so by her own relation and divers circumstances concurring." The Massachusetts Council hearing of this "outrage" sent by John Sheldon a letter to the Indian Commissioners at Albany¹¹⁰ who made a strict examination of the matter and believed the girl to be an Indian. Sheldon and Colonel Partridge, however, believed her to be Abigail Nims and, convincing Governor Saltonstall and his Council, it was ordered that she should be bought "on the reasonablest terms" and placed with some good family near the seaside "to prevent her fears unless Capt. Sheldon will be prevailed with to take her home with him" to Hartford.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Godfrey Nims was not "well provided." The inventory of his estate was taken in 1705. Three years later the Court ordered that Ebenezer's and Abigail's share of the land "be under the Improvmt of John Nims and Benjamin Mun Till they Return from Captivity or be otherwise Disposed according to Law." "This being," says Judge F. Nims Thompson, "one of the first attempts by a Massachusetts probate court to appoint a receiver of the property of an absentee."

¹⁰⁹ "Notice particulière sur la famille Raïzenne." Faillon.

¹¹⁰ A copy was sent also to Piscataqua.

¹¹¹ Sheldon's petition does not tell us if he were "prevailed with," but he was paid £17, 16s., 7d. for "charge, expenses, & time in his journey out & home & from Northampton to Boston & back, including expenses & time of his son." Coun. Rec., 6, 243.

In September it was ordered that twenty-five pounds be paid to Ekwacamb, the Indian, who claims the English girl in the hands of the English and her Relations at Deerfield.

A coat and shirt are also to be given the Indian. "Here," says Mr. Sheldon, "the curtain dropped. After this not the slightest trace of Abigail Nims"—not a trace in New England!

An Indian had absolute control over his captive. He could bring her to New England, anticipating a large bounty, as indeed Ekwacamb received. If the girl were Abigail how did she return? That is the missing link in the story. Having lived since babyhood with savages she would have become one. She would have hated the restraints of civilized life in Massachusetts and might, somehow, however difficult or impossible it seems, have escaped to the woods and reached her Indian friends. But is it not more probable that she never left them?

Nine months after the time that the Council Records say that the supposed daughter of Godfrey Nims was with "her Relations at Deerfield" she, as Elizabeth T8atog8ach, was married to Josiah Rising!

This Indian name of Abigail's may mean "*Elle retire (quelque chose) de l'eau*"—she picks something out of the water—or, says M. Cuoq, some etymologists translate it as "*Elle désenfle*"—*she unswells*—not poetic, but given doubtless as significant of some special condition or occasion. M. Cuoq adds that there was recently living at Caughnawaga an Indian named Te8atok8as, who was probably kin to Abigail's adopted relatives.

Her name is written on the register in various ways. Once she is Elizabeth Kana8k8a (the slave)—evidently the priest mistaking a soubriquet for a name. Again it is Sahiaks, and in the record of her burial, in February, 1748, she is "Elizabeth, aged about forty-eight years, an English woman adopted into the *cabane* of the chiefs of the family of the bear after having been taken in the time of war."

Rising, Josiah (Ignace Raizenne).

Josiah Rising, son of John of Suffield and Sarah (Hale) of Windsor, was born 2 Feb., 1694.

He was staying with his father's cousin, Mehuman Hinsdell, with whom he was carried away. Hinsdell lived just across the road from Godfrey Nims and Josiah must have known the little Abigail. They were taken to the same Mission and the priests looked after him in his wigwam as the nuns cared for the little girl. The Indians, in their solemn ceremony of adoption,¹¹² named him "Shonatak8ani," which means "*il lui a ôté son village*" (he has taken away his village).

On the records this Iroquois name is written with slight variations, thereby changing the substantive from "village" to "field" and "meadow." Although thus always deprived of some worldly estate the Catholic historians are sure of his spiritual gains.

"The 23 December 1706 was baptized Ignace Raisin, brought from the English, aged about twelve years. Godfather was Ignace Kanatagariasse
M. Queré Priest."

As Ignace Raizenne we found him.

The annalist says that Ignace, like Elizabeth, refused to be ransomed, and perhaps it was because of this "generous resolution" that the priests soon after obtained their freedom from their Indian masters, "which favor they deserved, because of the odor of virtue which they spread throughout the mission."¹¹³ Then on "July 29 1715 I have married Ignace shoentak8anni and Elizabeth T8atog8ach, both English, who wish to remain with the Christian Indians, not only renouncing their nation, but even wishing to live *en sauvages*; in presence of Jean-Baptiste Haronhiatek, Gabriel Tsirok8as, Pierre Asonthen, Alexis Tarhi and others. Ignace Shoentak8anni aged about 23 or 24 years and Elizabeth about 15 years. Both were taken at Dierfile, about 13 years ago

M. Queré, priest S. S."

¹¹² See Vol. I, p. 46.

¹¹³ "*Vie de la Soeur Bourgeois*," II, 444.

In 1719 John Rising died. He bequeathed to his "well-beloved son Josiah, now in Captivity, the sum of five pounds in money to be paid out of my estate within three years after my decease, provided he return from captivity."

Marie Madeleine, the first child of Ignace and Elizabeth, was baptized at Sault-au-Recollet 22 Oct., 1716. Only the Indian names of her parents are recorded. Her godmother was Marie, wife of Okonnia. Surely they were living *en sauvages*, though Christianized.

At the age of fifteen this, their first born, left them to become Sister Saint-Herman of the Congregation. Knowing the Iroquois language she was sent to the Lake of Two Mountains where for fifty-four years she taught the children. In her eightieth year, in 1796, after nearly sixty-five years of service, she died at the Mother-House in Montreal.

On Sept. 18, 1719, M. Queré baptized Simon, son of Elizabeth Naim and Ignace Raizenne, both English. Simon Honatiarani was godfather.

The zealous Queré commended the boy to the Sulpitians and he was ordained priest in 1744. He served the parishes of Saint-Pierre-les-Becquets, La Visitation de Champlain, Saint-Jean Deschailons, and was finally chaplain of the General-Hospital of Quebec where he died in 1798.

When in 1721 the Mission was moved from Sault-au-Recollet to the Lake of Two Mountains the Raizenne family followed. The priests, says M. Faillon, were so charmed by the edifying conduct of these Indianized New Englanders, by their intelligence and love of work, that they presented them with *un vaste terrain* a short distance from the village, on which their descendants now dwell.

On the parish register are marriages of four of their daughters. Catherine to Jean-Baptiste Séguin; Marianne to Louis Séguin; Suzanne to Joseph Chénier. (One of Suzanne's daughters became Sr Ste Jeanne de Chantal of the Congregation, and a granddaugh-

ter became a Grey Nun, living to a great age. A girl of the third generation, Sr de la Jemmerais, is perhaps still working in the eastern provinces.)

Anastasia was the fourth and m. 1, Jean-Baptiste Sabourin (descendant of a Hanson); and 2, Pierre Castongué. Her daughter was Sr Marguerite Castongué dite St. Bernard.

Younger than these was Marie, b. 1735, described as "the choicest fruit of the Sisters' zeal." When at sixteen she made her vows as a Sister of the Congregation she called herself Saint-Ignace in honor of her father. She was elected Superior in 1778 and is said to have possessed in a remarkable degree the zeal of Marguerite Bourgeoys. She died at the Mother-House on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Street in 1811 after nearly sixty years of convent life.

The eighth and youngest child of Abigail was a son.

"The 30th Sept. 1740 was baptized . . . J. B. Jérôme born this day [the feast of St. Jerome] son of Ignace Raizenne & Elizabeth his wife. The godfather was J. B. Vaillancourt and godmother Marie Hust who could not sign." No longer savages, but a Frenchman and an old Deerfield neighbor for sponsors.

The boy was eager to follow the career of his brother—twenty-one years older—but the Quebec bishopric was vacant and he could not cross over to France to receive his orders; so at twenty-one he married "a very virtuous girl worthy of being united to such a husband." She was Marie-Charlotte Sabourin, daughter of Sarah Hanson of Dover.¹¹⁴ At this ceremony, performed, says M. Cuoq, by the great missionary M. Mathevet of holy memory, there were no Indian witnesses and all the relatives could write their names.

The only civilized life known to the two young Deerfield captives, Josiah and Abigail, was that of priest and nun, and as was natural their household was ordered in the ways of the religious life, as was that of their children. The mother refused in her last sickness to leave off the hair shirt she had always worn as a

¹¹⁴ See Chapter XVII.

penance. Many members of the family to the third generation became priests and nuns. We can name over twenty, and there may be more, so rich a gift has the Roman Catholic Church received from these captive converts.

Their youngest child, Jean-Baptiste, inherited the home, which was a refuge for the poor, the orphan and the unfortunate. Jean-Baptiste and Marie-Charlotte rose early and prayed together. Then both went to their respective labor; he to his fields, she to her children. A bell marked the time for study, for silence and for recreation. At their meals the lives of the Saints were read. In the evening the father would explain some doctrinal point to his children and servants and after prayers all went silently to bed at the fixed time.¹¹⁵

Here were born two sons and eight daughters who, says Faillon, imbibed piety with their milk. Catherine-Elizabeth, the eldest, born in 1763, had for sponsors Ignace and Serehenson—this word shows how difficult is identification for it is not the name of an Indian, but of the baby's grandmother, Sara Hanson. As Sister Saint-Simon, Catherine took the habit of the Congregation nuns at sixteen, and in their annals is described as of unusual fervor and ability. She was Superior in the convent in the Lower Town at Quebec and so much esteemed that the bishop never spoke of her except as his "*Théologienne*" or "*Grand Vicaire*." She was mistress of novices, one of the most responsible positions, at Montreal, and when less strong, Mother Superior of their Convent at Boucherville, returning to the Mother-House to die in 1819.

Marie-Angélique, twenty years younger and called Saint-Jérôme, joined the same order in 1799. She, a good teacher, was sent as is the custom to different houses; to St. Laurent, Lower Quebec, Rivière Ouelle, Boucherville and Pointe-aux-Trembles. For several years she was Assistant. She lived through fifty-nine years of service.

¹¹⁵ "Life of Marguerite Bourgeoys," II, 447.

Reine-Ursule kept her family name when she entered the Hôtel-Dieu in 1784, aged seventeen.

Marie-Suzanne was about to follow her footsteps when she died at eighteen.

Scolatique in 1787, in the same order, took the name of Soeur Saint-Joseph and died after a long and cruel malady.

Into the order of the Grey Nuns went two more daughters:

Marie Clothilde, b. 1766, made her profession in 1787 and was sent in 1828 to found a new House at Sandwich, Ontario, where she died the next year.

Marie-Charles Raisenne-Anson, born in 1773, entered in 1794 and died in 1816.

One daughter was bold enough to marry. His name was Chevrier.

The elder son of Jean-Baptiste, named Joseph-Jérôme, was a priest at Saint-Roch, diocese of Montreal, and lived until 1842.

The younger, Ignace, became a notary at Saint-Benoit, a new parish near the Lake. He left one son, Clet, and four daughters; three of whom, "through religious motives, lived unmarried till death."

Charles-Clet (Cletus), also a notary (at Rigaud), was the father of ten children, two of whom became Grey Nuns.

In 1866 these two Sisters went to a mission of the Oblat Friars to the Témiscamingue Indians on the Upper Ottawa. Except for a Hudson Bay Company fort this was the only white man's post, and these the only women in all that vast country."¹¹⁶

Charles-Clet left a "*gardien*" in the ancestral home, but returned to it when old. Jean-Baptiste, his eldest son, came with him and now dwells on the land granted in 1720 by the Gentlemen of the Seminary to his great-great-grandfather Ignace Schoentakouanni (Josiah Rising).

Riding out to the farm with him we saw the simple house, the oldest of the Mission, built about 1730.

¹¹⁶ "*L'Outaouais Supérieur*," 244.

With him, his kindly old mother, and pretty wife, we drank to the memory of the captives in wine made from grapes of the vines first planted by Ignace. We drank water from his well and ate apples from the sole survivor of his orchard. We saw a chubby boy named Rising Raizenne, which proves that the name had been remembered although there has probably been no connection with New England between the coming of John Nims and our own, two hundred years later.

We took back to Deerfield some fir trees, one of which, planted near Memorial Hall, grows bravely on land that was of the homestead of Godfrey Nims, and it is hoped that elms from the Deerfield homestead flourish at Oka.¹¹⁷

HULL, ELIZABETH.

The daughter of Jeremiah and Mehitabel (Smead | Hull | Nims) was born in 1688. She was redeemed and in 1707 was married to John Nims. She died in 1754.

PETTY, JOSEPH.

Born in 1672, son of John and Ann (Canning).

He was perhaps disappointed when he was not sent back with John Sheldon in May, 1705, because a few days later he, with Thomas Baker, John Nims and Martin Kellogg arranged an escape. Years afterward he wrote the story of their adventures for Stephen Williams and many more years afterward the manuscript offered at an auction in Philadelphia, was bought and given to Memorial Hall.

Petty wrote that "upon y^r great procession day¹¹⁸ we had Liberty to go in & about y^e city of Mont Real, & there we happened all to meet together & John Nym & I informed y^e other two of our design to make our escape . . . we agreed y^t y^e other three were to come down to where I lived, w^c was about 9 miles from

¹¹⁷ See "Two Captives" and "A Day at Oka" in "True Stories." As a matter of post office convenience the Indian village is called Oka in memory of a chief.

¹¹⁸ From its foundation Montreal has celebrated the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, May 10.

ye city." [Was it Boucherville?] There he set up a sign by the river to direct his friends who arrived "about break of day." He says: "I handed y^m two guns & some Provision & we took a Canoe & passed the River by sun rising." This was Monday, May 14. Two days later they reached Chambly River; thence they journeyed to Lake Champlain, French River and branches of the White to Great River.

"Weak and faint" they reached Deerfield about the eighth of June.¹¹⁹ The Boston News-Letter of June 18, 1705, said "Last week 4 of our English Prisoners at Montreal, viz. Joseph Pettis, John Nimes, Thomas Baker & Martin Kelluck all of West-Hampshire made their Escape from thence, and came into Northampton being 26 days on their March, who were so put to it for Provisions by the way, that they were forced to eat Rattle Snakes."

Petty later lived in Northfield. Sarah, his wife, was redeemed and d. in 1754.

POMROY.

JOSHUA, b. 1675.

ESTHER, his wife.

LYDIA, b. 1684/5, his sister.

Mrs. Esther, his second wife, was killed on the march. Joshua and Lydia were children of Joshua and Elizabeth (Lyman). Both were redeemed. He lived in Dorchester and had two more wives. Lydia married Nathaniel Ponder and lived in Westfield.

PRICE.

ELIZABETH (Price-Stevens).

SAMUEL.

They were the children of Robert and Sara (Webb | Field). Their mother, Sarah; a married sister, Mary Smead; and Andrew Stevens, husband of Elizabeth, were killed in the attack.

Elizabeth, b. in 1683, had married in 1703 an Indian, Andrew

¹¹⁹ The Narrative is printed in the "Hist. of Deerfield."

A family bearing the name drifted back to the Connecticut Valley and one of them, reading Miss Baker's "Story of Thankful Stebbins," questioned his old mother who told him she knew about the captive ancestor.

STEVENS, ELIZABETH (See Price).

WARNER.

EBENEZER WARNER'S FAMILY.

He, b. 1676, was son of Isaac and Sarah (Boltwood). He was redeemed. His wife, Waitstill (Smead), twenty-four years old, was killed on the march.

Sarah, aged four, was redeemed perhaps with her father.

Waitstill, aged three, never came back. Perhaps she was kept with other children at the Saint-Louis Mission; perhaps she, too, was killed on the march.

Ebenezer must have been kept in or near Quebec. John Sheldon mentioned him in a letter written in 1705.

In 1714 he went with Cosset and others to Canada, perhaps seeking his younger daughter.

WILTON, JOHN.

Was probably a garrison soldier. Savage names a John, son of Nicholas of Windsor, of whom nothing is known.

WRIGHT, JUDAH, b. 1677.

Son of Judah and Mercy (Burt), a weaver and garrison soldier. Redeemed, m. Mary Hoyt. They had six children. Judah d. in 1747.

1709, *June 22*.

A scouting party which had been sent out from Deerfield in April, 1709, "designing for Canada," surprised a party of Canadian Indians near French River. They did not kill many and they, themselves, hurried away from danger, yet the Indians, "feeling piqued," says Vaudreuil, asked on their return permission "to go on an excursion with some fifty of the most active French-

“direction” of the week before. This was in March, but parole and Council’s orders notwithstanding Arms did not go back to Canada.

His bill of charges sent from Deerfield in May shows the value of a man’s day at that period.

“Both for my time & expences, sence I Came into this Contrey ye time that I spent in waiting on ye french Gentlemen at Albany & in ye marching in ye woods Contains 10 weekes whic

at 12 pence per day is	03—00—00
ye charges for my Diyat & Lodging was	02—06—00
& my charge for 2 horses jorney to Albany at 10 shilens per jorney	01—00—00
	—————
	06—06—00”

He further describes his “Dificult surcomstance both in Canada, being there a wounded prisener [he was twice wounded before captured] & stript of all my clothes, I could get none out of ther magasend but was fourst to by them with my one money having Credit with a gentleman there.”

His petition says that he was kept upward of eight months and paid a hundred livres for his ransom. The Deerfield history says he was ransomed by “a French captain”—perhaps the same gentleman who gave him credit. It is not known how this double indebtedness was paid. The Court in June, 1716,¹³⁷ allowed him only the six pounds for time and expenses, but later he was given a pension. In December, 1752, he wrote that although for many years he had been given that help, latterly nothing had been given and that what he had received was sunk in value because of the Depreciation of the Bills of Credit, etc. He was then allowed £3, 10s. for the seven years that had passed and the same amount for the rest of his life,¹³⁸ and his life ended the next year.

His wife was Hannah Nash.

¹³⁷ House Journal.

¹³⁸ Prov. Laws, XIV, 665.

Clesson, Joseph, b. abt. 1683.

Son of Matthew—an Irishman—of Northampton and Mary (Phelps).

He was sent with Mehuman Hinsdale to France, returning with him.¹³⁹ Always a soldier, he died in service in 1753. In 1712 he received £20 which he had spent “to obtain his Liberty from the Indians.”

He married Hannah Arms, and they had ten children.

Major Thomas Lloyd, taken at St. Johns, Newfoundland, was held in Canada and in France. He sent some papers to London¹⁴⁰ about prisoners and says: “Joseph Clesson and Jean Armes of Dearfield arriving in sight of Mountryall,” the Indians called to mind their damnable practice of when they come in sight of a French place to strip their prisoners naked, paint them red and make them run (as has been many times described here). Major Lloyd, continuing, says that at the entrance of the fort the squaws and children beat and burn the victim until he reaches safety in the wigwam where he is to live. Then, apparently garbling the details of his story, he says that Clesson seeing a horse feeding near made a rush, leaped upon it and ran straight for the fort, but “Jno Armes in doofull dumps behind” was beaten so pitifully that he could not stand.

1712, *July*.

BARRETT, JONATHAN.

SANFORD, WILLIAM (of Connecticut).

Barrett was son of Benjamin and probably Sarah (Graves) of Deerfield and Sunderland. Colonel Partridge, writing from Hatfield, August 4, reports that “a massenger from Deref^d [informs] that o^r western scout from thence was attacked . . . and one man killed & two taken of them . . .” Sergeant Taylor was in command and Stephen Williams says they were “very careless and noisy as they traveled.” The two men were taken to Canada but were soon ransomed by Lieutenant Samuel Williams.

¹³⁹ See Hinsdale. ¹⁴⁰ Calendar State Papers, Col. Pap., 1710-11.