

# The Mi'kmaq and Point Pleasant Park

## The Mi'kmaq and Amtoukati

**An historical essay in progress by:**

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*“The place where you are, where you are building dwellings, where you are now building a fort, where you want, as it were, to enthrone yourself, this land of which you wish to make yourself now absolute master, this land belongs to me. I have come from it as certainly as the grass, it is the very place of my birth and of my dwelling, this land belongs to me, the Micmac yes I swear, it is God who has given it to me to be my country for ever .... Show me where I the Micmac will lodge? You drive me out; where do you want me to take refuge? You have taken almost all this land in all its extent. Nothing remains to me except Kchibouktouk. You envy me even this morsel ....*

*Your residence at Port Royal does not cause me great anger because you see that I have left you there at peace for a long time, but now you force me to speak out by the great theft you have perpetrated against me.”*

Written at Port Toulouse, five days before St. Michael's Day. The Micmac elders and chiefs to the Governor at Halifax. Quoted by the Abbe Maillard, in a letter to the Abbe du Fau, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1749

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### **Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park) and Father Peter Louis Thury**

Father Louis Peter Thury<sup>1</sup> was the recorded first missionary to the Chebucto<sup>2</sup> Clans. He was born about c. 1644 at Notre-Dame Bayeux in Normandy, France. He studied for the priesthood in France having volunteered for the missions in New France, went to Quebec, where he was ordained on 21 December 1677.<sup>3</sup>

In 1684 Thury was sent by Bishop Laval to labour among the Indians of Acadia. He made several efforts over the years to consolidate the majority of the Mi'kmaq into two central communities, one at Chebucto and the other at Shubenacadie<sup>4</sup>. After devoting a year to the exploration of the country, he founded the mission of St. Croix in 1685.

In 1688 he was transferred to the Penobscot (Maine), where he gathered together an Indian colony at Panawanisk. His Mi'kmaq<sup>5</sup>, Maliseet and Abenaki converts became noted for the fervor of their piety and devotion to the French and did the latter good service at the attacks in Maine at Pemaquid (Aug. 2, 1689), at York (Feb. 5, 1692), Oyster River (July 17, 1694) and again at Fort Pemaquid<sup>6</sup> (Aug. 14, 1696). He prepared prayers and hymns for their use in the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet and Abenaki languages.

Sometime after September of 1696, he was sent to instruct the Indians of Nova Scotia. During this time, he made Chebucto the base of his mission.

He died at the age of fifty-five, June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1699 (?) and was buried by the Mi'kmaq<sup>7</sup> beside the "Chapel of St. Apenquid",<sup>8</sup> a natural formation near the shore at Pont Pleasant Park on the Northwest Arm, above the beach looking towards the North Atlantic and France. They marked the grave with stones from the beach. This was also the first recorded burial at Chebucto or Halifax.<sup>9</sup>

Father Louis Pierre Thury was a zealot who firmly believed the English were enemies of God. He instructed the Natives to attack the English, since this was the sure road to divine favor. His impact on the history of New England and Acadia was catastrophic and enduring.<sup>10</sup>

### **Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park) and the Chapel of St. Apenquid of Agamenticus**

The Mi'kmaq celebrated the 'Spring Feast' seven days after the first new moon in May.<sup>11</sup> During the ministry of the Abbe Thury, this became a major Christian event with the Mi'kmaq<sup>12</sup> and was renamed the Feast of St. Aspinquid of Agamenticus.<sup>13</sup> Throughout the years, the feasts were held at various locations along the Northwest Arm, ranging from Point Pleasant Park to Horse Shoe Island.<sup>14</sup> Thury knew St. Aspinquid personally.<sup>15</sup>

Thomas Raddell, a noted Nova Scotian historian has speculated that St. Aspinquid was synonymous with Passaconaway<sup>16</sup> or possibly his son Wannalancet. They were sachems of the Pennacook-Abenaki; that inhabited the south coast of Maine, tribes closely related to the Mi'kmaq. Passaconaway was chief, medicine man, and prophet, believed by all the tribes. Raddell reasoned that Passaconaway converted to the Christian faith and was possibly known afterwards as St. Aspinquid.

According to the New England legends, St. Aspinquid lived and died in the vicinity of Mt. Agamenticus, on Maine's south shore. "He was a preacher of the Gospel to sixty-six Indian nations for forty years, from the Atlantic ocean the Pacific." When St. Aspinquid died, he was buried on Mt. Agamenticus and as was his people's custom, his grave was covered with stones. Indians came from hundreds of miles away to pay tribute to his memory and it is alleged that 6,723 wild animals were sacrificed to celebrate his funeral on the mountain.

Many New England historians believe that Aspinquid is a fictitious rendition of the celebrated Pennacook sakamo Passaconaway. They have taken the position that as St. Aspinquid was not Passaconaway then Aspinquid was an "imaginary saint."

Nova Scotia history and Mi'kmaq tradition regarding Aspinquid is less encumbered by romanticism. There is no pretense that Aspinquid was Passaconaway, Wannalancet, or any one else. St. Aspinquid was Apenquid.<sup>17</sup>

Aspinquid or Aspenquid is an English phonetic variation of Apinquid (Silent Net) "Apinquid" was pronounced "Ah-ben-quid".<sup>18</sup> Variations found in New England historic documents include Ahanquid, Ahenquid, Ahbinquid, Abinquid, Abenquid, Honquid, Asuhmequin, and Assiminasquad. The English sometimes called him Pedar.

Tradition says Apinquid was a healer, holy man and prophet. He was a Micmac (Tarratine<sup>19</sup>) from the clans that had conquered and occupied the New England coast.

Aspinquid had a great vision and was much affected. Soon after, under the influence of the Black Robes, he converted to Catholicism. To protect them from English marauders, Aspinquid brought many natives, mostly women and children, out of New England to Acadia and settled them among the local Mi'kmaq. He held council and ministered numerous times with his Mi'kmaq brethren at Chebucto and Shubenacadie. It was believed that when St. Aspinquid died, he was buried at the place of his vision.

August 11, 1693, Tarratine (Mi'kmaq) legends Abanquid, Edgeremett, Madockawando, Bomaseen, and eleven other sachems made a treaty with Sir William Phips (governor of Massachusetts) at Pemaquid in what is now Maine.<sup>20</sup> (The historically renowned Maliseet sachem Madockawando was the adopted son of Abenquid.<sup>21</sup>)

Early in February 1696, the English commander at Fort Pemaquid (Fort Charles), Pascho (Pasco) Chubb, invited Abenquid, (Honquid) Edgeremet and four others to a conference.<sup>22</sup> Although warned not to go by Father Louis Peter Thury,<sup>23</sup> Abenquid and Edgeremet arrived at the fort on Sunday, February 16, 1696 and were treacherously murdered<sup>24</sup> on the order of Chubb who “made a pretense of treaty to take advantage.”<sup>25</sup>

The nature of this seizure on the Lord’s Day and the particulars of the murder of “*the famous Edgeremet and Abenquid*” even offended the sensibilities of the celebrated Puritan, Dr. Cotton Mather, a contemporary who was not especially sympathetic to the Indians or the Catholic French.<sup>26</sup>

There are no facts to show that Abenquid was ever an enemy to the English, or, if an enemy, that he had engaged in depredations towards the English.<sup>27</sup> Abenquid was a holy man and ministered to the Catholic faith. The Jesuit, notably Thury and Bigot, saw Abenquid’s horrific death on the Lord’s Day as that of a martyr. And to the Jesuit, a martyr is a Saint.<sup>28</sup>

The Feast of St. Apenquid (The Old Spring Feast) predated the arrival of the Europeans and was the great social event of the year in the Mi’kmaq community. Clans would descend on Chebucto’s Northwest Arm from as far away as the Mirimachi in New Brunswick and the Penoscot in Maine.<sup>29</sup> With the arrival of the English settlers, the founding of Halifax (1749), and the ensuing hostilities, the feast was put on hold for a decade.<sup>30</sup>

After the peace in 1761, Michael Franklin convinced the Mi’kmaq to continue their tradition on the Northwest Arm.<sup>31</sup> But in 1783, attempts to recruit Mi’kmaq support for revolution in the thirteen New England colonies alarmed the local authorities and further celebration of the old feast was forbidden.<sup>32</sup>

### **Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park) and Amtou**

On the same small hill beside the shore where Thury was buried lie a number of Mi’kmaq graves including by those of Amtou, the legendary warrior who drove the Mohawk out of the eastern coastal lands before the arrival of the Europeans.<sup>33</sup> The Northwest Arm was once known as “Amtou’s lodge”.<sup>34</sup> His brother Wasok-gek, who was the guide to Glus-cap may also rest here, but other legends point to a place called the Wasok-gek, located on a stream that runs into the Debert River from DeyArmond Lake.<sup>35</sup>

Also, here lies Major Jean Baptist Cope, the Shubie Clan’s great warrior chief and co-author of the ‘1752 Treaty’.<sup>36</sup> And beside Major Cope, lies Saylen Paul the last Chief of the Chebucto Clan and the legendary warrior who was with Wolfe when he died on the Plains of Abraham.<sup>37</sup> *The principle outlet for sewerage from Halifax’s affluent South End splits through the site of the Chapel of St. Aspinquid, flows by the remains of this historic cemetery and just yards away, empties into the Northwest Arm.*

### **“The 1758 Feast of St. Aspinquid Skirmish at Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park)**

*(There is something all too conveniently overlooked in every historical account I have ever read dealing with the Mi’kmaq and the French versus the English hostilities in Acadia. Unlike the French, who first capitulated at Annapolis, then at Louisbourg twice and finally Quebec, the Mi’kmaq never surrendered to the English. They did not lose this war.<sup>38</sup> In the end, they negotiated a peace from a position of strength. I personally take great pride in this.)*

The Mi’kmaq were not the naïve “gentle children of the forest” as depicted by generations of romantics. Nor were they “savages”, a European term used to denote people believed less civilized.<sup>39</sup> The Mi’kmaq were intelligent and ferocious warriors, often fearless to a fault. The atrocities blamed on the Mi’kmaq were harsh by any standards. But certainly no more severe than those committed by their contemporaries and often considered the norm by the French, English, and their allies in mid eighteenth century warfare in North America.<sup>40</sup>

During the first half of the 1700’s, the Mi’kmaq, occasionally accompanied by Acadian Rangers, continually raided the English at Annapolis, Canso, eventually Dartmouth, and often struck the very edges of Halifax itself.<sup>41</sup> During their first years in Acadia, British defenses were a joke. For decades, the Mi’kmaq filled the days and nights of British soldiers with sleepless terror.<sup>42</sup>

One on one, the British Regulars were no match for the Mi’kmaq when it came to warfare in the forests of “Acadia”.<sup>43</sup> Only a motley company of about sixty adventures, known, as the Goreham Rangers were “a foe worthy of a fight<sup>44</sup>”. The Gorehams were mostly New England adventurers, many of them Mohawks and half-breeds, with a handful of Palatinate German sharp shooters, a Sicilian soldier of fortune, and some Mi’kmaq guides, led in succession by brothers John and Joseph Goreham.<sup>45</sup>

*(Not many years ago, a number of articles appeared in local publications suggesting that the Goreham Rangers wiped out thousands if not tens of thousands of Indians in Acadia. I found this particularly offensive as it implied a large number of Mi’kmaq and Malecite warriors were incapable of defending themselves against a significantly smaller group of men.*

*In fact, the Goreham Rangers were as formidable as they were brutal. But it was with fierce pride the Mi’kmaq and Malecites fought the Gorehams for they understood that great warriors are only judged by the strength of their enemies. Mi’kmaq Warriors and the Goreham Rangers clashed frequently in the forests of Acadia, each taking a toll on the other, but neither was ever able to declare a decisive victory<sup>46</sup>.)*

By May of 1758, the French / English war in North America was looking bad for the French and her Native allies in Nova Scotia. Fort Beausejour had long since fallen and the Acadian Expulsion had taken place.<sup>47</sup> The influence over the Mi'kmaq by the notorious French Priest, the Abbe Jean-Louis LeLoutre<sup>48</sup> was rapidly waning and the moderate message of the Abbe Pierre Antoine Simon Maillard<sup>49</sup> was finding an audience.

The year before, Lord Loudon arrived at Halifax with twelve thousand British Troops. Most of them left before winter set in, but now Generals Amherst and Wolfe were in Halifax with a fleet of 157 vessels sitting in Chebucto Harbour and another twelve thousand soldiers waiting at Camp Hill for the assault on Louisbourg.<sup>50</sup>

The Mi'kmaq leaders were nobody's fools and many now realized that the time had come to negotiate with the English while they were still in a position of strength. The majority of the Mi'kmaq had sided with the French during the conflict, but not all. A few of the clans, most notably the Pauls, Pennalls<sup>51</sup>, Claudes, Laurents and the Nocoos supported the British. They acted as hunters, guides, messengers, and gave tactical advice.<sup>52</sup> Foremost among those seeking an end the hostilities was Chief Paul Laurent<sup>53</sup> of the LaHave Clans.

Years before, the New Englanders hung Paul Laurent's father in Boston<sup>54</sup> and he despised the English to his dying day. But as leader of the Mi'kmaq at LaHave, he recognized that the survival of his people depended on making peace with the British. In 1755, he signed basically the same treaty<sup>55</sup> Major Jean Baptist Cope signed in 1752.<sup>56</sup> Ironically, Laurent had strongly opposed Cope for making peace with the British.<sup>57</sup>

After the deplorable Connors / Grace Affair, Major Jean Baptist Cope severed ties with the British in Halifax. A family of Mi'kmaq had saved the lives of John Connors and John Grace from drowning at Musquodoboit Harbour. In return, their guests murdered them.<sup>58</sup> (*John Connors, a one eyed bargeman*<sup>59</sup>, was the first person to operate a ferry between Halifax and Dartmouth<sup>60</sup>. His pregnant wife Mary and daughter Martha were killed in what was known as the "1751 Dartmouth Massacre"<sup>61</sup> and the murder of the Mi'kmaq family was likely an act of revenge.) John Connor died Dec. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1757.<sup>62</sup>

Major Cope's son Joseph arrived in Halifax demanding justice.<sup>63</sup> There was no retribution from the authorities in Halifax, even though they too suspected foul play.<sup>64</sup> Cope was aided in his revenge by Chief Paul Laurent and Chief Jeremy Francis, which resulted in the deaths of all the crew of a British supply vessel except one Anthony Casteel who recorded the event.<sup>65</sup>

So in May of 1758<sup>66</sup>, on the day of the Feast of St. Aspinquid, at Paul Laurent's request, the clan leaders gathered in secret at Point Pleasant Park in the hopes of reaching a consensus to make peace with the British and maintain a neutral position between the English and the French.<sup>67</sup> Most were in favour of ending hostilities, but Major Jean Baptist Cope of the Shubie Clans, Renee Martin of the Kispikit Clans, and (Messet) Tommy Thomas (Thom Thoma)<sup>68</sup> of the Namat Clans vehemently opposed any deals with the British. No amount of talk could convince them otherwise.<sup>69</sup>

Then, in an act of betrayal reminiscent of the darkness of “Glencoe”, the followers of Paul Laurent and other like-minded chiefs attacked and killed two of the three dissenting chiefs.<sup>70</sup> This was the end for Cope and Martin, but not the end of hostilities against the English. “Joe” Labrador, never a chief or a captain, continued his ways as a principal thorn in the side of the English and the Foreign Protestants.<sup>71</sup> (Messet) Tommy Thomas (Thom Thoma) survived the attack unharmed, and made his way back to Cape Breton to continue fighting for a few more years until persuaded by Abbe Maillard to make peace with the British.<sup>72</sup>

Raymond Muise:

*”That fight that ended old Cope, took place down Point Pleasant and it was a bloody one. When that scrap was over, in minutes, in an area little more than a hundred yards in diameter, seventeen Micmac warriors lay dead, several more badly wounded, many of them mortally.*

*To the Micmac warrior, the white men were only a side issue, a nuisance. It was seldom that he took enough interest in them to fight more than was necessary.*

*But listen to the old men. If you want a hard fight, a real scrap, put Micmac against Micmac. “*

### **Names of some of the people believed buried at Amtoukati (Point Pleasant):**

**Amtou:** legendary warrior who drove the Mohawk out of the Atlantic region before the arrival of the Europeans.<sup>73</sup>

**Wasok-gek:** Amtou’s brother and guide to Glus-cap.<sup>74</sup>

**Wahawah Hophod:** possibly *Wohwa* alias *Hopehood*. Two war parties raiding Iroquois territory mistook each other for Mohawks, clashed and *Hopehood* was killed. (c.1690)<sup>75</sup>

**Abbe Louis Peter Thury**, (d. June 5, 1698): - Jesuit priest and earliest recorded burial at Chebucto. (Halifax)<sup>76</sup> and known as the “Warrior Priest.”<sup>77</sup>

**Major Jean Baptist Cope**, (d. May, 1758): - murdered by Francis Paul,<sup>78</sup> (son of Saylen Paul.<sup>79</sup>) (Some accounts suggest he survived this attack, lived out his life on the Mirimachi, and was buried at Point Pleasant @ 1782.<sup>80</sup>) Apparently Francis Paul shot Major Cope in the back while Cope was answering “nature’s call.”<sup>81</sup> Major Cope, born about 1698<sup>82</sup>, was War Chief of the Subenacadie Clan and legend has it that during his lifetime, more than sixty British soldiers and four Rangers (two of them Goreham Rangers) died by Cope’s hand.<sup>83</sup> Killing an enemy that was not a warrior was beneath him, something he left to others. Major Jean Baptist Cope negotiated with the British the famous “1752 Treaty.”<sup>84</sup>

**(Muin) Renee Martin**, (d. May, 1758): -Murdered by Paul Laurent, Jean Nocoot, Phillip Cobiquid, Phillip Paul, Francis Nocoot, Peter Laurent and Phillip Landry. Martin was the strongest and most formidable warrior of his time. When he died, he took two of his attackers with him. (Muin) Renee Martin and his brothers were strong allies of Major Jean Baptist Cope and Muin was like a brother to (Messet) Tommy Thomas.<sup>85</sup>

**Peter Laurent**, (d. May, 1758): - killed by (Muin) Renee Martin.<sup>86</sup>

**Phillip Landry**, (d. May, 1758): - killed by (Muin) Renee Martin.<sup>87</sup>

**Louis Peter Cope**, (d. May, 1758): - murdered by Joe Penall and Joe Nocoot. Peter Cope was the brother of Major Jean Baptist Cope.<sup>88</sup>

**Antoine Isidor**, (d. May, 1758): - killed by (Wasagos Unskah) “Joe” Labrador.<sup>89</sup>

**Phillip Paul**, (d. May, 1758): - (son of Saylen Paul<sup>90</sup>), killed by (Wasagos Unskah) “Joe” Labrador.<sup>91</sup> Sent for help by the attacking faction of Mi'kmaq at Point Pleasant, he bolted for the Halifax Pickets, less than two miles away. Pursued, by Joe Labrador, Phillip Paul was less than two body lengths from the main gate of the Halifax Pickets when Labrador caught up to Paul, killed him and made his escape in a hail of British musket balls.<sup>92</sup>

**Phillip Cobiquid**, (d. May, 1758): - killed by **Francis Ulgimou** and **Joe Cope**. (Son of Major Jean Baptist)<sup>93</sup>

**Jean Nocoot**, (d. May, 1758): - killed by (Messet) **Tommy Thomas**.<sup>94</sup>

**(First Man Rushes Toward) Elipit Saylen (Sallen?) Pierre Paul**: - last sachem of the Chebucto Clans<sup>95</sup>, guide to Wolfe at Louisbourg and Quebec. Close friend of Michael Franklin and Joseph Goreham. (Saylen Paul's grandson Gorham Paul, was named for Joseph Goreham<sup>96</sup>) Tradition has it that he was at James Wolfe's side when the fiery thirty-two year old General died defeating the French at Quebec on the Plains of Abraham, September 18, 1759.<sup>97</sup> Later, along with his sons, he was a hunting guide for Prince “Billy” (later William IV of Britain). He saved the life of Michael Franklin<sup>98</sup> shortly after the young Franklin arrived in Halifax about 1752, and it was in his arms that Franklin died in 1782<sup>99</sup>.

Saylen Paul's wife Theresa was a sister of Major Jean Baptist Cope.<sup>100</sup> He was the son of Neptune Pierre Paul and the father of Francis Paul, Phillip Paul, Jacques Paul, and ‘Paul’ Paul.<sup>101</sup> Saylen Paul requested that he be buried with Major Jean Baptist Cope to prove that he had no prior knowledge of, or had any involvement in the attacks at Point Pleasant Park on Jean Baptist Cope, Renee Martin and (Messet) Tommy Thomas. The Mi'kmaq saw this as proof of his innocence.<sup>102</sup> *(There is a strong case to support the argument that the Mi'kmaq might have gone the way of the Beothuk and into extinction, if not for the influential and powerful connections made by the Paul family with the British elite during the latter half of the eighteenth century.) (An image on a map of Halifax from 1755 might be Saylen.<sup>103</sup>)*



The Northwest Arm was the principle home to the Chebucto Clans of the Mi'kmaq. They were second in numbers only to the Shubie Clans.<sup>104</sup> Both suffered heavily from the same typhus epidemic that wiped out the men of the great French Armada under Count D'Anville in Chebucto Harbour in August of 1746.<sup>105</sup> The Chebucto Clans were forever decimated.

The Mi'kmaq buried their dead at Birch Cove, below the Dartmouth Common, around Horseshoe Island, Franklin Park and numerous other places along the Northwest Arm.<sup>106</sup> It was said that four out of every five of the Chebucto Clans died before the snow came.<sup>107</sup> And Saylen Paul, last Chief of the Chebucto clans, never forgave the French.<sup>108</sup>

**(Wasagos Unskah) "Joe" Labrador:** - This is the infamous Labrador that killed "Louis Phillip Payzant" May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1756, at his home on Covey's Island at Mahone Bay.<sup>109</sup> Also, it was probably Joe, not Paul Labrador that killed a "Wagner" by the La Have River.<sup>110</sup> *(Possibly "Assiniboine," he married Marie Cope, daughter of Major Jean Baptist Cope.<sup>111</sup> Joe Labrador and Marie Cope are the great, great grandparents of Elizabeth Dory who married John Awalt and are my great grandparents. Donald Byrd Douglas Awalt.)*

## **Glossary of Mi'kmaq Place Names:<sup>112</sup>**

### **Chebucto (Halifax) Harbour:**

*Kjepouktouk:* "big harbour"

### **Halifax Peninsula:**

*Kouwakati:* "place of pines"

### **Citadel Hill, Camp Hill and the "Pickets" (Downtown Halifax):**

*Kouwmikokit:* "the big pines"

### **Northwest Arm:**

*Amtouapsikan:* "spirit lodge"

*Wegwotikik:* "comes to an end"

### **The Narrows at Bedford Basin:**

*Kepek:* "tide narrows"

### **Point Pleasant:**

*Amtoukati:* "spirit place"

## Appendix A

**Micmac buried at Amtoukati:** “Sandy” Cope to Muriel Cottam Yorke c. 1922

### Early burials:

*Amtou*

*Wasok’gek*

*Wahowah Hophod*

*Thury:* the warrior priest.

### Captains and Chiefs killed in St. Apinquad’s Day Skirmish:

*Major Jean Baptist Cope:* war chief of the Shubie, murdered by *Francis Paul*.

*Louis Peter Cope:* brother of Jean Baptist, murdered by *Joe Penall* and *Joe Nocoot*.

*(Muin) Renee Martin:* War chief of the Kispikit, murdered by *Paul Laurent* war chief of the Sables, *Jean Nocoot*, *Phillip Cobiquid*, *Phillip Paul*, *Francis Nocoot*, *Peter Laurent* and *Phillip Landry*.

*Pierre Laurent:* killed by *(Muin) Renee Martin*.

*Phillip Landry:* killed by *(Muin) Renee Martin*.

*Antoine Isidor:* killed by “*Joe*” *Labrador*.

*Phillip Paul:* killed by “*Joe*” *Labrador*.

*Phillip Cobiquid:* killed by *Francis Ulgimou* and *Joe Cope*. (Son of Major Cope)

*Jean Nocoot:* killed by *(Messet) Tommy Thomas*, war chief of the Namat.

### Later burials:

“*Joe*” *Labrador:* killed “*One Eye*”<sup>113</sup> in the heart of Halifax.

*Elipit Saylen (First Man Rushs Toward)*<sup>114</sup> *Pierre Paul:* last sagamos of the Chebucto.

“*Saylen asked to be buried with Major Jean Baptist Cope; to show that he had nothing to do with the attacks on Major Cope, Muin and Messet on St. Apinquad’s Day at Amtoukati. The Micmac, including Messet saw this as proof of his innocence.*”<sup>115</sup>

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**Sylvester, Herbert Milton.** "Indian Wars of New England, in 3 Volumes": W.B.Clarke, Boston, 1910.

**Whitehead, Ruth Holmes.** "The Old Man Told Us" Nimbus Publishing Limited, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1991.

### **Unpublished Documents:**

**Cope, "Sandy":** (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922

### **Public Archives of Nova Scotia:**

**Casteel, Anthony.** "Anthony Casteel's Journal": British Museum, Brown MSS, Add. 19073: f.11, No. 23. Copy in Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, RG1, # 23

**Howe, Joseph.** "Indian Journal": MG432, 1842.

**Morris to lord Cornwallis.** "Prefixed to Anthony Casteel's Journal": British Museum, Brown MSS, Add. 19073: f.11, No. 23. Copy in Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

**Informants**

Abram, Cyril: (Millbrook, N.S.)

Arenburg, Princetta: (Mrs. Robert Arenburg, formerly Mrs. George Awalt)  
(Bridgewater, N.S.)

Awalt, Dave: (Bridgewater, N.S.)

Awalt, Violet: (Clearlands, Mahone Bay, N.S.)

Bollivar, Ralph: (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)

Cope, Art: (Millbrook, N.S.)

Hirtle, Dorothy Elizabeth (formerly Mrs. Calvin Awalt) (Port Greville / Truro)

Hirtle, Flora Blackwood: (Port Greville, N.S.)

Julian, Chief "Sandy": (Millbrook, N.S.)

Labrador, Bill: (Bridgewater, N.S.)

Lunn, Edith: (Port Greville, N.S.)

McCully, Curtis: (Debert, N.S.)

McCully, Sid: (Debert, N.S.)

MacDormand, Howard: (Debert, N.S.)

Muise, Raymond: (Belmont, N.S.)

Paul, Bill: (Shubenacadie, N.S.)

Yorke, Muriel Cottam: (Cottam Settlement, Debert, N.S.)

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## Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park) and Father Peter Louis Thury

- <sup>1</sup> **Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume I: 1000 to 1700:** “Thury, Louis-Pierre”: pg. 649
- <sup>2</sup> **Le Sieur de Dièreville.** “Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia.”: 1968:76-77
- <sup>3</sup> **Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume I: 1000 to 1700:** “Thury, Louis-Pierre”: pg. 649
- <sup>4</sup> **Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume I: 1000 to 1700:** “Thury, Louis-Pierre”: pg. 649
- <sup>5</sup> **Parkman, Francis.** “Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.”: Chapt. XVI-XVII
- <sup>6</sup> **Sylvester, Herbert Milton.** “Indian Wars of New England, in 3 Volumes”: Vol. II pg. 429-485
- Parkman, Francis.** “Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.”: Chapt. XVI-XVII
- <sup>7</sup> **Le Sieur de Dièreville.** “Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia.”: 1968:76-77
- <sup>8</sup> **Bill Labrador, Bill Paul,**  
*“The Chapel of Apenquid is a natural stone amphitheatre located by Chain Rock Battery on the North West Arm at Point Pleasant Park, Halifax Nova Scotia.”*
- <sup>9</sup> **Le Sieur de Dièreville.** “Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia.”: 1968:76-77
- <sup>10</sup> **Sylvester, Herbert Milton.** “Indian Wars of New England, in 3 Volumes”: Vol. III pg. 415  
*“Frontenac, Thury, Rale – Civilization may extenuate, but never forget.”*

## Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park) and the Chapel of St. Apenquid of Agamenticus

- <sup>11</sup> **Raddall, Thomas H.** “The Feast of St. Aspinquid”: NSHQ, Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1977, pg. 1-9
- <sup>12</sup> **Raddall, Thomas H.** “The Feast of St. Aspinquid”: NSHQ, Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1977, pg. 1-9
- <sup>13</sup> **Hubbard, Rev. William.** “History of the Indian Wars in New England .....1677.” b. ii 154  
 St. Aspinquid is usually associated with Mt. Agamenticus, where local legends claim he is buried under a great pile of stones. There is another possibility near Saco and the sea, Hubbard relates; *“the other Town is called York, formerly known by the name of Agamenticus, from a high Hill of that Name.”* Thury and his native flock, including possibly Apenquid, were involved the attack on York.
- <sup>14</sup> **Halifax Gazette.** “Article on Feast of St. Aspenquid.”: June 1770, pg. 3
- <sup>15</sup> **Duncan, Roger F.** “Coastal Maine: a Maritime History”: 140-141  
**Parkman, Francis.** “Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.”: Chapt. XVI-XVII  
*(Extract from Thury’s account of the destruction of Pemaquid, from Charlevoix.)*
- <sup>16</sup> **Raddall, Thomas H.** “The Feast of St. Aspinquid”: NSHQ, Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1977, pg. 1-9
- <sup>17</sup> **Cope, “Art”:** (Millbrook) to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- <sup>18</sup> **Cope, “Art”:** (Millbrook) to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- <sup>19</sup> **Hatch, Louis Clinton.** “History of Maine, a Facsimile of the 1919 Edition.”  
**Eckstrom, Fannie Hardy.** “History of Maine, Chapter III”  
 Eckstrom and many other Maine historians argue Tarratines are Micmac, not Penobscot.  
**Whitehead, Ruth Holmes.** “The Old Man Told Us”: pg. 28-29  
*“Anonymous English colonist, on his way to Maine”: ‘Relation of a Voyage to Sadadahoc, 1607-1608.’ In ‘Early English and French Voyages’, edited by H.S. Burrage: 1906: 81-83*  
*“The Cheef Comander of these pts ys called Messamott [Messamouet, chief at La Hève] and the river of harbor ys called emannett. We take thes peopell to be the tarentynes and these peopell as we have Learned sence do make wars wyh Sasanoa the Cheeffe Comander to the westward wher .....”*
- <sup>20</sup> **Mather, Cotton.** “Decennium Luctuosum: ..... 1688 to the Year, 1698”:  
 Treaty August 11, 1693 between Sir William Phips, Governour, the Province of Massachusetts Bay, John Wing, Nicholas Manning, Benjamin Jackson and  
 Edgeremett,  
 Madockawando,  
 Wassambomet of Navidgwock,  
 Wenobson of Teconnet in behalf of Moxus,

Keterramogis of Narridgwock,  
**Ahanquid** of Penobscot,  
 Bomaseen,  
 Nitamemet,  
 Webenes,  
 Awansomeck,  
 Robin Doney,  
 Madaumbis,  
 Paquaharet, *alias*, Nathaniel,  
 John Hornybrook, Interpreter  
 John Bagatawawongo *alias*  
 Sheepscoat John, “ “  
 Phill Ounsakis, Squaw, “ “

- Drake, Samuel G.** or “The Aboriginal Races of North America, 15<sup>th</sup> edition”: 304-306
- <sup>21</sup> **Hubbard, Rev. William.** “History of the Indian Wars in New England .....1677.” b. ii 154
- Drake, Samuel G.** or “The Aboriginal Races of North America, 15<sup>th</sup> edition”: 304-306
- <sup>22</sup> **Mather, Cotton.** “Decennium Luctuosum: ..... 1688 to the Year, 1698”:
- Drake, Samuel G.** or “The Aboriginal Races of North America, 15<sup>th</sup> edition”: 304-306
- <sup>23</sup> **Duncan, Roger F.** “Coastal Maine: a Maritime History”: 140-141
- Parkman, Francis.** “Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.”: Chapt. XVI-XVII
- <sup>24</sup> **Murdoch, Beamish.** “History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, in 3 Volumes”: Vol. I pg. 217
- Mather, Cotton.** “Decennium Luctuosum: ..... 1688 to the Year, 1698”:
- Drake, Samuel G.** or “The Aboriginal Races of North America, 15<sup>th</sup> edition”: 304-306
- Duncan, Roger F.** “Coastal Maine: a Maritime History”: 140-141
- <sup>25</sup> **Mather, Cotton.** “Decennium Luctuosum: ..... 1688 to the Year, 1698”:
- <sup>26</sup> **Mather, Cotton.** “Decennium Luctuosum: ..... 1688 to the Year, 1698”:
- Mather, Cotton.** “Magnalia”: b. vii. 89
- Drake, Samuel G.** or “The Aboriginal Races of North America, 15<sup>th</sup> edition”: 304-306  
 (*Drake Quotes the Rev. Cotton Mather’s “Magnalia” b. vii. 89.*)
- <sup>27</sup> **Drake, Samuel G.** or “The Aboriginal Races of North America, 15<sup>th</sup> edition”: 332-333
- <sup>28</sup> **Parkman, Francis.** “The Jesuit in North America”
- <sup>29</sup> **Cope, “Art”:** to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- Julian, Chief “Sandy”:** (Millbrook, N.S.)
- Labrador, Bill:** (Bridgewater, N.S.)
- Paul, Bill:** (Shubenacadie)
- <sup>30</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** “History of Halifax City”
- Murdoch, Beamish.** “History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, in 3 Volumes”
- Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North.”
- <sup>31</sup> **Macdonald, James S.** “Memoir Lieut. Governor Michael Francklin, 1752-1782.” NSHS, Vol. 16.
- Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North”: Pg. 73-74
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IV, 1771 to 1800.** “Francklin, Michael”: 272-76
- <sup>32</sup> **Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North”: pg. 94-95

### Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park) and Amtou

- <sup>33</sup> **Hirtle, Flora Blackwood:** (Port Greville, N.S.)
- Lunn, Edith:** (Port Greville, N.S.)
- Hirtle, Dorothy Elizabeth:** (formerly Mrs. Calvin Awalt) (Port Greville / Truro)
- <sup>34</sup> **Hirtle, Flora Blackwood:** (Port Greville, N.S.)
- Lunn, Edith:** (Port Greville, N.S.)

- 
- Hirtle, Dorothy Elizabeth:** (formerly Mrs. Calvin Awalt) (Port Greville / Truro)
- <sup>35</sup> **Cope, “Art”:** (Millbrook) to Byrd (Don) Awalt  
**Abram, Cyril:** (Millbrook, N.S.) to Byrd (Don) Awalt  
**McCully, Sid:** (Debert, N.S.)  
 Cyril and Sid also pointed out that Wasok-gek was the Mi’kmaq name for the Debert River.
- <sup>36</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** ed. “Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia”: 1869:672-674
- <sup>37</sup> **Bollivar, Ralph:** (Baker’s Settlement, N.S.)  
**Hirtle, Flora Blackwood:** (Port Greville, N.S.)  
**Lunn, Edith:** (Port Greville, N.S.)  
**McCully, Curtis:** (Debert, N.S.)  
**MacDormand, Howard:** (Debert, N.S.)

### “The 1758 Feast of St. Aspinquid Skirmish at Amtoukati (Point Pleasant Park)

- <sup>38</sup> **Sylvester, Herbert Milton.** “Indian Wars of New England, in 3 Volumes”: Vol. III pg. 415  
 With the reduction of Montreal by General Amherst, on September 8, 1760, which was but the sequence of the fall of Quebec September 12, 1759, the French and Indian War against New England had come to an end. *“It may be said that only the Tarratines (Mi’kmaq) remained after eighty-five years of savage warfare along the frontier of Provincial New England.”*
- <sup>39</sup> **Paul, Daniel.** “We Were Not The Savages.”
- <sup>40</sup> **Sylvester, Herbert Milton.** “Indian Wars of New England, in 3 Volumes”: Vol. I pg. 43-48  
**Parkman, Francis.** “Pioneers of France in the New World”
- <sup>41</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** “History of Halifax City” Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 8: pg. 27  
**Haliburton, Thomas Chandler.** “An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia”  
**Murdoch, Beamish.** “History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, in 3 Volumes”  
**Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North”: pg.
- <sup>42</sup> **Murdoch, Beamish.** “History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, in 3 Volumes”  
**Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North”
- <sup>43</sup> **Murdoch, Beamish.** “History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, in 3 Volumes”  
**Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North”
- <sup>44</sup> **Cope, “Art”:** (Millbrook) to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- <sup>45</sup> **Bates, George T.** “John Gorham, an Outline of his Activities in Nova Scotia, 1744-1751.”  
**Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IV, 1771 to 1800.** ”Goreham (Gorham), Joseph”: 308-10  
**Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North”
- <sup>46</sup> **Bates, George T.** “John Gorham, an Outline of his Activities in Nova Scotia, 1744-1751.”
- <sup>47</sup> **Murdoch, Beamish.** “History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, in 3 Volumes”
- <sup>48</sup> **Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IV, 1771 to 1800.** ”LeLoutre, Jean-Louis”: 453-58
- <sup>49</sup> **Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume III, 1741 to 1770.** ”Maillard, Pierre”: 415-19  
**Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North”: pg. 61-62
- <sup>50</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** “History of Halifax City” Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 8: pg. 54  
**Raddall, Thomas H.** “Halifax, Warden of the North” pg. 50
- <sup>51</sup> **DesBrisay, M. B.** “History of the County of Lunenburg”  
**More, James F.** “The History of Queens County, N.S.”
- <sup>52</sup> **Piers, Harry.** “Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928”: pg.5 n.

“A Rool of the Indians (**Micmac**) (of the first Battallion in General Shirleys Provincial Regiment) that are on Command at the Isthmus (Peninsular?) Block House.

Placed between Winslow to Capt. Cox Halifax, 28 December, 1755, and Lawrence to Winslow, Halifax, 6 January, 1756, in “Journal of Colonel John Winslow.”



Goldthwaites Company:

Majr. Simon Frost:

Capt. Malcolms:

*Saml. Bumson*

*Joshua Unkuss*

(Wasagos Unskah "Joe" Labrador?)

*Willm George*

*Pharaoh Gardner*

Capt Sturtevant:

*John Conet*

*Nathen Hood*

*James Mingo*

Capt. Speakman:

*Simon Cogney*

*Joab Commetson*

*John Cowett*

*Seth Obediah*

*Saml. Tocomana*

*John Thomas*

(Jean Thomas, brother of Messet Tommy Thomas?)

<sup>53</sup> **Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume III, 1741 to 1770.** "Laurent, Paul": 358-59

<sup>54</sup> **Casteel, Anthony.** "Anthony Casteel's Journal"

<sup>55</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** "History of Halifax City": pg. 46-47

<sup>56</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** ed. "Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia": 1869:672-674

<sup>57</sup> **Casteel, Anthony.** "Anthony Casteel's Journal"

<sup>58</sup> **Casteel, Anthony.** "Anthony Casteel's Journal"

<sup>59</sup> **Cope, "Sandy":** (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)

**Muise, Raymond:** (Belmont, N.S.)

**Whitehead, Ruth Holmes.** "The Old Man Told Us": pg. 140

**Morris to Lord Cornwallis.** Prefixed to Anthony Casteel's Journal

Raymond Muise said the most hated of all English was the one they called "One-Eye." Sandy Cope to Muriel Cottam Yorke, Appendix A, says "One-Eye" was killed by "Joe" Labrador. This was probably the notorious one-eyed bargeman, John Connor, who along John Grace murdered a family of six Mi'kmaq at Musquodoboit Harbour April 1753.

<sup>60</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** "History of Halifax City": pg. 27

<sup>61</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** "History of Halifax City": pg. 27-28

<sup>62</sup> **Harris, Reginald V.** "The Church of Saint Paul in Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1749-1949": pg 216

Here lies buried the body of

**Mr. John Connor**

Who departed this life

Dec. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1757

Aged 29 years

<sup>63</sup> **Morris to lord Cornwallis.** Prefixed to Anthony Casteel's Journal

**Casteel, Anthony.** "Anthony Casteel's Journal"

<sup>64</sup> **Morris to lord Cornwallis.** Prefixed to Anthony Casteel's Journal

<sup>65</sup> **Casteel, Anthony.** "Anthony Casteel's Journal"

<sup>66</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** "History of Halifax City": pg. 27-28

**Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume III, 1741 to 1770.** "Laurent, Paul": 358-59

**Raddall, Thomas H.** "Halifax, Warden of the North": pg. 4

According to Raddall, the Spring Feast occurred on the seventh day after the new moon in the Alewife's (May) month. Paul Laurant was alarmed by a large military presence at Halifax. Louden's fleet and 12,000 regulars arrived in Halifax June 30, 1757 and left August 16<sup>th</sup>. The following spring, another 12,000 troops accompanied by 161ships arrived in Halifax under the command of Sir Jeffery Amherst and

Admiral Boscawen and left for Louisbourg May 28, 1758. Based on this, I concluded the skirmish at Point Pleasant occurred in May of 1758. It is possible to fix the exact date in May of 1758 with further research based on the moon's cycle.

- <sup>67</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)  
**Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume III, 1741 to 1770.** "Laurent, Paul": 358-59  
**Muise, Raymond**: (Belmont, N.S.)
- <sup>68</sup> **Whitehead, Ruth Holmes.** "The Old Man Told Us": pg. 209-213
- <sup>69</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)  
**Muise, Raymond**: (Belmont, N.S.)
- <sup>70</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)  
**Muise, Raymond**: (Belmont, N.S.)
- <sup>71</sup> **DesBrisay, M. B.** "History of the County of Lunenburg"  
**Bell.** "History of the Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia"
- <sup>72</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)  
**Muise, Raymond**: (Belmont, N.S.)
- <sup>73</sup> **Hirtle, Flora Blackwood**: (Port Greville, N.S.)  
**Hirtle, Dorothy Elizabeth**: (formerly Mrs. Calvin Awalt) (Port Greville / Truro N.S.)  
**Lunn, Edith**: (Port Greville N.S.)
- <sup>74</sup> **Hirtle, Flora Blackwood**: (Port Greville, N.S.)  
**Hirtle, Dorothy Elizabeth**: (formerly Mrs. Calvin Awalt) (Port Greville / Truro N.S.)  
**Lunn, Edith**: (Port Greville N.S.)
- <sup>75</sup> **Drake, Samuel G.** or "The Aboriginal Races of North America, 15<sup>th</sup> edition": 300
- <sup>76</sup> **Dierèville, Sieur de.** "Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia"
- <sup>77</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>78</sup> **Piers, Harry.** "The Old Peninsula Blockhouses and Road at Halifax in 1751": Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 22, 1933.  
**Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)  
**Whitehead, Ruth Holmes.** "The Old Man Told Us": pg. 140  
Maggie Paul (born ca 1850, Ponhook Lake, N.S.) to Jeremiah Bartlett Alexis [alias Jerry Lonecloud], to Harry Piers, 5 April 1927. Nova Scotia Printed Matter File. [A later note adds, **Cope** "buried by the Martello Tower."]
- <sup>79</sup> **Yorke, Muriel Cottam**: (Cottam Settlement, Debert, N.S.)
- <sup>80</sup> **Paul, Daniel.** "We Were Not The Savages": Nimbus Pub, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1993.
- <sup>81</sup> **Cope, "Art"**: (Millbrook) to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- <sup>82</sup> **Whitehead, Ruth Holmes.** "The Old Man Told Us": pg. 78  
November, 1708 Census excerpt: "*Jean-Baptiste, age 10, son of Paul and Cecille Cop.*" By Pere LaChasse. Edward E. Ayer Collection, Ayer MS 751, Newberry Library, Chicago.
- <sup>83</sup> **Muise, Raymond**: (Belmont, N.S.)  
**Cope, "Art"**: (Millbrook) to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- <sup>84</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** "Selections from Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia": 1869:672-674
- <sup>85</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>86</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>87</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>88</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>89</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>90</sup> **Yorke, Muriel Cottam**: (Cottam Settlement, Debert, N.S.)
- <sup>91</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>92</sup> **Awalt, Violet**: (Clearlands, Mahone Bay, N.S.)  
**Bollivar, Ralph**: (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)
- <sup>93</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>94</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>95</sup> **Cope, "Sandy"**: (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>96</sup> **"Art" Cope**: (Millbrook N.S.) to Byrd (Don) Awalt

- 
- <sup>97</sup> **Bollivar, Ralph:** (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)  
**Hirtle, Flora Blackwood:** (Port Greville, N.S.)  
*"Amherst took his own magnificent red cape and presented it to Saylen Paul after the fall of Montreal."* c. 1760  
**Hirtle, Dorothy Elizabeth:** (formerly Mrs. Calvin Awalt) (Port Greville / Truro N.S.)  
**Lunn, Edith:** (Port Greville N.S.)
- <sup>98</sup> **Macdonald, James S.** "Memoir Lieut. Governor Michael Francklin, 1752-1782." NSHS, Vol. 16.  
**Bollivar, Ralph:** (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)
- <sup>99</sup> **Macdonald, James S.** "Memoir Lieut. Governor Michael Francklin, 1752-1782." NSHS, Vol. 16.  
**Bollivar, Ralph:** (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)  
*"Franklin was a prominent merchant who became governor of Nova Scotia. Each year Saylen received a fine new coat, breeches and shoes from Franklin as a gesture of his gratitude. In those days, woven cloth was a precious commodity in this country."* (Franklin was actually lieutenant governor.)  
**Hirtle, Flora Blackwood:** (Port Greville, N.S.)  
**Hirtle, Dorothy Elizabeth:** (formerly Mrs. Calvin Awalt) (Port Greville / Truro N.S.)
- <sup>100</sup> **Yorke, Muriel Cottam:** (Cottam Settlement, Debert, N.S.)
- <sup>101</sup> **Yorke, Muriel Cottam:** (Cottam Settlement, Debert, N.S.)
- <sup>102</sup> **Cope, "Sandy":** (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)
- <sup>103</sup> **Bollivar, Ralph:** (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)
- <sup>104</sup> **"Art" Cope:** (Millbrook) to Byrd (Don) Awalt  
**Julian, Chief "Sandy":** (Millbrook, N.S.)  
**Labrador, Bill:** (Bridgewater, N.S.)  
**Paul, Bill:** (Shubenacadie)
- <sup>105</sup> **Raddall, Thomas H.** "Halifax, Warden of the North": pg. 11-15
- <sup>106</sup> **"Art" Cope:** to Byrd (Don) Awalt  
**Julian, Chief "Sandy":** (Millbrook, N.S.)  
**Labrador, Bill:** (Bridgewater, N.S.)  
**Paul, Bill:** (Shubenacadie)
- <sup>107</sup> **"Art" Cope:** to Byrd (Don) Awalt  
**Julian, Chief "Sandy":** (Millbrook, N.S.)  
**Labrador, Bill:** (Bridgewater, N.S.)  
**Paul, Bill:** (Shubenacadie)
- <sup>108</sup> **Bollivar, Ralph:** (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)
- <sup>109</sup> **Akins, Thomas B.** "History of Halifax City": pg. 48-49  
**DesBrisay, M. B.** "History of the County of Lunenburg"  
**Bell.** "History of the Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia"
- <sup>110</sup> **DesBrisay, M. B.** "History of the County of Lunenburg"  
**More, James F.** "The History of Queens County, N.S."  
**Bell.** "History of the Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia"
- <sup>111</sup> **Arenburg, Princetta:** (Mrs. Robert Arenburg, formerly Mrs. George Awalt) (Bridgewater, N.S.)  
**Awalt, Dave:** (Bridgewater, N.S.)  
**Awalt, Violet:** (Clearlands, Mahone Bay, N.S.)  
**Bollivar, Ralph:** (Baker's Settlement, N.S.)
- <sup>112</sup> **"Art" Cope:** to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- <sup>113</sup> **Cope, "Sandy":** (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922 (Appendix A)  
**Muise, Raymond:** (Belmont, N.S.)  
**Whitehead, Ruth Holmes.** "The Old Man Told Us": pg. 140  
**Morris to Lord Cornwallis.** Prefixed to Anthony Casteel's Journal  
Raymond Muise said the most hated of all English was the one they called "One-Eye." Sandy Cope to Muriel Cottam Yorke, Appendix A, says "One-Eye" was killed by "Joe" Labrador. This was probably the notorious one-eyed bargeman, John Connor, who along John Grace murdered a family of six Mi'kmaq at Musquodoboit Harbour April 1753. Connors died Dec. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1757.
- <sup>114</sup> **"Art" Cope:** to Byrd (Don) Awalt
- <sup>115</sup> **Cope, "Sandy":** (Debert, / Millbrook, N.S.) to Muriel Cottam Yorke, c. 1922