

The Stone Medallion of Lake Utopia

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(Read May Meeting 1921)

Among the treasures in the museum of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick at St. John is the large stone medallion, carved with the profile of a human head, well represented in the accompanying photograph. It was found in 1863 beside Lake Utopia in the southwestern part of New Brunswick, but its origin remains yet undetermined despite the studies of our local archaeologists. Some new data, however, which I have been able to gather in course of a long interest in the stone, bring us much nearer to a solution of the puzzling problem it presents, as the following discussion, intended to be monographic of the subject, will attest.

DESCRIPTION

The material of the medallion is a fine-grained hard red granite, plentiful in southwestern New Brunswick. Its extreme length is just under 22 inches; its extreme breadth is just over $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches; its thickness varies from $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, though prevaillingly much nearer the former figure; and the weight is $51\frac{1}{4}$ pounds. The head is therefore considerably above natural size. The side that is carved was evidently flat in the original slab, but has been worked in the carving to a truer surface. Presumably the back, now so irregular, and tending to flake in a manner suggesting the action of fire, was originally also flat, or nearly, for the high parts show signs of rough working like the face. The stone gives the impression of a flat slab formed naturally by jointing, but improved for his purpose, and of course worked to its oval form, by its proficient unknown carver.

No description is needed for the design on the stone, which in our photograph speaks for itself. The head is cut practically in *intaglio rilievo*, that is, with the high parts approximately on the level of the original surface. The sharpness of the profile is skillfully intensified by the polishing of the concave slope thence up to the rim, a notable feature of the work. A diagonal line, faint in the original and barely discernable in the photograph, has been taken to represent a fillet binding the hair, but probably signifies no more than a

transition from the smoother face and high forehead to the rougher hair. No doubt this feature, and indeed the entire head, as the sharp profile suggests, was originally much better defined than now, the cause of the change being obvious in the great weathering which the stone has undergone since it was cut. This weathering is particularly marked at the top and bottom of the head, where it has gone so far as well-nigh to obliterate the boundary between head and rim, elsewhere so distinct. At the bottom, especially, there is an aspect of mechanical as well as chemical erosion, as if by running water, or action of waves. This weathering has obliterated also the marks of the engraving tools, which, in view of the hardness of the stone, could hardly have been other than tempered metal.

DISCOVERY

Abundant records of its discovery exist.

The *St. John Morning News* of Wednesday, February 17, 1864, announces its exhibition in the City, with comments on its discovery, appearance, and possible origin. This material is all contained with additional detail in a longer item in the *St. John Morning Freeman* of the next day (February 18), which reads thus:

A very remarkable stone is now on exhibition at the store of Messrs. Chubb & Co. It is said that it was found near Lake Utopia, in the neighbourhood of Magaguadavic, by a mason who went in search of a hearth stone for a house he was building, and struck by the shape of this stone, removed the moss and turf with which it was covered to the depth of some inches, and took it home. He afterwards gave it to Squire Wetmore, of St. George. Sheriff Harding got it from him and brought it to the city. It is a slab of conglomerate, chiefly granite, and apparently extremely hard and rough grained. It is slightly oval in shape, about 20 inches in length and 3 in thickness, on one side unchiselled, on the other a medallion on which is fairly sculptured a man's face in profile, about the precise character of which there is much question. Some say it is decidedly Indian in its characteristics. This we think is a mistake. The facial lines are not those of the Indians of the present day, and resemble much more the lines of the Assyrian or Egyptian profiles, as represented in ancient sculpture. The nose forms almost a straight line with the forehead. The jaw bone is of extraordinary length, and the chin very small. The hair, too, is cut off square at the back, and confined by a fillet.

The age of this interesting relic must be very great. The rim, which was very deep, is much time-worn, and in every point it bears the marks of great antiquity. Sheriff Harding had the place where this was found marked, and it is to be hoped that next summer the place will be searched. Other remains of the civilized people who once inhabited this continent may probably be found there.

The late Clarence Ward, historian, of St. John, once told me, from his own knowledge, that the stone was a great local wonder when first exhibited, attracting wide attention and discussion.

The *London Illustrated News* for July 16, 1864 (Vol. 45, pp. 78-9) contains an article, illustrated by a fair woodcut of the stone, entitled "Indian Sculpture found near Lake Utopia, Charlotte County, New Brunswick", whereof the essential parts here follow:

We are indebted to Mr. C. C. Ward, of St. John, New Brunswick, for the following account of a curious specimen of Indian sculpture, which is represented by our Engraving. It is a basso-relievo, cut in red granite, of an oval shape, 21 in. long, 18 in. wide, and 1½ in. thick. Although much worn and defaced by time and the weather, it still retains evidence of having been done by a bold and skilful hand. It was found, in the month of November last, at the foot of a precipice of red granite, about a quarter of a mile from the western shore of Lake Utopia, in Charlotte County, New Brunswick. When it was shown to the Indians who frequent the neighbourhood, they at once pronounced it to be the portrait of a chief, and said it was very likely that the chief himself was buried near the spot. They thought it was many hundred years old..... The Indians who have seen it are quite at a loss to account for the fashion and the quantity of the hair represented on the head, since from time immemorial it was customary for the Indians to shave or pluck out all the hair with the exception of the scalp-lock. And although the shape of the head and cast of the features represented on the stone are decidedly Indian, there is an Egyptian character about the whole which suggests some curious ethnological speculations.....The tribe of Indians now living at Lake Utopia are the Passamaquoddys, descendants of the old Delaware stock, who for generations have made that locality their favorite haunt. These Passamaquoddys are very skilful in their representations of the beaver and other animals; and we have seen some very beautiful specimens, sculptured in bas-relief, on the bowls of stone pipes. These figures were anatomically correct in drawing, and would do credit to a professional artist.....The sculptured stone is the property of Mr. A. J. Wetmore, treasurer at St. George's, who kindly placed it at Mr. Ward's disposal for the purpose of making a drawing for this Journal.

Mr. C. C. Ward here mentioned was a well known sportsman and artist, brother of Clarence Ward, aforementioned. Lake Utopia and neighbouring parts were favourite hunting grounds of his, as shown by his sporting sketches in *Scribner's Monthly*, 1878-80, in one of which, February, 1878 (reprinted in Mayer's *Sport with Gun and Rod*, New York, 1883, I, 181) he again mentions, with a cut, "a stone medallion having the full-sized head of an Indian sculptured upon it". The final sentence of the above quotation shows that he saw the stone while it was still in Mr. Wetmore's possession, and therefore within a month or two of the time it was found.

Another record published much later belongs in reality almost as early. In the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1881* (published 1883, pp. 665-671) is an article "A sculptured stone found in St. George, New Brunswick", by I. [not J.] Allen Jack, of St. John. It is illustrated by a fair drawing of the stone and an excellent map of Lake Utopia and vicinity marking the place where the stone was found. A synopsis of the article is in *The Canadian Indian*, I, 1891,

265-7, and it is reprinted in full, with unimportant verbal changes, in *Acadiensis*, II, 1902, 267-75, where it is illustrated by an inferior map but by a superior picture from the same photograph as that which accompanies the present paper. Mr. Jack, a well-known late resident and prominent barrister of St. John, much interested in local matters of this kind, states that his article is based on "a tolerable knowledge of the history of Charlotte County and of the province, and an imperfect memory and record of the contents of several letters received from various persons upon the principal subject. . . . The letters which were written to assist me in preparing a paper upon the stone, subsequently read before the Natural History Society of New Brunswick . . . were unfortunately destroyed in the great fire of St. John. The paper itself was preserved, and embodies at least a portion of the contents of the letter[s]." These statements accord with the minutes of the Natural History Society, which read under date 12th February, 1864,—“Mr. Allen Jack then read by request some letters describing the head of an Indian carved in stone found near Lake Utopia Charlotte County”; and again under 11th March, 1864, “Mr. A. Jack then read the Paper of the evening—Subject, the medallion found at Lake Eutopia”. The minute then adds,—“On motion resolved . . . That Dr. [C. K.] Fisk be a Committee to procure further information, if possible, on the medallion”; but no sequel to this resolution appears. Thus, although Mr. Jack’s paper is of 1881, it is based on information gathered by himself, evidently from those concerned in the discovery of the stone, soon after that event. As to the discovery the paper reads:

In the autumn of 1863 or winter of 1864, a remarkable sculptured stone, representing a human face and head in profile, was discovered in the neighbourhood of St. George, a village in Charlotte County, in the Province of New Brunswick, Canada. This curiosity was found by a man who was searching for stone for building purposes, and was lying about 100 feet from the shore of Lake Utopia, under a bluff of the same formation as the material on which the head is sculptured, which abounds in the neighbourhood. The sculpture, shortly after it was discovered, attracted a good deal of attention.

With respect to the obvious possibility that the stone is a modern fabrication, Mr. Jack writes thus:

Opinion, at the time of discovery, was somewhat divided, both in regard to the nationality of the workman by whom the stone was carved and also in respect to the object of the work. The appearance and position of the stone when discovered, to which I shall presently more particularly refer, convince me that it was not carved for the purpose of deceiving scientific investigators, as might be, and I believe, has been, charged.

I believe that the finder, who, as I have stated, was searching for stone for building purposes, was attracted by the shape of the stone in question; that it

was lying on the surface and covered with moss, and that it was not until the removal of the moss that the true character of the object appeared. An examination of its surface must, I think, convince the observer that the stone has been subjected to the long-continued action of water, and from its situation it seems fairly certain that the water which has produced the wasted appearance was rain, and rain only I may refer, but solely for the purpose of expressing my disbelief in any such hypothesis, to the suggestion that art, employed for the purpose of deceiving, and not any force of nature, has produced the worn appearance to which reference has been made. The mossy deposit, and the unfrequented locality in which the curiosity was found, both aid in dispelling this idea. I may further urge that, had the object of the workman been solely to deceive, he would have scarcely selected a stone whereon to carve of a granite character, and especially a piece of granulite, one of the hardest of rocks to work, being not only hard in quality but of crystalline structure.

As to the crucial problem of the origin and meaning of the medallion, Mr. Jack concludes as follows:

. No relic of a similar character to this had been dug up at any Indian burial ground in New Brunswick, and although our Indians produce very well executed full relief figures of the beaver, the muskrat, and the otter, upon soap-stone pipes, their skill apparently goes no further in this direction. I think that a careful or even superficial examination of the carving must impress the observer with the idea that it is intended to represent the face of an Indian, and the head, although viewed only laterally, certainly presents many of the peculiarities of the North American type. By no hypothesis, however, am I able to connect this curiosity with any European custom or idea, and consequently the remainder of my investigation will be devoted to the argument in favor of its Indian origin.

Mr. Jack's argument, elaborated at length, leads to the conclusion that the stone probably represents a monument placed by the Indians at the grave of a chief.

In that most excellent book on the natural history of New Brunswick, *Field and Forest Rambles*, published in 1873 by Dr. A. Leith Adams, a trained scientific observer some years resident in the Province, there occurs (at page 34) an account of the stone, with a crude cut, wherefrom we extract the following sentences:

It is cut on a slab of red granite, and was discovered in a perfectly accidental manner lying among blocks of the same rock on the banks of the beautiful lake of Utopia, at the southern corner of the Province. I spent several days in the locality searching for further relics, and more especially the remains of a temple building said to have existed at one time on a bluff over-looking the lake, of which, however, not a trace was observable. The skill displayed on the medallion clearly indicated a high knowledge of art, never attained by the forefathers of the present Indians; moreover, if it be not the work of a preceding race, it might be one of the trials of skill of some clever Jesuit father in the early days of colonization! Indeed when a drawing of this sculpture was displayed at the Boston Natural History Society, some members pronounced it a very modern imposition, and asserted it to be a likeness of the great Washington! I took pains,

however, to satisfy myself on that point, having been assured by my friend Mr. Wetmore, of St. Stephen, to whom it was presented by the workman, that he saw the moss growing on the slab, and was among the first to visit the spot, when he inspected it *in situ*.

No mention of the medallion occurs in records of the meetings of the Boston Society of Natural History, as I am informed by the secretary.

In an article on Lake Utopia in the sportsman's journal *Forest and Stream* in 1892 (reprinted in the *St. John Daily Telegraph*, July 5, 1892) the late Edward Jack, relative of I. Allen Jack, a great observer of natural features of the Province, and a resident of St. George at the time the stone was discovered, speaks of it thus:

Many years since there was a stone mason residing not far from the point where the Magaguadavic.....jumps into old ocean [i.e., above St. George]. One day when this mason.....was looking over the broken pieces of granite lying on the hillside on the west shore of Eutopia, to obtain some for the uses of his business, his eye fell on an oval piece 21 in. in length by 18 in breadth; when he had turned this over he saw to his amazement sculptured on it in low relief, the head and profile of a man.....The mason took his prize to the shore of the lake and rowed home with it. Then he arrived there, he placed his treasure trove in front of his cottage, but his wife refused to allow it to remain, saying that "it glowered at her," good proof of the ancient unknown sculptor's skill. The mason was, I think, Scotch, which may account for the fact that instead of doing as the crafty Arabs did with the Moabite stone, that is to say, break it in pieces, he took it to St. George, and for the consideration of \$4, sold it to Mr. A. I. Wetmore, collector of that port.

In an historical article in the *St. Croix Courier*, published at St. Stephen, N.B., January 28, and February 4, 1892, Mr. James Vroom, of whose knowledge we speak below, gives some account of the stone, including the following:

Most people living in the east of this county have either seen or heard of the 'Laney Stone,' a slab of red granite found at Lake Utopia about twenty-five years ago, on one side of which was carved in relief the representation of a human head. It seems hard to believe that such work could have been done without metal tools; yet the pioneers of Acadia found no metal tools in use among the natives. Unless this unique carving is of comparatively recent date, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that it is a relic either of an extinct people or of a prehistoric settlement of Europeans here; in which case it is strange that no further traces of such a people have been seen.

The name Laney Stone I find applied to it also in a bibliographical note in the *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick*, IV, 1901, 299. James Laney was the name of the mason who discovered the stone. He removed subsequently from St. George, lived for a time at Milltown, N.B., and about 1880 settled in Minneapolis, Minn., where he died in 1915, aged 93 years. Unaware, until

the local papers announced his demise, that he was living so lately, I missed the opportunity to secure his own testimony on the discovery of the stone; but his daughter, Mrs. F. S. Welton, to whom I applied for her knowledge of the matter, wrote me, September 29, 1915, such information thereon as she had. She was a very small child when it was found, but had heard it talked of in the family, and her father had spoken of it not long before his death. She adds:

There is no doubt my father is the real finder of the stone. Father took it to town. While he was there a friend of his got it and took it to the museum He took it away from home because my mother did not want to keep it in the house.

For completion of the literature we may add a few references otherwise of slight interest.

In a letter written by the late G. A. Boardman of Calais, Me., to Professor Baird, then Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution (*The Naturalist of the Saint Croix*, Bangor, 1903, 202), under date 29 October, 1868, occurs the sentence, "I have heard more about the stone profile found in the old mound at St. George, but am afraid we cannot get it as it has been sent to St. John; but next summer perhaps you may talk them out of it, or at any rate you can get the loan of it, or perhaps exchange." Fortunately the blandishments of the Secretary, if ever exercised, failed of effect, but possibly he thus obtained the "cast in the United States National Museum" mentioned in the *Report* of that Museum for 1896, 485, where I. Allen Jack's drawing is reprinted, with some comments. There is also a brief account of the stone, with a cut, in a highly interesting and appreciative article on Lake Utopia by E. J. Russell in *Canadian Illustrated News*, VI, November 30, 1872. The brief account of the stone given by C. C. Ward in *Scribner's Monthly* as aforementioned is reprinted with a cut in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, VI, 1878, pp. 166-7, under the title "Stone Medallion found at St. George, N.B." A lost document of the first importance is Mr. Wetmore's own account of the finding of the stone, which Dr. G. F. Matthew tells me was formerly in MS. among the records of the Natural History Society; but a thorough search has failed to reveal it. Other mentions of the stone occur in local literature, but without original data, so far as I know.

Of course I have myself tried to glean additional data from residents of St. George whose memories go back to the event of the discovery, and, needless perhaps to say, I have analysed such testimony in full knowledge of its slight value in comparison with contemporary records. All of any worth that I have found here follows.

Mr. James Vroom of St. Stephen, Charlotte County's foremost scientific and historical scholar, always interested in such matters and a resident of St. George in 1869-72, has told me that he understood Laney to be a poor and shiftless farmer who lived near the Canal (outlet of Lake Utopia) and occasionally worked as a stone mason, that is, a builder of rough stone walls, and that he brought the stone home for use as a hearth stone. Mr. Vroom adds (in a letter of October 30, 1914:

Some of my friends in St. George at the time thought that Mr. Laney himself had fashioned the stone; but the weathered condition of the surface was a convincing argument against that theory. Others thought it might have been made by early French residents; but the design does not favour that assumption. The possibility of the carving being of Scandinavian origin occurred to me; but I dismissed it for the very good reason that any Norse stone I had ever heard of bore a runic inscription. It would not be impossible for a Norse visitor to carve a head, but it would have been next thing to impossible for him to have left out the letters that would tell his story to those who came after. I do not believe it is of Indian origin, for an Indian with the top of his head shaved and with long hair at the back cut off so squarely is quite out of the range of my imagination. The Egyptian look of the eye and ear, caused by want of perspective, is not of much significance. It merely shows lack of skill in drawing, not convention, in my opinion.

Mr. Thomas A. Sullivan, long resident at Bonney River, near St. George, an observant lumberman and sporting man, has told me that he saw the stone in a boat at St. George when it was first brought there from Utopia by Colonel Wetmore, Mr. Ward, and Sebattis an Indian on their return from a sporting expedition; that it had been found by them at the Lake; and that it had moss upon it, and there was no question raised as to its genuineness. Curiously enough, the same account of the discovery by Colonel Wetmore, Mr. Ward, and the Indian when on a hunting expedition, was given me independently by Mr. Ward's brother, the late Clarence Ward. A memory statement of this kind can have no validity in comparison with the contemporary records which make Laney the finder, but like all traditions it probably has a basis, which I take to be presumably this, that Colonel Wermore's party, when returning from a hunting trip to the Lake, stopped at Laney's house near the Canal, obtained the stone from him, and brought it with them to St. George.

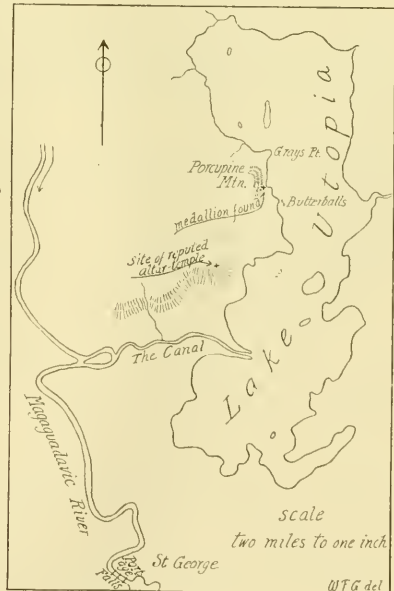
The best traditional information was given me by Mr. Martin McGowan, Police Magistrate of St. George. He told me that he was once a neighbour of Laney, who lived on the north side of the Canal; that Laney found the stone at Lake Utopia; that he had it for some time around the house before he discovered the head upon it; that he told Colonel Wetmore about it and was asked to bring it in, and Colonel Wetmore gave him \$5.00 for it; that when Colonel

Wetmore bought it "everybody was going to see it"; and that Colonel Wetmore gave it to Sheriff Harding. Mr. McGowan said there was no question as to its genuineness; Laney was a stone mason, not a stone cutter, and was a shiftless character incapable of working any fraudulent scheme of this kind. He added that the Indians said it was work of the French.

Captain Jesse Milliken, of St. George, recognised locally as having an unsurpassed knowledge of Lake Utopia and its recent history, told me in 1915 that he remembered very clearly the discovery of the stone. It was found by Laney, a stone mason, when seeking good foundation material for a building, for it was customary hereabouts to hunt up pieces naturally jointed with good faces for bedding, and the place where the Laney stone was found offers good fragments of this sort. Laney took it home and kept it before his door for some time, but his wife objecting to its presence because it scowled at her, he sold it to Mr. Wetmore, Collector at St. George, for \$2.00. Mr. Wetmore later made search of the place for other relics, and even, with others, attempted to dig on a spot close by, pointed out to him by an Indian as the grave of a chief at the head of which the stone had been set.

In the course of our talks, Captain Milliken remarked that he had himself an experience with the finding of the stone in this way, that soon after the discovery he went to the approximate place and there found a line spotted through the woods to the ledge against which it had rested, the moss being wanting where the stone had been, and its outline distinct. The sequel to this remark was inevitable, and I asked Captain Milliken to take me to the place, which he very willingly did. He led me without hesitation to the ledge, though he could not recall, naturally enough, the exact place where the stone had rested. Here follows a synopsis of my notes on this matter:

On the west side of the Lake, about half way from the Canal to its head, is



a little point off which lie the two smooth ledges called the Butterballs, and a little farther north is Gray's Point, a very choice camp ground. Between the two, but nearer the former, is a stony cove, from the extreme head whereof it is some 25 to 30 yards straight away from the Lake, through the woods, to a nearly vertical rough ledge, rising several times higher than a man, of red granite much jointed and breaking to many angular fragments. This ledge is a part of precipices which towards the right, rise abruptly, often vertical and sometimes overhanging, to the face of Porcupine Mountain, an abrupt prominent hill, nearly vertical towards the Lake. Turning to the left, the ledge becomes lower and smoother, and finally just before it merges to a wooded slope, is solid and vertical, and somewhere against this face the stone was resting when found. The place has been altered, however, a good deal, Captain Milliken says, by the falling of additional material from above, the ground being covered by a jumble of moss-covered angular masses of granite. The moss is not the slow-growing, or Lichen kind, but the much quicker-growing woods kind.

GENUINENESS

The foregoing accounts contain discrepancies, but no more than the defective observation, freakish memory, and feeble sense of evidence of most men render inevitable. These apart, the collective testimony seems conclusive that the medallion is a genuine relic, actually discovered by Laney at Lake Utopia in 1863. This deduction from the records is confirmed by the time-worn aspect which the stone has presented from its discovery.

The alternative is of course a fraudulent fabrication, with a motive in practical joking, or profit. As the citations show, this view has been advanced, but only as a guess and never with evidence. On the other hand it is notable that not only have all those who possessed direct knowledge of the discovery of the stone seemed fully convinced of its genuineness, but no suspicion of fraud or mendacity of their part has remained in the minds of others; and this is no small argument in view of the critical attention given the stone, and the habit of men in small communities to constitute themselves vigilant keepers of their neighbours' reputations for veracity.

As to Laney as a possible practical joker, Mr. McGowan and Mr. Vroom agree that he had not the capacity, and was not of a character, to work such a scheme. As to the motive of profit, the smallness of the sum for which he sold the stone in comparison with the labour required to produce it, and likewise the circumstances of its transfer to Colonel Wetmore, seem to negative such an assumption. As I. Allen Jack said, anyone producing such an object, whether as a joke or for sale, could attain his object with a stone far easier to work than this obdurate granite. If the circumstance seems suspicious that Laney was a stone mason, it is to be recalled that his

kind of stone masonry was the building of walls, and not stone carving. If, further, the fact seems pertinent that St. George is a seat of a thriving industry in monumental granite and the home of many skilled carvers, sufficient answer is found in the fact that this industry did not originate until 1873, a decade after the stone was found. As to fraud by Colonel Wetmore, Mr. Ward, and Sheriff Harding, who were indeed jovial sportsmen, said to have been fond of practical joking, there seems on the one hand no question that they obtained the stone from Laney who found it, while, on the other there was never any trace of the denouement, and exposure at somebody's expense, which is an indispensable part of the working of a practical joke. Moreover these three men were leading citizens of their communities, and all of high character and ability; and however willing to play temporary jokes on one another or even their communities, they were not the kind who could plot to foist a fraud of this sort permanently on the public. As to the possibility of fabrication by someone unknown, and the "planting" of the stone where Laney found it, there seems no foothold in the records, or reason, for such an origin.

All told, accordingly, the genuineness of the stone as a relic of older times seems abundantly established.

ORIGIN

Its genuineness and antiquity accepted, we ask the origin of the stone, as to which we have no direct knowledge but only a choice of four possibilities,—that it is Indian, extinct race, Norse, or early French.

Indian. Found at a Lake known as a favourite Indian resort, the natural first impulse of those interested in the stone, all unversed in archaeology as they were, was to take it for Indian work, especially as confirmatory suggestion was apparently not wanting from the living Indians of the region. Yet there seems not the least possibility of such an origin. No Indian work approaching it in difficulty, elaboration, or character has ever been found in this part of America, and the gap between this stone and the most elaborate known product of aboriginal workmanship by our Indians is so great as to signify not degree but kind. No relation can be adduced between this stone and the pipes and other objects which our present Indians carve, for these are cut by steel knives from soft stone, and the decoration consists of familiar animals or patterns. To shape and carve so hard a stone as this granite medallion with flint tools, the

only ones our aboriginal tribes possessed, and especially to polish the curved slope to the profile, would have been difficult to the point of impossibility, and time-consuming beyond all bounds of aboriginal patience. Further, an Indian would have carved a type familiar to him, but there is nothing in this profile in the least suggestive of Indian features, which in the tribes of this region markedly approximate the Mongolian rather than the Roman type, while the treatment of the hair is as remote as possible from the styles which all early records indicate as prevalent in these parts. Indian affirmations of manufacture by their ancestors can hardly have weight against the testimony of the stone itself, and are neutralized by statements of other Indians, who, according to Mr. McGowan, said the medallion was made by the French. The claim that it stood at the grave of a chief, may however, have some basis, as will soon appear.

Extinct Race. This suggestion, already mentioned, is adduced by no less an authority than W. J. [Sir William] Dawson, the geologist and archæologist, in explanation of certain "carved stones . . . found in New Brunswick . . . unlike anything executed by the more modern tribes". The plural is evidently intended to cover the medallion, though it is not mentioned, and a conglomerate boulder, crudely carved at one end with a human head, which he describes and pictures (*Acadian Geology*, second edition, 1868, 43-45). This stone, found beside the Kennebecasis River, was, however, later examined critically by G. F. Matthew, also a geologist and archaeologist, whose picture shows a less finished product than Dawson's, and whose description states that "The artist has apparently seized upon a rude semblance of the human face presented (by natural protuberances) and worked out the finer lineaments to correspond," while further details throw doubt upon the complete genuineness of the relic (*Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1881*, page 672). This stone, formerly in the Museum of the Mechanics Institute at St. John, has disappeared and its fate is unknown. In any case, the descriptions show a work in every way so inferior to the Utopia medallion as not only to place it in a different class, but to bring it within the possibility of fabrication by unskilled workers with the simplest tools. On no better basis than a guess inspired by our ignorance of the real origin of these two stones rests the whole case for an extinct race; and in truth it is not much.

Norse. This origin is also a guess, without supporting evidence. No other traces attributable to Norsemen have been found in this region, the nearest being the very doubtful rune-like markings found on two stones near Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, one of which has been

described by Sir Daniel Wilson in these *Transactions* (VIII, 1890, ii, 118, and Plate I; compare also *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XVII, 1913, 51-56). I agree with Mr. Vroom, already cited, that a Norse visitor could have carved the head, but would not have omitted to add the runes to tell its story. In this connection the fact is significant that W. H. Babcock, in his elaborate studies of the Norse Voyages to America (*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, LIX, 1913, pp. 1-213), wherein he concludes that Passamaquoddy was one of their principal localities, and to whom, therefore, any evidence of their presence there would be especially welcome, has only this to say of the Utopia stone after his consideration of it (p. 52), in light of I. Allen Jack's paper:—

He believed it to be Indian; but Mr. McIntosh [Curator of the Museum of the Natural History Society at St. John] thinks not. It seems to be something of a mystery, although no one has ascribed it to the Norsemen.

French. Brought to this category primarily by a process of exclusion, we are happily not without evidence, albeit but circumstantial, in its support.

The very marked weathering of the stone subsequent to its cutting would lead us to seek the possible French carver at the earliest possible date. This points to the French colony which spent the winter of 1604-5 on St. Croix Island, now called Dochet Island, which lies 17 miles in a straight line, or 25 miles by the water route, from the place where the stone was found. The history of this colony, which was led by DeMonts and Champlain, is given fully in a Monograph in these *Transactions* (VIII, 1902, ii, 127-231; XII, 1906, ii, 103-6). It was a carefully organized and well equipped expedition of some 75 persons, including noblemen, soldiers, sailors, and various kinds of skilled workmen. They spent a dreary winter in enforced idleness on the Island, enduring such hardships that half of them died; and in the spring the remainder removed to Port Royal (Annapolis), and re-established the settlement, which persisted until 1607 when it was taken back to France and the country temporarily abandoned.

The thought is natural that the stone may have been carved by some member of that colony in the tedium of the winter on the Island. Seeking some test of this possibility, it suddenly occurred to me that although the medallion is composed of stone very like that of the ledge against which it is said to have rested when found, this same band of granite extends across country to Dochet Island, of which it makes up some part, in the same jointed condition as at Utopia. Happening to have in my possession a piece of the Island

granite (collected for another purpose), and likewise a piece of the Utopia ledge (secured for comparison with the medallion), and knowing that a formation rarely remains entirely uniform for so great a distance, I thought that an expert comparison of the aforementioned two specimens with the medallion stone might settle whether or not the latter was obtained on the Island or at the Lake. I was able to secure a fragment of the medallion from a partly loose flake on the back, and I sent all three specimens to the Directing Geologist, Mr. (now Dr.) William McInnes, of the Geological Survey of Canada, with a statement of the interest of the problem, and a request for an opinion on the relationship of the specimens from the experts of the Survey. Under date October 30, 1915, Dr. McInnes, to whom I am greatly indebted for this understanding aid, reported as follows:

In reference to the specimens: 1M, from the back of a stone medallion; 2U, from a ledge at Lake Utopia, and 3D, from Dochet Island; submitted for an opinion regarding the identity of 1M with either of the other two; there are no sufficiently marked differences observable in these specimens to allow their being separated with any certainty.

We have had thin sections made from the specimens and I am glad to be able to send you a memorandum by Dr. W. H. Collins in reference to them.

"Memorandum in reference to thin sections of granites from specimens submitted by Dr. W. F. Ganong, by W. H. Collins.

Thin sections marked 1M, 2U, and 3D.

All three are biotite granites much alike in composition and might easily belong to the same mass.

Section 2U is somewhat fresher than the others and contains notably more biotite and titaniferous magnetite. If a distinction is to be made, I should say that 1M and 3D are probably the same, and different from 2U."

Thus it develops that the medallion granite is nearly if not quite identical with that of both Utopia and Dochet, with a balance in favour of Dochet. This unimpeachable testimony, accordingly, is wholly favourable to the possibility that the original stone slab was obtained on the Island, which fact fits naturally with the supposition that it was carved there. Incidentally, this identity of the medallion granite with that of the Utopia-Dochet belt practically settles any question that the medallion is local work, and not brought from a distance.

The question is now natural whether the St. Croix colony is known to have included any persons of sufficient skill, provided with adequate tools, to carve the stone. This would be probable from the character of the expedition, but is also attested by direct evidence, for Lescarbot, who knew the colony intimately, states

that it "had numerous joiners, carpenters, masons (*massons*), stone-cutters (*tailleurs de pierres*), locksmiths," etc., (*Champlain Society's Edition*, II, 318). That these stone-cutters exercised their art not upon buildings alone is shown by a statement of Father Biard, a priest at Port Royal in 1612-3, who writes in his Relation of 1616 (Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, IV, 45) that Argal in his expedition against Acadia that year,—

destroyed, everywhere, all monuments and evidences of the dominion of the French; and this they did not forget to do here, even to making use of pick and chisel upon a large and massive stone, on which were cut the names of *Sieur de Monts* and other Captains, with the *fleurs-de-lys*.

Again, Haliburton, in his well-known work on Nova Scotia of 1829 (II, 156), describes a stone, found at Port Royal, and known to have been at the time in his possession, as follows:—

In the year 1827 the stone was discovered on which they [the French] had engraved the date of their first cultivation of the soil, in memorial of their formal possession of the country. It is about two feet and a half long, and two feet broad, and of the same kind as that which forms the substratum of Granville Mountain. On the upper part are engraved the square and compass of the Free Mason, and in the center, in large and deep Arabic figures, the date 1606. It does not appear to have been dressed by a Mason, but the inscription has been cut on its natural surface. The stone itself has yielded to the power of the climate, and both the external front and the interior parts of the letters have alike suffered from exposure to the weather; the seams on the back part of it have opened, and from their capacity to hold water, and the operation of frost upon it when thus confined, it is probable in a few years it would have crumbled to pieces. The date is distinctly visible, and although the figure 0 is worn down to one half its original depth, and the upper part of the latter 6 nearly as much, yet no part of them is obliterated—they are plainly discernable to the eye, and easily traced by the finger.

This stone was found by the geologist Jackson, whose account of its discovery is extant and has been published, along with a half-tone cut, from a photograph, of stone and inscription, (Stillson, *History of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons*, 1892, 440; and especially the monographic study by R. V. Harris in *Trans. N. S. Lodge of Research*, I, 1916, 29-39). The stone, which is now embedded and lost in the walls of the building of the Royal Canadian Institute at Toronto, was described by Jackson as a "flat slab of trap rock common in the vicinity."

It is thus manifest that the St. Croix—Port Royal colony of 1604-7 did include someone competent to engrave emblems and figures in stone. Incidentally, there is suggestive resemblance between the stone of 1606 and the Utopia medallion in their size, marked weathering, and engraving upon a natural surface of a flat slab of rock from the immediate vicinity.

It thus appears that the material of the medallion is indigenous to St. Croix Island, on which in the winter of 1604-5 were French colonists competent to carve it. Is any motive for its production evident? Some light on this matter is thrown from another, and the following, source. In 1916 I submitted the photograph accompanying this paper to two of my expert colleagues on the faculty of Smith College, Professor A. V. Churchill, a specialist in the history of Art and Professor S. N. Deane, a specialist in Greek Archaeology, requesting them to give me an opinion upon the status as an art work, and possible origin, of the medallion, and leaving their judgment uninfluenced by any suggestions or theories of my own. Their report, noted at the time, was in substance as follows:—

Nothing in the photograph suggests the influence of any particular style of art, except that everything about it seems European. There is in fact no particular art about it. Professor Churchill said it seemed to him like the work of some person of abundant leisure with desire to do art work but no knowledge of the method or the technique. It is just the kind of work that children do, or amateurs untrained in representation of such effects,—this shows in the representation of the eye, ear, and mouth. The maker seemed to have some idea or familiar models in mind which he had seen and tried to follow.

This mention of the carving of the stone as a work of abundant leisure recalls the fact that the St. Croix colonists passed on the Island a dreary winter of enforced inactivity, which in turn suggests the idea that the medallion was probably carved primarily as a congenial means of passing the too abundant time by some person competent in stone cutting and imbued with an impulse, unsupported by training, towards art work. Herein we have, I believe, a wholly reasonable motive and setting for the production of the medallion. It is consistent with this idea that the finding on the Island of a natural smooth-faced granite slab would have given the suggestion to utilize the inviting surface for such a purpose.

This origin for the medallion implies a meaning for the head, which, as it bears no resemblance to any of the conventional religious portraits, and shows no trace of insignia of royalty, would seem most naturally to signify a complimentary representation of someone prominent in connection with the expedition. This would presumably be De Monts, official leader, but might be Champlain, nearly as prominent, both of whom spent the winter on the Island. The style of the hair comes perhaps as near as permitted by the exigencies of the carving to the long locks worn by fashionable men of that time. It is possible indeed that there were two of the medallions, for the two leaders, in which case the other may yet be found. The thought that it was meant for someone in the all too well filled burial

ground of the Island seems opposed by its shape and the absence of the conventional symbols for memorial stones.

As to how and why the stone, if thus produced, reached Lake Utopia, we can well believe that it was taken there in later, perhaps comparatively recent times, by the Indians, to be used, in imitation of the custom of their white neighbours, as the headstone at the grave of a chief,—their statements to this effect being thus explained. If one thinks the French carver may have made it for this purpose, as a present to the Indians or his own tribute to a friendly chief, it is to be recalled that in such case he would have carved the head of an Indian, which this absurdly is not. There is, however, another possible reason for its presence at Utopia, more consistent with the fact that the place where it was found, amid rocky debris, seems an unlikely situation for a grave,—viz., the place is close to the abrupt cliffs rising into the prominent Porcupine Mountain, a somewhat uncanny repellent and dangerous-looking place, unlike any other around the Lake. It was at such places of uncanny suggestion that the Indians were accustomed to leave votive offerings, as abundant references in our early literature attest. It is therefore possible that this stone, so unlike anything familiar to the Indians, and therefore presumably in their view an especially potent “big medicine,” was brought here from the Island, where they found it, as a votive or propitiatory offering to the spirits of this place. Its position, leaning, when found, against the ledge, supports this assumption. Its transportation offers no difficulty, for the canoe route from Island to Lake is all deep still water, except for a short portage at St. George.

Finally, one may well ask how so hard a stone, carved only a little over two and a half centuries before it was found in 1863, could have become weathered so greatly in the interval. This might well occur through exposure to the waves of the sea for a century or two before its removal from the Island. As shown in the afore-cited Monograph, much of the soil of the Island has been washed away since Champlain mapped the place in 1604-5, thus providing a way whereby the stone could have dropped from the upland to the exposed beach. In this connection one cannot but recall the statement of Jackson that the stone of 1606, likewise much weathered, was found “partly covered with sand and lying on the shore.” It would seem reasonable that the stone may have been placed over the doorway of one of the larger buildings,—its thinness, oval form, and general character being conformable more to that than any other obvious use. The records show that only a part of the buildings on the Island were removed to Port Royal, the remainder being burnt

by some rioting sailors a few years later. It is possible that the stone, deemed too heavy to be worth transport in the deeply-laden pinnaces, was left on a building later burnt, in which case the flaking of the back, already mentioned as suggesting the action of fire, would be explained. A later fall to the beach in the disintegration of the bank, with a long exposure to the waves, would complete a reasonable outline for the stone's experiences.

SUMMARY

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing considerations seems accordingly this:—

The Utopia Medallion is a genuine ancient relic, with an honest record. Although direct testimony as to its origin is wanting, many items of circumstantial evidence, all in harmony with contemporaneous probabilities, unite to indicate for it a continuous history consistent with its various peculiarities. This leads back to the French colony on St. Croix Island in 1604-5, where it was probably carved, from a natural slab occurring on the Island, by some member of the expedition who, a competent stone cutter but indifferent artist, made the work an occupation for the too-abundant leisure of a trying winter. In this case the head is probably an attempt at a portrait, possibly of De Monts or Champlain.

ACCESSORY MATTERS

For the completion of our subject, it is necessary to notice two other matters associated with the medallion,—a reputed altar-temple near by, and a recent fraudulent head suggested by the medallion.

Reputed altar-temple. In local writings occur references, usually or always in association with mention of the medallion, to a stone altar or temple said to have formerly existed on the granite hills near the Canal, not far from where the medallion was found. The following, from that excellent guide-book, Osgood's *Maritime Provinces* (2nd edition, 1880, 32) is typical:—

Lake Utopia. On a bluff over this lake the earliest pioneers found the remains of an ancient and mysterious temple, all traces of which have now passed away. Here also was found a slab of red granite, bearing a large bas-relief of a human head,

Mr. I Allen Jack, in his article afore-cited on the medallion, (p. 670) says:—

Upon one occasion, while in conversation with an old resident of St. George, he gave me an account of a somewhat singular monument which, many years before this period, stood on the summit of a hill near the canal, and about one-half mile distant from the place where the carved stone was found. It consisted of a large oval or rounded stone, weighing as my informant roughly estimates, seventy-five hundredweight, lying on three vertical stone columns, from ten inches to one foot in height, and firmly sunk in the ground. My informant stated that the boys and other visitors were in the habit of throwing stones at the columns, and that eventually the monument was tumbled over, by the combined effort of a number of ship carpenters, and fell crashing into the valley.

It is interesting to trace the matter backwards. In 1878, Mr. C. C. Ward, in an article in *Scribner's Monthly* already mentioned, says, along with his mention of the medallion:—

On one of the mountains on Lake Utopia there was at one time, a curious structure resembling an altar, and built with large slabs of granite. Recently some vandals, in order to gratify an idiotic whim, tumbled the largest block down the hill-side, and into the lake.

In 1873 Dr. Leith Adams, with his account of the medallion in his *Field and Forest Rambles*, already cited, adds:—

I spent several days in the locality searching for further relics, and more especially the remains of a temple building said to have existed at one time on a bluff overlooking the lake, of which, however, not a trace was observable.

In the same year E. J. Russell, in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, (VII, 1873, 216) gave an excellent account of the red granite mountains near St. George, whose value was then first achieving recognition. He does not mention temple or altar (nor does he in his article on the Lake in the preceding volume in which he describes the medallion), but in speaking of the cliffs near which the temple-altar is said to have existed, he says:—

Some enormous masses in some parts have detached themselves from the face of the mountain, and lay all ready for shipment, fitted to form the base of a sarcophagus for a President of the United States or a Prime Minister of the Dominion. One piece, which is called "Cleopatra's Needle" contains not less than one hundred tons of stone without a flaw, and rests at an angle of about 45 deg. against the solid sides of its grandfather.

In an accompanying woodcut, he shows this great and very regular columnar rock in its leaning position, presenting indeed, an aspect as though it had been toppled over from the cliff.

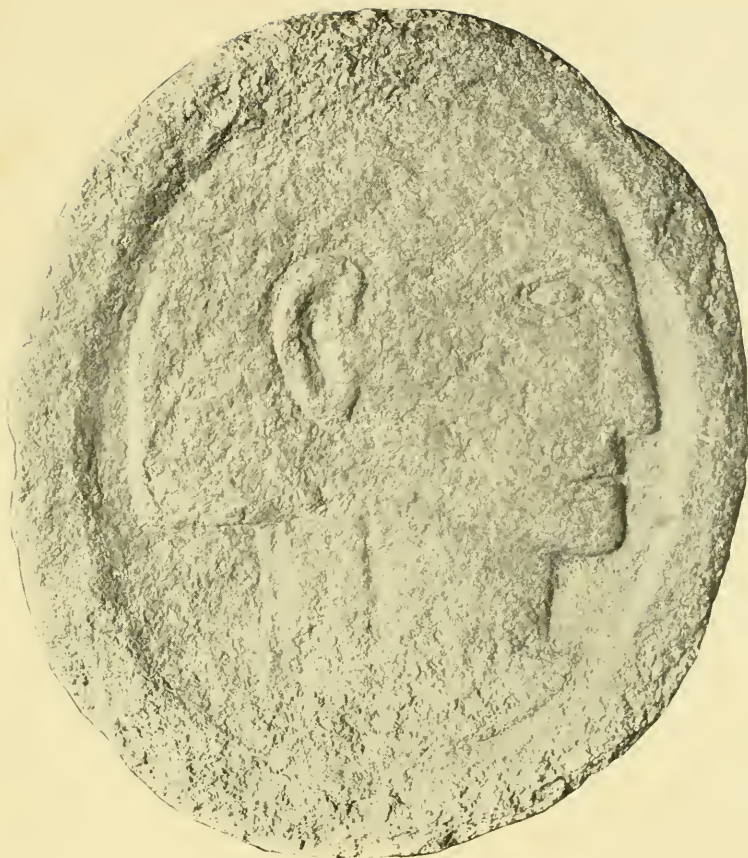
Back of 1873 I have not been able to trace any mention of the temple-altar, and it is significant that C. C. Ward, in his excellent account of the finding of the medallion, and his mention of other interesting relics of that region (in the *London Illustrated News* of 1864 already cited), does not refer to it. Mr. Vroom, whose interest

and critical judgment in such matters I have already mentioned, heard stories of it "twenty or thirty years" before 1892, but has no belief in its existence. So interesting and striking an object could hardly have failed to attract the notice and investigation of Mr. Ward and Colonel Wetmore at the time they were so interested in the finding of the medallion had the report then been current with any plausible foundation. Thus a fact basis for belief in such a structure is wanting, and it is wholly probable that the story originated simply in speculations centering around the existence of such regularly jointed columns and slabs as occur so frequently in that vicinity, and of which the Cleopatra's Needle of Mr. Russell's description and picture was one example.

Fraudulent Head. In the *St. John Daily Telegraph* of July 5, 1913 (and later, I am told, in *Gun and Rod in Canada*), appeared an account, illustrated with a photograph, of a stone head, roughly carved in the round, said to have been recently discovered at Lake Utopia only a few hundred feet from the place where the medallion had been found. Naturally much interested, I suggested to Mr. Vroom that he go to St. George and investigate the find, but being much occupied, he wrote instead to Captain Charles Johnson, of St. George, a leading citizen and interested observer of all local matters, and manager of one of the granite companies at that place. Mr. Vroom sent me his reply, of which the substance follows:—

The head is a fraud. Some apprentice boys cut it about twenty years ago. It has been in the camp for years to prop the door back. Last year an enterprising newspaper man was looking for notes, so some of the boys dumped it into the lake, and *found* it, and stuffed him. I must admit I helped the thing along. . . . Fooling a newspaper man and an old friend like you are entirely two different things, so I hasten to set it straight.

The critical reader's first thought may be that the incident of this false head throws doubt on the genuineness of the medallion. I predict, however, that further consideration of the entire matter in light of the laws of logic and evidence will lead to the other conclusion.



THE UTOPIA MEDALLION
One-fifth the true length and breadth

(Photograph from original)