

The Forts of Chignecto

Public Archives of Nova Scotia
HALIFAX, N. S.

Webster



ROLAND MICHEL BARRIN
COMTE DE LA GALISSONNIÈRE
Administrator of Canada, 1747-1749

(From a rare colored engraving in the author's collection)

THE FORTS OF CHIGNECTO

A STUDY
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONFLICT BETWEEN
FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN
IN ACADIA

BY
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OF THIS EDITION OF
THE FORTS OF CHIGNECTO

by

DR. J. CLARENCE WEBSTER

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been printed.

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SHEDIAC, N. B.

TO MY FRIENDS
DR. W. F. GANONG
AND
M. PLACIDE GAUDET

Public Archives of Nova Scotia
HALIFAX, N. S.

PREFACE

The country of Chignecto is one of the most favored parts of Canada. Its central ridge which extends from the Bay of Fundy to the Gulf of St. Lawrence is covered with a rich upland soil which slopes down to the vast stretches of marsh lands which flank its sides, lands formed of the great deposits of silt washed up by the swift running tidal waters of the bay, and unsurpassed for fertility anywhere in the world. No more splendid panoramic view exists than that which is seen from the old fort which crowns the ridge near its southern end. On the east are great marshes intersected by the ridge of Fort Lawrence and various rivers, while beyond, the horizon is bounded by the uplands and hills of Cumberland. On the west extends the wide plain of Tantramar, streaked with tortuous river courses, and dotted with innumerable hay barns, and farther away, the rich upland country of Westcock and Sackville. To the south is Cumberland Basin, beyond which lie the Elysian Fields of Minudie, and the great bay of which it is but a diverticulum.

As the stranger views this scene on a quiet summer day, he is not likely to associate with it stirring and momentous events. Yet no area of its size anywhere in America has a greater or more varied wealth of historic memories and traditions.

This book is an endeavour to give a short survey of the important and stirring events of the past, of which the old Forts of Chignecto will ever be a reminder. Through the magical exercise of the imagination we may see the drama of destiny unfold before us, from the first venture of the French pioneers at Beaubassin, to the rich developments of the nineteenth century under the protection afforded by a great and powerful Empire. A long procession passes before us of sturdy peasants driving back the waters of the bay, of hunters, traders, adventurers on sea and land, soldiers, Indian warriors, missionaries and Governors. During the long years in which they played their roles our interest will be chiefly concentrated on the epochal period of the mid-eighteenth century in which two rival contending nations sought in the clash of arms to decide the destiny of Acadia. This conflict, unfortunately, did not involve only professional soldiers. The real sufferers were the Acadian peasantry, that sturdy race whose only ambition was to be left in peace to till the soil, and whose passionate love of their homes and their families was their greatest virtue.

Bullied by ambitious French Governors in Quebec and terrorised by intriguing political agents, on the one hand, and harshly treated by equally ambitious and domineering English Governors on the other, their unhappy fate

is one of the great tragedies of history. In the actual struggle, both nations at times departed from the standard which an advanced civilization demanded, when they employed the methods of the savages with whom they were brought in contact. These unhappy times are long past and mostly forgotten. The old antagonisms have disappeared, and both races rejoice in the heritage which they now enjoy. Acadia is once more a happy land where French and English live together in peace, with a common loyalty to our great Dominion.

The collection of the data on which this book is based has occupied several years, and has involved a study of original documents, *e. g.*, military and civil reports and letters, journals of officers and officials, letters of missionaries, early maps and sketches. These researches have been carried on in Canada and the United States, London and Paris. The great majority of the illustrations have never been published before, and form part of my Canadian collection. The Journal of the Expedition of 1755 written by the Hon. Robert Monckton is printed in full for the first time in the appendix. This interesting document has only been discovered during the last few months by Mr. Stanley Pargellis of Yale University while working in the Royal Library of Windsor Castle. Through the courtesy of Dr. Biggar, Canadian Archivist in London I have obtained a copy, and by the gracious permission of His Majesty the King I am enabled to publish it.

I desire to express my deep obligations to those who have assisted me, *viz.*, the staff of the Public Archives in Ottawa, London and Paris, the executive officials of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, M. Placide Gaudet and Dr. W. F. Ganong.

J. C. WEBSTER.

SHEDIAC, N. B., CANADA,
August 1, 1930.

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THE FORTS OF CHIGNECTO

TOPOGRAPHY OF CHIGNECTO

The name *Chignecto* is of Micmac origin meaning a *foot cloth*, according to Rand, and refers to some legend which is unknown, but there is reason to believe that the legend, as is so often the case, has arisen as a popular explanation of the name, which really means "the great marsh district" (Ganong). It was at first applied to the country at the head of Beaubassin (now Cumberland) Bay. Finally it has come to be used for the Isthmus between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. There are variations in the spelling. In Biard's Relation of 1611 it was *Chinictou*. In La Vallière's Seigniorly Concession it was *Chignitou*. In a document of Le Loutre, *Cheguenicktouk*. Other forms are found in English records, e. g., *Signecto*, *Seconnectau*, etc.

At the present day the aspect presented by the Isthmus of Chignecto is very different from what it was in the days of French occupation, due to changes brought about by industry and agriculture and all the accompaniments of modern civilization. These may be summed up mainly as follows: Disappearance of large areas of forest, reclamation of great tracts of marsh lands from their original condition of bog and ponds, shrinkage or disappearance of lakes, marked increase in farms and villages, alterations in the courses of rivers and streams. A fair idea of these changes may be obtained from reports of officials, priests and others, and from maps made at various periods.

The first settler in Chignecto was Jacques Bourgeois, a surgeon of Port Royal, who moved to the isthmus soon after 1671, engaging in farming and trade with the Indians. Later others joined him. Their houses were on a low ridge not far from the bay, near and on the east side of the mouth of the river now known as the Missaguash, and the settlement soon became known as Beaubassin. In 1676 M. Le Neuf de la Vallière obtained a grant of a seigniorly of Beaubassin which comprised a large tract including the entire Isthmus of Chignecto in what now forms the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland. He made his headquarters on the island long known by his name, in the marsh between Beauséjour and Beaubassin, and carried on extensive operations in trade and agriculture, and in building dykes to reclaim some of the marshland on his property. However, after some years he returned to Canada and his seigniorly lapsed.

In 1685 M. de Meulles, Intendant of Canada, visited the country and made a report in 1686. Beaubassin then contained 22 families, of which 19 only resided there continually, numbering 129 men, women and children. The other three families spent part of their time at Port Royal. La Vallière had eight

children and a number of dependents. In the entire region there were 270 cattle, 118 sheep, 189 pigs and 516 arpents of cultivated land. De Meulles also had a map made which has been preserved and which indicates clearly the character of the district (Pl. I) before cultivation had altered it to any extent. The entire country was covered with forests except in the extensive areas bounding the tidal rivers which run into the Bay of Fundy. These were composed of firm silt marsh largely covered with water at the highest tides, above the limits of which were extensive fresh-water bogs interspersed with small lakes and ponds; the smaller streams emptying into the head of Baie Verte also presented this same appearance but to a much smaller extent. The ridges of forest-clad land, Beaubassin (now Fort Lawrence) and Beauséjour, stand out in great prominence on this map as fingers pointing to the basin, with broad marshy areas on each side. It is easy to understand why the first settlers should choose these ridges. They afforded the best building sites, the flat marshy lands being entirely unsuitable. Their isolation and elevation afforded increased safety, and extensive tracts of rich land were at hand ready to be reclaimed. Indeed the Beaubassin ridge was almost, if not actually, an island, for several miles above the bay, the boggy areas on each side met across it.

The De Meulles map shows houses on the basin ends of both ridges, the first settled being Beaubassin, and the second, occupied very soon afterwards, was later known as Pointe à Beauséjour or Pointe Beauséjour, named after one Laurent Chatillon, Sieur de Beauséjour, a settler who had come from the River Saint John. One of the houses marked on the eastern side of the ridge, some distance from the point, and standing by itself, is doubtless the farm of Manuel Mirande, a Portugese from the Azores, who married a daughter of Jacques Bourgeois, and moved to this elevated part of the ridge known afterwards as Butte à Mirande (now Mount Whatley). There are also buildings on Ile de la Vallière, undoubtedly those forming the establishment of the Seigneur.

The names of the rivers on this map should be noted, since they must be the earliest designations. The Rivière Brouillée appears on later maps of the French as Tintamare, surviving as Tantramar. East of it is Rivière Chachacadie (also found in a later map in the French Archives, but spelled "Checchacadie," the Micmac form); on most of the later maps, it is called Rivière du Lac (modern Aulac) because at its head was a lake of some size (well shown in De Meulles' map).

On the east side of Beauséjour ridge is an important river in Chignecto from the historical point of view, that which to-day is known as the *Missaguash*. The first settlers named it *Rivière du Portage*, as noted by De Meulles, because at its upper end Baie Verte could be reached by a short portage (marked on De Meulles' map). This map has another interesting feature, viz., a site designated for a canal which he suggested, from the head of Portage River to one opening into the head of Baie Verte (the modern Bay Verte Creek). This is the earliest suggestion for a Chignecto canal on record.

Later, the Rivière du Portage was sometimes named the *Ste. Marguerite*, but most frequently *Meragoueche*. Ganong points out that this is clearly a clerical error, and that the word should be *Mesagoueche*, which is the Micmac



EARLY MAP OF CHIGNECTO

By M. de Meulles, Intendant of Canada, in 1686. He visited Chignecto (termed by him Chignitou in 1685). This was probably the first detailed map of the Isthmus.

From a photograph of the original in Paris.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ile de la Vallière with the house of the seignior. | 6. Rivière Oumecan (Macan). Evidently applied to what is now merely a branch of the Macan. | on a plan. It runs between the head-waters of the Miseguash and a branch of the Baie Verte river. |
| 2. Rivière du Portage (Missaguash). | 7. Rivière des Mines (Hébert) | 10. Chimougouiche (now Shemogue). |
| 3. Rivière au Gasparot (Gaspereau). | 8. Chemin du Portage. | 11. Chimougouichiche (now Little Shemogue). |
| 4. Rivière Ste. Croix (now La Planche). | 9. Canal à faire. This is the first definite suggestion for a canal on the isthmus, actually placed | 12. Pointe Ste. Croix. The shore end of Beaubassin ridge. |
| 5. Rivière de bonne chasse. (This river, with its two main branches became later the Macan. | | |

The words indistinct in this cut read in the original as follows:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Maison de Sr. l'avalier seigr. de | 3. R. au Gasparot. | 6. R. oumecan. | 9. Canal a faire. |
| Beaubassin. | 4. R. Ste. Croix. | 7. R. des Mines. | 10. Chimougoüiche. |
| 2. R. du portage. | 5. R. de bonne chasse. | 8. Chemin du portage. | 11. Chimougoüichiche. |
| | | | 12. pointe Ste. Croix. |

Ce plan a été envoyé par M. de Meules intt. de Canada en 1686.

Echelle de deux lieües.	Nommé depuis par les Francois.	I. aux Meulles.	R. au Gasparot.	Chacchacadie.
Menoudy.	Cap. Tourmantin.	R. Brouillée.	cap. des Maringouins.	R. Tramcoüine.

original. There was no trace of an "r" sound in this language, the European "r" being always rendered by "l." Other variations are *Missaguash* and *Missaguash*.

East of Beaubassin ridge is a river designated by De Meulles as *Sainte Croix*. This name is to be associated with that given to the lower end of the Beaubassin ridge, viz., *Pointe Ste Croix*, a pious act of the first settlers. Curiously, this name was not long retained. In later maps its Micmac name is found, viz., *Machecoudegaine* (also, *Maskoudaigaine*, *Mascoudagaine*); this again was displaced by the French *La Planche*, the modern name. The Gaspereau River at Baie Verte is marked *R. au Gasparot* (from the old name for the well-known fish); in later maps, sometimes *Gasparo*, *Gaspereau*, or *R. des Gaspereaux*.

This map undoubtedly represents the physical characteristics of the country well into the eighteenth century, for though settlers increased in number, they preferred to dyke and reclaim marshlands rather than to develop farms out of forest land. Trees were cut only to obtain building material and firewood. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were other settlements in various parts of Chignecto and they had extended to the Memramcook and Petitcodiac Rivers.

The Chignecto villages were the following:

Beaubassin.—While this name was used at first to apply to the region in which the settlers first landed (and to La Vallière's extensive seignior) it gradually became restricted to the small area on the ridge occupied by the settlement. After the burning of the latter (see p. 31) in 1750, the British built a fort on the site, which was named after Major Charles Lawrence, the first Commandant who later became Governor of Nova Scotia. By the French for some time afterwards, it was often named *Mesagouèche*.

Beauséjour.—The origin of this name has already been given. At first the ridge had no distinctive designation, being merely a part of the region of Beaubassin. In the earliest days of settlement it had more houses than the latter, as is indicated on De Meulles' map of 1686. (Pl. I). Later, the Beaubassin ridge greatly outstripped it in population. Yet in 1755, as is shown by Hamilton's sketches (Pl. XV), there was quite a collection of houses near Fort Beauséjour. There were also others between the fort and Pont à Buot and on the west side of the ridge extending towards the north.

Veskak (*Oueskoc*, *Vehekak*, and other spellings; modern *Westcock*).—It was situated near a creek on the west shore of Beaubassin Bay, south of the mouth of the Tintamare River. (The present day village is on higher land). The deep water of the bay was near this shore and was a favorite anchorage. From Veskak there was a portage up the brook now known as Frosty Hollow through the woods to Memramcook. It became an important outpost of Fort Beauséjour and a small force of soldiers under an officer was usually stationed there. The road from Beauséjour crossed the marsh, the River Du Lac and the Tintamare. On Jeffery's map of 1755, after a plan by a British officer (pl. IV), the crossing of the latter is marked *Ferry*. Undoubtedly both rivers were crossed in boats. As a number of dykes are marked on the marsh, in this map, the road was

probably passable at all states of the tide (in 1755). A short distance from Veskak, farther down the shore of the bay, was Veschekakchis or Veskakchis (Little Westcock). The name Oueskoc is Micmac and means a marsh-bordered creek. It was applied to other places.

Le Lac.—Situated at the head of the Rivière du Lac (now Aulac) above where it was crossed by the old French road from Baie Verte to Beauséjour. (The site of the crossing is now Rye's Corner.) The lake which was of considerable size in early French times has completely disappeared, because the building of an aboiteau below it caused it to be drained. Its bed is now a flat cultivated field.

Tintamare, Tantemar, Tantamar; modern Tantramar.—The name is popularly derived from the French word *Tintamarre*, meaning a racket or hubub, explained as first applied to the river and district because of the noise made by the myriad wild-fowl resorting there each spring and autumn. Ganong states, however, that there is reason for believing that the word was originally the Micmac name for the line of low hills (drumlins) extending along-shore from Sackville to the Four Corners.

The village was a straggling settlement with a church (having a missionary) situated above a ford in the river of the same name. The area corresponds to that now between Morice's millpond and the Four Corners, at the crossing of the main road to Sackville and the Jolicure Road. The church is believed to have stood on the site of the modern Beulah Chapel (now vanished) on the north east corner, the graveyard having been adjacent to it.

According to Placide Gaudet this name is derived from that of an old Acadian family which came from Port Royal to Chignecto in 1720. The head of the family, Maurice Vignau, had originally come from the Island of Orleans. His son, Jacques Vignau, better known as Jacques Maurice (also Morice), was living at Baie Verte in 1754. In 1755 he was deported to Georgia. He was the ancestor of the family of which Hon. P. A. Veniot is a member.

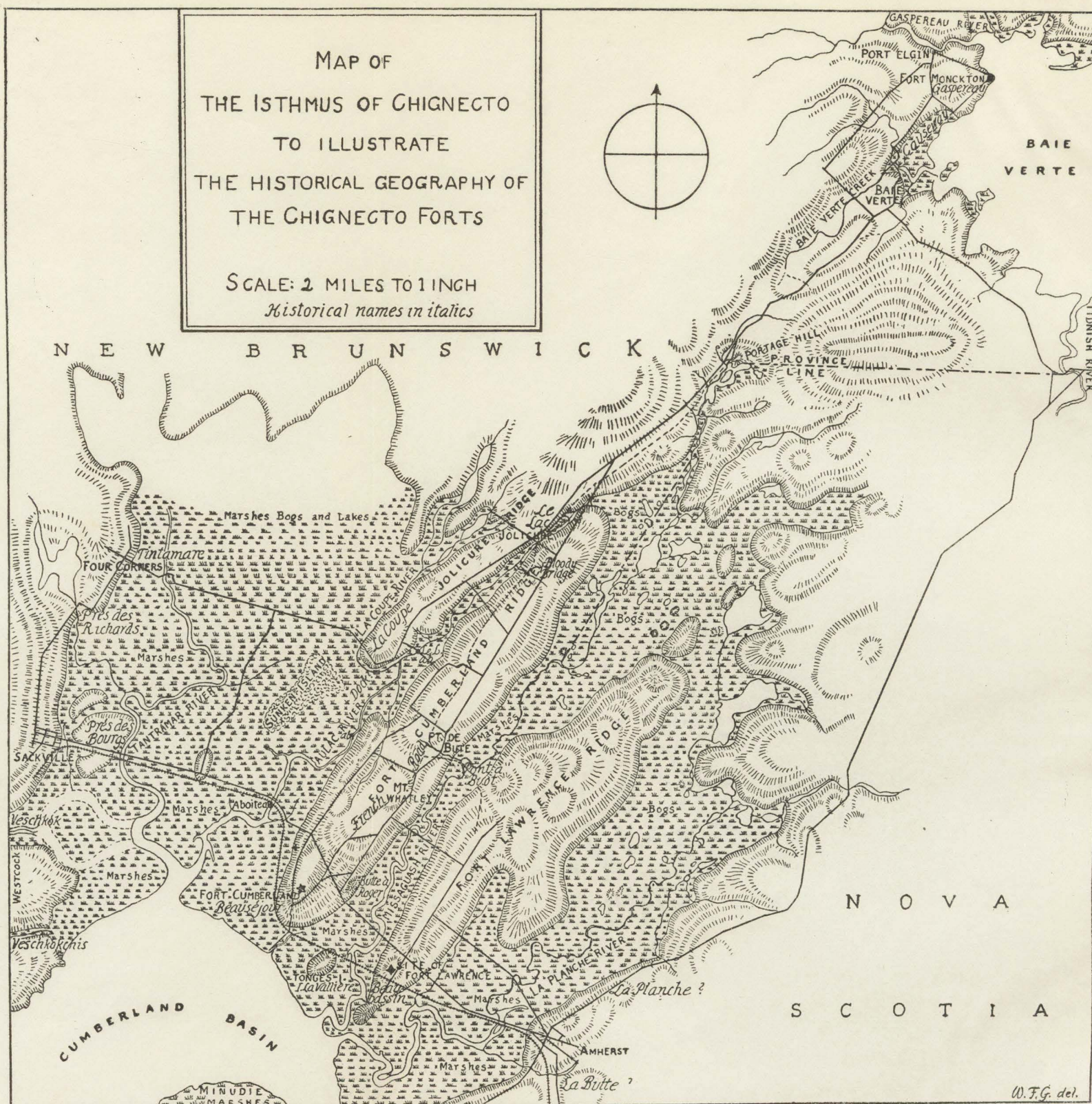
Jeffrey's map has the designation "Tantemar Villages," which would indicate a scattered community, and would include a small French settlement on the stream now known as Morice's Brook at Upper Sackville, designated *Près des Richards* (Richart on Montresor's map.)

Près des Bourques.—This village is named on several French maps. It stood on the upland, on which is the modern town of Sackville, at the site of the first modern Catholic Church. Sometimes it is spelled *Bourgs*.

La Coupe.—This village is rarely marked on French maps. I have one of 1751 on which it is found but not very accurately placed. It was about one and one-half miles southwest of the village du Lac. It was near the La Coupe River, which is a branch of the River du Lac, probably on the west side of the southern end of the Jolicure ridge. A number of cellars may still be seen on the site which now forms part of the farm of David Hewson, whose family have occupied it since about 1795.

MAP OF
THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO
TO ILLUSTRATE
THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF
THE CHIGNECTO FORTS

SCALE: 2 MILES TO 1 INCH
Historical names in italics

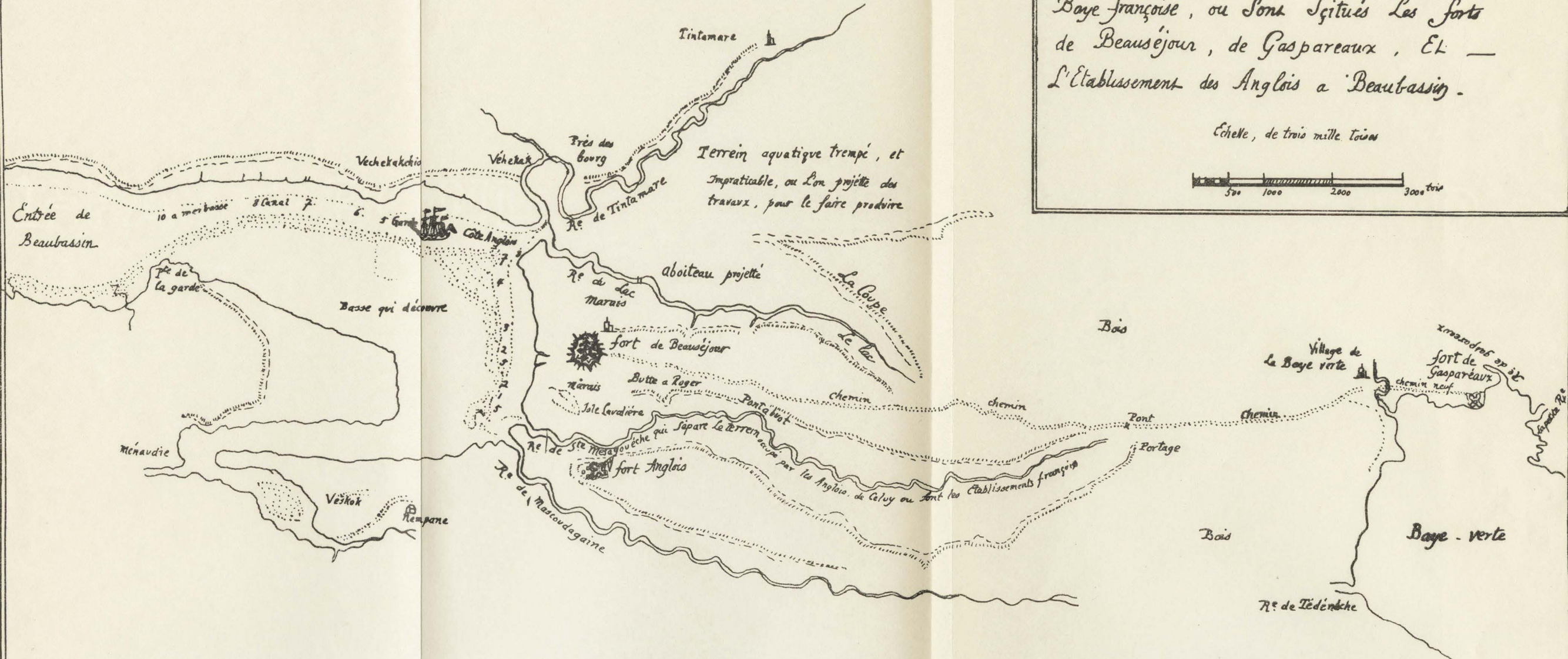
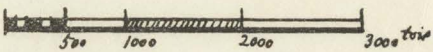


This map has been made especially for this work by Dr. W. F. Ganong. Several old designations, mentioned in the text, have been omitted, either from lack of space or because of uncertainty as to exact location, e. g., Butte à Mirande (now Mt. Whatley); Butte à Janet, near Pont à Buot; Butte à Charles, near Fort Beauséjour; Ruisseau à l'Ours at Pont à Buot.
+marks probable site of Blockhouse built by the British.

Plan

de L'Isthme d'entre La: Baye verte, et La Baye françoise, ou Sous Scitués Les forts de Beauséjour, de Gaspareaux, Et — L'Etablissement des Anglois a Beaubassin.

Echelle, de trois mille toises



Map No. 2 This anonymous and undated map is the best for the Isthmus of Chignecto that remains to us from the French period. Our copy is traced from a photostat of one in the Public Archives (Ser. G. Vol. 486-1), Acadie Recensements, 1671-1752, p. 303, itself a hand-drawn copy from the original in Paris. Its date may be fixed as latter part of 1750 or early part of 1751, by the fact that although Fort Lawrence had been built, its name was not yet known to the French. It is clearly the basis of the well-known Sartine map of the Isthmus of 1779, though the latter includes later information. The map is obviously a result of a survey, and drawn by no mean cartographer, as the use of hachures, the tracing of the Beaubassin channel, and its general high accuracy attest. The anomalous spelling Vehekak, which should (as its etymology demands and the homologous Vehekakchis shows) read Vehekak, is probably a slip of the Archives copyist, but the R. Ste. Mesagouche looks as if the original cartographer started to write Ste. Marguerite, but changed midway to the Indian name. (Ganong).

The name, *La Coupe*, according to M. Placide Gaudet, is derived from the French word meaning a cutting. This may refer to a curious work still clearly visible on this stream a short distance above its junction with the Aulac. Here a large excavation in bed and banks of the La Coupe is bounded above and below by large dams connected by dykes, all apparently so arranged that by means of gates in the dams the flow of water could be regulated and the basin closed and emptied. The entire work strongly suggests a dock for the repair of vessels, which could easily be brought from the Bay of Fundy on a rising tide by way of the Riviere du Lac, and which in this sheltered situation would be comparatively safe from storms or attack by other vessels.

M. Gaudet further states the interesting fact that where the La Coupe opened into the Riviere du Lac there was an enlargement forming a small lake called Petit Oniguin, the latter word being pure Micmac Indian for "portage."

Baye Verte.—This village is marked on many maps, and stood on the site of the modern village of the same name. When Franquet visited it in August, 1751, it contained a church and two royal storehouses for supplies and munitions. There was an officer with fifteen men to guard these. The Abbé Le Loutre had a storehouse for his own use.

La Butte and La Planche.—These villages were southeast of the La Planche River. On account of variations found in old maps, their sites cannot be accurately determined, though, according to Ganong, it was certain that the former was west of a small stream which emptied into the La Planche River (that which runs through the modern town of Amherst) whereas La Planche was on the northeast side of this stream, somewhere near the site of Amherst.

Butte du Portage.—Portage Hill is marked on various maps. Franquet describes it in his account of a visit to Acadia in 1751 and says that there were two houses and a royal storehouse (marked on his map) for the storage of goods brought over the portage from Baie Verte on their way to Beauséjour. The Indian portage started in a cove on the upper reach of the Missaguash River exactly where the east boundary line between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia starts. Not far from this point a bridge was built by the French across the river, marked on some early maps as *Pont du Portage*. On the top of Portage Hill remains of cellars are still to be found.

Pont à Buot.—This is marked on many maps. A bridge crossed the Missaguash* here, and was named after a Frenchman, Buhot, who lived near by. On the north side of the bridge a small stream, Ruisseau à l'Ours, opened into the Missaguash. The main highway at the present day crosses this stream just where the modern village of Point de Bute is located. The stream took its origin at an elevation known as the Butte à Janot.

*This river is different at this point from what it was in the mid-eighteenth century. It has been much narrowed by the digging of a modern drainage canal some distance to the east, as well as by a tide-feeder ditch on the western side, the latter being older than the canal. The course of the river from the bridge towards the south is straighter also owing to the cutting across of the old ox-bow curve which existed there. Remains of the old course are still visible.

The importance of this place consisted in its being the place of change from the river route to the Beauséjour road. A guard of soldiers was stationed there in a redoubt (see p. 47) and this was the first point of attack by the British in the campaign of 1755.

From this bridge there was a road on the east side of the river to Beaubassin (or Fort Lawrence). Another ran directly across the Beaubassin ridge and the La Planche River to the Nappan River settlements. On the west side two roads led to Beauséjour and are described by Franquet. One went up the hill through the woods to the fort; the other a poorer one, skirted the woods and led to Butte à Roger. From the latter place a road ran up the hill (probably in the line of the main highway to Nova Scotia) and joined the other.

Butte à Roger.^{*}—This small hill was about three-quarters of a mile north-east of Point Beauséjour, below the level of the ridge on which the fort is placed. It stands near the main road from Sackville to Amherst and on the north side. Below it is the great Missaguash marsh and the river, with Fort Lawrence beyond, and it was most suitable for a guard-outpost after the building of Fort Beauséjour. There is a small excavation on the top which may have been part of a guard-house.

Butte à Charles was a slight elevation on the Beauséjour ridge about 400 yards from the fort. It is described in the *Mémoires sur le Canada* as the site on which the British erected their siege batteries in 1755.

Butte à Mirande.—This played an important part in the attack on Beauséjour, for it was used for the main encampment of the besieging army in 1755, after the river had been crossed at Pont à Buot. It overlooked the marsh, and below it the British made a bridge across the Missaguash so as to shorten their route to and from Fort Lawrence. There is some uncertainty as to its position, but it was somewhere on Mt. Whately, probably near the site of the modern Church of St. Mark's. De Fiedmont states that it was between 2,000 and 2,400 yards from Beauséjour (one and three-eighths miles or less).

Ile de la Vallière.—An elevated upland area in the flat marsh between Beauséjour and the Missaguash, a little south of a line between the former and the site of Fort Lawrence. In the early days of French occupation before dykes were made it appeared as a real island when the marshes were flooded. It was part of the large seigniory of Beaubassin or Chignitou granted to Michel Le Neuf de la Vallière in 1676. It was then covered with trees. On it La Vallière built his establishment and administered the affairs of Acadie as Commander and Acting Governor under Frontenac, 1678-84. After Fort Lawrence was built by the English and the rival forts were watching each other, a guard of soldiers was kept on the island by the French. Since the English conquest, it has been called Tonge's Island, after the engineer of Fort Lawrence, who acquired the property. It is now a farm. Until recently remains of cellars of the old French houses could be seen at the southern end.

^{*}In De Beaumont's "Les Derniers Jours de L'Acadie," p. 282, this hill is termed Butte à Rosaire by La Houssaye, a name I have not found elsewhere.

The Chignecto Marshes.—The most striking feature of Chignecto is the enormous area of marsh and bog-land adjacent to Cumberland Basin, amounting to nearly 41,000 acres. They have been developed in relation to the rivers which open into the basin, the largest area being that through which the Tantramar and Aulac Rivers run. The marsh-land lies next the basin, being mostly dyked, and is enormously greater in extent than the bog-land which is found at the headwaters of the rivers. These marshes are quite different from the bogs, the soil being firm and solid, and, when kept free from sea-water, will produce a rich growth of fine grasses. The bogs, on the other hand, are soft and spongy, with much vegetable débris, infiltrated with fresh water, and having a rank growth of vegetation, shrubs and trees, and dotted with many small lakes. The marshes have not been developed from detritus brought down by the rivers, but from the mud produced by erosion of the soft sandstone forming the sides and bottoms of the channels which extend into the Bay of Fundy, caused by the strong tidal currents which are daily forced upwards from the sea.

The enormous area of this red detritus deposited during long ages is explained by subsidence of the land which allowed the tides to reach to greater distances from the bay. This has occurred in comparatively recent times, unmistakable evidence having been obtained from borings. Thus the areas of bog referred to lie on top of red silt which once formed marsh surface. Also, in places which have been excavated well-preserved stumps of pine and hardwood trees have been found over thirty feet below high tide level. Then, again, in a boring made through eighty feet of marsh at Aulac, a bed of peat twenty feet thick has been found. In the process of deposit by the rivers the banks of the latter tended to be raised higher than outlying areas, and, also, owing to the tendency of tidal rivers to pile up their waters on account of the inertia of their rush, the level of high tide is higher at the heads of the rivers than at their mouths, and the levels of the marsh which is formed differ in a similar manner.

The bogs are formed by the rain and the drainage of the uplands confined by the elevated marsh areas.

The marshes as they are now seen, covered in summer with a luxurious growth of hay grasses, have been brought into this condition by the hand of man. In their original state, when the early Acadian settlers first saw them, they were saturated with salt and had a scanty growth of plant life. Their reclamation has been brought about by preventing flooding with sea-water through the building of dykes; allowing the salt to be washed out of the soil by the rains, a process which requires a period of three or four years; drainage of surface water by ditches opening into the rivers, each one being provided at the outlet with a wooden sluice in which hangs a clapper hinged at the top and inclining outward toward the river at the bottom. When the tide is out the ditch water opens the clapper and escapes; when it rises it closes the clapper tightly.

When this principle is applied to a river, the sluice being placed in a dam built across the river, the arrangement is termed an "aboteau." The fertility of these marshes is remarkable. No fertilizers are used and rich crops may be grown on the best land for many years in succession without appreciable

diminution in yield. When it is thought advisable to change the top soil, the surface is plowed, seeded with oats, and again turned to grass the following year. Greatly exhausted areas may be restored by allowing the salt water to flood them for a time, and thus depositing a new layer of mud. This is afterwards freed from salt and restored to cultivation.

The best recent account of the Chignecto marshes is found in a monograph by Dr. W. F. Ganong, entitled "The Vegetation of the Bay of Fundy Salt and Dyked Marshes:" *Botanical Gazette*, September to December, 1903. The above short description is based on this work.

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT

The settlement of Chignecto by the French was in accordance with their custom elsewhere in Acadia. They chose land near salt water or navigable rivers. One advantage was that a supply of fish was assured and an opportunity provided to those who wished to engage in the fishing industry. Another reason was, at least on many Bay of Fundy rivers, the opportunity of being able to reclaim the flats which were formed by the deposit of tidal mud, an undertaking much more to the liking of the settlers than the drudgery of clearing farms on forest land. A third advantage offered was the easy means of travel and transportation offered by the waterways. In the early days the only land routes were Indian trails and portages, which to a considerable extent, gave the indications for the larger waggon routes of later times.

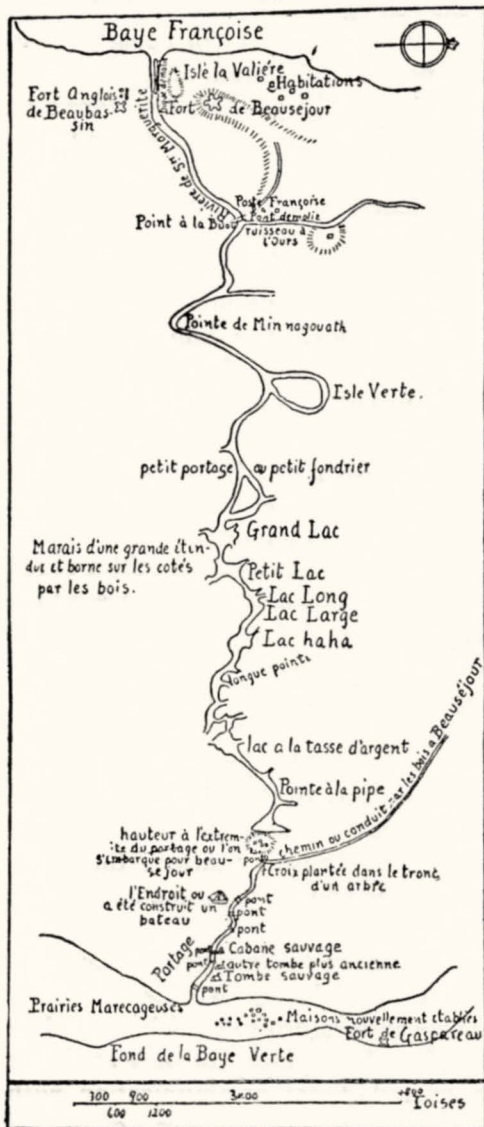
The development of the latter was indeed slow during the French occupation, even as late as 1755. Indeed, probably most of the roads in Chignecto were suitable only for walking or travelling on horseback. Communication with Port Royal was carried on chiefly by small sailing vessels. The Minas settlements could also be reached in this way and would naturally be used for the transport of heavy materials; an alternative route was by canoe from Beaubassin to the Rivière des Mines (later River Hébert), then going to its headwaters, where there was a short portage to the River Chignectou, which opened into the Basin of Minas. Then a crossing was made to Cape Porcupine (now Blomidon), the shore being skirted thereafter towards the south. There was still a much longer route, viz., by the Macan River and trail to Cobequid, and thence by the Basin of Minas or by trail to Minas. When the French force under Coulon de Villiers marched from Chignecto to Minas in February, 1747, they went on foot from Baie Verte along the coast to Tatamagouche and thence to Cobequid.

Communication with Quebec in the early days was kept up by the inland route; later this was chiefly used in winter. It involved a journey from Beaubassin to Veskak by land or water; a portage by way of the valley now named Frosty Hollow to the Memramcook River; thence by canoe up the Petitcodiac River to about two miles below modern Petitcodiac Railway Station; thence by portage to the Washademoak (now Canaan) River and Lake to the Saint John River.

After the opening up of a route across the isthmus to Baie Verte, communication with Quebec, especially for the transport of heavy articles, gradually developed by the sea route. The same was true with regard to Louisbourg, when the latter became the chief centre in Acadia, though in winter the only available route would be by land. While the sea offered direct communication with Chignecto by the Bay of Fundy, it was seldom used by Quebec or Louisbourg vessels or even by those from France. In some old official reports there are complaints that the King's vessels so rarely came. We know that even in the last decade of the seventeenth century supply ships came from France to the

mouth of the Saint John River usually each spring. They rarely went to Chignecto, and supplies meant for the latter district were transhipped from Saint John in small craft.

With the dyking of the marshes and the extension of settlements in Chignecto, roads were gradually made to connect them. Thus the Ile de la Vallière was joined by a marsh road both to Point Beauséjour and to the Missaguash. Another joined Beaubassin with Pont à Buot. Another crossed the marsh from Beauséjour to Veskok, the Tintamare and Du Lac Rivers being crossed in boats.

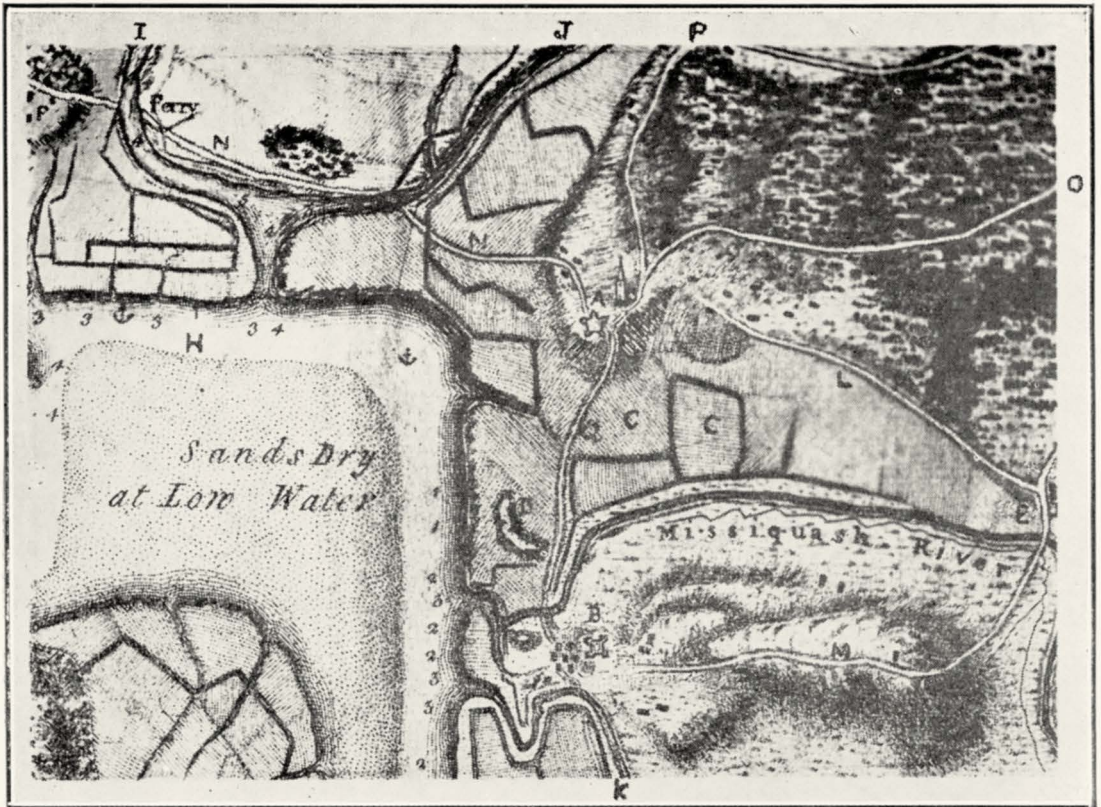


Plan of the Route from FORT GASPÉREAU
to FORT BEAUSÉJOUR
Made by Franquet in 1751.

From Veskok a portage went through the woods to Memramcook and another skirted the ridge northwards to the villages of Près des Bourques and Tintamare. Later, another was developed from the latter across the marsh to the village Le Lac, where it joined the road between Baie Verte and Beauséjour. Somewhere near the ridge of modern Jolicure it communicated with the village La Coupe. In Jeffrey's map this long road is shown skirting the upland just above the great Tintamare marsh.

When Fort Gaspereau was begun there was no serviceable road to Baie Verte. When Franquet visited it on August 18, 1751, his report states that supplies and munitions were taken to the latter in boats and he travelled in this manner himself. Later, a road was made between the two places in an almost straight line, nearly two miles long. The Baie Verte end was near a stream (now Mill Creek) and for a mile and a quarter the ground was so marshy that a road had to be built on piles. Four rows were driven, about eight feet apart; the upper exposed ends were six feet above the ground and were joined with timbers, on which planks were laid, thus forming a good dry causeway. (Pl. III) The late Alexander Munro, a prominent surveyor of his time, found remains of this causeway and made notes from which my description is taken.

From Baie Verte there was a portage of over three miles to the headwaters of Missaguash where it ended at a hill on



ROADS NEAR FORTS BEAUSEJOUR AND LAWRENCE

Small portion of Jeffery's plan, made by a British officer in June, 1755.
(Certain names have been deleted and letters used).

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Fort Beauséjour with the French church north west of it. | I. Tantemarr river. |
| B. Fort Lawrence. | J. River Du Lac. |
| C. Marsh between the forts, partly reclaimed by dykes. | K. La Planche river. |
| D. Ile de la Vallière in the marsh between the forts. | L. Road from Beauséjour to Pont à Buot. |
| E. Pont à Buot. | M. Road from Pont à Buot to Fort Lawrence. |
| F. Weskok. | N. Road from Fort Beauséjour to Weskok across the marsh. The rivers Du Lac and Tantemarr were crossed in boats. One of these is marked "Ferry." |
| H. Beaubassin Bay (now Cumberland Basin.) The anchors indicate where vessels could anchor. | O. Road from Beauséjour to Baie Verte. |
| | P. Road from Beauséjour to Le Lac village and Baie Verte. |
| | Q. Road across the marsh between the forts. |

which there was a royal storehouse and designated Portage Hill. (See Pl. III). This route has been thoroughly investigated by Alexander Munro and by Dr. Ganong, to whose descriptions I am indebted.

In all probability it followed an earlier Indian trail and closely follows the small Baie Verte Creek, on which the Indians could use their canoes at high water if they wished. However, the French used only the footpath, and in order to make it as short as possible the windings of the river were avoided by the use of several bridges. These are marked in the plan of Franquet, who travelled by this road in 1751, and who says that there were eight of them. He went on horseback and found the road rough and difficult. At its upper end the road went over Portage Hill to the Portage bridge spanning the narrow Missaguash. Here canoes continued transportation to Pont à Buot, an interesting description of which has been recorded by Franquet. He objects to the use of the word "river" for the water passage which in this region was a very sluggish canal, one of many, connecting a series of small lakes in the great extent of marsh which was bordered everywhere by the forest. At Pointe de Minnagouath, a sharp bend in the river, it moves more rapidly, and at Pont à Buot where the St. Ours stream joins it, Franquet considered that the real river (termed by him Ste. Marguerite) begins. He pointed out that at low tide the river is empty as far up as Pointe Minnagouath. He estimated the extent of marsh through which the canoe passed to have been about four leagues.

From Pont à Buot the best road to Beauséjour ran up hill and through the woods. This was passable to waggons. Another poorer road, skirted the east edge of the woods and went to Butte à Roger. From this another went directly up to Beauséjour ridge and joined the forest road. The water route above described remained feasible, and was actually used by the Indians until the early part of the nineteenth century. Owing to increased reclamation and drainage of the marshes, and the growth of bushes, the route has ceased to be easily navigable.

The opening of a road from Baie Verte to Beauséjour gave a new and more satisfactory means of transportation. This was begun by the French just before Franquet's visit, though it was evidently then not in such condition as to tempt him to use it. His plan shows it starting at Portage Hill, where it formed a continuation of the Baie Verte portage. In an official French map of 1751, it is not marked, which indicates that it could not have been made long before this year. This highway when first completed must have gone through the forest most of the distance, and was passable to horses and waggons. In the early nineteenth century its course was traced by Alexander Munro. It is marked on many old maps, one of which, in the Department of Marine, shows that it ran from Portage Hill along the ridge with a slight westerly tendency until it reached the village Le Lac, where it crossed the river of this name below the lake, then running along the ridge gradually until it joined the road already made from Pont à Buot to Beauséjour, the junction being near the site of the modern village of Point de Bute. Its direction in relation to the present main highway from Portage Hill is as follows: It was east of it until where the road to Jolicure branches off; thereafter its route was to the west of the main road to Mt. Whatley.

(Pl. III). Its course thereafter gradually approximates to that which runs from Mt. Whately along the eastern side of Fort Beauséjour hill. Traces of the old French road may still be found; one of the best preserved portions, nearly ten feet wide and covered with grass, is on the old Inverma farm property and runs from near the house to Bloody Bridge a distance of about 300 yards. The present highway between Bay Verte and Portage Hill is much shorter than the original portage route. Sea communication with Fort Beauséjour (and, later, with Fort Cumberland) was carried out by way of a creek opening into the basin directly opposite the fort. A road ran down from the latter and there was a landing wharf on the west shore of the mouth of the stream (long known as Cumberland Creek), where vessels could easily load and unload. Through the building of aboiteaux the creek has become very much smaller.

CONDITIONS IN ACADIA PRECEDING THE ATTACK
ON BEAUSEJOUR

The administration of Acadia by the two rival powers who alternately held sway there was not characterized by statesmanship of a very high order. France has been severely criticised by many historians for the defects in her methods of governing her Colony of New France, by which term Quebec is usually meant. Acadia was always considered of secondary importance, a mere appendage of Quebec, and its development neglected in comparison with the latter. Even the strategic value of Cape Breton was not recognized until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when it was decided to establish a fortified port to control the main waterway to the St. Lawrence, and to safeguard the thousands of fishermen, who formed the chief supply of the personnel of the French navy. There is no ground for believing that the building of this stronghold had anything whatever to do with French claims in Acadia. After the cession of Nova Scotia in 1713, there was no serious effort made to support her claims in Acadia until about 1749. But whatever may have been France's shortcomings, no language is too strong in which to condemn Great Britain for her weak policy in Acadia until the middle of the century.

When she had the opportunity of developing a colony there in the reign of James I, an attempt was made by the grant of Acadia to Sir William Alexander in 1621. This, however, soon proved fruitless and ended ignominiously, without any support from the King or his ministers. Again, after Kirke captured Port Royal in 1628, and Quebec in 1629, taking Champlain to England as a prisoner and setting up a new government under his brother, the conquest came to nought, and England gave back the country to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (1632), King Charles I taking in exchange the unpaid portion of his wife's marriage dower, amounting to 400,000 crowns.

In later years, after the conquest of Acadia in Cromwell's time, when the French made efforts to regain it by negotiations, the protector sternly refused. He decided to hold the country, appointed a Governor, Colonel Thomas Temple, and approved of the plans to make it a permanent colony. However, after Cromwell's death another Stuart King, Charles II, by the Treaty of Breda (1667), gave back all Acadia for one-half of the little Island of St. Christopher in the West Indies. Temple was loath to relinquish his colony, but was ordered by Charles with such insistence, that he had to leave at last, and in 1670, the Chevalier de Grandfontaine, took over the country in the name of Louis XIV. The effect of this loss to Great Britain was that during the remaining years of the century the Governors of Acadia kept up almost continual warfare against the neighbouring New England Colonies, using the Indians as allies in bloody destructive raids against their settlements.

When, after the capture of Port Royal by Nicholson's army in 1710, Acadia, again, under the name of Nova Scotia (excepting Cape Breton) reverted to Great

Britain in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, though the latter used the expression "Nova Scotia or Acadia, with its ancient Boundaries," which were actually specified, the British authorities at Annapolis Royal, while taking no emphatic or determined stand to emphasize the legality of their possession, acted in all respects as if there were no question at all as to the extent of the territory of Nova Scotia. In matters of administration, as may readily be seen on reading the Minutes of Council, the same attention was given to Shepody, Petitcodiac and Memramcook and the Saint John River as to Grand Pré, Cobequid, Chignecto and other places. Thus, in 1726, the Council had an appeal before it relating to a land dispute in Shepody, and it issued an order regarding the upkeep of the marshes in the same place; it, also, had to interfere in troubles connected with land both in Memramcook and Petitcodiac. In 1737 the Indians of the Saint John River were warned as regards engaging in robbery and outrages.

Moreover, as indicating the view of the Council as regards the territory under their control may be quoted the report made on the state of the province in 1732 (N. S. Archives, 1900, p. 84), in which the great extent of the province is mentioned as stretching "from St. George's River on the east coast of New England to Cape de Rosier at the mouth of the River St. Lawrence; with two large bays, Bay of Fundy and Bay of Chaleur." The report also refers to the establishment by the French of a "great fishery at Cape Gaspé in His Majesty's Dominions" and urges that this be driven away lest the French may establish themselves and dispute the ownership of a great part of his Majesty's territory on the Bay of St. Lawrence.

The continental part of Nova Scotia had such a small number of inhabitants almost entirely concentrated on the Shepody and Petitcodiac Rivers and on those of Chignecto that its affairs occupied but a small part of the attention of the Council. This apparent neglect gave the French an opportunity to lay claim to it, and this was urged very soon after 1713, as is evident from a letter of Governor Vaudreuil to the Lieutenant-Governor at Annapolis Royal in 1718, containing the following sentence:

"I request you not to permit your English vessels to go into the River Saint John, which is always under French rule."

Had the British placed a military force on the Saint John River at an early date and made emphatic demonstrations in support of their claims it is doubtful if the French would ever have raised the issue, which they forced in 1749.

Another clause in the Treaty of Utrecht which gave the Acadians freedom "to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, together with all their moveable effects," was a cause of misunderstanding between the two races, and has, by some historians, been regarded as a prime factor in leading to the disturbances of after years.

The British have been accused of preventing the Acadians from leaving the province within the time limit. The intention of Queen Anne and her ministers was definitely expressed after the signing of the treaty, and Col. Nicholson, Governor of Nova Scotia, was told to allow those who wished to leave to sell their property, though no time limit to this privilege was mentioned.

At various points the opinion of the Acadians was sought, and a large majority expressed a desire to leave. At this time Louisbourg was founded, and had a small nucleus of population from Placentia, which had been evacuated. It was expected that the Acadians of Nova Scotia would settle in Cape Breton. As the latter had taken no active steps to leave within the year following the treaty, Nicholson, realizing what their loss would be to the province, put such difficulties in their way as to prevent them leaving afterwards.* But he is not the sole cause of their failure to migrate.

The Acadians had investigated the possibilities of Cape Breton and had found out that there were no large tracts of rich land, such as they enjoyed in Nova Scotia, no areas of alluvial soil like those found on the rivers of the Bay of Fundy and they had no relish for the pioneer work of making farms in the virgin forest. They, therefore, concluded that they were better off where they were and decided to take chances as regards their political status under the British. The Governor of Louisbourg referred to their attitude in 1715, when he stated that "they were very slow and loath to leave their old lands and that they seemed to want new lands where mere ploughing would assure an abundant harvest." (New England's Outpost, Brebner, 1927, p. 67).

Unfortunately, the Acadians forgot another clause in the treaty to the effect that those who remained in the province were "to be subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain." This gave the British the authority to demand an unqualified oath of allegiance from the people during succeeding years.

The region of the Saint John River was more favorably considered by the Acadians as a place of settlement, and, later, when invitations were also sent by the Quebec authorities to the Acadians in the peninsula to move there, several families migrated. In later years a number of small settlements were established there. In 1736 the Governor of Annapolis Royal asked the inhabitants on the river to make their submission to the British Crown; they did so out of policy, but, it meant nothing for there was no authority or force in that region, and no further steps were taken to assert British control.

This indifference and failure of the British to act firmly in establishing their treaty rights was the chief cause of all the troubles which afterwards afflicted the country. In 1749 the two countries actually agreed to a joint Commission, which met in Paris in 1750 to discuss the boundary question, William Shirley being one of the two British Commissioners and La Galissonnière one of the French. Their deliberations continued until 1753 and as no agreement was arrived at the Commission was dissolved. Their deliberations were afterwards published in two volumes entitled "The Memorials of the English and French Commissaries concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia," published in

*Mascarene, in his account of Nova Scotia, written in 1720, sent to the Lords of Trade, speaks of the delay in requiring the Acadians to take the oath, and of the influence of the priests in keeping the Indians from English influences. He also dwells on the power of the priests under the direction of the authorities at Louisbourg and Quebec. He explains why the English did not wish the French to move away. They would be a source of strength to the French wherever they might go, especially in Cape Breton. They would destroy their saw-mills, and thus seriously affect the interests of the English. He advocated the settlement of the province with English, and asked for a force of at least 600 men, sufficient to make the people take the oath.

1755, giving an account of the proceedings with all the data on which the respective cases were based. Thus the question of the ownership of the continental part of Acadia was left still undetermined.

But, not only were the British authorities neglectful of claiming their rights, they also neglected their governmental obligation to Nova Scotia. In the dispatches and letters of Lieutenant-Governors and Commandants at Annapolis Royal from 1713 onwards, there are continual complaints of failure to pay the garrison,* to provide supplies, to keep the fort in repair, and, above all to give instructions as to the management of the French inhabitants. Neither was there any attempt made to promote the settlement of the province. Had it not been for the assistance rendered from time to time by Massachusetts, both in men and supplies, the forlorn hope at Annapolis Royal, the centre of British authority in Nova Scotia, would doubtless have completely disappeared.

The probable explanation of this state of affairs is that British statesmen were too much occupied with home politics and European affairs to give any attention to an obscure corner of America occupied by a handful of Frenchmen. There was a garrison at Annapolis Royal which represented the Crown's control of the country. That was sufficient. The dull Hanoverian Kings thought much more of their German homeland than they did of all America. The inspiring appeal of Samuel Vetch to Queen Anne and her ministers in 1708, when he proclaimed that "Her Majesty shall be the sole Empress of the vast North American Continent" had so stirred their imaginations that they forthwith decided on the conquest of Canada. No such vision inspired the first two Georgian Kings or their ministers. Their policy in regard to the American Colonies, in general, was to allow them to develop without interference, keeping, however, a watchful eye lest there should be any interference with the privileges enjoyed by Great Britain in trade and commerce.

The problem offered by a new colony peopled with an alien white race, whose sympathies were entirely with the country from which they sprang, and whose religion was not popular in Great Britain, was one which a British Government had not previously dealt with. Its solution required the most prudent and judicious statesmanship. This was not forthcoming. The colony and its difficulties were left to the consideration of a handful of regimental army officers in Annapolis Royal, whose education, habits and tastes had not equipped them with the qualifications required in the work of reconstructing a province in which such grave problems existed. In addition, their isolation in a small, unimportant, ill-kept fort, with little contact with the outside world, and their neglect by the home authorities, must have combined to affect their dispositions, to lessen their sympathies, and even to warp their judgment. Yet, among them, was one man

*Neglect of Annapolis Royal.—Governor Phillips, in a letter dated May 25th, 1727, to the Lords of Trade, says regarding the place: "Eevrything there, wearing the face of ruin and decay, and almost every countenance despair." * * *

He reports the ramparts of the fort as "lying level with the ground, in breaches sufficiently wide for fifty men to enter abreast, which obliges the garrison to insupportable duty to guard against their throats being cut by surprise."

Years afterwards, when Lieut.-Colonel Armstrong was in command of the 43rd regiment, quartered at Annapolis Royal and Canso, he could not get supplies for his men from the authorities, and they were in such a ragged state that he was compelled to outfit them at his own expense.

of outstanding qualities, Paul Mascarene, who with adequate guidance and support, might have successfully established the colony on a sound and enduring basis.

The French in 1713 were chiefly settled on the Annapolis River, at Minas and Chignecto, and numbered about 2,500. In the following years they increased rapidly and spread to other parts. They had not been forgotten either by the French Court or by Quebec, and by both the hope was always entertained that all Acadia would again become a French possession. It was this expectation which determined their policy and which, doubtless, inspired the Acadians with the same hope and encouraged them to resist British attempts to make them loyal subjects. The chief agents of the French Government in thus influencing the people were the priests who ministered to them, and none better could be chosen, though others were employed at times by the Governors of Canada. The development of Louisbourg after the Treaty of Utrecht into a great stronghold of French power must also have impressed the Acadians and made them believe that from it would some day come deliverance from British control.

Queen Anne died in August, 1714, and in January, 1715, Governor Nicholson appointed two Commissioners, Messrs. Capoon and Button, to go in the sloop of war *Caulfeild* to various parts of the country, viz., Minas, Chignecto, River Saint John, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot to proclaim King George and to tender oaths of allegiance to the French inhabitants. Everywhere they refused, and the Commissioners returned to Annapolis Royal, making a report to Lieutenant-Governor Caulfeild. Next year, when again approached, they refused to take an unconditional oath but agreed to take one with the stipulation that they should not be required to bear arms either against France, Great Britain or any of their subjects or allies. Nothing came of this and when Governor Philipps arrived in 1720 he had no more success than his predecessors. The parent countries were enjoying peace. The only British force in Nova Scotia was the weak garrison of Annapolis, and the Acadians, feeling convinced that no forcible measures would be adopted, naturally made the best of the situation, and became more determined to refuse their allegiance and to temporize by offering as a compromise *to be neutral*.

This attitude was, of course, an impossible one for any self-respecting Sovereign Power to tolerate in one of its possessions, according to the standards of the times. Had France or Spain been in England's position stern disciplinary measures would not have been long delayed. France had frequently demonstrated her readiness to purge herself, by fire and sword and banishment, of hundreds of thousands of good citizens whose only fault was that they cherished the Protestant religion; while Spain's record for inhumanity in the countries which she conquered has rarely been excelled in the history of civilized nations. England's toleration in Acadia is not to be credited to the desire of her ministers to practise patient self-control and a kindly forbearance towards a simple, ignorant people, who if left alone might come to appreciate the good qualities of their masters, and in time become loyal to them. Not at all! Their indifferent, *laissez-faire* attitude was practically the same as that often exhibited in British history and termed "muddling through" or "trusting to luck." Walpole

was in power until 1742, and therefore during a very important period in the history of the Acadians. His great ambition was to avoid war because it interfered with the commercial development of his country. When, therefore, the question of Acadia came before him, his influence would certainly be against any course which might lead to trouble with France. He could afford to ignore the lack of appreciation exhibited by a handful of Acadian peasants for the blessings and glories of British sovereignty. Far more important was it to continue at peace with France. In other words Acadia was a mere insignificant pawn in the hands of the minister who controlled the game in Great Britain. So was Cape Breton regarded in 1748, when after its capture by New England, it was given back to France for something which Great Britain considered more valuable *to herself*. But New England, vitally concerned with the affairs of Acadia, her close neighbour and rival, did not give a complacent approval to this action of the Mother Country. On the contrary she showed her teeth and heaped bitter denunciations on her parent, until wise statesmen at home soon came to realize the mistake which had been made,—an error repeated several times in British history during the last two hundred years.

As I have already pointed out, the policy of drift in Acadia only led to a worse state of affairs there. Had Britain realized that she had not to deal merely with simple peasants, but with the French authorities themselves, who were constantly seeking to undermine and counteract British influence chiefly through the priests who controlled these people, she might have taken some action, though I doubt it. The officers at Annapolis Royal knew what was going on and reported it. Probably, the authorities in London were as little influenced by tales of the activities of French agents in Acadia as they were of German espionage in Great Britain in the years preceding the Great War.

Had ministers become aroused and faced the problem seriously, they would probably have failed to arrive at a solution by peaceful methods of conciliation. They could not have broken the power of the priests over the people, without expelling them, and this would have been contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. Yet Great Britain would have been justified in insisting on the unconditional oath of allegiance, as becoming to her sovereign dignity. Failing to obtain this, the people could have been allowed to move out of the country, or removed by force in a humane manner.

The French Government, itself, had set a good precedent, for when in 1666 they captured the Island of St. Christopher's in the West Indies they deported the English population, about 2,500 in number, keeping all their property—an exploit which, by the way, was considered sufficiently glorious in France to warrant the striking of a commemorative medal. Again, when in 1689 it was intended to capture Albany and New York, the instructions of the ministers to Count Frontenac stated that, after the conquest, Catholics might be allowed to remain, on taking the oath of allegiance, but that as regards all others:

"Men, women and children — his Majesty deems it proper that they should be put out of the colony and sent to New England, Pennsylvania and other such quarters as shall be considered expedient, either by land or sea, *together or in divisions all according as he shall find will best secure their dispersion and prevent them by reunion* affording enemies an opportunity to get up expeditions against that colony." (Documentary History of New York, Vol. 1, p. 295).

Truly, France, as has always been her custom, did not hesitate to carry out a policy of "thorough" when it was deemed best for her own interests.

The British, however, did nothing and matters drifted along. In 1720 some outrages were perpetrated on English fishermen by Indians and French, and soon afterwards Governor Philipps wrote an indignant letter to the Home Government saying that "it would be more for the profit and honor of the Crown to give back the country to the French than to be contented with the name only of Government." On Philipps' suggestion the French people agreed to elect deputies to represent them to confer with the Governor. He also tried by kindness and presents to gain the goodwill of the Indians, but the French had more influence with them and prevented any real union. Indeed, in 1722, a war broke out in which all the Indians from Cape Canso to the Kennebec, secretly excited by the French, fought against the English. Everywhere, on sea and land, depredations were committed. In Nova Scotia the English could act only on the defensive. Peace came in 1725, and in Acadia the Indians at Annapolis Royal acknowledged King George to be Sovereign of Acadia, but very soon this was forgotten.

After this war renewed attempts were made by Philipps to induce the Acadians to take the oath, but he obtained only a qualified one, which did not oblige them to take up arms. On the accession of George II in 1727 another oath was required, but the Acadians made new conditions and because of this action the Lieutenant-Governor imprisoned three of their deputies. This was the first time that punitive measures were adopted. In 1729, on the return of Governor Philipps, a changed attitude on the part of the people was noticed and very soon he induced all males at Annapolis Royal over sixteen to take the oath without any reserve clause regarding the bearing of arms. This was probably mainly due to the influence of the parish priest. Later, however, the Acadians repudiated this, claiming that the Governor had promised that the conditional clause relative to the bearing of arms was to be added, and they considered themselves tricked.

Conditions in the province were fairly satisfactory during the next ten years though the status of the people had not been altered. In 1740, Paul Mascarene became Lieutenant-Governor of the Fort of Annapolis and he proved to be a strong man in the disturbances of the following years.

In 1744 war broke out between France and England. A force from Louisbourg captured Canso and afterwards attacked Annapolis Royal, but unsuccessfully. The Acadians were, naturally, sympathetic towards France and some assistance was rendered by them, especially in sending supplies to the French forces. Foreseeing the difficult position in which the French priests in Nova Scotia would be placed, the Bishop of Quebec warned them to act with circumspection. While Le Loutre, Maillard, La Goudalie and others actively assisted the French, the curé of Annapolis Royal, M. Désenclaves, gave the Governor of Annapolis Royal information regarding French movements, while another curé, M. Chevreux, threatened with excommunication any of his parishioners who

took up arms against the English. The capture of Louisbourg by Pepperrill and Warren in 1745 undoubtedly had a deterrent effect in preventing any widespread uprising of the people.

In 1746 came the abortive attack on Annapolis Royal by De Ramezay, and in February, 1747, the defeat of Col. Noble's force at Grand Pré.

In 1748 Mascarene had to deal severely with the Deputies of Minas because of their contempt of orders and disrespect to His Majesty in harboring a number of men who had been proscribed, in aiding De Ramezay's force, sheltering deserters, etc.

Up to 1749, however, very little impression had been made on the Acadians. But in this year a new era began. Halifax was founded and became the seat of government. At the first council three Acadian deputies appeared and paid their respects. Governor Cornwallis made a declaration in which he referred to their overt and secret sympathy and aid to the French, notwithstanding their indulgent treatment at the hands of the British. He promised that they would be well-treated in future and allowed the free service of their religion, on condition that they would take the oath of allegiance within three months and support His Majesty's officials in the province. After a fortnight they gave the same old answer. They would take the oath, if an exemption to take up arms, even though the province might be attacked, would be granted. The Governor replied insisting on the unqualified oath and warned the people that if they did not comply by October 26 they would forfeit all their rights and possessions. He also informed the priests that henceforth no priest could perform his functions without a permit from the Governor and without taking the oath of allegiance. The inhabitants again refused to take the unqualified oath and threatened to leave the country. There the matter rested and Cornwallis wrote home for instructions.

In the meantime the able French Administrator at Quebec, the Comte de la Galissonnière, in the summer of 1749, had taken the bold step of establishing a force at the mouth of the River Saint John under Charles DesChamps de Boishébert, who was instructed to prevent any English from settling there and ordered to defend the inhabitants of all the territory outside the Peninsula of Nova Scotia. Boishébert established himself at the mouth of the Nerepis which opens into the Saint John River a few miles above the harbor, and built a small fort on the site of an old Indian fort.

In a letter of De la Jonquière to the minister, dated May 1, 1751, he states that he had ordered Boishébert to build a fort at the mouth of the Saint John to hold 100 men with their officers. It was to be built free of cost to the King, the soldiers and Canadian militia to do the work. The walls were to be twenty-four to twenty-five feet high outside and twelve inside, with pickets around it.

It is doubtful if Boishébert started this work, because in October he was sent to Paris with despatches. He did not return until the following year, and in 1753 was on duty at Presqu'île in the west. The work of building the Saint John fort only began in earnest in 1754. The Chevalier de la Corne was also sent at the end of 1749 to establish posts at Shepody, Memramcook and Petit-



HON. EDWARD CORNWALLIS

Governor of Nova Scotia

From an original portrait painted by Sir George Chalmers in 1755.
Now in the Archives of Nova Scotia in Halifax.

codiac, to administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants, to form an Acadian militia and to prevent the English from settling there. This move was in support of the claim that this territory had not been ceded to Great Britain.

Both commanders were ordered to co-operate with the priests in trying to alienate the Acadians of the peninsula from British rule.

The foundation of Halifax, presaging as it did the strengthening of the position of Great Britain in Nova Scotia, disturbed the French Government, and instructions were given to the Governors of Canada and Louisbourg to harass the British as much as possible by means of the Indians, though secretly. The following paragraph from one of these (Trans. from French text. Can. Arch., Vol. II, p. 292) may be quoted:

"The only means we can use to raise these obstacles is to show the Indians of Acadia and its borders how greatly it is to their advantage to prevent the English from fortifying, and to make them oppose it openly, and to urge the Acadians to assist the Indians against (the English) as much as they can without discovery. The missionaries of both are instructed to act with them and are glad to do so."

Of all the priests in the country the Abbé Le Loutre was the most zealous worker in the interests of France, and on various occasions took active measures against the British. In many histories he is stated to have accompanied Duvivier's force from Louisbourg which attacked Annapolis Royal. This is now known to be false. It was not Le Loutre but the Abbé Maillard who went with this expedition as chaplain to the Indian contingent.

In 1746, however, he co-operated with De Ramezay in planning another attack on Annapolis Royal. His most marked characteristic was a dominating spirit which enabled him to gain marked control over the people, and even to influence the actions of his fellow priests. When Halifax was founded he lived at Beaubassin and, afterwards, at Beauséjour where he had charge of the church near the fort. His influence was great with the successive commandants at the fort. One great source of his strength was the high regard in which he was held by successive Governors of Canada, De la Galissonnière, De la Jonquière, Duquesne and Vaudreuil. They realized his value as an agent for France and gave him their full support. It was through his efforts chiefly that the movement was started to make the Acadians of the peninsula give up their homes and possessions and move west of the Missaguash River so as to be on soil which France claimed as her own. Indemnification for losses and support was promised them until new homes in what is now New Brunswick and in the Ile St. Jean (now Prince Edward Island), could be provided for them. In endeavoring to persuade the people to move, he often found them obstinate, and De Courville, notary of Beauséjour, says, in his *Memoires sur le Canada*, that he often threatened, if they would not do as he wished, to remove their priests, to abandon them and their families and to let loose the Indians against them.

By 1750 quite a large number of the inhabitants had been induced to move and were distributed throughout the Isthmus of Chignecto, being known as refugees. Governor Cornwallis complained to De la Jonquière of these efforts, early in 1750. He was told that he knew nothing about these intrigues, that

the commanding officers in the country were instructed to hold the territory for France pending the settlement of the boundary question, and to avoid all troubles with the English; yet this same governor writing to the minister on October 9, 1749, praises the work of Le Loutre and Father R. P. Germain among the Acadians and Indians, as being in the best interests of the Government, and says that they carry on their intrigues in such a manner as that no suspicion falls on them. (Archives Report, 1905, Vol. II, p. 309). It is, therefore, clear that De la Jonquière deceived Cornwallis.

Ed. Cornwallis

When Boishébert commenced to build the fort at the mouth of the River Saint John, Mascarene protested to De la Galissonnière, as did Governor Cornwallis afterwards, and the latter took the decisive step of ordering British war vessels to intercept French ships carrying arms and supplies to the posts which they had established. He also sent Captain Rous to order Boishébert away from Saint John. Rous encountered a brigantine and a schooner with supplies and munitions for Saint John; in the former vessel was a detachment of soldiers under M. du Chambon de Vergor (later, Commandant at Fort Beauséjour). Rous in the *Albany* engaged the brigantine and after a short encounter proved victor. The schooner escaped. De Courville says that for this exploit De Vergor was made a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, through the influence of his patron, the notorious Bigot (just as if he had greatly distinguished himself). In reprisal for this action De la Jonquière ordered the seizure of English merchant vessels which traded at Louisbourg.

Governor Cornwallis then decided to take action to counteract the intrigues which were forcing people to leave the province. In August, 1749, the blockhouse at Annapolis Royal was taken down, transported to Minas, rebuilt and garrisoned. This greatly angered the French who induced the Indians to attack an English vessel at Canso and two at Chignecto. At Minas, in November, a large force of savages captured an officer and eighteen men outside their blockhouse and they also made a destructive raid near Halifax. Le Loutre was everywhere considered as the instigator of these outrages. In March, 1750, Fort Edward was built at Piziquid and a force placed there.

The French next decided to establish a military post in Chignecto. De la Corne, commander of the French forces, who had hitherto been stationed on the east side of the Memramcook River took up a position on the hill of Beauséjour early in 1750. Major Charles Lawrence was sent with a force of 400 men to Minas and there took vessels to Chignecto, arriving near the head of the bay, where he anchored April 21. The account of what then transpired is taken from Lawrence's official report (now in the British Museum, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix, II. a.). He had on board one Landry, a Minas Deputy, whom he sent ashore with a letter announcing his good intentions towards the inhabitants of Beaubassin, and stating that he expected the Deputies to come



FORT LAWRENCE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

Small portion of a map made by a British officer about 1754.

1. Ile de la Vallière (now Tonge's Island)
2. La Planche river
3. Beaubassin Bay (now Cumberland Basin).

The dykes along the rivers were built by the French. Towards the lower part of the Mississaugua they were partly demolished by the British.

aboard the *Albany* to receive his commands. At 11 p. m., Captain Cobb returned after having landed Landry and reported that most of the houses in the lower part of the town which had been observed to be on fire during the day were reduced to ashes, only a few remaining. As neither Landry nor the Deputies had returned disaffection was suspected and it was decided to move the vessels nearer land. This was done the next day, Sunday the 22nd. The troops were landed near Beaubassin. Soon after, a white flag was waved and it was regarded as a Flag of Truce. Captain Scott was sent to interview the peasants who were with the flag, who stated that they had been ordered to plant it there, in order to mark the boundary of French territory. They stated that they had heard nothing of the letter which had been sent by Landry, but that an officer would soon come from M. de la Corne. When the officer appeared, Captain Scott was sent to him with a message to his Commander ordering him to retire immediately from British territory or that he would be treated as a public incendiary. In the meantime it was noticed that many men, mostly Indians were posted behind the dykes near the river, and an attack on these was considered but was abandoned as being imprudent.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'M. de la Corne'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, decorative flourish at the end.

De la Corne then sent a message to Lawrence requesting an interview. This was granted and in it Lawrence told him why he had come and expressed his opinion regarding the status and actions of the French. De la Corne, of course, could only reply that he was acting under the orders of the Governor of Canada. At the end of the interview, as Lawrence was moving away, the remaining houses in Beaubassin were set on fire. Lawrence then decided that he was in no condition to commence hostilities, and after consultation with his officers decided to re-embark his troops. The next morning another Council was held and it was decided to retire to Minas, which was reached April 26th.

The burning of Beaubassin has always been regarded as the work of Le Loutre, most of the accounts stating that he set the church on fire with his own hands. De Courville is responsible for this statement. In describing the approach of Lawrence's squadron he says (op. cit., p. 8),—

"Le Loutre, having joined the inhabitants not eager to leave their homes and settle on the French side of the river, himself set fire to the church and made others whom he had gained to his side burn the houses."

M. Placide Gaudet, the distinguished Acadian historian, says that this is an error, and that Father Germain was the priest in charge of Beaubassin, giving Pichon as his authority.

A copy of Pichon's paper relating to this affair is in the Public Archives in Ottawa (Series N. 653, p. 154). I shall quote from it.

Pichon states that the curé of Beaubassin, Father Brassart, was removed by Le Loutre; he attended solely to the work of his parish and would not mix up in other matters. In his place, Father Germain was brought from the river St. John in the spring of 1750. This priest ably seconded Le Loutre, for he preached and worked vigorously to induce the inhabitants to leave their homes and move to French territory. He said the last Mass in the church in April, pulled down the bell and ordered the destruction of houses. Many of the people, thereupon, moved away. Lawrence's force appeared off the shore on April 21st (not May 1st, as stated by Pichon). The burning of the houses which greeted the sight of the British was carried out by Indians sent expressly by Le Loutre (*"et après, que M. Le Loutre eut fait mettre le feu aux maisons par les sauvages qu'il avoit envoyé exprès"*).

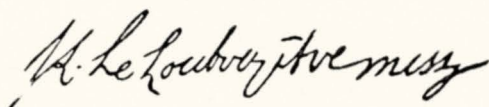
Whoever the instigator may have been, the result was that the Acadian inhabitants were forced to flee for refuge to the French side of the Missequash. It is also to be noted that the desolation was wrought on territory acknowledged by the French themselves to be British, and during a period of peace between the two nations. The houses numbered about one hundred and fifty, the inhabitants being about a thousand. They were distributed among the villages of Chignecto, considerably discommoding the regular inhabitants.

About this time Deputies from River Canard, Grand Pré and Piziquid visited Halifax and asked leave of the Governor to move out of the Province. Cornwallis replied in a kindly manner, recapitulating the whole record of the past years, pointing out that they were British subjects and stated that if they went away they could take nothing with them. A month later other Deputies presented a similar request.

In September, Major Lawrence again went to Chignecto with a strong force intending to land and build a fort on the site of Beaubassin. At the mouth of the Missequash he was met with a sharp fire from a number of Acadians and Indians who had hidden behind dykes. Troops were landed from the ships and they soon dispersed their assailants, who, according to Captain La Vallière's Journal, were led and encouraged by Fathers Le Loutre and Germain; they were nearly captured, but escaped in the disorder. According to La Vallière the attack was made on the British when one of their schooners approached the Beaubassin side of the Missequash (acknowledged British territory) in order to land.

In October, while engaged in building Fort Lawrence, a dastardly outrage was perpetrated which caused great anger among the British as well as among some of the French officers. Associated with Lawrence was Edward How, who was well known both to the Acadians and Indians. It was his desire to establish peace with the Indians, and to obtain from them their English prisoners. He had frequent interviews with French officers under a Flag of Truce. One day he went to an interview with a party from Beauséjour carrying a white flag, he also bearing a flag, when he was fired on by a party of Indians hiding behind a dyke and mortally wounded.

There are three versions of this tragedy, all from French sources, differing somewhat in details, but all agree in describing the affair as a carefully planned murder. Two of the accounts state that it was the work of Le Loutre, one saying that this priest actually carried the white flag which lured How to his death. Two of the accounts emphasize the horror which the event aroused both among the French and English, and the angry repudiation by the French officers of any complicity in the crime. It was stated that Le Loutre feared How's influence among the Acadians and Indians, and wished to get rid of him. On the other hand, a letter of the Abbé Maillard stated that the murder was revenge on the part of the Indians for some derogatory remarks made by How in referring to their religion some eleven years previously.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "M. Le Loutre". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned centrally below the first paragraph.

De la Corne was succeeded by M. de Vassan in the autumn of 1750. De Courville says that he had orders to hasten the building of the Fort, and to have a special regard for Le Loutre, whose advice he was to seek, especially in matters concerning the Acadians, and that the latter were to be well-treated. De Courville describes him as brave, proud and haughty, with abundant energy and good executive ability. The affairs of the Acadian refugees he left to Le Loutre who is severely blamed by De Courville for his treatment of them. He says that the priest often acted in a tyrannical manner towards them, distributing supplies unfairly, being hard towards those whom he disliked, making them feel that they were under the deepest obligations to him.

In 1752, Le Loutre went to France and persuaded the Court to give him 50,000 livres with which to build aboiteaux* for the reclamation of marshland, in which he was so deeply interested. This money was granted but he was ordered to confer with the engineer Jacau de Fiedmont regarding their construction. De Courville says that work was started soon after his return, and much labor and material were contributed by the local inhabitants. Even with this assistance the cost far exceeded the original estimate, and more financial aid was obtained from France and Canada. When the siege of Beauséjour began, the aboiteau on the river Du Lac was not completed.

*Aboiteau, Aboteau, Aboideau.—There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of this word and its origin. By some, it has been thought to be Acadian, but Dr. Ganong has proved that it was in use in France long before the settlement of Acadia. It was especially associated with the province of Saintonge, from which so many early settlers came to Acadia. They merely adopted a device which had been found so serviceable in the old country. It consisted of a dyke across a river, made of timbers and earth, with a sluice containing a valve-like clapper which opened under pressure of fresh water brought down the river, but closed by pressure of the tidal sea-water impinging on its lower surface. In this way the sea was automatically kept out. Ganong points out that in France, and in Acadia in early times, the word describing the structure was "aboteau," while "aboiteau" is a later Acadian spelling. The form "aboideau" has never been used by the French, but is an English spelling.

The particular aboiteau which Le Loutre first built was on the river Du Lac, some distance above the point where the river La Coupe joins it. The site is now spanned by a bridge on the highway which runs west from Point de Bute through Jolicure towards upper Sackville. On each side of the river near the bridge, a portion of a large dyke which extended out from the aboiteau may still be seen.

The unfortunate refugees in Chignecto, who had not found new homes, were becoming very restless and dissatisfied. Some of them were induced to go to Isle St. Jean, and others to the St. John river, but others refused to move, as they still had hopes of returning to their old homes.

When the Boundary Commission met in Paris in 1750, it was expected that an early decision would be rendered, and the Acadians who had not left their homes were advised by the British to wait there, at least, until this was made known, before deciding on joining the French. They also told the people that they were being duped and led into a dangerous position by Le Loutre and other agents. This influenced large numbers of the people and counteracted the efforts of those who with such insistence tried to force them away.

As the years passed and no decision was announced, the unfortunate refugees, still unsettled and waiting in idleness, became more disturbed and anxious, for the proclamations of the Government had made it very certain that they would have no mercy at the hands of the British, that their properties would be confiscated, and that, if they should take up arms for the French, they would be hanged when captured. At length they decided to open up negotiations with the Commandant of Fort Lawrence, to ascertain if they would be given back their properties on consenting to return. When Le Loutre learned of

John Winiflow

this, he became greatly enraged, and, according to De Courville, denounced them from his pulpit, especially those who were the leaders of the movement, and launched the thunderbolts of the church against them. De Vassan was more restrained, and quietly reasoned with them, pointing out what the French King was doing for them and holding out hopes of a happier future.

M. de Vassan was succeeded as Commandant by M. de la Martinière in 1753. By arrangement with Bigot, Intendant at Quebec, he also took charge of the Commissariat department, the former commissary officer, M. Allmain, having been recalled. This was a most unusual arrangement and was regarded as a scheme meant to be profitable both to Bigot and the Commandant. De Courville says that the latter was a poor officer but a keen business man, and his chief interest was in making profit out of the supplies. This writer mentions the various charges which were made on the goods either for transportation or on sales, and points out that these corrupt practices brought in rich returns,—shared, doubtless, with Bigot.

The refugees again made overtures to the Commander of Fort Lawrence and asked for terms on which they could return to their old homes. They were told that they could do so in peace if they would take this oath:

"I promise and swear sincerely that I shall be faithful and perfectly loyal to His Majesty, King George II, so help me God."

Le Loutre again became busy among them, but they were courageous enough to state their grievances, viz., that they had not been well treated, not having been given land, nor indemnified for their losses nor even provided with sufficient food and supplies; attempts had been made to separate them from their families and to send them away against their will. Le Loutre had to make explanations to the Governor in Quebec, who realized that the priest had undertaken more than he could carry out, but, as De Courville says, political considerations and the critical situation of affairs, obliged the Government to handle him carefully in matters relating to the Acadians. The refugees, in reply to the British demand for the unqualified oath, again asked for their old exemption as regards bearing arms.

In 1754, M. de la Martinière was removed, his place being taken by M. du Chambon de Vergor, Captain of Marine, the man who received the Cross of St. Louis through the influence of Bigot, after being captured by Captain Rous in the Bay of Fundy, (see p. 30). The intimate relations between these men

Vergor du Chambon

had begun when Bigot was chief Commissary in Louisbourg. He had known De Vergor's father, a brave but inexperienced officer who had defended Louisbourg in 1745, whose family were very poor. The son gradually became a favorite and, as it was Bigot's habit to deal handsomely with those friends to whom he gave his complete confidence and whom he liked, he helped De Vergor on all occasions, and thus the latter became commandant at Beauséjour. He also was given charge of the supplies and the finances, and being in closer relationship with Bigot than his predecessor, was able to play a more profitable game.

His portrait is thus drawn by De Courville, who acted as his secretary:

"This officer lacked ability and education; his appearance was even unpleasant. He was excessively avaricious, and in all respects unfit to hold the two positions. It is difficult to understand how the Intendant could have taken him into favor, and the basis of this friendship, in the mind of the public, did honor neither to one nor the other. It was reported that as the Intendant was a gallant he was under some special obligation to this officer, and, as he intended to return to France and not meaning to come back to Canada, he wished to procure for Du Vergor the means of enriching himself. He gave him the following advice, before his departure (expected) in a letter, dated August 20, 1752:

Profit, my dear Vergor, by your opportunity; trim,— cut — you have the power — in order that you may very soon join me in France and purchase an estate near me."

(Bigot was prevented from taking his farewell departure from Canada at this time).

Vergor du Chambon

By this time many of the refugees had been sent to the Island of St. John and a small number to the river St. John. There still remained a large number for whom places could not be found. They and other residents had got into the habit of trading at Fort Lawrence where they obtained better terms than

were granted by their own people. They were given credit and treated to drinks. This treatment influenced them most favorably and they presented the following petition:

"We have examined the districts in which it has been proposed to settle us and have found that they will not provide us a living in future; having no other place in sight we wish to live on our own lands (*i. e.*, those which they abandoned) and with the same ease and conditions which we enjoyed previously. Indeed, by delaying, our plans are going to ruin, and our livestock will perish if we do not return to make hay. These reasons oblige us to approach you, in the hope that *you will permit us to return to our lands*, with a permission which will allow us to go with our heads erect or, if it is impossible to grant us a permit, to have the goodness to give us a written refusal, so that we may let it be known by you, whether favorable or otherwise, that the pains we and our children suffer are due only to the impossibility of returning to our own properties."

To this request de Vergor gave scarcely any heed. He brusquely answered that he could grant them nothing and ordered them to go no more to Fort Lawrence. To enforce this he placed a guard at Pont à Buot, but he was not obeyed by the people and their visits continued.

The winter of 1754-55 was quite peaceful in Acadia, and, at the Fort, there was no knowledge of any definite preparations being made against the French. It was known, of course, that the fortifications at Halifax were being rapidly advanced, that military activities were reported in New England and that merchant vessels were being collected in their ports, and, also, that a French ship with supplies and munitions from Louisbourg to the King's post at the mouth of the river St. John had been captured.

M. Jacau de Fiedmont, engineer in charge of the Fort, became anxious and made urgent demands for assistance in the completion of the works. However, as Le Loutre was determined on finishing his aboiteau, nearly all the available Acadians were employed by him, and de Fiedmont could get only a few laborers. His insistence was in vain for he could not prevail against Le Loutre. De Vergor sent couriers to Port Royal to seek information, and, when they returned without any, he felt even more secure. He was rudely enlightened on June 2nd at two in the morning when a man from Shepody brought the news that a large British fleet had arrived and were anchored in Maringouin Cove.

CENSUS OF CHIGNECTO AND OUTLYING DISTRICTS IN 1754

(Prepared by M. Placide Gaudet)

1. Old Inhabitants.—

Places	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Vescack.....	11	11	17	25
La prée des Bourques.....	10	10	18	12
Prée des Richards.....	6	5	11	9
Tintamarre.....	32	31	70	51
La Coupe.....	5	6	16	13
Lac.....	18	19	52	27
Beauséjour.....	16	17	31	22
La Butte Roger.....	4	4	5	5
Pont à Buot.....	...	...	...	...
Total.....	102	103	220	164
Chipoudy.....	...	...	...	...
Petcoudiac.....	170	172	396	362
Memeramcouk.....	...	...	...	...

Refugees Settled.—

2. Vescack.....	7	7	8	11
La prée des Bourques.....	6	7	15	11
Prée des Richards.....	4	3	7	8
Tintamarre.....	11	10	19	14
Jollicoeur.....	13	13	34	30
Lac.....	21	21	35	37
Beauséjour.....	20	20	21	28
Pont à Buot.....	12	11	16	20
Portage.....	9	9	24	17
Baye Verte.....	26	26	40	40
Gaspereau.....	4	4	9	11
Total.....	133	131	228	227
Chipoudy.....	8	7	23	21
Petcoudiac.....	8	8	10	5
Memeramcouk.....	12	12	24	14
Cap. Tourmantin.....	10	10	16	16
Chimougouick.....	8	8	12	9
Cap St. Laurent.....	3	3	4	6
	49	47	89	71

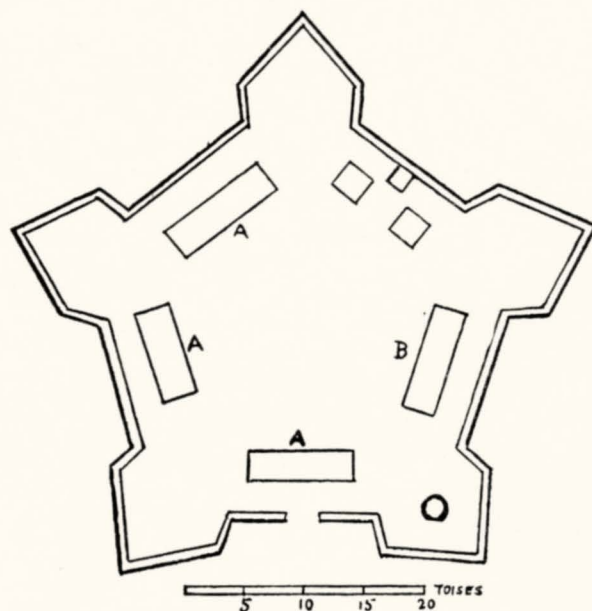
3. Refugees not settled.—

Lac.....	26	25	57	36
Beauséjour.....	8	10	14	15
Pont à Bout.....	7	8	14	13
Total.....	41	43	85	64

4. Total for Chignecto.—

Old Inhabitants.....	589
Refugees Settled.....	719
Refugees unsettled.....	233

1541

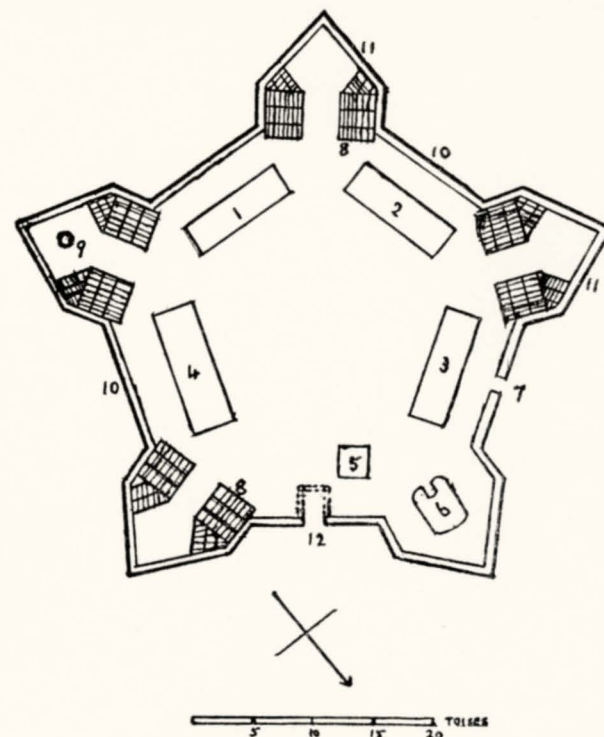


FORT BEAUSEJOUR

The earliest known plan. Original in Paris. Copy in Public Archives, Ottawa.

Outline of bastions and curtains and buildings to be erected within.

- A. Barracks for soldiers.
- B. King's Storehouse.



FORT BEAUSEJOUR

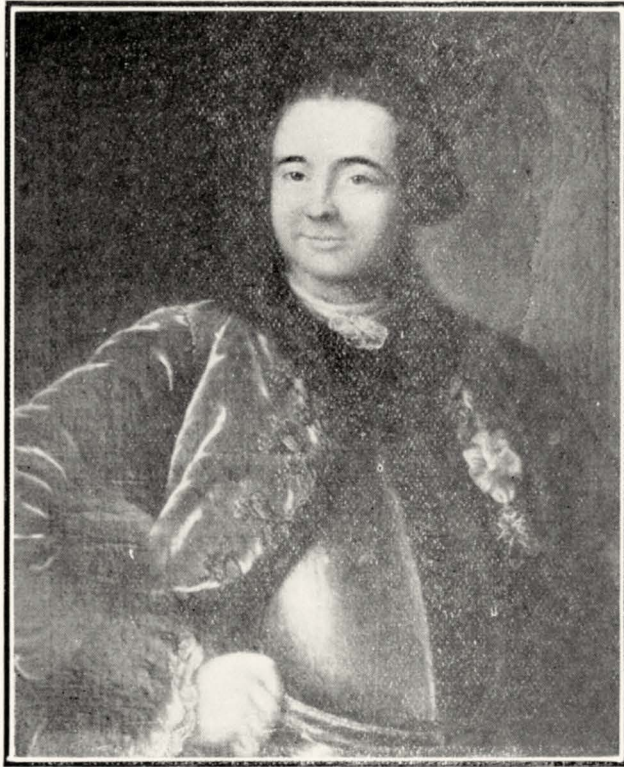
Plan made by Franquet in 1751. Original in Paris. Copy in Public Archives, Ottawa.

Ground Plan showing early stage of building of bastions and curtains, and buildings within.

- 1. Barracks for soldiers.
- 2. Barracks projected.
- 3. Storehouse.
- 4. Officers' Quarters.
- 5. Guard House.
- 6. Powder Magazine.
- 7. Postern.
- 8. Timber flank of bastion.
- 8. Well.
- 10. Curtain of pickets with bracings of timber behind.
- 11. Outer face of bastion.
- 12. Main entrance.



JACQUES PIERRE TAFFANEL,
MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIERE
Admiral in the French navy. Governor of
New France, 1749-1752.
From an old German print.



GASPARD JOSEPH CHAUSSEGROS DE LERY

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTS

FORT BEAUSEJOUR

The first order given for the building of a Fort at Point Beauséjour, as the hill was termed, was that of the Marquis de la Jonquière, Governor General of Canada, to M. de St.-Ours des Chaillons, Commander of the French forces in Chignecto, on November 8, 1750. This is known by a despatch of the Governor to the Minister in Paris, dated May 1, 1751, in which it is stated that this order had been given for the construction of a fort of pickets, with barracks, officers' quarters, and a provision storehouse.

On April 12, 1751, De la Jonquière issued another order,—“Lieutenant de Léry (Joseph Gaspard) of the Infantry, is ordered to construct a picket fort at Point Beauséjour and another at the Gaspereau river in conformity with the orders given regarding it to Captain Des Chaillons, of the Infantry.”

The work must have commenced soon after, for when Colonel Franquet made his official visit on August 20, 1751, he made a plan of the fort as he found it and conferred with St. Ours as to its future development. This plan is given on Page 41. At that time the fort was in the form of a pentagon, the wall being composed of stout timber pickets forming a palisade, about fifteen feet high. This was braced on the inside at intervals. Each angle was expanded to form a projecting bastion, strengthened on the inside by timber platforms for cannon. In the middle of the one on the left of the main gate a powder magazine was placed. Just within the gate was a small guard house. Within the fort between the bastions four buildings were started, viz., officers' quarters, two barracks and a storehouse. In the angle of one bastion a surface well was dug. The profile plan shows a fosse outside the palisade but at this time it was scarcely begun. The main gateway was directed towards the north and slightly east, on the side of the fort which was opposite to that facing the Bay.

There is still an earlier plan in the Paris Archives, probably the first outline sketch of the wall and of some of the buildings, a well, also, being marked in one of the bastions. This plan was not followed as regards the arrangement of buildings, as is readily seen by comparing it with Franquet's and subsequent plans.

The small size and simple construction of this fort is in accordance with the original idea of the Governor of Canada in building it, viz., to provide shelter and defence for a small detachment of troops. It was not meant to withstand a siege by a force provided with heavy artillery. Early in 1752, De la Jonquière had evidently decided on building a much stronger fort (though not a

larger one), capable of carrying batteries of heavy guns and of withstanding artillery fire. The plan adopted is shown on page 41 and was made in 1752. It represents the work as projected, for little could have been accomplished during this year. In the autumn, Jacau de Fiedmont, an artillery officer, was sent by Governor Duquesne, who had succeeded La Jonquière, as engineer in charge of the work of construction and he continued in this position until the fort passed into the hands of the British. This officer, keen and ambitious, was hampered continually in his operations, by lack of strong support on the part of the Commandants, and by his great difficulty in obtaining laborers. He complained that the Abbé Le Loutre, having obtained 50,000 livres from the French Court for the building of aboteaux, took the great majority of available workmen to carry out his project, and De Fiedmont's complaints and protests were in vain. In consequence when the fort was besieged in June, 1755, it was unfinished, and even then, when hurried efforts were made at the last moment to strengthen the defences, De Fiedmont, as we learn from his own memoir, could get efficient and steady labor from only a small number of the inhabitants.

However, this plan of 1752 is the one which guided this engineer during the next three years. This is certain from an examination of a plan made by an English engineer, Brewse, soon after the capture of Beauséjour. They are substantially the same; only the English plan shows changes projected by Brewse, the earliest of which was the closure of the French gateway and the making of a new one in the curtain facing the Bay.

The simple palisade of 1751 was strengthened by De Fiedmont on the inside by a thick wall of timbers and earth (see Profile Plan, p. 41). Through this wall ran a passage (casemate) along the curtains, in which ammunition could be safely stored. Along the top of the curtain ran a small rampart, six feet wide and nine feet above the ground level, protected by the higher outer part of the wall. At the bastions there were two or three of these underground passages. Outside this wall was a deep fosse (not quite finished at the time of the siege) and exterior to this a glacis bordered by a palisade of heavy timber pickets. At the main gateway the entrance was protected by a redan made of timbers. In each bastion were two lateral gun platforms with embrasures on their sides and another in the angle for a battery *à barbette*; outside this was a wide rampart, covered with sods.

The following are some of the measurements of the fort:

Distance between the points of the pentagon formed by the palissade bounding the glacis, 308 feet; that between the points of two neighboring bastions, 182 feet; each face of the palisaded glacis measured 186 feet; width of bastion at curtains, 60 feet; length of curtain between bastions, 60 feet; height of curtain parapet above ground level, 14 feet; highest level of bastion parapet above ground level, 16 feet; width of area within the base of the walls, approximately 186 feet; width of top of fosse at old ground level, 18 feet, and of bottom, 6 feet. Highest point of glacis next to the fosse was raised 6 feet above old ground level.

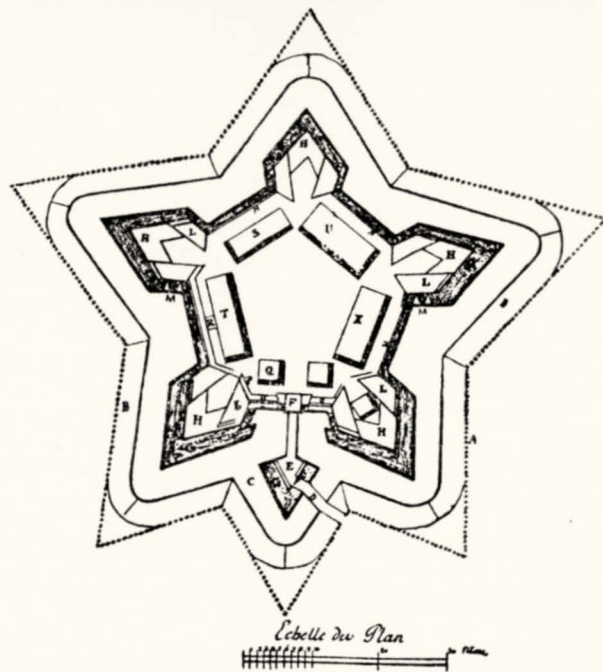


Fig. 1

PLAN OF FORT BEAUSEJOUR IN 1752.

Original in Paris. Copy in Public Archives, Ottawa.

1. Ground Plan.—

- A. Palisade of pickets.
- B. Glacis.
- C. Fosse.
- D. Drawbridge.
- E. Demi-lune.
- F. Entrance.
- G. Parapet.
- H. Elevated platform, an open battery.
- L. Flank platforms.
- M. Embrasures.
- N. Banquette.
- Q. Guard House.
- R. Small powder magazine.
- S. Soldiers' Barracks.
- T. Officers' Quarters.
- U. New Barracks.
- X. Storehouse.

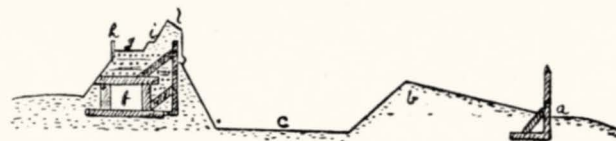


Fig. 3



Fig. 2

2. Profile section through a bastion.—

3. Profile section through a curtain.—

- a. Palisade of pickets.
- b. Glacis.
- c. Fosse.
- d. Sodded surface.
- e. Palisade embedded in the earth.
- f. Subterranean, casemate.
- g. Rampart.
- h. Hand-rail.
- i. Banquette.
- l. Parapet.
- m. Platform for open battery.

The condition of the fort in August, 1754, is described in a letter written by De Vergor, after his arrival there, to the Governor of Canada. I quote from the translation published in the volume describing the Northcliffe Collection in the Public Archives (p. 39):

The fort of Beauséjour is a fairly regular pentagon, the bastions of which are rather slow in finishing, the necessary labour being short owing to lack of food. The trenches have been begun in some places, but the curtains are extremely weak. The parade is much too small. The building that serves for the Government stores is ready to fall to pieces and should be rebuilt. The guard house which is on the left of the parade as you enter, is in very bad condition. There is a small house roofed with bark on the right, which serves as an office for the clerks.

All the quarters, of officers and soldiers alike, are poorly built, in bad condition, very damp, and the rain comes in everywhere. The chimneys are no more than clay, plastered on scraps of wood, and are easily washed down by the too frequent rains. There is always danger of fire, which is the more serious in that there would be neither remedy nor escape.

The main section of the new barracks, which is not yet finished, has only two fronts. It serves at present as quarters for the Commandant and officers.

The powder magazine is very badly placed, near the gate, and is in no way protected against bombs. Another has been built which they say is fairly good.

The wells are of no use. The water is thick and muddy, and can never be made pure. They are obliged to go ten or twelve arpents from the fort for water.

The level of the parade is a couple of feet higher than that of the buildings, which causes the dampness and leaves the mud wet.

Finally, the fort is dominated by an eminence rising directly opposite the gate. It should be changed.

There are twenty-one cannon of different calibre in the fort, one mortar, ball and other things. There may be 160 men in the fort.

The hospital is about two arpents away, and has only seven beds.

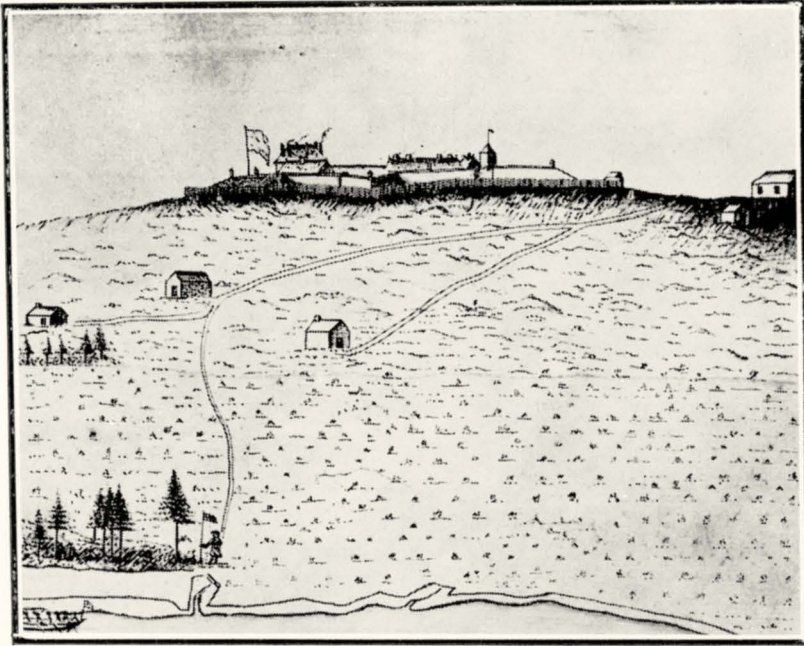
The bakery, which has two ovens recently remade, is a wretched building, and almost as far away.

The labourers and employees are lodged outside the fort.

The artillery of the fort in 1755 according to De Fiedmont, consisted of twenty-six guns of the following calibres:

6.....	12 pounders
4.....	8 "
12.....	6 "
2.....	3 "

The external appearance of the fort is well shown in a series of sketches made by British officers during the siege of 1755 and which are preserved in the British Museum. One of these represents a near view, and indicates the inadequateness of the fort to withstand heavy shell-fire. The tops of the wooden buildings, crowded in the small space, tower over the walls, not only offering a conspicuous target to the enemy but making the risk of a conflagration very great. During the siege the French removed the roofs to lessen this danger. Another view (Plate XV), made from a distance by J. Hamilton, is important as indicating the commanding position of the fort, the land sloping down towards the marshes on all sides except the north. It also shows the position of the church, hospital and other buildings on the hillside beyond the fort. The Butte à



FORT BEAUSEJOUR IN 1755

A view from the Fort Lawrence side.

A portion of the Missaguash is in the foreground.

This view is an inset in a map made by Winckworth Tonge, engineer at
Fort Lawrence

Original in London. Copy in author's Collection.

Roger, on which was an outpost of the Fort, is also shown (at the present time this is close to the main highway to Nova Scotia, a marker having been erected at its base).

In its short history, Fort Beauséjour had the following Commandants, viz.:

1. M de Vassan. He succeeded De la Corne in the autumn of 1750, before the fort was built. The latter had moved from Memramcook to the hill of Beauséjour in the early part of that year when Lawrence first came to Chignecto. According to Lawrence's account there was a row of palissades around Le Corne's camp.

De Vassan was in charge when the fort was commenced in 1751 and remained as Commandant until 1753.

2. M de la Martinière from 1753 to 1754.

3. M du Chambon de Vergor from 1754 to the capitulation.

FORT GASPEREAU

This was situated on level ground near the shore just below the opening of the Gaspereau river into Baie Verte. In 1751, the northeast side of the Fort was about 68 feet from the water and the east side 126 feet (since that time there has been marked erosion of the shore, and the southeast corner of the fosse has been washed away).

A good description of the fort is found in Jacau de Fiedmont's memoir and a plan was made by Col. Franquet during his visit in 1751, a copy of which is here reproduced. (p. 44). The fort was square, the sides measuring 114 feet each. At each corner stood a two-story tower (blockhouse), pentagonal in shape, built of timbers standing upright and held together with cross pieces. The upper story projected two feet outside the lower story, being machicolated so as to enable musketry fire to be directed downwards if necessary. Small cannon were placed in the upper story, which had loopholes on the sides. Between the towers ran the curtains consisting of an outer and an inner row of heavy timber pickets, the latter being shorter than the former. Inside the palisade was a banquette of earth, used by the soldiers when they wished to fire through loopholes between the tops of the pickets. Outside the pickets was a fosse, 15 feet wide at the top and five at the bottom. The earth taken from the ditch was used to form a bank against the palisade, and on the outer side to form a glacis which was made to slope gradually. Thus the fosse was deepened, so that its vertical depth from the level of the top of the glacis was about seven feet. It was intended to build another palisade outside the glacis but this had not been carried out at the time of the capture.

Its artillery, in 1755 consisted of four guns firing four ounce balls and eight firing eight ounce balls. Its garrison consisted of not more than twenty-five men. Within the fort was a storehouse for goods, a small powder magazine, and a house for the commandant and officers. The soldiers lived in the towers. At the time of the capitulation a new magazine for munitions was under construction. In Franquet's plan the gateway is placed in the middle of the curtain on the northeast side opposite the space between the little graveyard and the

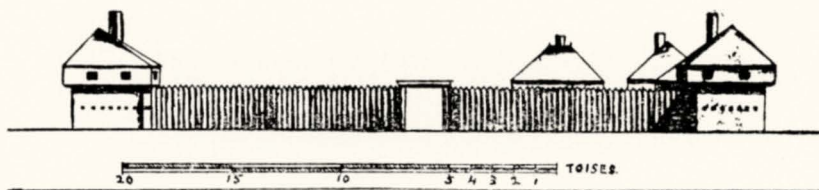


Fig. 1

1. External view of Fort.

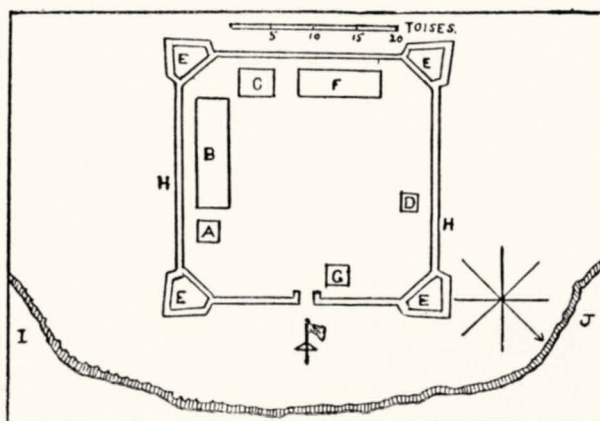


Fig. 2

FORT GASPAREAU

Sketches by Franquet in 1751. Originals in Paris.
Copies in Public Archives, Ottawa.

2. Ground plan.

- A. Guard House for Storehouse.
- B. Storehouse for goods.
- C. Commandant's Quarters.
- D. Powder Magazine.
- E. Corner Blockhouses.
- F. Projected Barracks for soldiers.
- G. Projected Guard House near entrance.
- H. Palisaded curtain joining Blockhouses.
- I. Baye Verte.
- J. Gaspereau river.



FORT LAWRENCE IN 1755

Sketch made by Capt. John Hamilton of the 40th Regiment.

Original in British Museum.

Copy in Author's Collection.

1. Block Houses.
2. Commandant's House.
3. Officers' Quarters.

4. Soldiers' Barracks.
5. Commissary's Quarters.
6. Tall Palisade.

7. Mr. Martin's.
8. The Fives Court.
9. Commandant's Summer House.

10. Commandant's Stable.
11. Brew House and Mr. Huston's.
12. Formerly Mr. Glazier's.

At the present day the C. N. Railway runs through a cutting made where the tall palisade stood.

lighthouse (as seen at the present time). It was intended to build a drawbridge over the fosse, but this was never completed. No other entrance is shown on the plan. At the present day the middle of the fosse on the northeast side is filled up and has long been used by people entering the Fort area. I believe this to have been made long after the fort was abandoned, probably by a farmer who wished to have easy access. The remains of an old orchard suggests that the land was cultivated. It is not impossible that in the short English occupation this new entrance might have been made, but there is certainly no ground for believing that it was the work of the French.

Fort Gaspereau had no water supply. When Winslow took control of it he reported in a letter to Monckton, dated June 21, 1755, that the Garrison had to "fetch their water at a large distance in carts."

During its short history, Fort Gaspereau had three French Commandants, viz.:

1. Jean Daniel Dumas, until February, 1752.
2. Le Chevalier Foilvillain de la Houssaye, until autumn of 1753.
3. Benjamin Rouer de Villeray, until the capitulation.

FORT LAWRENCE

In September, 1750, Lieut.-Colonel Charles Lawrence and several hundred soldiers arrived at Beaubassin, near the mouth of the Missequash having sailed from Minas. With them they had abundant supplies, building material and the frames of a barracks and two blockhouses. The force landed and established itself on the site of the French village of Beaubassin, on a low ridge which extends northward, parallel to that of Beauséjour. Though the season was late, by great efforts, the fort was considerably advanced and several barracks erected before winter. Lawrence was greatly assisted by Edward How, a commissary officer, who had an intimate knowledge of the country and of the French and Indians. It is probable that Lawrence was not only Commandant but the first engineer of the fort. That it was not completed for some time is evident from the sending of an engineer ensign, Winckworth Tonge, to the fort in July, 1752, with instructions to repair and complete it according to the original design. Soon afterwards, Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Robert Monckton arrived there as Commandant.

In its finished condition (Plate XI) the fort was quadrilateral, consisting of four bastions at the corners connected by curtains. The wall consisted of a palissade of pickets of heavy timbers outside of which was a deep fosse. The earth taken from the latter was banked against the palisade, and on the outside formed a sloping glacis. In the two northern bastions were platforms of timber for cannon, and a similar platform stood at each end of the curtain connecting these. The wall opposite each of these platforms had embrasures. There were two magazines within the fort. In the northwest and southeast bastions were blockhouses, which would serve as watch towers. There were also a house for the Commandant, officers' guardroom, soldiers' guard room, officers' and sol-

diers' barracks, and a store house. In one bastion was a well and in another a privy. Outside the fort was a large woodyard. The one gateway was in the middle of the south curtain. The distance externally between the angles of the two north and the two south bastions was 200 feet, and between the angles of north and south bastions on each side 300 feet. The curtains measured about 120 feet in length. On the lower slope of the ridge (Plate X) south of the fort was collection of buildings more or less enclosed within a high palisade. These included the Commandant's summer house, and his stables, a Fives Court, a brewery and various dwellings for officials and others.

From the placing of the artillery of the fort entirely on the north side, it is evident that attack was anticipated only on that side.

After Fort Beauséjour was captured by the British and, as Fort Cumberland, became their stronghold in Chignecto, Fort Lawrence (as well as Fort Gaspereau) was of no further use, and was abandoned and dismantled in 1756. Remains of the fosse and earth works could be traced well on through the nineteenth century. However, when the area was used for farm purposes, these gradually disappeared. At the present day, only a small portion of the southern part of the fosse may be seen in the field once occupied by the fort. A public road runs along the east side of the field and its ditch corresponds to the eastern portion of the fosse. A farm house occupies the site of the northern portion, and its cellar once formed part of the fosse.

A cairn with a bronze tablet has been erected on the east side of the Fort site by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

COMMANDANTS OF FORT LAWRENCE

Major Lawrence, after building the fort, commanded it, probably, until the early part of 1751. He was succeeded by Major Hungerford Luttrell, of Warburton's regiment; he is mentioned in a letter of St. Ours, Commandant at Beauséjour, dated July 30. Soon after this date, Capt. Thomas Collier succeeded Luttrell, as by an order of Council in October instructions as to his duties were sent to him. In August, 1752, Hon. Robert Monckton succeeded Collier and remained for nearly a year, being followed by Capt. George Scott. He was followed by Captain Hussey, who was in command until after the fall of Beauséjour.

REDOUBT AT PONT A BUOT

In Franquet's Journal there is a plan (p. 47) of this structure. It was placed on an elevation on the right of the Ruisseau a l'Ours, 140 yards from the Misseguash, being built of timbers, triangular in shape, and, having a round tower at each corner connected by palisaded walls. The entrance was on the western face. The two long sides measured about 130 feet, and the short side about 60. Near it on the ground above was a house for the officer in charge of the detachment, made of pickets covered with planks, about 14 feet square, and another for the soldiers, 36 by 14 feet. Franquet had a poor opinion of

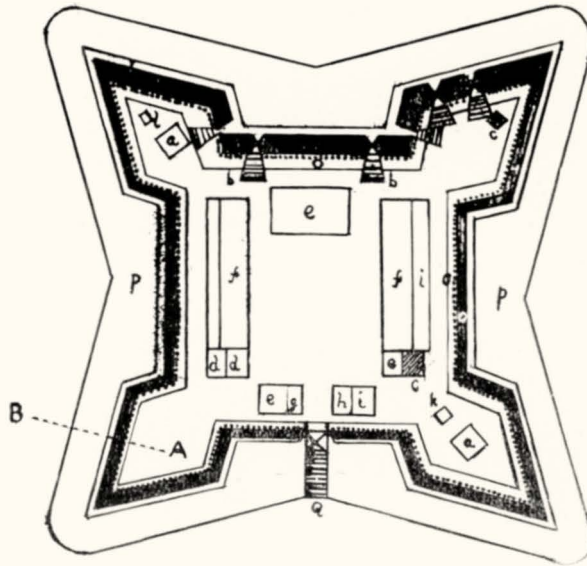


Fig. 1

PLAN OF FORT LAWRENCE IN 1755.

Original in London. Copy in Public Archives, Ottawa.

1. Ground Plan.—
 - a. Block Houses.
 - b. Platforms for cannon.
 - c. Powder magazine.
 - d. Commandant's Quarters.
 - e. Officers' Quarters.
 - f. Soldiers' Barracks.
 - g. Officers' Guard Room.
 - h. Soldiers' Guard Room.
 - i. Store House.
 - k. Well.
 - l. Bogg House.
 - o. Palisade of pickets.
 - p. Glacis.
 - q. Entrance.

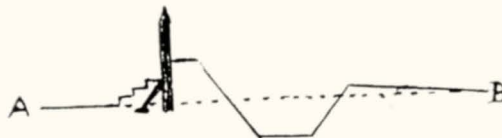


Fig. 2

2. Section through Southwest Curtain—A B

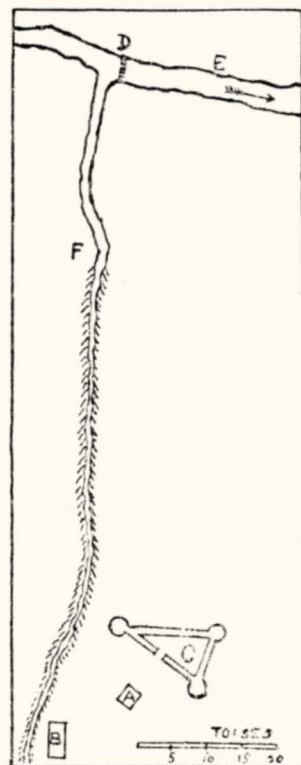


Fig. 1

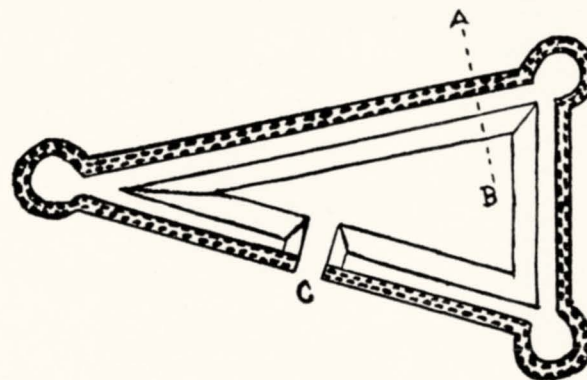


Fig. 2

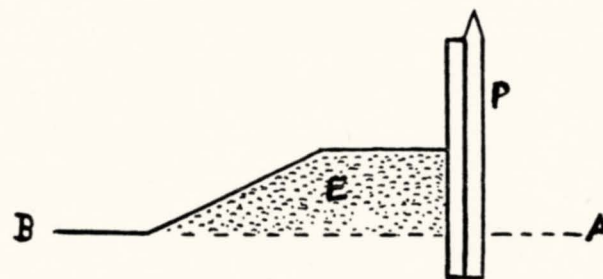


Fig. 3

PONT A BUOT

Sketches by Franquet in 1751

Originals in Paris. Copies in Public Archives, Ottawa.

1. Redoubt and environs.

- A. Commandant's Quarters.
- B. Soldiers' Quarters.
- C. Redoubt.
- D. Bridge.
- E. River Ste. Marguerite (Miseguash).
- F. Ruisseau à l'Ours.

2. Redoubt showing structure of wall.

- C. Entrance.

3. Profile section through wall of redoubt AB

- P. Double row of pickets.
- E. Earth bank behind pickets.

this redoubt, which he described as having been built in a hurry. He recommended that a good earth redoubt, well palisaded, should be constructed, and the water of the stream near by diverted to fill the fosse. Evidently this important point was neglected in the year which followed, for De Fiedmont described it in 1755 as practically worthless.

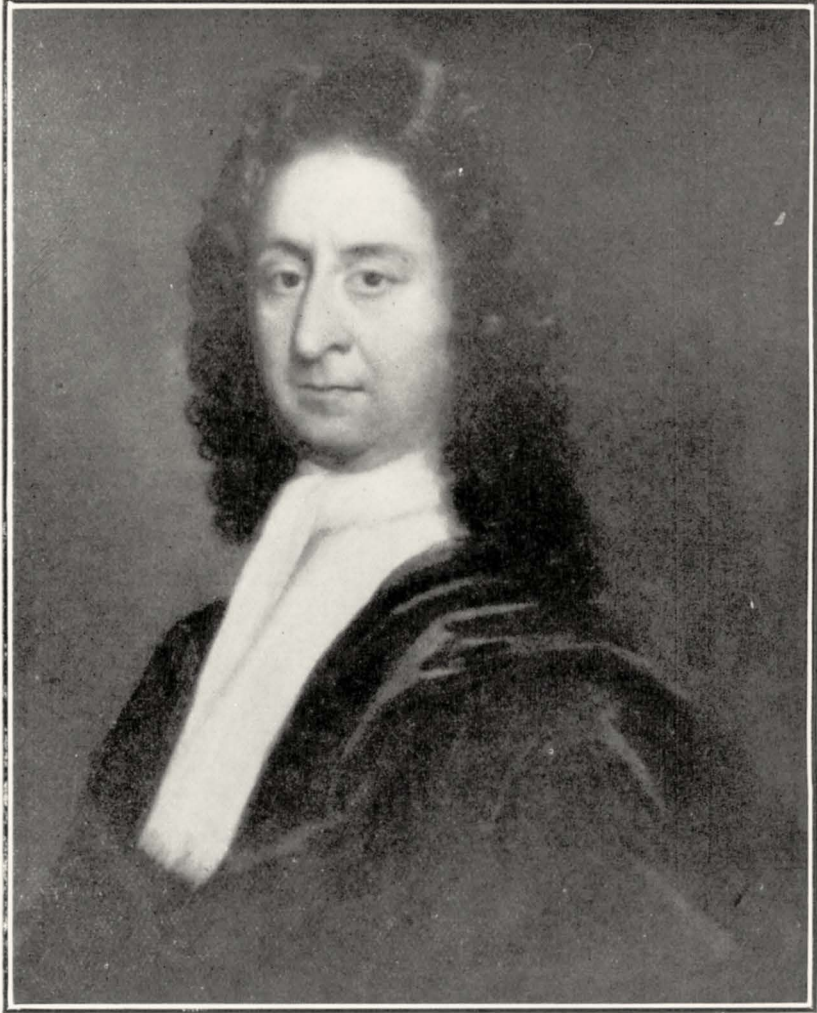
No trace of it exists at the present day, but on the right bank of the Misseguash not far from the bridge are definite traces of trenches and earthworks in a small area. De Fiedmont states that in 1755, an incomplete trench existed and he strongly advised finishing it and making a few redans. However, the inhabitants would not carry out the work.

BUTTE A ROGER

This was an outpost for guarding the marsh which extended to the Misseguash. There was probably a small blockhouse for the soldiers, though no record of it can be found. A shallow cellar and earth mounds may now be seen, and suggests that some kind of a post once existed on the hill.

OTHER POSTS

In addition to these posts soldiers were also quartered at Veskok and Le Lac Village (De Beaumont's *Les Derniers Jours de l'Acadie*, p. 281).



WILLIAM SHIRLEY

Governor of Massachusetts

From a photograph of the original painting by John Smibert, in the
Collection of Thomas B. Clarke, of New York.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT BEAUSEJOUR IN 1755

In 1754, William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, returned home from Paris, where the Commission on the Boundary question had failed to come to a decision. He at once set to work to plan for an attack on the French in Acadia, and he opened a correspondence with Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State for the Southern Department. He was strongly abetted by Charles Lawrence, Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, who in November wrote to Shirley that he believed the French were planning an aggressive movement in Chignecto as soon as the fortifications of Louisbourg were thoroughly restored. Lieut.-Colonel Monckton was the bearer of this letter and he was directed to confer with Shirley in regard to the enlistment of 2000 men for operations in the spring. Shirley, having obtained authority from Sir Thomas Robinson, proceeded to raise and equip a force with great skill and secrecy. This was ready by April and numbered nearly 2000 men who were formed into a regiment, named after Governor Shirley as Colonel, and divided into two Battalions, of which John Winslow, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, commanded the first, and George Scott, with similar rank, the second. Lieut.-Colonel Monckton was Commander-in-Chief.



The expedition left Boston on May 23rd. Lieut.-Colonel Monckton was on the Schooner *Lawrence*, Lieut.-Colonel Winslow being on H. M. S. *Success*, a 20-gun frigate commanded by Captain John Rous. There were two other frigates of the same strength, viz., *Mermaid*, Captain Washington Shirley, and *Sirene*, Captain Probey. The rest of the fleet consisted of schooners, sloops, brigantines and snows, the largest of which was 100 tons.

On the 25th the fleet, consisting of forty-one sail, anchored in Annapolis Basin, N. S., where the men were enabled to go on shore. Here the expedition was joined by three transports from Halifax under convoy of the *Vulture*, Sloop of War, with a detachment of Artillery under command of Capt. Broome, Mr. Bruce, Chief Engineer and others. The fleet sailed on June 1st, at 8 a. m., and stood up the Bay until it reached Maringouin Cove, above the Cape of this name on the western shore of the lower part of the Basin (now named Cumberland), about sunset, and there it anchored. The distance of the Cove from Fort Lawrence was about nine miles.

In a letter of Winslow to Governor Lawrence, written on that day, he states that the two Battalions of Governor Shirley's Regiment, then with the fleet, amounted to 1950 men and officers, all in good health and spirits.



On June 2nd, at four p. m., the fleet proceeded up the Basin on a rising tide. About six p. m., several vessels were run ashore on a Creek (named *Galips* by Winslow) in the marsh near the mouth of the Missequash below Fort Lawrence. There was no opposition from the enemy. The troops landed and marched to the Fort where they were quartered for the night in barns and sheds. On June 3rd, the tents and camp equipment were brought ashore and the men properly accommodated.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF FORT BEAUSEJOUR

Sources of information.—Good accounts of the military operations, written by participants or eye witnesses, have been fortunately preserved. On the French side may be mentioned Jacau de Fiedmont's *Journal de L'Attaque de Beauséjour*. The author was resident engineer in the Fort from 1752 and went through the siege. It was printed in the *Guerre Du Canada*, Vol. XI, 1895.

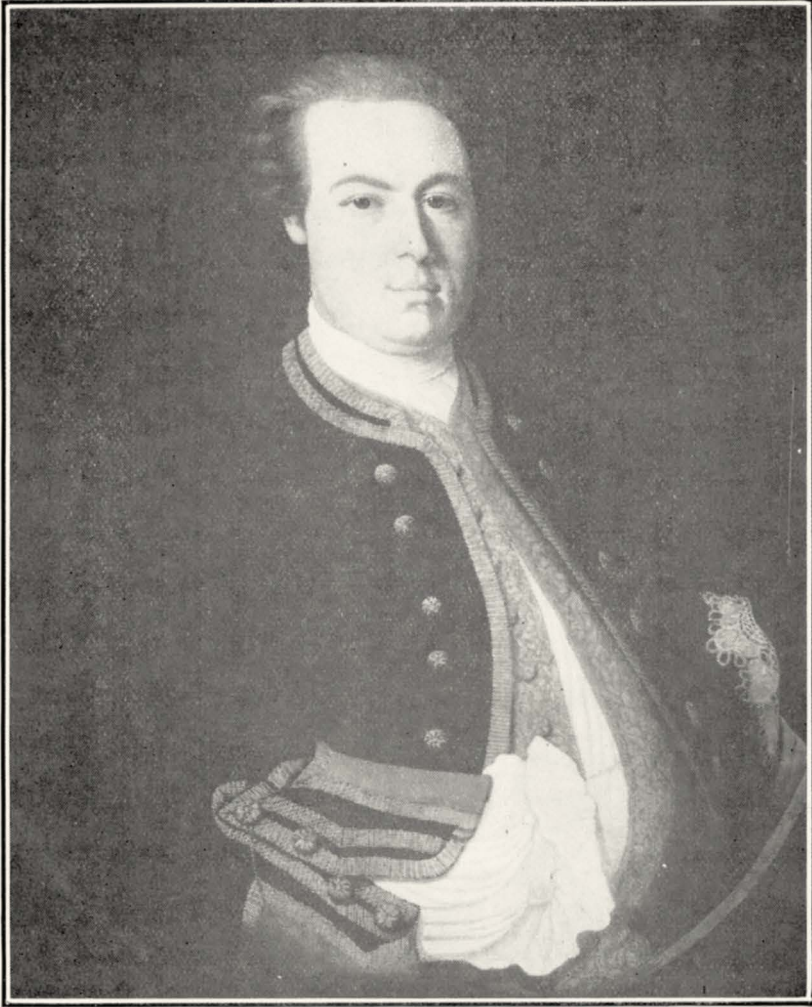
Another account is to be found in the *Mémoires sur le Canada depuis, 1749 jusqu'à 1760*. Three versions of this work exist, undoubtedly written by the one author, whose identity has only recently been made known by M. Aegidius Fauteux of Montreal. He was Louis de Courville, who was in Fort Beauséjour before and during the siege, serving as Notary for French Acadia, having been commissioned by Bigot, May 28, 1754. He also acted as Secretary to De Vergor, the Commandant, and is believed to have written the articles of Capitulation sent by De Vergor. The best known of the three versions is that which was published under the direction of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1838 from a manuscript which had once been in possession of Colonel Burton, who commanded in Montreal after the conquest.

The second version is an original manuscript in the collection of French manuscripts in the Library of Leningrad, which had been acquired by Paul Dubrowski, an attaché of the Russian Embassy in Paris during the French Revolution. A copy is now in the Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec, and had been reproduced in the *Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec*, 1925.

The third version is a manuscript in the McCord Museum of Montreal. This has been studied by Mr. Fauteux, and will soon be published. There are various differences between the three, though in the main they agree. The Burton manuscript was evidently meant for publication, and Colonel Burton probably obtained it from the author for this purpose, but there is no explanation of his failure to carry out this plan. Neither is there any reasonable explanation of the variations in the manuscripts.

The third important account is that of Thomas Pichon, who held a clerical position in the fort, and who was in the pay of the British. His manuscript Journal is preserved in the Nova Scotia Archives in Halifax. It was the source of Beamish Murdoch's description in his well-known history.

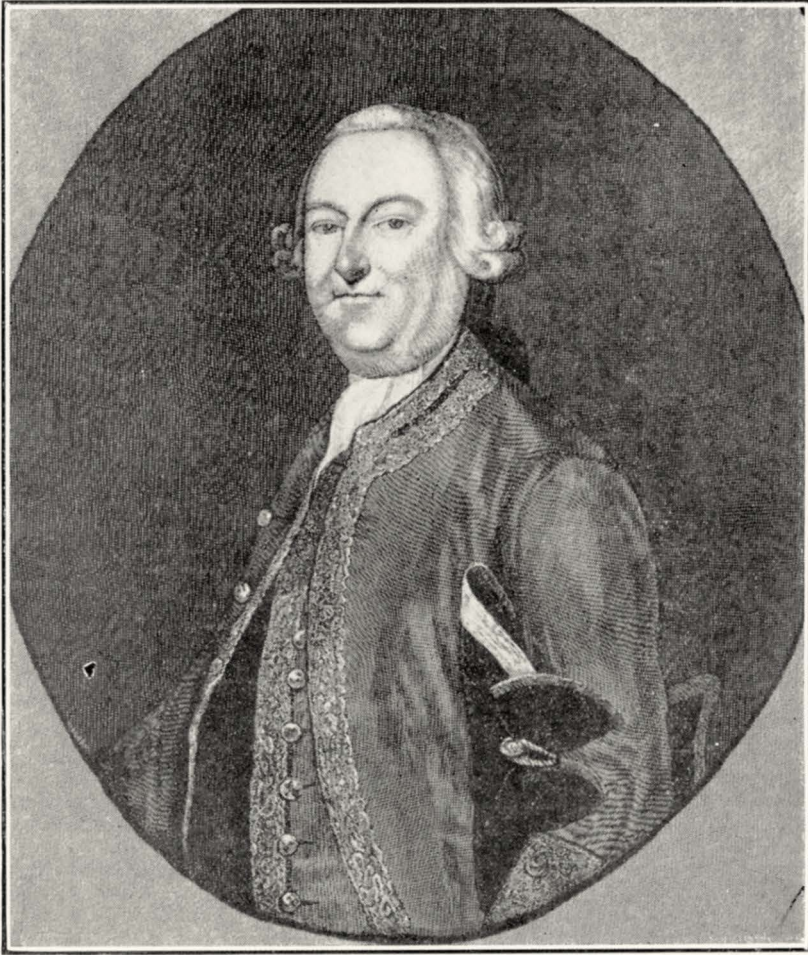
On the English side the most detailed document is the Journal of Colonel John Winslow, next in command to General Monckton, the original manu-



HON. ROBERT MONCKTON

Commander of the army which captured Fort Beauséjour from the French in 1755.

From a photograph of the original portrait painted by John Mare in New York in 1761, in the Collection of Thomas B. Clarke of New York.



JOHN WINSLOW

Lieut.-Colonel in the expedition against Fort Beauséjour in 1755.

From an engraving in the author's collection.

script of which is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with whose permission it was published in the third and fourth volumes of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

John Winslow

Another important source of information is the Journal of Abijah Willard, a captain in Governor Shirley's regiment, which formed the main portion of Monckton's army, and also his Orderly Book. The manuscript originals of these are now owned by the Henry E. Huntingdon Library, California, to whose officials I am indebted for complete photostat copies.

A much smaller Journal, though of considerable value, is the Diary of John Thomas, a surgeon in Monckton's army. It was first published in The Historical and Genealogical Register of Boston, and reprinted in the First Volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

To these I am now able to add the Journal of Monckton himself. For years historians have been trying to find this document but have failed. When this work was nearly ready for press, I received information from Dr. H. P. Biggar, Dominion Archivist in London, that Mr. Stanley M. Pargellis of Yale University, while working in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle recently, had found the missing Journal among the Cumberland papers. Through the courtesy of His Majesty the King, Dr. Biggar obtained a copy of it, and with His Majesty's gracious permission I am now able to publish it. (See Appendix, II, b).

THE ATTACK

1. (From Lieut.-Col. Winslow's Journal).

On June 4th, tents were struck at 6 a. m. in preparation for the advance towards Beauséjour by way of Pont à Buot. The order of march was as follows:

1. Advance Guard of 60 men under Capt. Adams.
2. Lieut.-Col. Monckton with 300 Regulars of the Fort Lawrence garrison.
3. Lieut.-Col. Scott with the Second Battalion.
4. Lieut.-Col. Winslow with the First Battalion.

Four short brass field guns, 6-pounders, were drawn by New England troops under Capt. Stertevant. Progress was slow over the marsh owing to the dykes having been destroyed in places. At 11 a. m. the force neared Pont à Buot. The French had destroyed the bridge and were prepared to oppose the crossing of the river. Winslow's estimate of the combined force of French and Indians was 400. He states that their Blockhouse (Redoubt) was manned and had small cannon and swivels and that a breastwork had also been built. When the British were within 300 yards from the bridge, the enemy fired a discharge of their cannon and muskets, which was returned briskly. The four field guns, under the direction of Capt. Brome, were then quickly fired at the redoubt

and breastwork and after about fifteen minutes the French began to set fire to their redoubt and houses in the vicinity, the men at the breastwork continuing to annoy the British with musket fire. In spite of this a bridge was laid and the troops at once began to cross. They then advanced against the enemy on the hillside, in skirmishing order, seeking cover as much as possible. After about an hour the French and Indians had disappeared. The losses to the British by this time were a Sergeant of Regulars killed and three soldiers wounded; four of each New England Battalion wounded and two of the Artillery Train. It was estimated that the enemy had three Frenchmen and one Indian killed and many wounded. The wounded were placed in carts and the march of the British was directed towards the fort, where a halt was made in the woods less than two miles from it.

On June 5th the army advanced half a mile nearer the Fort and encamped on the slope extending from the Misseguash marsh to the top of the hill (*Butte à Mirande*)*, the Regulars being on a level piece of ground at the foot, the Second Battalion on the hillside and the First on the top. The road to *Butte à Roger* was on the right. A bridge was built across the river at this point.

The 6th was spent in clearing the land and establishing the Camp. Captain Sylvanus Cobb bringing stores up the Misseguash in his sloop was fired on by a party of the enemy, but a detachment was sent to his relief and drove them away.

By the 7th all the tents were pitched. A breastwork of stumps and branches was made outside as a defence against the encampment. Several vessels with stores and munitions arrived.

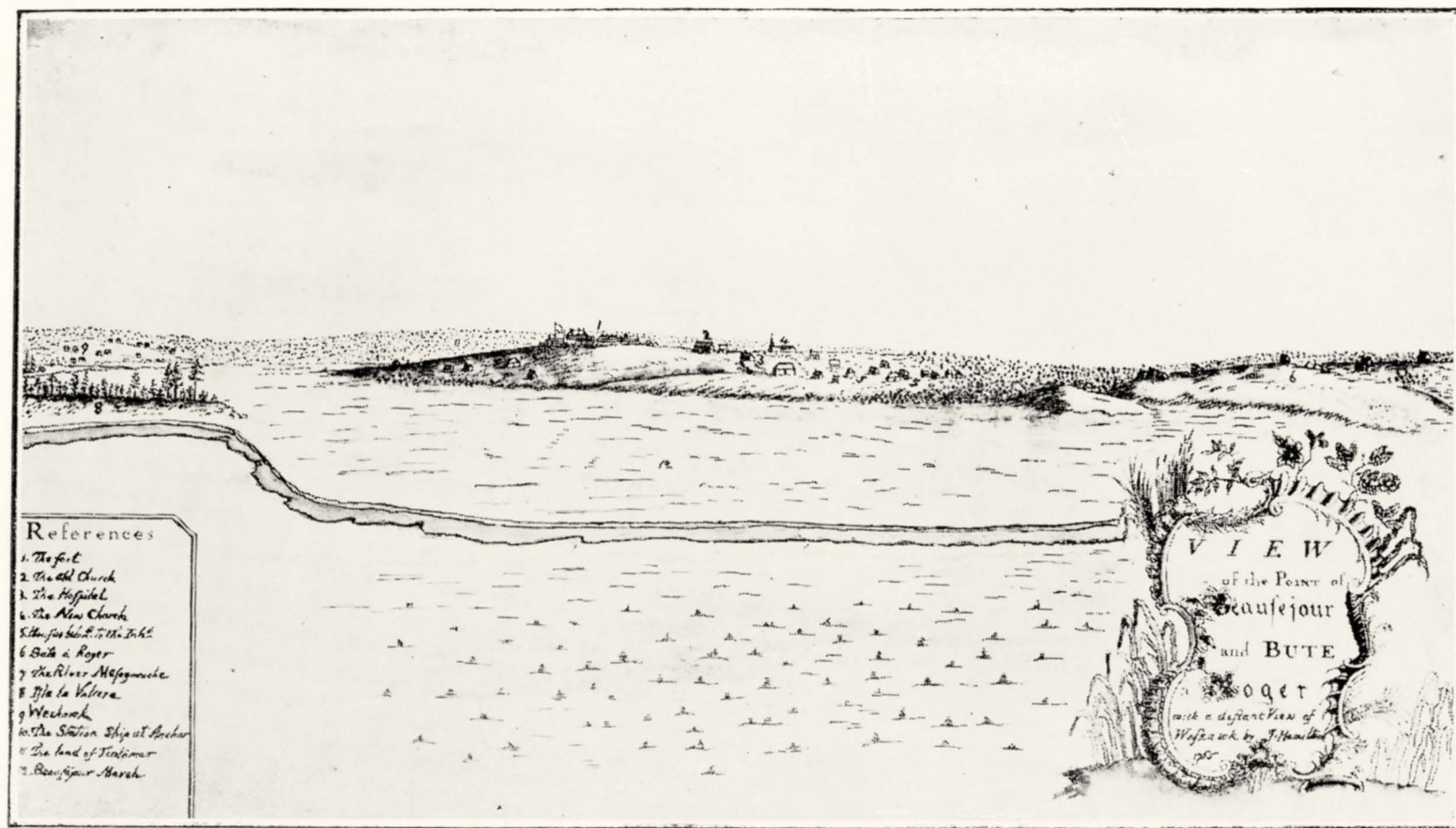
On June 8th, Col. Monckton sent a party of 300 with Engineer Tonge to reconnoitre and to find a place for establishing batteries. They decided on an elevation, *Butte à Charles*; while approaching it the French fired on them, but an advance of the whole body made them retire to the fort. Though the cannon of the Fort fired on them they held the ground. A French soldier was taken prisoner. Also on this day one of the officers, Mr. Hay, of Hopson's Regiment, was captured by the Indians while on his way from Fort Lawrence to the camp. A flag of truce from *Beauséjour* informed the Camp of this and reported that he was well.

On June 10th the men were employed making a road from the marsh up the hill and in hauling up the cannon and munitions.

On June 11th, Winslow was sent out with 400 men to investigate a new road to the site for the batteries, which had been suggested by the engineers. This was found to be good but the distance would be five miles from Camp. Another party was sent out to reconnoitre.

On June 12th, Col. Scott and 500 men were sent to occupy the site for our batteries. They were met there by a force of the French who fought for an hour, and then retreated. Engineer Tonge was badly wounded. Major Preble

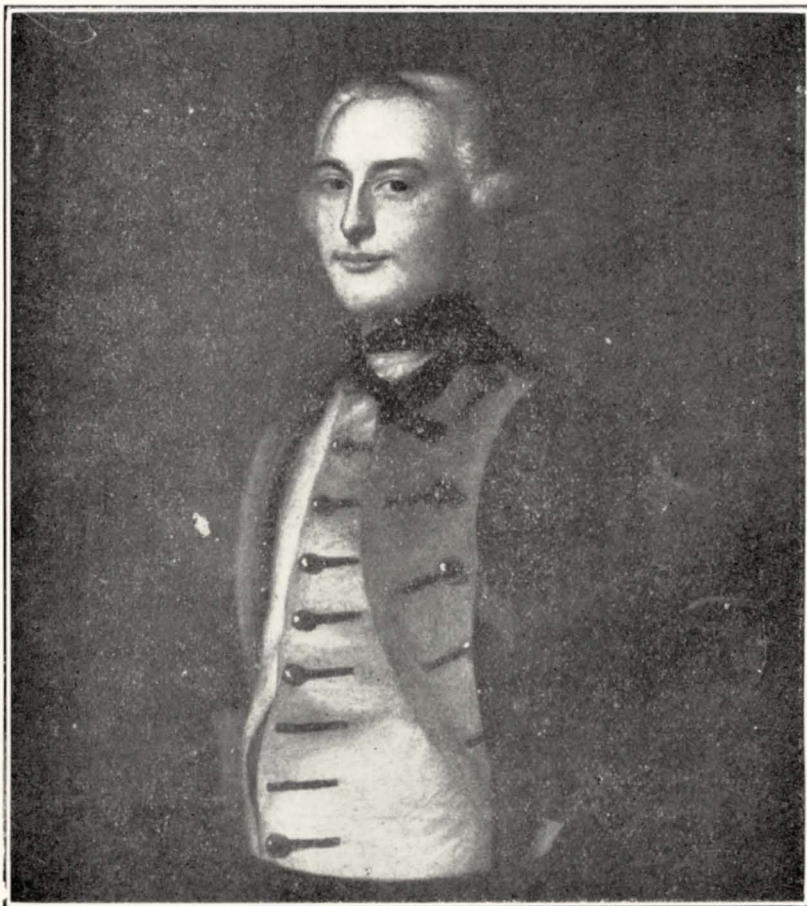
*Now Mt. Whatley, probably near the modern church of St. Marks.



VIEW OF THE POINT OF BEAUSEJOUR AND BUTTE A ROGER IN 1755.

(From the east side of the Missaguash)

By Captain J. Hamilton



JOSHUA WINSLOW

Chief Commissary Officer in Monckton's army, 1755.

From a photograph of the original painting by Joseph Blackburn in the
Collection of Thomas B. Clarke of New York

slightly. One private was killed and four wounded but not seriously. In the evening, Colonel Scott and his force broke ground for the entrenchments. The Fort fired several cannon shots at them.

June 13th. Two 8-inch mortars and artillery stores were taken to the entrenchment with teams, then used for the first time, and with much difficulty. Colonel Scott was relieved and we worked at night digging a lateral trench forwards at right angles to the main trench, which had been dug by Col. Scott's detachment. This lateral trench was advanced eighty-five yards, during the night, towards the fort. As a guard to protect the workmen, fifty soldiers lay on the ground flat between the workmen and the fort.

June 14th. The French fired briskly at the trenches. We replied with two 8-inch mortars and five Royals, but the latter fell short of the Fort. At midday one of the mortars was disabled by a cannon shot. The work of widening the trenches continued. The Fort fired 140 cannon shot this day and several 10-inch shells without damage to us.

June 15th. The fire from the Fort continued without damage; one bomb fell in the trench. A 13-inch mortar was sent to the trenches.

June 16th. Firing again on both sides. We used the 13-inch and 8-inch mortars. About 9 a. m. a flag of truce came from the Fort with proposals for a Capitulation. A council of war was called by Col. Monckton, which rejected their terms and proposed others, which the French were to consider and report upon by 2 p. m. They agreed to our terms and were allowed until 7 p. m. to leave the Fort. We then took possession.

June 18th. A large number of men were sent to level our trenches.

THE DEFENCE

2. (Jacau de Fiedmont's account).

On receipt of the news on June 2nd, that a British force was approaching, the Commandant hurriedly sent courriers to Quebec, the river St. John, Island of St. John and Louisbourg asking for help, and sent word to the inhabitants of Chignecto asking for 600 men to help in resisting the English. In the early evening, the enemy's fleet arrived near Fort Lawrence and landed the troops.

Knowing the unfinished condition of our Fort and its weakness, I urged the Commandant to make it possible for me to strengthen it especially on the north side, from which the attack would certainly come, and I asked for men who could start working immediately. The Commandant promised to do so, and ordered as many men as could be spared to work under me.

Orders were sent to M. de Baralon, a cadet officer, who commanded seven or eight soldiers in a wretched little redoubt at Pont à Buot, to destroy it and the bridge and to take command of the Acadians in that district, about 100 in number, and oppose the advance of the English. I visited this post and advised that near the river, where a trench had been started on the bank of the Misseguash, several redans should be added so that the whole would make a good defensive position. However, the habitants refused to work fearing that if the

enemy should cross the river, their retreat might be cut off. They preferred to build a weak entrenchment of stumps and branches farther up the hill on the edge of the forest. M. de Baralon made the best of the situation and placed there four small swivel guns from the redoubt. He was joined by fifty Micmac Indians.

On the morning of the 4th we saw the enemy's force start from Fort Lawrence for Pont à Buot.

M. de Langy,* stationed at the observation post on Butte à Roger, was ordered to go with his troop of about a dozen soldiers to Pont à Buot. Another mixed force of soldiers, habitants and Indians, amounting to about 300, was also sent there. When the British arrived at the place where the bridge had been destroyed and were preparing to build a new one, a fire of musketry and swivel guns opened on them from the entrenchment near the woods. The enemy replied and their cannon soon put our swivel guns out of action. The Indians, thereupon retreated beyond range of the guns and most of the Acadians followed them, leaving only the officers and some soldiers at the entrenchment. The swivel guns were taken away and buried in a bog. The guard-house, store-house and other buildings in the neighborhood were set on fire and the troops retired. Only one soldier was killed and two habitants wounded in this affair.

The English crossed the river about 10.30 and after a short rest marched towards the Fort as far as the Butte Amirande (2000 to 2400 yards from Beauséjour). Orders were given at the Fort to bring in all supplies in the storehouse outside, as well as cattle which were near, and to destroy all buildings (including the church) in the neighbourhood. At the same time, buildings within the fort being made of wood were torn down to lessen the risk of fire. Very few habitants could be induced to work in the fort. They busied themselves trying to look after their own effects. In the evening, M. de Boucherville took a party of fifty Acadians to reconnoitre; they left him and went to their homes at Le Lac. Those belonging to Baie Verte also retired to their homes, and thus there remained in the Fort less than half of the force of 600 Acadians who should have been there (220 in all). Only a few of these would work with me on the defences, along with about thirty artillerymen. Consequently, progress was very slow. I again applied to the Commandant asking that more men be forced to labor. M. de Boucherville was sent to Le Lac to collect a large number, but he returned with only six men, stating that the rest had refused to come and had discarded their arms and ammunition, saying they did not intend to run the risk of being hanged, as the English had announced that this would be their fate if they took up arms.

On June 6th, nearly three-quarters of a day was spent in trying to get more men to work, but in vain. English transports began to come up to the river to unload at the bridge which had been made opposite Butte à Mirande. We sent a detachment to the marsh to fire at them from behind the dykes but the shots from the vessels as well as from English troops which spread along the

*Levraux de Langy, Ensign of Foot at Isle Royale.



THOMAS PICHON

French official in Fort Beauséjour who acted as a spy for the British.

From a photograph of the painting in the Public Archives,
Ottawa, which is a copy of the original in the
Library of Vire, France.

river bank soon forced them to retire. Soon after, the enemy constructed a battery on the bank near the bridge so that a long stretch could be commanded.

M. Pomeroy, an officer of the garrison of Isle St. John arrived with sixteen unarmed Acadians. The Abbé Le Loutre tried to induce the habitants to work and incited the Indians to make raids and harry the enemy as much as possible. A well-known brave and resourceful habitant named Beausoleil volunteered to make a raid with some Acadians and Indians at night and try to secure some prisoners. On the morning of the 8th, he returned alone announcing that his party were returning with an officer whom they had captured. About this time a large English detachment appeared on the ridge opposite the Fort, about 1000 yards away. We fired cannon to warn Beausoleil's party so that they might keep out of danger.

The prisoner, M. Hay, was brought in about 10 a. m., and was allowed to write to his commander. M. de Vergor also wrote stating that he would make M. Hay as comfortable as possible. He had been caught while on the road between the Camp and Fort Lawrence. M. de Baralon was sent to the English camp with these letters. He was blindfolded and admitted. While waiting for answers he walked about the Camp with some officers. He was informed that they had more than thirty-two heavy cannon and twenty-two large mortars.

On June 9th the workmen ceased work owing to rain but at the same time we noticed that the enemy continued to unload their vessels and to transport artillery and munitions to their Camp.

The next day there were few men at work and another effort was made to bring more from the country. Previously, a courier had been sent to Father Germain on the River St. John, asking him to send a reinforcement of his Indians. He refused and sent a letter stating that he believed it would be useless as he concluded that our Fort would be taken before they could arrive. My workers continued to diminish and I was in despair.

On the 12th at 4 p. m., a large enemy detachment was seen approaching the site selected for their batteries on an elevation opposite the Fort. A force of 220 soldiers, Acadians and Indians was sent out to harry them. A slight skirmish ensued and our men retired. The Indians were very cowardly and kept out of range. We fired cannon from the Fort. The enthusiasm in favor of making sallies from the Fort gradually waned and no longer took place at night.

At day break of June 13th, we saw the English at work on their first parallel. They began to fire bombs from their 8-inch mortar about 7 a. m. The difficulty of continuing work on our defences was now greatly increased. The workers were afraid of the bombs and crawled into the casemates, from which we could not make them come out. Only about twenty to twenty-five men were brave enough to work continuously. One man was killed by a bomb. We managed to block the entrance to the fort which was opposite the English position and to reinforce the curtain in which it was placed. At night we continued to throw bombs and fire-balls at the works of the enemy.

On the 14th June, their mortar fire increased and bombs of large calibre were thrown, though with small results. Two soldiers were wounded. I

pointed out to the Commandant that the casemate in which the English officer was placed was not proof against the largest bombs which were being thrown. The officer was warned but he said that he would stay where he was. This casemate was in reality the strongest in the Fort being built of large timbers and covered with ten or twelve feet of earth.

This day a letter came from the Governor of Louisbourg stating that he could send no assistance. This news spread quickly, and the habitants, who had been led to believe that help would be sent became demoralized, and about eighty left the fort.

On June 15th, our fire forced the enemy to abandon their trench for a time, but during the night they resumed work. The Acadians in the Fort, through chosen spokesmen, represented to the Commandant that as there was no hope of help they did not wish to remain and sacrifice themselves uselessly. A Council of War was held, at which it was considered whether an order should be issued prohibiting such statements from being made by the Acadians under penalty of being shot or of having their land and property confiscated. However, this was not carried out. About 9 a. m., a bomb pierced the casemate in which the English officer was a prisoner and he along with an officer of the garrison and two other men were killed and another wounded. This disaster increased the panic in the Fort. The habitants approached the Commandant in a body and asked him to capitulate, threatening to turn their arms against the garrison if he did not agree. He conferred with his officers and asked my opinion about the remaining casemates. I informed him that unless the damage caused by a large bomb were repaired at once succeeding ones would be likely to destroy them, even the casemate which contained the ammunition.

The Commandant then decided to send an officer, M. de Vannes, asking for a suspension of hostilities for forty-eight hours. The English Commander replied that if we were inclined to capitulate he would grant honorable conditions, provided that no time was lost in submitting terms and exchanging hostages, and for this purpose he would give us until 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Our Council of war met and drew up the following articles of Capitulation.

ARTICLE 1.—The Commandant, officers, état-major in the services of the King, and the garrison of Beauséjour, to march out with arms, baggage, drums beating, fuses burning.

ARTICLE 2.—The Commandant shall have at the head of the garrison six cannon of the largest calibre, one mortar and fifty charges for each piece.

ARTICLE 3.—His Brittanic Majesty shall furnish supplies necessary for the transport of this force to Baie Verte, where the garrison shall embark in a French ship to go where they please.

ARTICLE 4.—The garrison shall take with it 200 quarters of flour and 100 of pork.

ARTICLE 5.—The necessary time shall be allowed for this garrison to go to Baie Verte and from Baie Verte to its destination.

ARTICLE 6.—The Acadians are not to be penalised for having taken arms for they have been forced to do so under pain of death, and no harm shall come to them.

ARTICLE 7.—The Acadians shall be free to enjoy their own religion, to have priests, and shall suffer no punishment.

ARTICLE 8.— Such Acadians as desire shall be permitted to withdraw to the territory of the King of France, and shall be allowed a year in which to take this step, counting from the day of the capitulation.

ARTICLE 9.— The French are to be permitted to furnish the Acadians with all that is necessary for their withdrawal during the current year.

ARTICLE 10.— All the articles of Capitulation which might be expressed obscurely are to be interpreted to the advantage of the French and executed in good faith.

These articles were sent to the English Commander with a letter in which he was asked to keep M. Rouilly as a hostage in place of the officer whom he sent back to us.

M. de Vannes only returned about 6 p. m., bringing with him an English officer in exchange for M. Rouilly. The English commander sent the terms and conditions which the instructions of his General permitted him to offer and gave assurance that if they were accepted the garrison would be treated with the most distinguished honors.

A Council of War was called and the letter and following conditions were read:

ARTICLE 1.— The Commandant, état-major in the service of the King, the garrison of Beauséjour shall march out with their army baggage, and drums beating.

ARTICLE 2.— The garrison shall be sent directly to Louisbourg at the expense of the King of Great Britain.

ARTICLE 3.— The garrison shall have sufficient provisions to last until their arrival at Louisbourg.

ARTICLE 4.— The Acadians inasmuch as they have been forced to take up arms under pain of death shall be pardoned for the part they have taken.

ARTICLE 5.— The garrison are not to take up arms in America for a period of six months.

The above terms are only accorded on condition that the garrison shall surrender at seven o'clock in the evening. The Council decided to send a letter asking time for consideration as it was not possible for our Commandant to decide anything in the half-hour which remained to him, and requesting that he be given till the following morning. M. de Vannes took this letter but returned without delivering it as he had no time. The officer in command of the British trenches, having shown him an order, began to fire again on the fort at seven o'clock, and asked us to return their hostage and to take back our own. The Council of War having assembled, almost all opinions were for accepting the Capitulation in view of the impossibility of receiving assistance, M. Drucour's letter, the weakness of the garrison, the insecurity of the casemates, especially the powder magazine, etc. The Commandant, officers and garrison signed the Capitulation on June 16, 1755.

The Capitulation was signed on June 16th by the Commandant and his officers as follows:

Le Chev de Vannes	Duplessisfaber
Degannes Falaise	
Fiedmont	
De St. Laurent	Boisberthelot Penané
Montegron de Langy	Barrallon
Laverandry	
Vergor duchambon	

(An exact copy from the document among the Monckton papers. Northcliffe Collection-Public Archives).

The British took possession of the Fort at 7.30 in the evening—on the fourth day after opening their trenches. Their troops passed the night under arms. They did not touch the supplies and other property of the King which was scattered about the Fort, owing to the buildings which had been destroyed, until they saw our own men start pillaging. Then their officers could not restrain them. However, a portion was rescued and placed in safety.

Our garrison marched out the following day to embark on transports for Louisbourg. Referring to the damages sustained at the Fort, De Fiedmont says that two cannon were split. They had been rusty and were fired too often. He gives the list of killed and wounded from the beginning of the enemy's operations as follows:

KILLED:

M. Raimbault, officer, by a bomb,
 Sieur Fermand, interpreter, by a bomb,
 M. Billy, Clerk, by a bomb.

{ Killed in the casemate
 with Hay, the English Officer.

3 Acadians, two by a bomb.
 1 Frenchman in a skirmish,
 1 soldier at the Pont à Buot fight,
 1 Indian chief.
 1 English officer in the fort.

Three officers, two soldiers and three habitants were wounded.

This account of De Fiedmont is valuable from the military details which it gives, but from certain standpoints it deserves criticism. His various references to the part played by the Acadian habitants constitute a very severe arraignment of them. In his opinion they were for the most part a cowardly lot, afraid to fight, afraid to work under fire and unwilling to do so even when there was no danger, though they knew that strengthening of the fort offered the only chance of withstanding the enemy. They preferred to carry on guerilla warfare, which was only an excuse to be away from the fort, loafing or wandering about at will, and they accomplished nothing against the enemy of the slightest importance.

These strictures of De Fiedmont are scarcely justified and may be very greatly modified by a consideration of facts which are not mentioned by this author. Peaceful peasants like the Acadians cannot be turned into disciplined soldiers in a sudden emergency. Only stern training under brave and competent

officers can inure men to face cold steel or gun-fire even when they are themselves armed. It is an even greater ordeal to make them work steadily as non-combatants, under constant shell-fire. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Acadians shrank from the exposure which work on the defences necessitated, and that they preferred the shelter of the casemates. Also, through this trying period, they were much troubled as to their status. Both residents of Chignecto and refugees knew that Great Britain claimed all Acadia (including what is now New Brunswick) and that the erection of Forts by the French in this territory was regarded by them as entirely unwarranted. They realized that the Acadians, even though they had considered themselves as neutrals, were citizens of a country ruled and claimed by Great Britain, and they were aware of recent proclamations in which the Governor at Halifax had threatened extreme punishment to all Acadians who might take arms against the British.

Is it any wonder that they should not be enthusiastic to work or fight for the French, especially when they believed that they had no chance of withstanding the British, and when they learned that there was no hope of help either from Canada or Louisbourg? These people loved their homes and their life in Acadia. They learned too late that they had been mere pawns in the game of high politics directed from Quebec. Many of them had been cajoled and terrorised, mainly through the machinations of priests like Le Loutre, to sacrifice their homes and possessions for the nebulous promises of the French authorities, which were never realized, and which only precipitated the entire Acadian people into a morass of prolonged sorrows and miseries. But what about De Fiedmont himself? The work of building the Fort had been in his hands for three years. Who else but he was responsible for an unprotected gateway, weak walls and bastions, and casemates which he admitted at the end would not withstand heavy shell fire? Why his terrible concern, when the siege was threatened, for that part of the Fort which would be subject to the direct fire of the enemy from their batteries, a few hundred yards along the ridge, especially, when he had always known that this was the only place from which the artillery of that day could attack? Should he not have given particular attention to this side of the Fort during the three years of his engineering duties. There is no record of any agonising protests of his to the authorities during these three years, nor of any indications that he was not satisfied with the structural features of the Fort.

He was engineer-in-chief responsible for the work. His duty was not to make something which appeared to be substantial, but which was actually substantial. The writings of great French engineers were accessible to him and he knew the strength of the artillery of the day. The result of his labors was a mere simulacrum, utterly useless as a defensive stronghold. When the grim reality of war came so suddenly, De Fiedmont was caught unprepared, and realizing, all too late, the great defects of his work, hastened in a frenzy of anxiety, to try to repair them. Because the Acadian peasants were forced in this emergency to labor on his behalf, against their desires and scruples, De Fiedmont

in his written account pours forth his contempt for them and accuses them in the most ungenerous manner, but not a word is said of his own failings, his neglect, his ignorance or his incompetence as an Engineer.

Pichon's Journal adds nothing of importance to De Fiedmont's account of the siege. He states that the proposals for the Capitulation were drawn up by De Courville, Notary, and Secretary to M. de Vergor. Speaking of the Fort after the British took charge, he states that the bales of merchandise were looted more by the French than by the British soldiers, that French officers and their valets took a considerable quantity and that even M. de Vergor and his relative, M. de Vannes, obtained a share through several intermediaries. Pichon himself lost some of his own property. His trunks, stored in a casemate, had been opened and plundered; probably, he lost much of the good English gold which he had received for his services as a spy. That the British officers did not condone the action of their soldiers in looting goods in the Fort is evident from a statement of Colonel Winslow in his Journal, dated June 17, in which he speaks of the arrest and confinement of two soldiers for this offence.

FORT GASPEREAU

Immediately after the fall of Beauséjour, Col. Monckton wrote to Captain de Villaray, Commandant at Fort Gaspereau, offering him and his garrison the same terms accorded to Fort Beauséjour, which was accepted without any deliberation. Colonel Winslow marched there with a force of 500 men on the 18th. They left Fort Lawrence at 11 a. m., built a bridge across the Miseguash where the Buot bridge had been, and then continued by the road which Winslow describes as a "Good Cart road though wet." The force arrived at the Fort at sunset and took possession. M. Villaray, his garrison of thirty regulars, and some workmen left for Beauséjour. Winslow's report to Monckton on the state of this fort is as follows:

Fort Gaspereau,
June 18, '29.

"We arrived at this place a Little before Sun Setting & Immediately Took Possession of the Garrison which I take to be one Hundred and Eighty Foot Square with four Bad Block-houses one at Each Corner, a Ditch partly Dug, No ramparts nor Glasses (glacis), nor an estrodenary Palasade, a Large Store house but not Tight nor Flor. Neither is there one Building in the whole, Tennantable, all things are Miserable to the Last Degree."

This is certainly not a very creditable showing for the labors of M. de Fiedmont, engineer-in-chief of works at the Forts.

At the same time Winslow made a report as to the contents of the fort, *e. g.*, 4 cannon, 4 pdrs., 4 cannon, 2 pdrs, 2 swivels, 2 gun carriages, ammunition and stores.

M. de Courville's comments on the siege are short and are notable for their criticism of M. de Vergor. He says that the policy of awaiting the English in Beauséjour was bad, especially because of the large number of French and Indians who could not be kept in the Fort. With skilful leadership he could have

led these in the open, opposing and harassing the enemy at every point. Especially, the crossing of the Misseguash should have been disputed in force, as the French had the advantage in position. While avoiding an actual battle he could have caused great delay to the enemy, and made them very anxious in regard to the arrival of a force from Quebec. Indeed, the British might have been put on the defensive. These criticisms seem justified. The opposition at the crossing of the Misseguash was a fiasco. The Acadians and Indians retreated after a short resistance and the few regulars left were too weak. Moreover, they were lamentably deficient in moveable or field artillery. Posted on an elevation behind a good entrenchment, with guns equal to those of the English, an energetic commander with brave disciplined men might have long delayed the passage by the British except with great loss of life.

De Courville gives an interesting titbit regarding the Council of War assembled by De Vergor to hear the letter from M. de Drucour, governor of Louisbourg, who stated that he could send no aid as the enemy's vessels were patrolling outside Louisbourg harbour. The officers urged the Commandant to hold out as long as possible, and, by all means to keep the depressing Louisbourg news from the Acadians. Nevertheless, it soon became known, either through the indiscretion of certain officers who had no stomach for a siege, or through de Vergor's own fault in allowing his servant to remain in the room during the conference. (This man's wife, according to De Courville, had managed to gain De Vergor's favor and had become very impertinent to those to whom he was well-disposed). With regard to the capitulation of the Fort, he states that, after the blowing up of the casemate on the 16th, all except a few brave spirits were of a mind to yield, being influenced by their fears and their inexperience.

De Courville says that De Vannes, a relative of De Vergor, should not have been sent as a negotiator to Col. Monckton. He had proved himself to be a poor soldier and was equally weak in diplomacy. He states that the British Commander soon took his measure and made his terms of capitulation very strong accordingly. He thinks that Monckton must have been greatly surprised at the suggestion of a capitulation. He had fired comparatively few shells and had not even placed his strongest mortars. He knew nothing of the destruction of the casemate nor of the latest threats of the Acadians (unless probably told by De Vannes, who had no desire to fight).

De Courville also says that the French officers who went to the British camp in connection with the capitulation soon got drunk. In taking over the Fort the British Commissary wished to have a signed statement as to munitions and supplies which were left behind, but the French official in charge of the stores, in the presence of M. de Vergor, refused to sign a paper, because he would be held responsible for what was missing. He did not wish to be censored for the pillaging which had been carried on under the eyes of the Commandant, who made not the slightest efforts to prevent it, though he (the official) made strong protests.

Courtesies continued to be exchanged between the French and British for several days. On Sunday the 22nd, De Vergor and De Vannes dined with Col. Monckton and officers at the fort. This was the anniversary of the accession of

King George II, and both forts fired salutes. The transports containing the garrisons of Beauséjour and Gaspereau, sailed on the 24th and arrived at Louisbourg on July 6. In his Journal of the siege, Lieut.-Col. Monckton refers to the work of the troops under his command (See Appendix, II, b). He praises the Regulars, the Artillery and the staff of Engineers. As to the New England troops his words are as follows:

The Men in General are good; But for the Offrs I can't say much— Lieut. Col. Scott who Commanded the 2nd Battn was on all occasions of the greatest Service to me— As well from his Knowledge of the Indians & Inhabitants as from his activity & good Conduct—

Majr. Pribble a good & brave Offr— Majr. Frye & Majr. Bourne always active in their several dutys— Some few Cpts. were likewise Verry Active— But as to the Rest excepting two or three— I must be silent."

It is interesting to note that Winslow is not mentioned, though he commanded the 1st Battalion. Relations were strained between him and Monckton, as is clearly indicated in the Journals of Winslow and Willard. As there is no evidence whatever that Winslow showed incapacity in the short campaign in Chignecto, the absence of any reference to him in Monckton's Journal is probably due to the latter's dislike of him.

The report of the expedition sent to London by Governor Lawrence was severely criticised by the New Englanders, when it became known. This is evident from an interesting letter of Benjamin Franklin written to Sir Edward Fawkener, private secretary of the Duke of Cumberland, recently found among the Cumberland papers in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle by Mr. Stanley M. Pargellis, and brought to my notice by Mr. Max Ferrand of the Henry E. Huntington Library, California. Writing from New York on July 27, 1756, Franklin refers to the march of the Provincials under General Winslow to Crown Point and says:

They declin'd the Assistance of the Regulars, who therefore only follow them, and take posts they leave, to be ready to support them in case of any accident. The Provincials, it seems, apprehend, that Regulars join'd with them, would claim all the Honour of any Success, and charge them with the Blame of every Miscarriage.

They say, that last year, at Nova Scotia, 2000 New England Men, and not more than 200 Regulars, were join'd in the Taking BeauSejour; yet it could not be discovered by the Acct sent home by Covr. Lawrence, and publish'd in the London Gazette, that there was a single New England Man concern'd in the Affair.

FRENCH CRITICISMS RELATING TO THE CAPITULATION AND COURT-MARTIAL ON VERGOR DU CHAMBON AND DE VILLERAY

(See "La famille de Villeray," by P-G Roy. Bull. d. Recherches Hist. Vol. XXVI, No. 5, and De Courville's account in his *Mémoires sur les Canada*. Québec, 1838, p. 99).

De Villeray was blamed by several after his ready surrender of Fort Gaspereau. His superior officer, Drucour, Commandant at Louisbourg, complained to the Minister in Paris, in a letter of July 8, 1755, and recommended that De Villeray should be removed from his Company. On hearing of this, the latter wrote to Drucour in his defence. He described the wretched condition of Fort Gaspereau, unfit to withstand a single discharge of artillery, and he laid the blame on the "cowardly Acadians," who had preferred to work for the English at Fort Lawrence rather than for him. (If this be the case, it was doubtless due to the higher pay offered by the English.—J. C. W.). When Monckton's army arrived, De Vergor had ordered him to send all the male Acadians to Beauséjour, and he was left with only twenty soldiers at Gaspereau. These habitants soon returned, having refused to work or fight for De Vergor, just as had been the case with him. De Villeray's defence did not reach Paris until after the Minister had sent orders to Vaudreuil to hold a Court-Martial on him and De Vergor for their surrender of the forts.

De Courville, in his *Memoires sur les affaires du Canada*, gives a piquant and sarcastic account of the manner in which the trial was conducted in Quebec. He states that it was pre-arranged by Bigot (friend and patron of De Vergor), and he saw to it that the prosecuting officer was a trusty friend who could be depended upon to do what he wished.

A preliminary investigation of those who were to be called as witnesses was held in order to find out which of them were favorable. De Vergor was first questioned, and he became very confused and often contradicted himself. Of the other witnesses, those who were too outspoken were dismissed and only those who were favorable to De Vergor were selected to appear at the trial. Several Acadians, who were in fear of the Intendant, were told what they must say in Court.

When De Villeray, a man of good family and undoubted valor, was questioned, he gave a lively account of conditions at the time of the siege, frankly telling what De Vergor had done to defend Fort Beauséjour, and pointing out that he had been under De Vergor's orders. His remarks, so unfavorable to the latter, were not relished, and it was made clear to him that his exculpation by the Court depended on that of De Vergor, and that he must not speak to the Court in this manner. He was forced to obey, and thus had to accept as a favor what he might have demanded as a right.

De Villeray was bitter against De Vergor because the latter, on arriving at Quebec, had boasted of his defence to those who criticised him, but threw blame on De Villeray whom he designated as a man without courage who had surrendered on the first summons of the enemy.

De Villeraŷ, in self-defence told of the actual state of affairs in the forts and made a comparison between them. He pointed out that Gaspereau was really only a depot for stores in transit to Beauséjour, consisting of a palissade on four sides and blockhouses at the corners, which were partly rotten. There was no glacis or fosse, and there was a large tract of forest nearby, separated from the wall only by a space of twenty-four feet, while on two sides were clearings with stumps and small bushes which greatly favored the approach of the enemy. He had only twenty men with whom to defend four walls of 150 feet each in length. In such a condition it could not be expected that he could have hoped for a more honorable capitulation than that which was granted to Beauséjour. Speaking of conditions in Fort Beauséjour during the siege he said that fear accomplished more than bombs, and caused discord and confusion. What chance was there in the chaos which existed that he should have been remembered or that assistance should have been sent to him. All responsibility was left to him and he had to make the decision regarding the surrender.

De Courville's comments on the defence of Beauséjour, while caustic and facetious, are slightly exaggerated. He says that in reality the siege might be designated "the velvet siege" (*le siege de velours*). The garrison slept tranquilly at night, and the enemy did not even awake them in the morning; they fired some bombs, a small one always preceding a large one. Indeed, it might have been said that M. Monckton was playing jokes on them. They did not fire a single cannon shot, and as for the garrison, had it not been for M. Jacau de Fiedmont, all the powder and supplies would have been kept for the enemy. The latter were dealt out during the siege with greater economy than had been practised before the siege, and it was said by some that the reason was that De Vergor would have more to sell to the enemy. De Vergor always remained tranquil in his fort. No sorties were made, no detachments ever spent the night outside the palisades; in a word never was a place so badly defended. He took away from the fort much money, and his servants enriched themselves by pillaging.

The Court-Martial met in September, consisting of the following officers: Messrs. Vaudreuil and Bigot, Presidents; M. de Trivier, Commandant of the Battalion de la Reine; De Montreuil, acting Major-General of the Colonial Militia; the Chevalier de Longueil, King's Lieutenant; De Noyelle, Major of Three Rivers; d'Aiguebelle, St. Vineul (St. Vincent) and Dumas, Captains. The trial followed the plan laid down by Bigot. De Vergor, in his remarks, threw the chief blame on the Acadians, because of the little assistance he had received from them, and because they were almost in a state of rebellion during the siege. Both De Vergor and De Villeraŷ were acquitted by the Court, and the Intendant who had accomplished his purpose, was ordered to send an account of the trial to France, with the sentences, and the letters written by M. de Vaudreuil to the Court.



SIR BROOK WATSON

Served as a boy in the Commissary Department at Fort Lawrence.
In later years, after a distinguished career, he became first
Agent General of New Brunswick in London.

(From an original portrait by Copley in the author's Collection.
It represents Watson as Lord Mayor of London in 1796)

BRITISH OCCUPATION

(Based mainly on the Journals of Winslow, Willard and Knox)

One of the first acts of Monckton was to order the Acadians to come to his Camp bringing all their weapons, and referring to the large number who had been disloyal to their proper Sovereign King George. Meanwhile Joseph Brossard (Beausoleil) had arrived under a safe conduct asking pardon for himself and proposing a peace with the Indians. The pardon was granted subject to Governor Lawrence's approval. Jacob Maurice, said to be a relative of M. de Vergor, brought in some people from Baie Verte to make terms.

New names were given to the captured forts on June 18th, *Beauséjour* being re-named *Cumberland* and *Gaspereau*, *Monckton*. Le Loutre had escaped capture and had fled. Col. Monckton heard that his chest containing his papers had been taken to the house of the priest of Baie Verte, M. Manach. He ordered Col. Winslow to do his best "to Get His Chest and take Particular Care of it as it will Clear up and open many Dark Scenes to us." Winslow found that both priests had departed and the chest was not found.

In most histories Le Loutre is said to have gone to Baie Verte and then north, or to the Ile St. Jean. Doubtless this information was given out to put the British off the scent. In a manuscript in the Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec (a memoir on Canada, p. 53) it is stated that in the evening of June 16th Le Loutre left for Weskok in a canoe; thence he started for Quebec by the old route via the St. John river. This is confirmed in a letter of the Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu to the Minister in Paris, dated October 10, 1755 (Corr. gen. Can. Archives. Vol. 100, p. 286). Le Loutre's papers had been given to a trusty friend before he left Beauséjour; the latter sent them to M. de Villejouxin, Commandant of Ile St. Jean, who forwarded them to M. Drucour, Governor of Louisbourg, who, in December, sent them to the Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu in Paris.

One of the first jobs undertaken by Col. Monckton was the cleaning and repair of Fort Cumberland, in preparation for making it the headquarters of the troops, in place of Fort Lawrence. The Acadians were employed for this purpose. At the beginning of July word came that three 20-gun frigates under Captains Rous, Shirley and Probey, with a snow, arrived in Saint John Harbor, Sunday, June 29th, when the French set fire to the Fort and outbuildings and retired up the river. About 150 Indians were there and met the captains proclaiming that they were brothers of the English and wanted peace. On July 4, two Saint John river Chiefs came to Fort Cumberland with similar protestations. On August 4th, eleven more arrived to discuss peace. The Indians of Saint John wished to make peace for one year only and to have Colonel Scott as a hostage during that period.

On August 6th, Monckton notified Winslow of the Governor's decision to remove all the French inhabitants out of the country. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages and of Baie Verte were summoned to hear Governor Lawrence's orders at the Fort, but as there was only a small gathering the

meeting was postponed. On August 11th, it was proclaimed that all oxen, horses, sheep and cattle which were the property of the French inhabitants had become forfeit to His Majesty, and that all private dealings in such livestock was prohibited, as was the killing of these animals. The same day the principal male inhabitants of Chignecto, numbering over 400, assembled at Fort Cumberland to hear the proclamation of the Governor and Council in Halifax which declared them rebels. Their lands, goods and chattels were declared forfeit to the Crown and they were to be held prisoners. Thereupon they were shut up in the Fort. Major Preble and a party were sent to Veskok, Tintemare and other places to secure all males who might be found, about 16 in number. Captain Cobb was sent on the same errand to Shepody but returned reporting that all the people had fled to the woods. One hundred and fifty of the French prisoners were sent to Fort Lawrence to be imprisoned.

An order of Col. Monckton, prohibiting officers and men from going beyond the Advance Guard of the Fort because he had learned that several sheep had been killed by troops, gave great offence to the New Englanders, and Colonel Winslow made a vigorous protest to Monckton in regard to it, and stated that he considered the charge of sheep stealing insolent, but he obtained no satisfaction. On the 14th, Winslow waited on Monckton to demand extra pay for his men which had been promised for extra work; but could get no answer. Another incident revealed the strained relations which existed. Winslow had ordered Capt. Adams to march to the vessels, preparing to go to Piziquid with four Companies. As they were passing Fort Cumberland with drums beating and colors flying, Colonel Monckton sent his Aide de Camp to demand the colors and he actually took them from the Ensign. Winslow says in regard to this:

"I apprehend is the First Time that ever a British Commander-in-Chief Took the Kings Colors from a Marching party that had always behaved well. This Transaction Caused Great uneasiness to both officers & soldiers & raised my Temper Some."

In a farewell letter to Monckton written on the 15th he refers to this incident and while excusing himself for not calling on him before sailing, says:

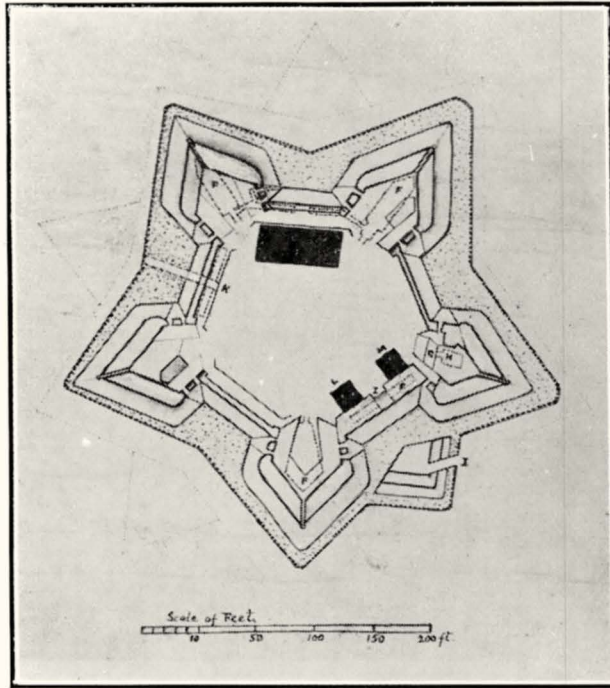
"Am Extreemely Sorry if I have by any means gained your Displeasure not being Contentous to my Self that I have Merritted it but must think it is so by my Colours being Struck yesterday when on a March."

Colonel Monckton replied explaining the matter of the flags in the following words:

"The removal of Colours is never made without the Knowledge of the officer First in command, that the reason of my Stopping of them was Ye Seven Companys of the Battallion remained here and that the Colours always remain with the Colo Company, to which those in Question belong and with which Company the Strength of the Battallion Commonly is."

This did not satisfy Winslow, who claimed that he commanded the First Battalion and that Governor Shirley, Colonel-in-Chief, was far away and that he should be considered his representative. Moreover, he claimed that he had under him more men than were left at the Fort. He complains of the slight put on his troops and says:

Upon the whole right or wrong it is the most Ungentel Innatured thing that ever I saw."



FORT CUMBERLAND

First projected changes after capture of fort from the French, in autumn of 1755.

Original in London. Copy in Public Archives, Ottawa.

Ground Plan.—

- E. Officers' Quarters.
- F. Casemates.
- G. Cavalier raised during the siege.
- H. Powder Magazine.
- I. Old entrance used by the French.
- L. Old Entrance used by the French but now closed.
- K. New Entrance made by the British.
- L. Bake House.
- M. Secretary's Office.

The dotted line outside is the first suggestion of a Spur.

On the 17th, Winslow and his force sailed for Fort Edward on the river Piziquid.

The rest of this account is mainly drawn from Abijah Willard's Journal. Willard was a Captain in the Second Battalion of Shirley's regiment, his commanding officer being Lieut.-Col. George Scott. His Journal opens with his departure from his home in Lancaster, and describes the voyage, the siege and his experiences in Chignecto afterwards. It is a most interesting document, but I shall only quote from it to mention details not given by Winslow. Regarding the opening fight at Pont à Buot, Willard states that the French fired from their Redoubt and thus agrees with Winslow, whereas Fiedmont gives the impression that the Redoubt was abandoned for the entrenchment higher up. Willard also states that a body of French fired on the British from a position nearer the river than the Redoubt. He says that the new bridge was built of timbers carried by the troops (not of boats as has sometimes been stated).

On the 16th, he describes the fatal wounding of a Micmac Chief from the Island of Saint John. He lived about five hours after he was shot through the body and "behaved as bold as any man Could do till he died but wanted Rum and Cider which we gave him till he died * * * he was supposed to be six feet 2 inches and very Large bond (boned) but very poor."

On the 21st the French appeared at the Camp and sold eggs, milk, fowls and strawberries, and they doubtless did a good business. Preaching was a steady fare of the New Englanders. Sunday, June 22nd, was the

"first Day that Mr. Philips Preacht after we Come to this Land and whilst Mr. Philips was att prayer a Gun went off axidentilly in by one of Souldiers in the tent his Gun was Loaded with 3 bullets and one of the Balls went through 16 tents but Did no hurt we thought itt had bin the Enemy Shott att the Sentery which stopt the Servis of Divine worship for a few minuates but soon found oute the Disturbances and Mr. Philips went on with the Servis.

He preached both in the morning and afternoon.

On June 23, a party returned from Fort Gaspereau complaining that they had eaten nothing but French pork, "which," says Willard, "I am Certain is not pleasant."

On the 28th, Mr. Philips held prayers on the parade and both Battalions attended. On the 29th, he preached morning and evening. On July 2nd, Willard describes a visit to some French villages in company with the parson. He says:

After Dinner I went to 2 or 3 veleges along with Capt. Stevens and Mr. Philips with aboute 20 Souldiers wher I saw a grate many french women and gorls—their Faces Looock well but their feet Looock very strange with wooden Shoos which they all wore but I carried Rum and sugar and had severall Nogens of milk punch.

Evidently the Acadian women wore sabots in those days.

On July 5th "the Souldiers being Lowed (allowed) no Rum the Battallion was in an upore and cried NO RUM till Late in Evening — till the Souldiers Gott to such a Degree that the officers was oblige to go among the tents."

On the 8th, "three men ordered on to the woden Horse for criing "No RUM and sett 2 houres."

On August 1st, the original Camp was evacuated and the troops made a new camp 100 rods north of Fort Cumberland.

On August 6th, Captain Willard was ordered to Cobequid with sealed instructions and told to join Capt. Lewis' force which had started two days previously. He had two French guides. He reached Capt. Lewis on the 13th and then read his orders, "which," he says, "was surprising to me for my orders was to burn all the houses that I found on the road to the Bay of Verte, the Island of Saint John." He then marched to Tatamagouche, being kindly treated by French people on the way, arriving on the 14th at 4 p. m.

Here on the 15th all the Frenchmen in the district came by orders to meet him, looking very cheerful. Every house was searched for arms, which were taken. The people were then told that they must go to Fort Cumberland, and that he had to burn all their buildings. They protested and said that they had never taken up arms. Willard told them that they were rebels because they had given the Indians supplies and ammunition when they raided villages in Nova Scotia and New England. They replied that they had done this only out of fear of the Indians. They asked if they might go with their families to the Island of St. John. This was refused as Willard had no authority to grant it. It was then decided that the men should go to Fort Cumberland and, by their desire, their families should remain. The next day many buildings were burned as well as boats and canoes. A sloop and a schooner were captured, loaded with supplies, and livestock for Louisbourg and were sent to Bay Verte. In the afternoon the whole party was drawn up ready to march and more buildings were burned. The poor women were left lamenting bitterly, which greatly distressed Captain Willard. They continued on the way burning buildings as they went, getting their supplies from the farms and having bread baked by the women. Word had been sent on ahead to the Fort of their approach, and at River Hebert boats awaited them to take them to Fort Cumberland.

On August 27th, Major Frye was sent with a force to destroy the settlements at Shepody and on the Petitcodiac. He destroyed much property but at the village of Petitcodiac (now Hillsborough) he was defeated and driven to his vessels by Boishébert.

On September 3, the women and children of the Baie Verte region were brought in, the buildings having been burnt by a force under Capt. Gilbert. There were rumors of impending attacks by French and Indians, and on the 8th entrenchments were strengthened around the Camp. Also preparations were made at Fort Lawrence.

On September 4th, Mr. Philips preached. Evidently his sermons were not attractive to many soldiers because Colonel Scott ordered everybody to attend on penalty of a fine of one shilling for absence.

On the 17th, Willard having gone to Fort Gaspereau with a detachment under Major Preble, spent the day in burning houses, beginning with some which had been left untouched near Baie Verte. The force then marched to a village (probably La Coupe) about two miles from Le Lac, burning about seventy buildings; then to Le Lac where 120 were destroyed. Two miles away was another small village where the force rested all night, faring well, as they killed



CHARLES DES CHAMPS DE BOISHEBERT
Canadian Officer in Acadia

The original painting is in possession of the St. Ours family, St. Ours, P. Q.

sixty sheep and found a supply of pork, as well as cabbages in the gardens. The next morning on departing, the thirty buildings in the place were burned. Two miles further on, forty more were destroyed. They arrived at the Fort on September 18th.

On October 8th a disturbance arose as the result of an order of Monckton to send a recruiting sergeant of the Regulars among the men of Col. Scott's Battalion seeking to enlist some of them. Major Preble was indignant and sent the sergeant away. When Monckton heard of this he rated Preble for his interference. The major told him that he might have done him the honor to notify him before he sent his sergeant. This made Monckton very angry and he told the Major that he must answer for his conduct — and the enlisting was renewed.

On the 13th, Captain Rous sailed with a large number of French prisoners.

On November 13th, five sailors went to Weskok to get some fresh meat and vegetables. They were fired on by a party of French and Indians, and one of them was wounded. Col. Monckton then ordered Willard with a force of 100 to go to Weskok, and, afterwards, to go north to Tintamare, where he was to join another party under Capt. Stevens which marched north of the Tintamare marsh. After these detachments united, the burning of buildings recommenced. About 100 were destroyed in the Tintamare district and on the march to Weskok about seventy more.

On reaching the Fort it was learned that another expedition to Memramcook was planned, requiring about 700 men. The march, under Col. Scott, started at night through the woods. They arrived at Memramcook in the morning, burned all the houses, collected many cattle and sheep and returned to Beauséjour. On the 20th a great round-up of cattle, sheep and pigs was made near Weskok and brought to the Fort. About 100 buildings were burned at the same time in the Weskok district.

On November 25th, Lieut.-Col. Monckton took his departure. The Regulars and both Battalions were drawn up in line from the Fort down towards the marsh. All the officers accompanied him as he walked down to the water. Says Willard, "we Drank a Departing Glass of wine and so tooock fair well in hopes of better times. P. S. No better afterwards, but Liveing in tents."

On January 3rd, 1756, Willard was ordered to go to Gaspereau the next day. In the evening

"number of officars had a Grate Carose (Carouse) att Coll Scott's that we Browk all his glasses and chenes (China) ware which was aboute 10 poind valey (pounds value),"

and two days after the Journal ends.

The importance of Willard's Journal is in its detailed descriptions of the punitive raids, in which he took part, which had been ordered by Governor Lawrence as among the earliest steps in his policy of driving the Acadians from Nova Scotia. The first step taken was at Fort Cumberland when 400 men were assembled to hear a message from the Governor and were then made prisoners.

This was the result of a letter sent by Governor Lawrence to Col. Monckton, dated, Halifax, 31 July, 1755, part of which is as follows:

* * * The Deputies of the French inhabitants of the districts of Annapolis, Minas and Piziquid, have been called before the Council, and have refused to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, and have also declared this to be the sentiments of the whole people, whereupon the Council advised and it is accordingly determined that they shall be removed out of the Country as soon as possible, and as those about the Isthmus who were in arms and therefore entitled to no favour from the government it is determined to begin with them first, * * *

In the meantime, it will be necessary to keep this measure as secret as possible, as well to prevent their attempting to escape, as to carry off their cattle &c., and the better to effect this you will endeavour to fall upon some stratagem to get the men, both young and old (especially the heads of families) into your power and detain them till the transports shall arrive, so as that they may be ready to be shipped off; for when this is done it is not much to be feared that the women and children will attempt to go away and carry off the cattle.

The same order was given to Winslow at Grand Pré and he secured a large number of men by the same stratagem employed by Monckton, in inviting them to a meeting in the church on September 5th to hear a message from the Governor and then making them prisoners.

News of these procedures soon spread and, thereafter, raids by armed forces were ordered for the purpose of seizing the livestock and burning the farms and villages.

From the accounts already given, it is quite evident that the work of destruction in Chignecto was thorough. Large numbers of women and children and men who had not been taken were rendered homeless and destitute. The sufferings and hardships endured by them must have been great. It was to be expected that they would be forced to give themselves up and some did, but owing to the unrelenting exertions of an officer who represented the Quebec government, Charles DesChamps de Boishébert, large numbers of the wanderers were collected and taken to camps at Cocagne and Miramichi, and, later, to Quebec. Boishébert had been established in the fort at Saint John which had been rebuilt by him, but he evacuated and destroyed it on the approach of a small squadron under Capt. Rous, after the fall of Beauséjour. He retired up the river to Nerepis and kept up continual guerilla warfare against the British with his force of French and Indians. When he heard of Major Frye's expedition at the end of August, 1755, sent to destroy the villages and farms at Shepody and along the Petitcodiac river, he made a forced march, crossed this river, and surprised a detachment of Frye's force when engaged in burning the village of Petitcodiac (now Hillsborough) and defeated it with considerable losses, forcing them to flee to their vessels.

The authorities at Fort Cumberland were kept constantly on the alert by his operations. In February, 1756, hearing that he was at Shediac, Lieut.-Colonel Scott led a detachment there hoping to attack him. Not finding him, Scott started back to the Fort, but on the way was attacked by Boishébert in the woods, losing two men.

In the neighbourhood of the Fort, French and Indians lurked in the woods and occasionally killed soldiers who strayed from the Fort.

At Fort Monckton on April 20th, Lieutenant Bowen and thirty men were out getting supplies of wood. They were attacked by Indians who killed and scalped nine and wounded another.

These men were buried on the shore near the Fort, and the little graveyard still exists. Some years ago in 1875, the Legislature of New Brunswick erected a monument in Port Elgin to their memory. On the following day, two soldiers went out of limits to the Tintamare opposite Weskok and were caught by Indians, who killed one and took the other prisoner.

Col. Scott, Commandant at the Fort, having succeeded Col. Monckton, then offered a bounty for Indian scalps, and, later, asked the Governor to grant similar bounties for Acadian prisoners or their scalps, "as they now act in conjunction with the Indians." The continuance of this kind of warfare was demoralizing both to British and French. Both indulged in the practice of taking scalps, like the Indians, and offered rewards for these grim trophies.

Not long after the Shediac fight a detachment sent by Boishébert burned a 100 ton schooner on the stocks at Baie Verte, and another at anchor near by. In the fight which ensued seven Englishmen were killed and one taken prisoner.

The famous Joseph Brossard (Beausoleil) fitted out a privateer in the Bay of Fundy and captured several vessels.

In the peninsula there were frequent attempts, sometimes successful, to capture the couriers between Halifax and Fort Cumberland.

At a meeting of the Council at Halifax on September 15, 1755, it was decided to evacuate Forts Lawrence and Monckton* and to destroy them. This was carried out in October, the buildings being burned. Lieut.-Colonel Wilmot with 200 men was sent to Fort Cumberland to strengthen the garrison. By this time the Fort had been repaired and strengthened and new buildings erected, *e. g.*, barracks, storehouses, guard houses, hospitals, magazine, etc. The materials were brought from Boston and Halifax as were the artificers. The curtain, fosse, glacis, covered way and palisade were completed, and a new gateway and drawbridge were in course of construction. The latter was started in the autumn following the capture, as may be seen from a plan made by Engineer Tonge, dated October 18th (Pl. XIX).

The original French gate which was in a curtain facing northeast, *i. e.*, towards the site of attack, was closed and a new gateway was started on the southeast side facing Cumberland Bay.

In Knox's Journal, under the date of Aug. 28, 1757, is a reference to a large blockhouse, "advanced about a quarter of a mile N. E. of the fort, upon the skirts of the wood leading to Baye Verte, which is occupied by an Officer, two Sergeants, a Gunner, a Drummer, and thirty-two rank and file, to prevent any surprise to the garrison from that quarter." It was built of large timbers, and had three stories; the lower was twenty feet square, the middle twenty-one, the upper twenty-four. On the second floor were two six pounders always

*In Gabriel Smethurst's Narrative of his Journey from Nepisiguit to Fort Cumberland in 1761 (Collect. of N. B. Hist. Soc., Vol. II, p. 386), the author speaks of arriving at Bay Verte, and sleeping all night "in the block-house, or rather the guard-house the English are building. I have never found any other reference to this structure and it is not known where it was placed.

loaded; they fired through port-holes on each side. Each floor projected beyond that below, with holes for musketry or for throwing grenades. Also there were loop-holes in each face for muskets. A week's supplies and munitions were kept on hand. It could withstand musket fire but not artillery. There is no record of such a house in the French period. It must have been built after the capture as an outpost against raiding bands of French and Indians. The traditional site is that on which Bulmer's farm now stands, a plateau just below the western road to the fort, overlooking the Aulac marsh.

In 1757, Governor Lawrence was sent by Lord Loudoun, Commander-in-Chief, to the Bay of Fundy to put the Forts in good order. Bragg's regiment was placed in Fort Cumberland. In a letter to the Lords of Trade, November 9, Lawrence informed them that as it was very impracticable to get wood for the three garrisons on the Bay of Fundy, (most spare laborers having gone privateering) he was forced to open a coal mine near Chignecto (in Cumberland County) though he was aware that this was contrary to their former orders. At this time he was considering bringing English settlers to Nova Scotia.

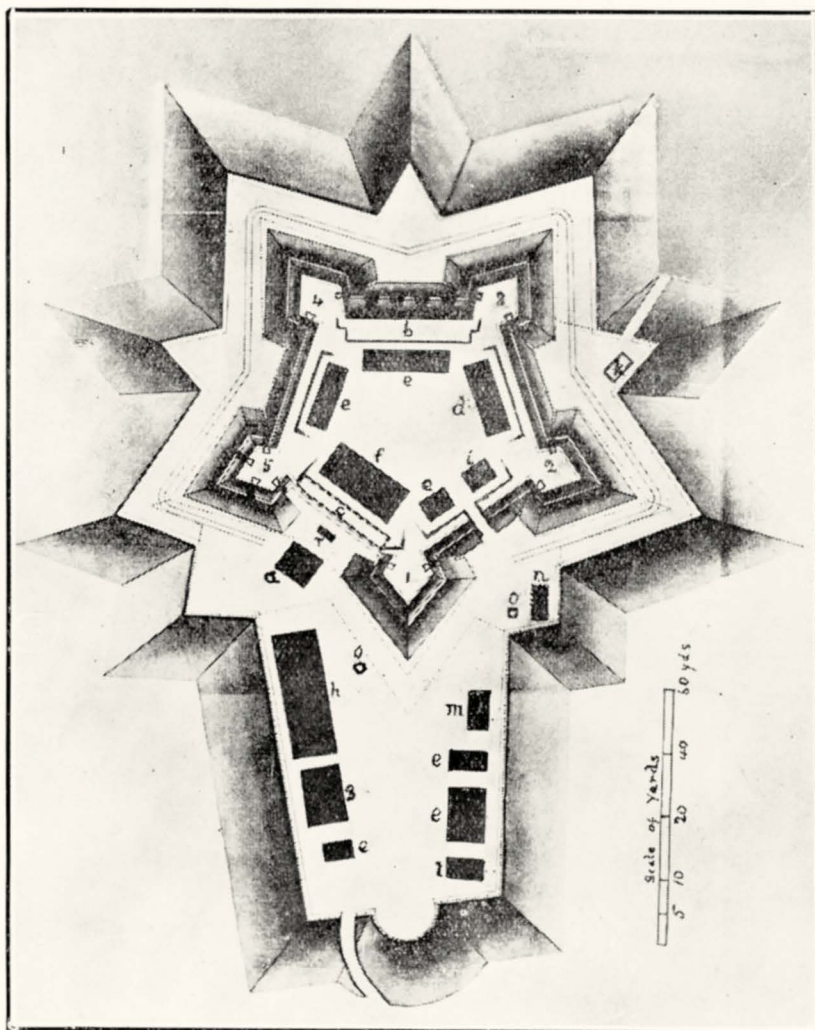
In Knox's Journal (Champlain Society Ed., Vol. 1, p. 82) is a description of Fort Cumberland in October, 1757, referring to changes made since the capture. One feature added was a row of pointed pickets around the scarp below the parapet laid horizontally. There was also a palissade of vertical pickets on the counter scarp, outside of which was a well-made glacis. The bastions were still of square timbers. On the curtain looking north, was a battery *en barbette* of six 9 and 12 pounders, with a few 9-inch mortars and some cohorns. A new feature was in progress, viz., the development of a Spur well outside the fort proper. On the south side it extended in a projection with slightly converging sides having a gateway at the end; within the space thus formed were store-houses, workshops, etc. (Pl. XXI); a solid stone and brick magazine for ammunition was built within the Spur, near the main gate.

The five bastions were named as follows: Prince of Wales, Duke of Cumberland, Prince Frederick, Prince Edward, Prince Henry.

Knox also refers to twenty or more indifferent brick houses near the Fort, occupied by ex-soldiers and sergeants, who had acquired licenses to act as sutlers. They had been very successful and with the money which they made they engaged in trade, supplying the troops with all kinds of goods, liquors, etc., imported from New York, Boston, and even England via Halifax. There were as well a number of small wooden houses, inhabited by artificers and those of the married soldiers, whose families were not allowed to live in the Fort.

On November 9th, in the evening, a party of French and Indians cut away a sloop anchored in a creek at the head of the Basin. A party set out from the fort and recaptured her, but not before she was set on fire; a considerable amount of the cargo (destined for the fort) was saved. Other raids near the fort were quite frequent at this period.

On March 29th, 1758, at midnight, about forty Frenchmen attacked two schooners and a sloop, anchored in a creek near the Fort. There was some fighting which raised the alarm at the Fort from which a force was dispatched to rescue them. The enemy escaped in canoes.



FORT CUMBERLAND

Completed form of the fort after British occupation. This was made by Colonel Robert Morse, R.E., and sent to the authorities by him in 1784
Original in London. Copy in Public Archives, Ottawa.

Ground Plan.—

- a. Powder Magazine.
- b. Loudoun's curtain casemated.
- c. Casemate in ruins.
- d. Provision store.
- e. Officers' Quarters.
- f. Soldiers' Barracks.
- g. Soldiers' Barracks in ruins.
- h. Soldiers' Barracks pulled down.
- i. Guard House.
- k. Bake House.
- l. Canteen.
- m. Carpenter's and smith's shop.

- n. Carpenter's and smith's shop, to be pulled down.
- o. Wells.
- p. Necessaries.

Bastions.—

- 1. Prince William's.
- 2. Prince Frederic's.
- 3. Prince Henry's.
- 4. Prince Edward's.
- 5. Duke's.

These names are not on Morse's plan.

On March 28th, a large party of soldiers went from the Fort to Shepody where they destroyed many houses and took several women and children prisoners. No men were seen. It is remarkable that, after the ravaging of that district by Major Frye in 1755, so many houses should be found three years later. It is probable that most of them had been overlooked by Frye, though some may have been built afterwards by the refugees.

At the end of April, 1758, the 28th regiment was ordered to leave the Fort to take part in the expedition to Louisbourg. Its place was taken by some Rangers and six Companies of the 43rd Regiment, whose officers greatly bemoaned their hard luck at being "doomed to an unsoldierlike and inactive banishment."

On June 28th, at night, the enemy raided the property of Mr. Allen, a sutler, and carried off nine bullocks. On the next day a force, mostly of Rangers, was sent in an armed sloop and boats under Captain Danks to the Petitcodiac. They anchored up the river over night. In the morning, Capt. Danks and seventy-five men landed and hid in the woods, having ordered the sloop to proceed farther up the river to decoy the enemy. About noon, thirty of the enemy went to the shore to fire on the vessel. Danks hastened through the woods and surrounded them, killing and scalping three, taking nine prisoners, and driving fourteen into the river, ten of whom were drowned; the rest escaped. This fight was probably at the site of the modern city of Moncton. The next day he sailed up the river in the sloop, being fired at from both sides. A party of sixty men were sent ashore, marched to a village and burned it, taking away furniture and livestock. In the afternoon a party landed on the south west shore and marched several miles without finding anything. The expedition then returned to Fort Cumberland without casualties.

In July, 1758, five soldiers arrived at the Fort having escaped from imprisonment at Miramichi under Boishébert. Seven others escaped with them but were too fatigued to make the journey and they turned back. They reported that Lieut. Thomas Dickson of the Rangers, was also a prisoner at Miramichi; he had been captured on July 20th, 1757, while leading a force against some French and Indians encamped about ten miles northwest of the Fort. Finding it deserted they started on their return journey. At an aboiteau on the Aulac river they were surprised by the enemy who fired and killed all except Dickson and another, who were taken prisoners. In Witherspoon's *Journal* (Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc. Vol. II, p. 31) the author mentions his arrival as a prisoner at Miramichi, and finding Dickson and Alexander Mill who had been taken with him (Accounts of Dickson's capture have wrongly given the date as 1759 and have also wrongly stated that he was taken at once to Quebec. See Knox's *Journal*, Champlain Soc. Edn. Vol. I, p. 199).

On December 9th, the officers of the 43rd asked Colonel James, their commander, to request the Commander-in-Chief to allow the regiment to join the army for active service in the spring, which he agreed to do. The Colonel was ordered to provide the regiment with flannel under-waistcoats and Leggers or Indian stockings, made of freize or other woollen cloth and about three-quarters

of a yard in length. They protected the legs from injury in walking and kept them warm. The principal amusement in winter was skating on the frozen marsh below the blockhouse (*i. e.*, on the side of the Aulac river).

In January, 1759, there was much excitement over the loss of a Sergeant, three rangers and seven soldiers, who had gone out to cut wood against orders.

The country towards Baie Verte was scoured by the Rangers who returned in the afternoon with a sled which the men had taken out in the morning, and on it were five frozen bodies scalped and shewing other signs of barbarous treatment. The rest were missing. They had been ambushed at a ravine near a bridge on the French road (since known as Bloody Bridge in Upper Point de Bute on Inverma Farm). The enemy had constructed a log entrenchment of three sides so as to flank the road and enfilade the approaches to it. It was concluded, from this construction, that they had expected to meet the rangers in force and to be protected while firing on them. As an example of the terrible nature of such atrocities, I quote Knox's description of the finding of the bodies:

The victims were fired at from the right side of the road, being shot through the right breast; all were wounded in the same place, except one who had not a gun-shot wound about him but was killed by a hatchet or tomahock across the neck, under the hinder part of his skull; never was greater or more wanton barbarity perpetrated, as appears by these poor creatures, who, it is evident, have been all scalped alive; for their limbs were horribly distorted, truly expressive of the agonies in which they died; in this manner they froze, not unlike figures or statues, which are variously displayed on pedestals in the gardens of the curious. The ranger was stripped naked, as he came into the world; the soldiers were not, except two, who had their new cloathing on them; these (that is the coats only) were taken; I am told this is a distinction always made between regulars and others; the head of the man who escaped the fire was flayed before he received his *coup mortel*, which is evident from this circumstance, that, after the intire cap was taken off, the hinder part of the scull was wantonly broken into small pieces; the ranger's body was all marked with a stick, and some blood in hieroglyphic characters, which showed that great deliberation was used in this barbarous dirty work. The bloodhounds came on snowshoes or rackets, the country being now so deep with snow as to render it impossible to march without them.

As the ground was frozen very hard, graves could not be dug and the bodies were buried in a pit in a snow bank. After this affair a guard was ordered to attend wood-cutting parties.

This winter was very bitter and there were many cases of frost-bite, and provisions and liquors often froze. The snow was four or five feet on the level. Sentry duty was very trying to the men and frequent changes were necessary.

Convivial gatherings of the officers were held from time to time. St. David's Day (Feb. 1) was celebrated, but a special feature was made of St. Patrick's Day (March 17), which is fully described by Knox (*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 294). The Irish officers, twenty in number, entertained thirty-four other officers in one of the sutler's houses outside the fort ("in the town," in Knox's description). The Irish privates were given half a dollar by their Captains, their duties being taken over for the occasion by British soldiers. Colonel James hoisted the colours and wore a cross in his hat as did all other officers and gentlemen in the Civil Service. The menu was a most elaborate one, various

delicacies having been kept through the winter to form part of it. The banquet was a joyous one, and in spite of the large quantity of liquor consumed the officers returned to the Fort by nine in the evening.

By the latter part of March, provisions had become scarce and had deteriorated. Officers and men were put on short allowances of various articles. On the 29th a sloop which had been frozen up all winter managed to get through the ice which was breaking up in the Basin, and went to Boston for supplies. With the approach of spring, appeared myriads of wild fowl. (The name of the great marsh west of the fort is from a French word *tintamarre*, meaning a noisy racket or hubub and is believed to have been first used by the early settlers to describe the sounds which filled the air in spring and autumn as innumerable flocks of wild birds appeared on the marshes.) The enemy had already appeared in small numbers near the fort. In consequence, detachments were sent out to reconnoitre as far as Bay Verte. Welcome supplies of fresh provisions arrived.

On April 5th, the *Monckton*, armed schooner, with a sloop, on the way to the Fort with supplies and money, anchored at Grindstone Island. In the night some Frenchmen captured the sloop, and in the morning attacked the *Monckton* which had to make for Piziquid, after keeping up a running fire. She returned to Fort Cumberland on the 13th. A force of thirty Rangers was placed on board her and she was then used to convoy trading vessels and to patrol the shores.

After the fall of Quebec there were indications of a change in the attitude of the Acadians. On November 16th, a deputation came to Fort Cumberland representing 190 people at Petitcodiac and Memramcook, wishing to surrender, and stating that they had not supplies to keep them through the winter. Colonel Frye, the commandant, who came with the Provincial troops, when the 43rd left in the spring, told them to send sixty-three of their number to the Fort to be maintained there. They expressed gratitude and went home, leaving one as a hostage for their good behaviour.

On the 17th, three deputies arrived representing 700 residing at Buctouche, Richibucto and Miramichi, offering to submit. Col. Frye offered to winter 230 of their number at the Fort. They promised to return twelve vessels which they had captured during the past summer. The Commandant notified Governor Lawrence that by spring there would be 900 Acadians in Chignecto in his charge and asked for instructions. The Governor and Council authorized him to accept their submissions and to supply them with food. This attitude on the part of the people was, doubtless, considerably due to the influence of the missionaries Maillard and Manach. Boishébert, who had been through the Quebec campaign, was very angry at them and upbraided them strongly.

In February, 1760, Micmac deputies visited Col. Frye, wishing to make a treaty of peace. He sent them to Halifax. During the summer more Acadians submitted. In the following years many gradually returned from the American colonies, from St. Pierre and Miquelon, and took up lands, though it was not until a short time before 1770 that grants were given them. Very few settled in Chignecto; the Memramcook and Petitcodiac regions were preferred.

As a result of the great efforts made by the Government of Nova Scotia, many English speaking settlers came from the American Colonies taking up lands in and near Chignecto.

In 1768, General Gage, Commander-in-Chief, ordered a withdrawal of soldiers from Fort Cumberland and the other forts in Nova Scotia and to concentrate them all in Halifax. Only small garrisons were left in charge. In 1772-1775 an important influx of settlers from Yorkshire arrived and took up lands in what is now Westmorland, and also in Cumberland. In the early part of the American Revolutionary War there was much anxiety in Nova Scotia, and, in 1755, it was decided to repair, strengthen and garrison the forts which had been neglected. Disaffection was reported in various places and this was so serious as to interfere seriously with the development of a militia force, as so many American settlers were opposed to it. Lieut-Col. Joseph Goreham and his corps were sent to the Fort in early summer and began to repair and strengthen it.

Many of the settlers from New England were in sympathy with the revolutionists, but the Yorkshire settlers held firm to the Crown and formed a strong loyal nucleus in the Chignecto district. Several pro-Americans were reported to have gone to the Continental Congress with a petition asking that a force be sent to capture Fort Cumberland, after which an attack would be made on Halifax. From the River St. John were sent appeals to Massachusetts, a large number expressing their desire to join this State. There was everywhere great opposition to Governor Legge's action in having a law passed to strengthen the Militia. Among the petitions sent in against this were those signed by residents of Cumberland, Amherst and Sackville, fifty-one being Acadians. Martial law was then proclaimed by the Governor. On the other hand, bodies of loyal men volunteered for militia service.

The leaders of the disaffection in Chignecto were two residents, Colonel Jonathan Eddy and John Allan; of less importance were William Howe and Samuel Rogers. All of these at the time, except Allan, were members of the Assembly of the Province, and natives of New England. Allan was a Scotsman by birth. Early in 1776 a meeting of the disaffected was called at Inverma, Allan's farm. Eddy and Allan urged that the time for action had arrived, and that they should seek help from the outside. Eddy departed immediately for New England. The Government then declared the seats of the rebel leaders in the Assembly vacant, a reward being offered for their apprehension. Allan decided to leave the province but before doing so went among the Indians in the north trying to secure their assistance. On August 3rd, he left in a boat for Maine, arriving at Machias on the 13th, where he found Eddy with twenty-eight men in a schooner ready to start out to capture Fort Cumberland. He tried to dissuade Eddy from his purpose, wishing him to wait until a larger force could be raised. However, Eddy persisted as he expected to get more men on the way. Allan went to Washington's headquarters and discussed the Nova Scotia situation and on January 4th, 1777, he spoke before the Continental Congress. He was made Superintendent of the Indians in the East and a Colonel of Infantry. He then addressed the Council of Massachusetts advising

that an expedition be sent to the Western part of Nova Scotia. He then made an unsuccessful attempt to raid loyal settlers on the River St. John, and returned to Maine where he spent the rest of his life.

Eddy started for Fort Cumberland, after Allan's departure, his force being increased to 180 by recruits from Machias, and Maugerville on St. John river. He landed a few men at the mouth of the Petitcodiac to report any reinforcements which might be coming to Fort Cumberland, and then crossed the Memramcook river, at its upper end, and marched to the isthmus by Jolicure, arriving at Inverma, where Mrs. Allan and her children still lived. Early next morning, Eddy sent some men to capture a sloop with provisions which had just arrived in Cumberland Creek. In the darkness and fog this was accomplished and the crew made prisoners. When daylight came the sloop raised the American flag and sailed to the La Planche, ascending the river near to Eddy's property. The rebel force encamped on Mt. Whatley (near the modern David Carter property). For many years this was called Camp Hill. Eddy then sent a summons on November 10th to Col. Goreham demanding the surrender of the Fort. Goreham replied with a command to Eddy to disarm his force and surrender to the King's mercy.

Goreham's force was weak — a bare 200 men, of the Royal American Fencible Regiment and a few loyal inhabitants. He had already sent for reinforcements and was hourly expecting them. In one of his official reports (Archives Reports, 1894, p. 359) he relates how this was done:

Several early attempts were made by Lieutenant Sharman and others, who could manage a Birch canoe, to convey intelligence of our situation, through Windsor to Halifax, but was intercepted by the enemy; at length a small open sail boat was obtained, which left this the * * * of November, Lieutenant Dickson, half-pay officer, (the same man who was taken prisoner by the French in 1757. See p. 73), offering himself for this difficult piece of service, with two soldiers and two of the inhabitants in the garrison.

On the night of the 12th, Eddy's force attempted to storm the Fort using scaling ladders, but failed, being met with discharges of cannon and musketry, which caused no casualties. Only one Indian was wounded, who had been told to sneak into the Fort and open the main gate so that Eddy's men could rush in. He succeeded in entering, while the attack on the walls was in progress, and was engaged in opening the gates when he was discovered by an officer who slashed his arm with a sword. A few days later another attempt was made, the barracks near the powder magazine being set on fire in the hope that the latter would be blown up. This did not occur but several other buildings were burnt. The rebels were again forced to retire.

Their hopes were soon ended by the arrival of a sloop of war on November 27th with 400 men, consisting of part of the Royal Highland Regiment, and a Company of Royal Marines, all under the command of Major Batt. This force was sent as a result of the successful journey of Major Dickson in a boat to Windsor. Goreham at once took the offensive, Major Batt being sent to attack the rebels' camp, while Major Dickson was detached with a force towards the west to cut off their retreat towards Sackville. Eddy's force was quickly put to flight, but instead of going towards Sackville he went in the direction of Bay

Verte. Goreham reported their losses to have been several rebels, Indians and French Acadians, while he lost one man, and another wounded. Four rebel prisoners were taken. The soldiers pursued the rebels as far as Bloody Bridge, when the latter fired on the troops, killing and wounding a few. In retaliation the troops burned Inverma farm and other buildings near it, Mrs. Allen and her children escaping to the woods. A few days later she was caught and sent to Halifax, where she remained several months before being allowed to rejoin her husband in Maine. When Eddy found that he was not being followed he turned towards Midgic and proceeded west and found his way back to Maine. During the stay of the rebels in Chignecto they plundered the houses of several loyal residents.

The four prisoners, one of whom was Richard John Uniacke, were sent to Halifax and imprisoned. One escaped, two were tried and convicted, and, later, were apparently set free. Uniacke was also indicted but did not appear at the trial, the Attorney General having decided to set him free on account of his youth.

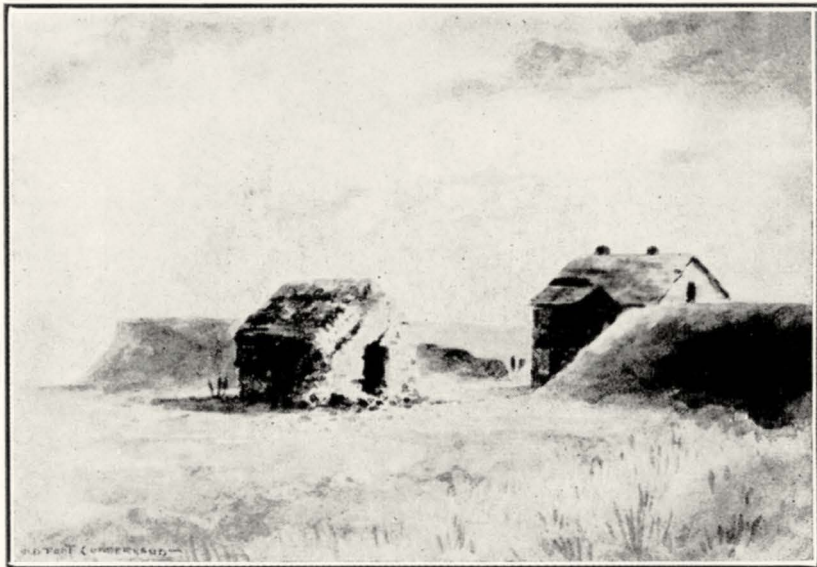
A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jos. Goreham". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered on the page.

Colonel Goreham, after the fight, proclaimed that all who would come to the Fort and give up their arms would be pardoned. Some did so, but others, rather than submit to the British abandoned their homes and left the country. The Acadians fled to the woods.

The name of Eddy still remains in Chignecto. The original Eddy Grant of a large section of Fort Lawrence, was given to the two brothers, Jonathan and William. The road from this part of Fort Lawrence to Amherst is still known as the "Eddy Road."

After the close of the American Revolutionary war, Fort Cumberland gradually lost its importance and records concerning it are few and scanty. A small garrison continued to hold it, but the Fort itself deteriorated. Colonel Robert Morse, R. E., made a report in 1784 by order of Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces, at New York, July 29, 1783. I quote his words:

"The body of the place is in tolerable repair and has sixteen pieces of cannon mounted in it. The convertway and spur are gone to ruin. Here is a good magazine, composed of bricks and masonry, but is improperly placed in the covert-way. In two of the curtains were temporary casemates, one of which is in ruins; the other is used as a provision storehouse. All the other buildings are of wood, which appears the more extraordinary as there are quarries of excellent stone close to the fort. The barracks here are habitable, and might contain 300 men. All the buildings in the spur or outwork are gone to ruin, and have been mostly taken down. The situation of this fort, for its size is well chosen. It is upon high and dry land, and free from being commanded, but being brought so near the water side, and to the extremity of the point of land there is not room enough for a respectable work, but there is ample space further back, and upon, the same plane upon which there was an intrenched camp formed after this fort was taken from the French, and again before the troops went from the Province to the attack of Louisbourg.



FORT CUMBERLAND

Showing the ruined main entrance, the powder magazine outside, and a building inside. The latter was built as a residence years after the occupation of the Fort in the Nineteenth Century.

From a water-color sketch made about 1870 in the author's collection.

This land still remains, for the use of the troops quartered in the fort, but a large tract of the Crown lands surrounding has been given away. The general situation of this fort being upon the isthmus of the great Peninsula of the Province seems to point it out as proper for a place of arms, should ever a plan be formed for the defence of this country.

Apparently no work of importance was carried out at the Fort until the war of 1812 broke out. In the latter part of that year repairs were ordered and carried out with the assistance of local militia. Not many years afterwards the garrison was removed and the Fort was left to the mercy of the elements and the inhabitants.

In a report of all the barracks, batteries, blockhouses and other Government buildings in New Brunswick in 1825, there is no mention of Fort Cumberland. It may, therefore, be inferred that by this time the Fort was abandoned.

The main gateway was built of massive masonry. This has disappeared with the exception of some stones, mostly broken, which formed part of the base. As in the case of other dismantled forts, most of the stones were taken away by people of the district for their own use. The wooden buildings disappeared, as might be expected. A painting of the Fort made about fifty years ago, shows a house just within the gateway, which local people have referred to as "Officers' Quarters." This is an error as reference to all the plans will prove. I believe this to have been built long after the Fort was abandoned. A very aged resident, Mr. Thomas Etter, told me before his death that he well remembered when this house was occupied by a family and that for a time it served as a brewery. The small town, containing a number of brick houses, which was quite a feature of the place in the early years of British occupation, has entirely disappeared and not even their foundations can be traced.

The hospital of Fort Cumberland was situated just below the southern apex of the Fort property adjacent to the road leading to Cumberland creek (near the present farm house of Mr. Siddal). Adjacent to it on the western side was the graveyard. The latter has been shockingly neglected, only a few low mounds and broken stones being visible in the field near Mr. Siddal's barn. I have not been able to determine where the graveyard was in the time of the French occupation, but it is highly probable that it was the same area as that afterwards used by the British.

The French hospital, on the other hand, was on the eastern slope of the hill near the Fort, and is seen in Hamilton's sketch. (Pl. XV).

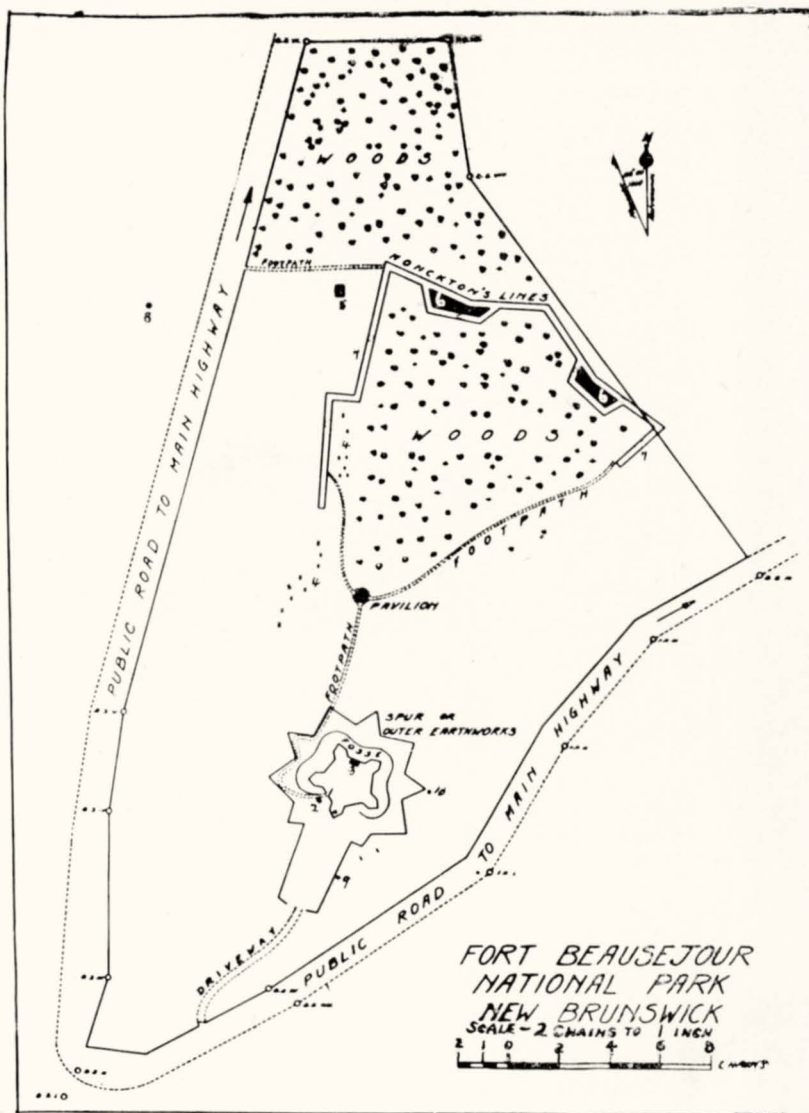
Through most of the 19th century a number of cannon lay about the interior of the Fort, the carriages having rotted away. About the end of the third quarter of the century, a Minister of Militia ordered them to be sold. Most of them were melted in foundries. At least two English guns were preserved and are now used as gateposts in Amherst. One French cannon was bought and kept by Mr. Thomas Etter until 1922, when I acquired it from him. It is in perfect preservation and is occasionally used for firing a salute. The outer work or spur, built by the British is sadly beaten down but is still easily traceable. The main fosse is fairly well preserved as is the main structure of the bastions and the curtains. Most of the casemates have fallen in. One short portion on the north side has, however, been preserved, and recently repaired. The sites of

some of the old buildings are still seen. The powder magazine outside the main gate weathered the storms of the 19th century remarkably well, owing to the great thickness of the walls, built of brick and stone. In the painting to which I have referred, it was intact, though disintegrating. Since that time the frosts, aided by vandals, have completed its destruction and now only a portion of its base remains.

One of the most interesting features of the property is the main entrenchment made by Monckton's army, for the cannon and mortars which bombarded Fort Beauséjour. It consists of a middle and two lateral portions (See Pl. XXIII). The former runs across the main part of the ridge (at a part which the French named *Butte à Charles*) as a deep trench. It was about 440 yards from the center of the Fort. Its central portion forms a slight angle whose point is directed towards the northwest (away from the fort); its length is about 308 yards. In the middle of each half length is the site of a gun emplacement consisting of an island of earth work in front of the main trench just described and bounded on the south side by a narrower trench which communicates at each end with the main trench. The upper surface of these islands is level with the top of the trench. These structures are believed to have supported the mortars and hence have always been known as *Mortar Batteries*, though it is probable that the cannon were placed on them as well.

In the account of the siege which I have given, it was stated that one of the earliest actions of the British, after taking possession of the Fort, was to level their own entrenchment. This indicates that the ground level immediately in front of the trench was raised by the earth taken out of it, though part of it must have been used for the gun emplacements. The levelling was carried out, undoubtedly, by shovelling the heaped up earth back into the trench. The latter must, therefore, have been much wider than it is at present. At each end of the main trench, a lateral trench extends forwards, nearly at right angles. The one on the west end consists of three portions, the central portion being short and at right angles to the longer portions. The total length of this irregular lateral is nearly 260 yards. On the eastern side of the terminal portion of this lateral as well as at its southern end are a number of pits varying in size and depth, owing to the different quantities of earth which have fallen in them. Originally they were considerably deeper and the earth removed was used to raise the level around them. These were shelters for soldiers with muskets and each one must have held two or more men. In the account of the making of the entrenchment, it has been stated that while the large trench was being built, soldiers with muskets lay on the ground in front to prevent any surprise attack. They would, doubtless, use these pits. Possibly, they also served the same purpose during the whole period of the siege.

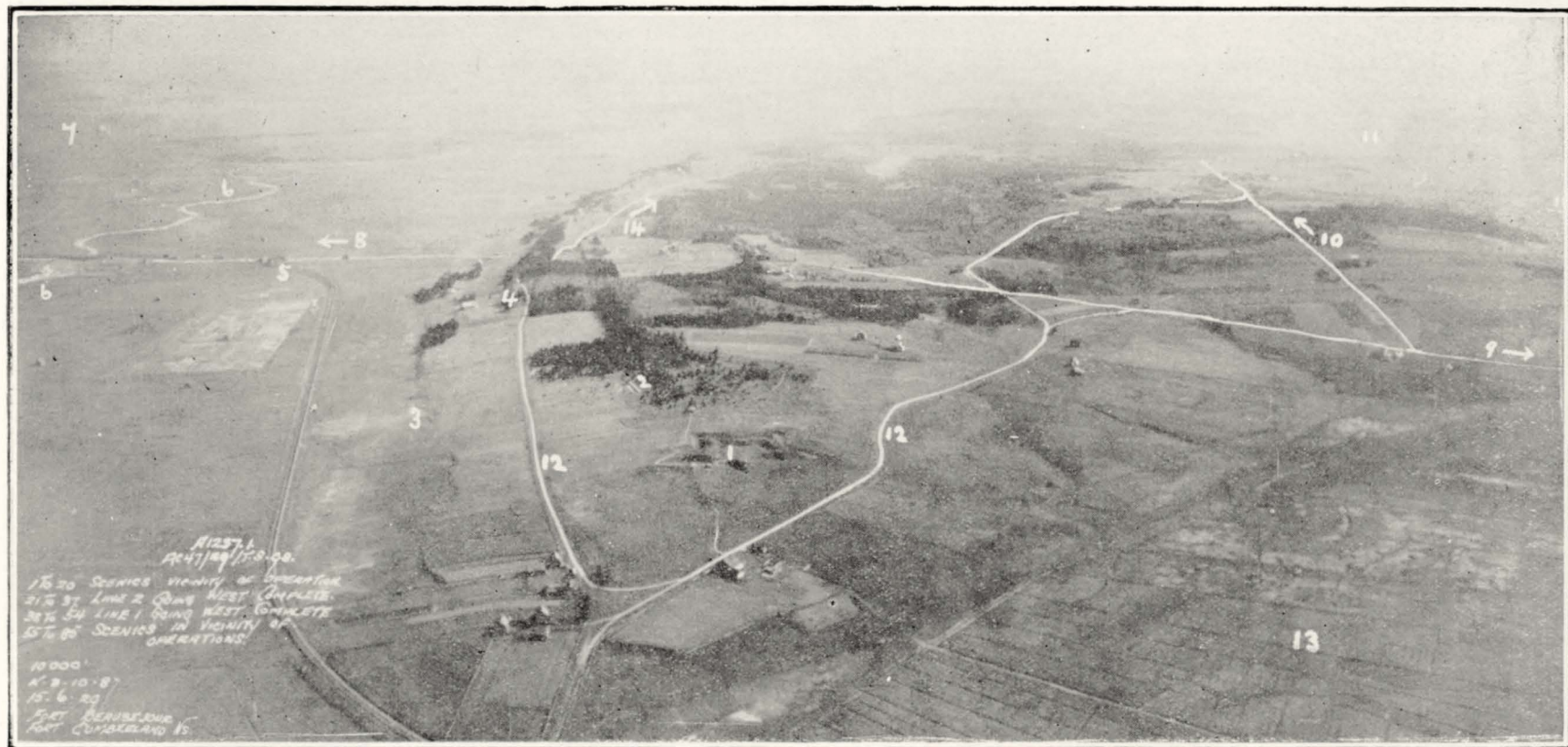
The east lateral is very much shorter being about fifty-two yards in length. It may possibly have been longer and filled in through the many years which have passed. No such arrangement of pits can be made out at this end as has been described on the west side, but there are numerous irregularities such as might have been caused by filling in of original excavations. In examining this ground it must be remembered that when the British abandoned their camp



FORT BEAUSEJOUR NATIONAL PARK

From a Plan made by the Parks Commission.

1. Site of main entrance to Fort Cumberland.
2. Remains of powder magazine of Fort Cumberland.
3. Portion of casemate repaired.
4. Musket pits.
5. Site of Acadian church.
6. Mortar Battery.
7. Trench extending forward from the main base trench of Monckton's lines.
8. Holy well.
9. La Vallière monument.
10. Yorkshire monument.



FORT BEAUSEJOIR NATIONAL PARK
Aerial photograph made by the Royal Canadian Air Force.

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| <p>1. Remains of Fort.</p> <p>2. Portion of Monckton's entrenchment.</p> <p>3. Site of Holy Well.</p> <p>4. Probable site of Blockhouse erected by British after capture of Beauséjour.</p> <p>5. C. N. Railway near Aulac Station.</p> <p>6. Aulac river.</p> <p>7. Portion of large marsh between Beauséjour ridge and Sackville.</p> <p>8. Main highway between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The arrow points towards Sackville, N. B.</p> | <p>9. Main highway between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The arrow points towards Amherst, N. S.</p> <p>10. Road to Point de Bute and Bay Verte. The arrow points towards these places.</p> <p>11. Miseguash river.</p> <p>12. Road from main highway around Fort Beauséjour National Park.</p> <p>13. Marsh-land between Fort Beauséjour ridge and that of Fort Lawrence.</p> <p>14. Road to Bay Verte on western side of the ridge. It joins the road, marked 10 near Point de Bute.</p> |
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on Butte à Mirande they established another between the main trench just described (*i. e.*, that with the mortar Batteries) and the Fort and that it was entrenched to prevent surprise attacks. The probability is that it was situated in the space bounded by the trench system described. The pits would serve for the protection of soldiers who might engage in defensive musketry fire.

For many generations the old Fort has stood silent and alone on the bleak hill of Beauséjour, a prey to the wild elements, neglected by governments, neglected by the people. But at last a change has taken place. Public sentiment has been aroused, and through the action of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, the entire hill on which the Fort stands, extending north of Monckton's entrenchment and including it, has been made a National Historic Park and will henceforth be under the custody of the Dominion. The Park is now easily accessible to visitors by the splendid road which has been recently made around it by the Province of New Brunswick and it has already become one of the most important tourist attractions in the country. The attention which has been directed to this old Fort and to the other historic places in Chignecto, has led to a realization of the wealth of historic traditions in this ancient district, and has greatly stimulated a love of history among our people.

Of Fort Lawrence, nothing remains except a small part of the south fosse, in the field near the railway cutting. The farm of Mr. David Lawrence occupies the site of the north fosse, the cellar having been made by enlarging the latter. The line of the east fosse is the ditch by the roadside, near which a memorial cairn has been erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board.

Below the railway cutting, old cellars are visible, which belonged to houses in the ancient village of Beaubassin.

The site of Fort Gaspereau (Monckton) has recently been acquired by the Dominion Government, and much overgrowth of bushes has been removed. The fosse has been preserved through many generations in great part, though on the south side, part has disappeared by sea-erosion. Some of the old cellars in the fort area still exist.

Outside the east fosse, near the modern lighthouse, is a very small graveyard, enclosed by an iron fence. The plot was originally larger, but it has been somewhat washed away by the salt water; this has been checked by a concrete sea-wall.

Among those buried there were the bodies of Sergeant Mackay and eight soldiers who were ambushed and murdered by Indians in April, 1756. The few headstones which still remain are much weathered, the inscriptions being mostly undecipherable. In 1875 the New Brunswick Legislature erected a stone monument in memory of the Fort Monckton soldiers buried there. It was, however, erected in the village of Port Elgin, and now stands near the Presbyterian church.

At Point de Bute, the elevation on which the French redoubt stood has been identified, and on the west bank of the Misseguash, nearby, remains of trenches may be seen.

HISTORIC RELICS OF CHIGNECTO.

Beaubassin Church Corner stone.—About the middle of the nineteenth century, the corner stone of the church of Beaubassin was found in the earth at its original site, and was placed for safe-keeping in the Museum of St. Joseph's College, Memramcook, where it may now be seen. Though it is fragmented, the incised inscription may easily be read. Owing to the kindness of the Rev. Father Vanier, C. S. C., President of the University, I am able to show the photographed surface.

The inscription reads as follows:

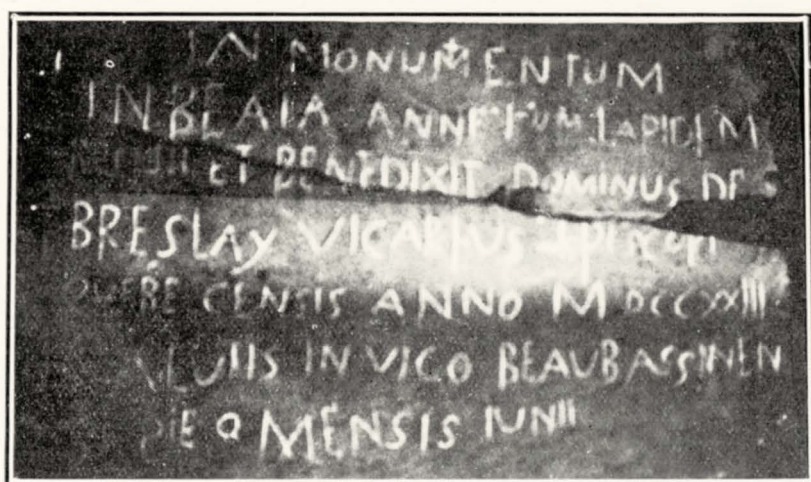
IN MONUMENTUM
IN BEATA ANNE IUM LAPIDEM
POSUIT ET BENE DIXIT DOMINUS DE
BRESLAY VICARIUS EPISCOPI
QUEBE CENSIS ANNO MDCCXXIII
SALUTIS IN VICO BEAUBASSINEN
SI DIE 9 MENSIS JUNII

The church of Ste Anne was built through the initiative of the Abbé de Breslay, who, on leaving his mission in the Ile St. Jean, where he had been very much loved and respected, was requested to go to Beaubassin in 1722, by the Bishop of Quebec. There he was successful and on June 9, 1723, laid the foundation stone. The church was used until 1750, when in April it was destroyed on the visit of a British force under Charles Lawrence.

The inscription has been criticised by the French writer Rameau, who states that the beginning should be:—"*Id monumentum, in beatae Anne honorem.*" (*Les Sulpiciens, etc.*, par L'Abbé H-R Casgrain, p. 303).

This church of Ste. Anne was the second which had been used in the settlement of Beaubassin. The first was burned in the raid made in 1796 by Benjamin Church of New England. It is probable that the latter was the chapel of Notre Dame de Bon Secours, which had been erected on the Ile de Vallière by the Seigneur. This chapel situated between the Miseguash and Point Beauséjour was a convenient center for the settlement, which was scattered on both ridges bounding the marsh (now known as Fort Beauséjour and Fort Lawrence ridges).

Bell of St. Mark's Church, Mt. Whatley.—In the belfry of this church hangs a bell, which once belonged to one of the old Acadian churches. It measures about twenty inches in extreme height, and twenty-two inches in diameter at the bottom. It is beautifully modelled and ornamented with lines and ridges, and on one side are three fleur-de-lys in relief, arranged in a triangle. Near the top a raised band of scroll work extends around, and below this an inscription of raised letters in a single line around the bell.



BEAUBASSIN CHURCH CORNER STONE
 Now in the Museum of the University of St. Joseph's College,
 Memramcook, N. B.
 From a photograph.

AD HONOREM DEI
FECIT F M GROS
A ROCHEFORT
1734

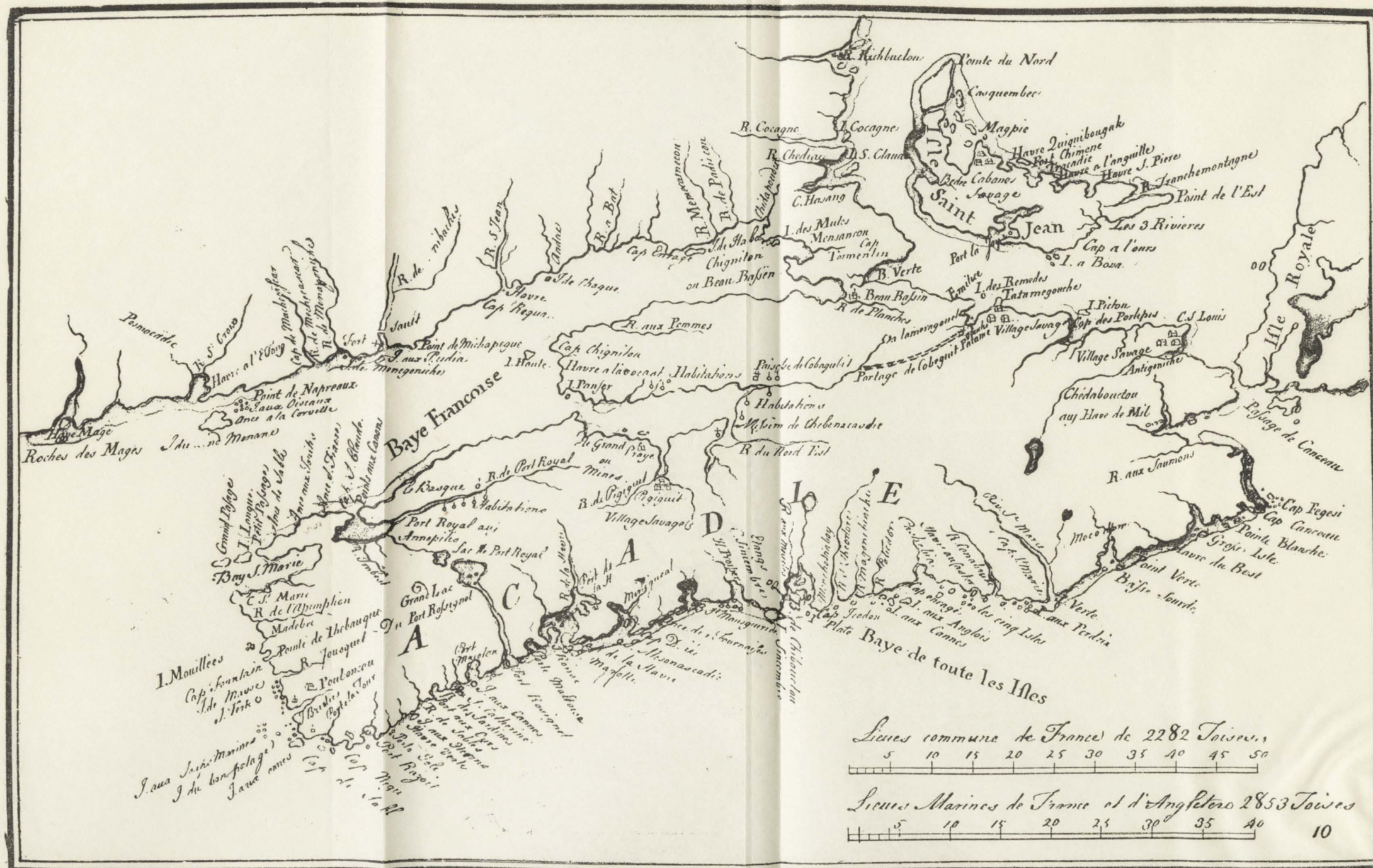


INSCRIPTION AND DECORATION ON OLD BELL OF
ST. MARK'S CHURCH

Drawing made by Dr. W. F. Ganong from a rubbing.

The illustration (Pl. XXVI). made for me by Dr. Ganong, after rubbings taken by him in 1898, shows some of the ornamentation and the inscription with the date, arranged in four lines.

There were four French Acadian churches in the district in 1755, viz., at Beaubassin, Tintamare, Fort Beauséjour, and Baie Verte. The oldest was that of Beaubassin, built in 1723. It is probable that it would have been provided with a bell before 1734, the year in which the St. Mark's bell was cast. I am inclined to believe that the bell belonged to the church of Fort Beauséjour, which was built by the Abbé Le Loutre, who was in a position to secure one of fine quality and beautiful ornamentation. From an account given to me by M. Placide Gaudet it is quite certain that the bell did not belong to the Tintamare church. When this church was destroyed by the British in 1755, the bell was afterwards rescued by some Acadians, who carried it away and buried it for safety. In later years, after the Acadians had begun to settle again in the country, the bell was recovered and taken to Memramcook, where it was used in the church of that place built on the west side of the river (the first church had been built on the east side, at what is now upper Dorchester, but had been destroyed by the British in 1755). It continued to be serviceable until after the middle of the nineteenth century, in Father La France's time, when it cracked. After Father LeFevre's arrival he decided to have a new bell, and not having been told of the historic interest of the old Tintamare bell sent it and two other old ones to Troy, N. Y., to be melted and made into a new one.



FRENCH MAP OF ACADIE—PENINSULAR PORTION

In the King's Collection, British Museum

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SECTION I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF PERSONAGES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

LAURENCE ARMSTRONG.—He became an Ensign in the army in 1699. In 1711, as a Captain of Foot, he went on the disastrous Hovenden Walker expedition against Quebec, which came to grief in the lower St. Lawrence. He was wrecked and afterwards suffered much hardship. On the formation of Philipps' regiment in Nova Scotia in 1717 he was made a Captain in it; he rose to be Lieut.-Colonel in 1720. After Philipps' final departure, Armstrong took over the government. He was a man of broad and liberal views but was not robust enough to cope with his difficulties. He could not settle the Acadian problem, and he was neglected by the authorities at home. He contracted large debts in meeting the expenses for which the British Government failed to provide. His troubles gradually affected his mind, and he stabbed himself with his sword on December 7th, 1739.

CHARLES DES CHAMPS DE BOISHÉBERT.—Born in Quebec, 1727. Entered military service in 1742. In 1743 he fought at Sarasto on the frontier. In 1746 he went with his uncle, M. de Ramezay to Acadia, where he was sent to Ile St. Jean with a small force of French and Indians, defeating an English detachment. Later, he went with De Ramezay to the attack on Annapolis Royal which failed. In February, 1747, he was an officer in the detachment under the command of Coulon de Villiers which marched to Minas (Grand Pré) and surprised and defeated Colonel Noble's force which was stationed in the village.

After returning to Quebec, he was employed in defending the trade route between Montreal and Detroit. In the early part of 1749 he was sent to establish himself at the mouth of the river St. John. In 1751 he went to Paris with despatches, returning the following year. In 1754 he went again to the fort at the harbor of St. John. The next year, on being there threatened by an English force, he burned the fort and retired up the river. In September, 1755, he defeated an English force sent from Fort Cumberland to ravage Shepody and Petitcodiac. Until 1758 he was engaged in protecting Acadian refugees. In 1758 he led a force of French and Indians to Louisbourg, but accomplished nothing. In 1759 he fought at Quebec; in April, 1760, he commanded the Grenadiers at the Battle of St. Foy. After the conquest he went to France and was imprisoned in the Bastille, accused of complicity in the peculations of Bigot. After fifteen months he was set free and exonerated. He then went to his estate of Raffetot near Rouen. He had married his cousin in 1760. He left one son. The date of his death is unknown; he was still living in 1783.

JOSEPH BROSSARD OR BROUSSARD DIT BEAUSOLEIL.—Born at Port Royal, 1702. In 1725, he married Agnes Thibodeau, his brother Alexandre marrying her sister Marguerite. In 1727, the brothers settled on properties in Shepody, but, later, their lands were claimed by some Port Royal inhabitants, and, about 1740, they moved away, Alexandre settling at the village of Petitcodiac, and Joseph going six miles farther up the river to Le Cran (now Stoney Creek, opposite Dover).

During the siege of Beauséjour, Brossard helped the garrison in scouting and skirmishing expeditions. After the capitulation he waited on Col. Monckton under a safe conduct, seeking pardon for himself and peace for the Indians. These were granted on condition of approval by the Governor of Nova Scotia.

Later, Brossard took command of a privateer in the Bay of Fundy and was active against the English. In 1758, when the latter ravaged the Petitcodiac region, Brossard opposed them. He is believed to have been wounded in the foot and to have gone to Miramichi. In 1763 he was at Piziquid (now Windsor), and being found with a letter from France which was meant to be used in inducing the Acadians to move to France, he was taken before the Council in Halifax, and held there until the next year when he was allowed to go with other Acadians to St. Domenica. As the climate of this island was fatal to several, Brossard and those who remained went to Louisiana. He died soon after his arrival, and was buried by a Capuchin missionary on October 20, 1765, being designated as "Joseph Brossard dit Beausoleil, Capitaine Commandant les Acadiens des Atakapas." The memory of Brossard is treasured by the Acadians because of his bravery and enterprise.

CHEVALIER PIERRE LA CORNE.—Son of Captain La Corne, Town Major of Quebec. Entered army in 1719. His first service was in 1720, when he went on an embassy to the Indians. In 1746 he went with De Ramezay to Acadie. In February he was with the force which surprised and defeated the British under Col. Noble at Grand Pré. He then returned to Canada. In 1749 he was sent with some troops to Chignecto, being ordered to take possession of all territory west of the Missequash river, and to try to bring Acadian families from the peninsula of Nova Scotia to this territory. He was recalled in October, 1750, and continued in active service in Canada. He commanded a battalion of Colonial troops at Quebec in 1759 and was wounded.

HON. EDWARD CORNWALLIS.—Born in London in 1713. Sixth son of Charles, 4th Baron Cornwallis, and twin brother of Frederick, who later became Archbishop of Canterbury. The twins bore a very close resemblance.

In 1731, Edward became an ensign in the 47th Foot; in 1734, a Lieutenant, and, in 1737, a Captain, and, as such, was transferred to the Twentieth Foot, being also appointed on the staff of the Duke of Cumberland. In 1744, he became M. P. for Eye, Suffolk. In 1745 he joined his regiment in Flanders and fought at Fontenoy. Later in the year he became Groom of His Majesty's bedchamber, and Lieut.-Colonel of the Twentieth Regiment. He went through the campaign against the Jacobites in Scotland. In 1748 he resigned from the XXth and in 1749 was succeeded by James Wolfe. In the latter year, Cornwallis was sent to Nova Scotia with a large number of settlers to found a new stronghold at Chebucto Harbor, which was named Halifax. The expedition arrived June 21st (O. S.) or July 2nd (N. S.). Cornwallis was made Captain-general and Governor of Nova Scotia, the seat of government being transferred from Annapolis Royal to Halifax. In 1752, being in poor health he resigned, and returned to England, being made Colonel of the XXIVth Foot. In 1753, on the death of Sir Peter Warren he became M. P. for Westminster. In 1755 he was for a short time with his regiment in Minorca and then went home on leave. In the spring of 1756 he was sent back with Byng's fleet which was meant to relieve Minorca. This failed and the fleet returned to Gibraltar and England. This was followed by a Court-martial, but Cornwallis escaped official censure. In 1757 he became a Major-General and took part in the unfortunate expedition against Rochefort. In 1760 he was made Lieut.-General. In 1762 he went to Gibraltar as Governor, where he died in January, 1776. He was buried in Gulford Parish Church, near Bury St. Edmunds.

LOUIS DE COURVILLE.— On May 25, 1754, he was commissioned by the Intendant Bigot as Royal Notary in Acadia, his head-quarters being Fort Beauséjour. Previously he had been employed in the King's Storehouses in Quebec. After the fall of Beauséjour he returned to Quebec, and on March 26, 1756, he became clerk of the Tribunal of Justice of the Jesuit Fathers in their Seigniorship of Notre-Dame des Anges, a position which he held until 1759. During this period, owing to Bigot's favor, he was commissioned to practice as a notary in Notre-Dame des Anges, Saint-Gabriel, Sillery, Saint-Joseph and Saint-Ignace.

Under British rule he obtained a commission on October 1, 1760, from Thomas Gale, Governor of Montreal, to practise in the parishes of Saint-Ours, Contrecoeur, and Saint-Denis, his residence being fixed in the last mentioned. Later, he practised in Montreal. There, on November 26, 1768, he was admitted to practise as an advocate. On April 12, 1770, his property was sold by the sheriff to satisfy a judgment in favor of Antoine Lafrance. De Courville then left Montreal and at a later period, 1779-1780, his name is recorded as a notary at L'Assomption.

JEAN DANIEL DUMAS.— Born in the Province of Guyenne, France. Began his career in the army in the regiment d'Agenais. In April, 1750, made Captain in the troops of La Marine and sent to Canada. In the autumn of 1751 he was first Commandant at Fort Gaspereau in Chignecto, where he remained about a year.

Later, he was in service in the far West. In 1755, he was at Fort Duquesne under Contrecoeur, and fought against Braddock on July 9th, and after the death of De Beaujeu he took command of the French troops with such skill that Braddock was defeated. Afterwards he replaced Contrecoeur at Fort Duquesne and was given the Cross of St. Louis. He had great influence with the Indians and incited them to attack the border English settlements.

In 1757 he was with Rigaud de Vaudreuil's troops at the attack on Fort William Henry. Later, he was made Major of Quebec. In 1759, he was made Major-General Inspector of troops of La Marine in Canada, which gave him the rank of Colonel. He was active in the defense of Quebec, attacking the British at Levis, and, later, guarding the north bank of the river. He held Cap Rouge after the fall of Quebec, and, later, moved to Montreal, where he was present at the capitulation. He then returned to France and was made Colonel of Infantry. In 1767 he became Governor of l'Île de France for one year. In 1768 he became a Major-General.

LOUIS THOMAS JACAU DE FIEDMONT.— According to Placide Gaudet (*Acadiensis*, Vol. 1, p. 37), he was probably born at Placentia in 1712 (whither the family migrated after the capture of the Port Royal by the British in 1710). His father was Thomas Jacau (sometimes spelled *Jacob*), who had been a master gunner in the fort during the French regime, and his mother a native Acadian, Anne Melanson of Minas. When the garrison of Placentia was moved to Louisbourg on the founding of the latter, the family went also. The father served as master gunner at Louisbourg, where he died about 1739.

In April, Jacau was made an ensign in a new company of gunners which had been formed. In 1750 he was transferred to Quebec to serve in a newly formed company of bombardiers at Quebec. In 1753 he was made a Lieutenant, which was his rank when he was sent to Beauséjour as engineer in charge of the work of building the fort. His Journal of the siege is an important record. It was published without the name of the author in the 9th volume of documents belonging to M. de Nicolai (De Levis papers), published in Quebec in 1895 under

the direction of the Abbé Casgrain. After the fall of Beauséjour de Fiedmont returned to Quebec and rejoined his company of bombardiers. In 1757, he was made a Captain. He fought bravely at the siege of Quebec, and at the Council of war called by de Ramezay to consider the course to be taken after the defeat on the Plains, de Fiedmont was the only one who held out against capitulation and wished to fight on.

After the cession of Canada, he went to France. In 1762 he went to Cayenne as Lieut.-Colonel of an infantry regiment, and he was governor of this province and of French Guiana. In 1780 at Versailles the King gave to de Fiedmont, then termed a brigadier of infantry, the commission of Adjutant-General. He was also given a Coat-of-Arms. He probably emigrated at the time of the Revolution, but the date of his death is not known. (*Bull. des Recherches Hist.*, V. 173). He was a second cousin of Vergor du Chambon.

COLONEL LOUIS FRANQUET.—Officer of Engineers. Sent by the King in 1750 to superintend the new fortifications of Louisbourg, and to devise a plan for the defence of the French possessions in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On July 27, 1751, he left Louisbourg for Ile St. Jean, which he inspected thoroughly, studying it especially from the point of view of defence. On August 17th, he sailed for Baie Verte, arriving on the 18th. He visited the most important points on the isthmus, including Fort Beauséjour, Pont à Buot and Fort Gasperreau, conferring with the officers with regard to the defensive works which had just been commenced. He then returned to Louisbourg. The account of his travels was made in the form of a report, which contained, besides military data, interesting information regarding the people and the country.

In the summer of 1752, he went to Canada and made a similar report, dealing with the various posts on the river St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain and neighboring parts. He returned to France in the latter part of 1753.

In May, 1754, he was made Director of Fortifications of New France, appointed a brigadier in the army and given a pension of 1500 livres. He resided in Louisbourg, 1754-1758, superintending the fortifications.

The Chevalier Johnstone, who was an officer in Louisbourg during these years, says in his Journal, that Franquet "passed several years there raising plans, forming projects, concluding nothing, and consequently executing nothing." He accuses him of having been mixed up in schemes with Prevost which resulted in much graft for both, the fortifications being neglected. When the British appeared in 1758, the condition of the defences was evident to all the garrison, and Franquet was much blamed. After the fall of the fortress he returned to France and died in a short time of grief and chagrin.

ROLAND MICHEL BARRIN, COMTE DE LA GALISSONNIERE.—Born at Rochefort. He was a distinguished naval officer and keen on scientific studies. He was sent to Canada in 1747 and served two years as Administrator for Admiral le Marquis de la Jonquière, during the imprisonment of the latter in England after his capture at sea. He was an able governor and gave the best advice to the Court with regard to the needs and weakness of France in America. He strongly urged the strengthening of Acadia and of the Alleghanies, stressing the importance of the Mississippi Valley. He was responsible for settling numbers of French north of the Bay of Fundy (the modern province of New Brunswick), while the sovereignty of the territory was in dispute. In 1748 he sent a force to expel British traders from the Ohio Valley, the connecting link between the Mississippi and Canada, informing the British that the Alleghanies were the western limit of British authority. He constructed many forts, *e. g.*, at Detroit, on the site of Toronto, and elsewhere. He improved the Canadian Militia.

In August, 1749, De la Jonquière arrived to assume his governorship and De la Galissonnière went home. His interest in America continued and he gave valuable advice to his government. He rejoined the navy, and, in 1756, took part in the attack on Minorca and defeated Byng. His health was bad and he died in October of the same year. He was a hunchback and was never robust. He was distinguished as a sailor, as an administrator, and as a naturalist.

CHARLES GERMAIN.—A Jesuit priest who was sent to be missionary to the Indians of the St. John river in 1745. He frequently visited Beaubassin to co-operate with Le Loutre against the British. For several years he was an important agent of the Quebec Government. He assisted De Ramezay in his plan to attack Col. Noble in 1747, and proposed an attack on Annapolis Royal in the same year. In 1757 he went to Miramichi, where he was active in getting supplies for the refugees from Quebec. After the fall of Quebec he induced many French and Indians to submit to the British. In 1761 he was granted a pension of £50 per annum for his services in trying to quiet the Acadians and Indians on the St. John river. In 1762 he wrote to the Halifax authorities stating that he was unable to control the Indians. He finally retired to St. Francis in Quebec, taking eighty Indian families with him. There he died in 1779.

JOSEPH GOREHAM*.—A native of Massachusetts. In 1749 he was Lieutenant in the force of Rangers (mostly Indians) commanded by his brother John in 1749. He fought at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec the next year. He was made a Major in the American Rangers in 1760, and in 1761 he was given this rank in a British regiment. He obtained large grants of land in Nova Scotia in 1765. In 1766 he became a member of Council in Halifax. In 1771 he was made a Lieut.-Colonel. For years he held the appointment of Lieut.-Governor of Placentia, Nfld., which was given him in 1770. He did not reside there constantly, for in 1776 he was sent to Fort Cumberland with his Rangers and defended it against the Eddy rebels. He spent much money in the public service and was greatly in debt.

He had much influence over the Indians. In 1782 he was made Governor of Newfoundland. He died about 1790.

EDWARD HOW.—He lived at Annapolis Royal where he was a Member of Council. Though he was a Captain in the Militia he was usually regarded as a civilian. Later he became High Sheriff. In 1744 he was in the Fort during the siege and was of much use in the defence. When Col. Noble and his troops took possession of Grand Pré, How was sent there to take charge of all civil affairs and the commissariat. In the fight with the French in February under Coulon de Villiers, How was wounded and made prisoner. Mascarene tried to get him released on the ground that he was a civilian, but this was refused. He and the Council then wrote to Governor Shirley asking for his help in freeing How, whose value and many services were mentioned. At length he was exchanged for six French prisoners. When Captain Rous was sent to the harbour of St. John in July, 1749, How went with him. When a French party came there to parley, How was sent ashore to talk to the officers before they saw Rous.

*The name is often spelled "Gorham, but I have given it as found on a document signed by Joseph in the Public Record Office, London. I have several original letters of his brother John, signed "Gorham." According to Mr. R. P. Gorham, a descendant of the family, the pioneer member was George Goram of Stamford, who adopted the form "Gorham." His children seem to have divided their allegiance between the two varieties. Why and when the "e" was introduced is not known; at the present day there are members of the family who use this variation.

He then held several interviews with Indian chiefs in regard to making their submission to Governor Cornwallis in Halifax. They appointed Deputies who went with How to Halifax and appeared before the Governor and Council on board the *Beaufort*, in August. How was sworn a member of the Council at this time. He was sent back to St. John with the Deputies to have the treaty ratified, and taking presents for the tribes.

In 1750, he went with Col. Lawrence to Chignecto to assist him in building Fort Lawrence, as well as to try to win over the Indians. One day in October he went to an interview with the French, who appeared with a white flag, when he was treacherously shot by some Indians who were hiding behind a dyke. His wife was a daughter of William Winniett, a French Huguenot, who had settled as a merchant at Annapolis Royal, and had married a Catholic woman, Marie Magdalen Maisonat, whose father, Captain Maisonat, had been a famous privateer, and had captured many British vessels.

DAMETRIUS JAMES.—Appointed to command the 43rd regiment as Lieut.-Colonel, February 2nd, 1757. In the next year he was made a Colonel while in America. He was at Fort Cumberland during most of two years.

JAMES JOHNSTONE, CHEVALIER DE.—Born in Edinburgh, 1719, the only son of a merchant of the same name. Related to some prominent Scottish families. When Prince Charles Edward landed in 1745, Johnstone joined him, soon being made a Captain. He fought in all the Prince's battles, and after Culloden he fled, and after many days of wandering found his way in disguise to London, where he remained concealed for a time until he escaped to Holland. In 1746, he went to Paris and in 1750 entered the French army as an officer. From 1750 until 1758 he served at Louisbourg, and after its fall he fled to Canada. There he became aide-de-camp to Lévis, and, later, to Montcalm. He fought through the campaigns of 1759 and 1760, and after the cession of Canada returned to France. In 1762 he was made a Chevalier of St. Louis, and obtained a pension from the French Government, which was stopped at the outbreak of the Revolution. Afterwards, he lived in poverty and died about 1800. He left behind him his memoirs of the Jacobite rebellion and of the Seven Years' War in Canada. These were published in London in 1820, and in 1870 in Aberdeen. In Series 2, Historical Documents, Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec the manuscripts relating to the wars in Canada have been published, and his Memoirs in the 9th Series in 1915.

JAMES PIERRE DE TAFFANEL, MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIERE.—Born about 1686 in the family chateau in Languedoc. He became a soldier and fought in many European campaigns. In the navy he attained the rank of Admiral. In 1746 he was made Governor of Canada. In April, 1747, he started in a fleet from France, and was met by Anson with a stronger fleet off Cape Finisterre. The French were defeated, several vessels being taken. De la Jonquière was taken to England and held for two years. De la Galissonnière went to Canada to act as Administrator in his absence. In the autumn of 1749 the Marquis reached Canada, and took up the Governorship. He was not as bold as De la Galissonnière and pursued a cautious policy. He was responsible for the erection of Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau in Chignecto, and was in constant dispute with the Government of Nova Scotia. His health suffered and he was much disturbed over charges that he was too interested in making money out of the fur trade. He died in Quebec on May 17, 1752. He was very rich and miserly.

JOHN KNOX.—The author of a most important Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757-1760, published in 1769. In 1914, it was issued in three volumes by the Champlain Society of Canada, edited by Dr. A. G. Doughty. It is of the greatest value to students of the period with which it deals. Knox was stationed at Fort Cumberland with his regiment, the 43rd, and has left an important account of life there.

Little is known of his early life. He was the son of John Knox, merchant, of Sligo, Ireland. He served as a volunteer in the war which ended in 1748, and for gallant conduct was made Ensign in the 43rd regiment of Foot in 1749, and in 1751 he purchased a Lieutenancy in his regiment. In 1757 he went with his regiment to Halifax to take part in the expedition which Lord Loudoun was to lead against Louisbourg; this did not take place and the regiment remained nearly two years at Annapolis Royal and Fort Cumberland, going first to the latter in August, 1757. In 1759 he went through the campaign at Quebec, and through that of 1760, returning to England in poor health in the autumn. In 1761 he was made Captain of an Independent Company of Foot, afterwards the 99th. He retired on half-pay in 1763 and continued on this status until February 16th, 1775, when he was given a Company of Invalids at Berwick. He tried to get promotion but failed. He got into much trouble with the authorities over the affairs of the garrison of Berwick, and this so affected him that his health failed and he died on February 8, 1778.

CHARLES LAWRENCE.—Entered army as ensign in a foot regiment in 1727. In 1729 sent with regiment to America and saw much service against Indians on borders of New York, Virginia and Massachusetts. From 1733 to 1737 in West Indies. In 1738, Military attaché to War Office in London. His duty was to do confidential work and carry dispatches, often at great risk. In 1741, made Captain-Lieut. in 54th; in 1742, Captain. In 1745 in Flanders campaign and wounded at Fontenoy. In 1747, made Major and went with regiment (45th) to Louisbourg under Hopson, Military Governor. After restoration of the fortress to the French, Lawrence went to Halifax with Hopson. In July, 1749, sworn in as Member of Council by Cornwallis, who was Governor. Lawrence was of great help to the Governor. He was a tall, robust man of pleasant manners, and could endure much hardship. He opposed Mauger and other smugglers and they did much to give him a bad name.

In April, 1750, Lawrence was sent to Chignecto, and on his arrival, the French burnt Beaubassin. He did not remain but returned in the autumn and built a fort on the site of Beaubassin, which was named Fort Lawrence. He was made a Lieut.-Colonel. In 1750, Cornwallis had to go to England in poor health, and Hopson became Governor, but was in such bad health that extra work fell on Lawrence. In 1753, Lawrence took German immigrants and founded Lunenburg; in November of this year Hopson left for England, and Lawrence directed the affairs of the province until his death, being made Lieut.-Governor in 1754 and Governor in 1756. He greatly encouraged founding of new settlements, and had constant troubles with the French and Indians. He had a continual fight with Mauger and other merchants of Halifax, trying to make them comply with the law.

In 1755, he was active in promoting the expedition which captured Beauséjour. He ordered the expulsion of the Acadians. In 1758 he left Monckton in charge of the Government and went to Louisbourg as one of Amherst's brigadier-generals. He contracted pneumonia in October, 1760, and died on the 19th. He was buried in St. Paul's, the first interment in the church. A monument was placed in the church, but in 1768 the building was partly wrecked by a storm; while being repaired the monument was taken down and stolen, and never found.

LERY, GASPARD-JOSEPH CHAUSSEGROS DE.—Son of Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, engineer, and knight of St. Louis, and of Marie-Reine LeGardeur de Beauvais, Born at Quebec 21 July, 1721. He married at the same place, 24 September, 1753, Louise, daughter of François Martel de Brouague and Marie-Anne Bissonnet La Favry.

Was also an engineer, employed in the troupes de la Marine. Made an Ensign in 1742; took part, in 1747, in the fight at Grand Pré. Lieutenant in 1748. Sent the following year to Detroit to make astronomical and other observations. Sent again to Acadia in 1751 and began the work of building Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau under the direction of M. de St.-Ours des Chaillons. In 1754 he went to Detroit as second in command under Céloron de Blainville. In 1756, Vaudreuil sent him to command at La Présentation. On the 27th March, he captured Fort Bull. Served under Montcalm at Forts Ontario and Oswego. Captain in 1757. In the summer of that year worked on the fortifications of Quebec. Knight of St.-Louis, 1st January, 1759. Went to France after the capitulation of Montreal, but soon came back to Canada, where he obtained the post of Grand Voyer and became a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils. Died at Quebec, 11 December, 1797.

JEAN-LOUIS LE LOUTRE.—Born at Morlaix, Brittany, September 26, 1709, the son of Jean Maurice Le Loutre, Sieur Després (Desprez) and Catherine Huet. He studied at the Seminary of St. Esprit and became a priest. In 1737, he was sent by the Seminary of Foreign Missions to Louisbourg, and in the following year became Missionary to the Micmacs at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia. He gave his pledge to Mascarene, Administrator of Nova Scotia, that he would maintain peace and good order and keep the people faithful to their allegiance to Great Britain. He did not keep this promise long, but gradually became an implacable foe of the British and a secret agent of France, using all his influence to stir up the Indians and to induce the Acadians to move away from Nova Scotia.

When war broke out between the two nations in 1744, he actively assisted France. In the summer of 1745, he visited Quebec with Micmac Deputies and induced the authorities to send large quantities of supplies and ammunition to Acadia for the use of the Indians, who were being used as allies of the French. He then returned to the river St. John to incite the Indians to fight, afterwards going to his own mission. At this time he was given a code of signals whereby he could communicate with the French fleet off the coast, and he forwarded despatches from its Commander.

In June, 1746, he was on one of two French warships in Chebucto Harbor, and co-operated with De Ramezay at Beaubassin in planning an attack on Annapolis Royal. In the autumn he went to France, and on his return journey in 1747, with La Jonquière, who commanded a French fleet, a battle took place with the British who were victorious, many ships and prisoners being taken to England, among them Le Loutre. He gave the authorities a false name, and after being kept several weeks was allowed to return to France.

In March, 1748, he again sailed for Cape Breton, and again undertook to work in Nova Scotia against the British, making Chignecto his head-quarters. He arrived there in the spring of 1749, taking charge of the parish of Beaubassin for a time. When La Galissonnière began his aggressive movement in that year, he found an able and faithful agent in Le Loutre, whose efforts, henceforth, were directed towards forcing the Acadians of Nova Scotia to abandon their farms and move west of the Miseguash river, which the French had arbitrarily fixed as the limit of Nova Scotia, and, also to keep the Indians antagonistic to the British, constantly inciting them to terrorize British settlements and outposts, to secure as many scalps as possible and to interrupt their communications.

Successive Governors thus kept Le Loutre employed, supporting and encouraging him continually. When the French forts were built in Chignecto, the successive Commandants were instructed to co-operate with him and to treat him with deference in all matters relating to the Acadians. The latter in large numbers gave up their homes and became refugees, under promises of support, grants of land and assistance in the building of new homes. These could not be adequately fulfilled in many cases, and many of the people suffered greatly, besides becoming dispirited and dissatisfied. When they resisted Le Loutre's efforts to remove them from their properties, or when some who had been removed wished again to return to them, he threatened them with the deprivation of all their church benefits, *e. g.*, the sacraments, and even stated that he would turn loose the savages against them. As Vicar-General for Acadia, he exercised authority over other priests and tried to force them to follow his example as regards the Acadians and Indians, but he was not successful in all cases.

When the British under Lawrence, visited Chignecto, in April, 1750, the village of Beaubassin was destroyed under his orders and those of Father Germain. In the autumn, when Lawrence again appeared and landed on territory which even the French admitted to be British, he was opposed by an armed force of Acadians and Indians, incited by these same priests.

In the autumn of this year, Fort Lawrence was built, and in the following year Fort Beauséjour was begun. Le Loutre, thereafter, made this his headquarters, building a church near the Fort, of which he took charge. Here his activities continued until the successful attack of the British in 1755. He became very much interested in the reclamation of marsh land and developed a scheme for building a large aboiteau on the river Du Lac (now Aulac). To obtain funds for carrying it out, he went to France in 1753, and induced the Government to grant him 50,000 livres. On his return the work was started, many of the inhabitants contributing their time and labor, but at the Capitulation the work was not finished. At that time he had greatly exceeded his original estimate and was forced to obtain additional funds.

He was in the fort during the siege, but when it was decided to surrender, he quickly made his escape and went to Quebec by the old overland route. Thereafter, he sailed for France, but was captured at sea by the British and taken to England a prisoner. After being held there several weeks, he was sent to the Island of Jersey and held until after the signing of peace in 1763.

The rest of his life was spent in France, working in the interests of refugee Acadians, who had returned from America, endeavoring to settle them in communities. His principal effort in this direction was made in Belle-Isle, Brittany. He also tried to establish a settlement in Corsica, and it was while on the point of starting for that Island in 1772, that he died suddenly at Nantes.

The Church would never grant him a benefice after his return, and he lived on a pension from the French Government.

HUNGERFORD LUTTRELL.—He came to Nova Scotia as an officer in Warburton's Foot Regiment (45th). It first went to Louisbourg, and, after the evacuation of the latter, to Halifax. As a Major he was Commandant of Fort Lawrence from the early part of 1751 until autumn.

ABBÉ ANTOINE SIMON MAILLARD.—Nothing is known of his birth and parentage. Sent to Cape Breton in 1735 by the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris to become a missionary to the Indians. He was first stationed at Maligouèche, near Whycocomagh, and his territory included a portion of the mainland at Natkitgoneiche (Antigonish). His faithful work soon commended

him to his superiors in Quebec and Paris. In 1740, he was made Vicar-General of Cape Breton. In 1744, he accompanied a force sent from Louisbourg under Duvivier to attack Annapolis Royal in July, 1744. After the fall of Louisbourg, he moved to the mainland, and worked in the interest of France among the Indians and Acadians. In 1746, he was for a time at the Shubenacadie mission of Le Loutre, while the latter was in France, though in October of that year he was at Beaubassin where De Ramezay was with his troops. He helped to raise Indians for Marin's expedition against Louisbourg in 1748; Marin did not fight, for when he reached Louisbourg he learned that peace had been declared. Maillard then returned to his first mission under a passport granted by Governor Cornwallis. He worked steadily for ten years, taking no part in politics, as far as is known, being more interested in his mission work and in his studies of the Micmac language. In 1750, he was granted a pension, and, later, built a church and house on Isle de Sainte Famille in Lake Bras d'Or (now known as Chapel Island, not far from St. Peters).

After the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, little is known of his life. His last two years were spent in Halifax, where he received a salary from the Government; his influence was exerted in urging the Indians and Acadians to submit to British rule. He died there in 1762, having been greatly admired and respected by the citizens, and was buried with honors, his pall being supported by the President of the Council, the Speaker of the House of Assembly and four other gentlemen.

Maillard deserves great credit for his researches in the Micmac language, constructing a grammar and dictionary, and making a large number of hieroglyphics with which the Indians were taught to read and write. He wrote for their use long and short catechisms, prayers and a chant. He was greatly beloved by the Indians, and was long remembered by them after his death.

ABBÉ MANACH (ALSO MENACH, MENAC, MINIAC).—He came to Acadia in 1742, with letters from the Bishop of Quebec to Mascarene, and was first stationed at Minas, and afterwards at Baie Verte. In 1755, he was sent to Miramichi, succeeding M. la Corne, Recollet. After the fall of Quebec he tried to induce the French and Indians to submit to the British. In 1751, an extract from the minutes of Council in Halifax shows that he had tried again to stir up the Indians against the British, in consequence of which he was sent to England as a prisoner.

JEAN PAUL MASCARENE.—Born of Huguenot parents at Castras in the South of France in 1684. At the age of twelve he went to Geneva to be educated. Later he moved to England, where he was naturalized in 1706. In 1708 he was made a Second Lieutenant in Lord Montague's regiment. In 1710, he became a Captain, being ordered to America to join a New England Regiment raised for the expedition against Port Royal. At the siege under Nicholson, he commanded the Grenadiers of Col. Walters' regiment, and, after the capture, commanded the first guard in the fort. Soon after he was made a brevet Major.

Later he was, for a time, Commander of the garrison of Placentia, Nfld. He again returned to Port Royal, and in 1720, was third on the list of the Council of Nova Scotia, when it was established. Not long after, he became Senior Councillor and remained so for many years. In 1739, he became Major; in December, 1742, Lieut.-Col. Cosby, who commanded Philipps' regiment, died and the next year Mascarene succeeded him in the command as well as in the Lieutenant Governorship of the Fort and garrison of Annapolis Royal. He also acted as Administrator for the Governor, Philipps, who lived in England. He, therefore, held the most important position in the country until Cornwallis came out as Governor and made Halifax the capital. Mascarene became Senior Councillor in the new Government.

During his long service he had defended Nova Scotia against enemies, and had tried to make loyal subjects of the Acadians, striving to counteract the influence of the French agents who worked among them. In 1751, he was employed to negotiate with the New England Indians along with the Governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He soon after retired, and settled in Boston, where he became a Major General in 1758. He died there in 1760, leaving a son and daughter.

JACQUES DE MEULLES.—Succeeded Duchesneau as Intendant of Canada, in October, 1682, his appointment dating from May 10. His term finished September, 1686. In 1683, he began to build the Palais de l'Intendant or The Palace; when finished it was a magnificent building with fine gardens; it was burned January 5, 1713, and a new one was built by Bégon. His methods of handling the finances were criticised by the Minister in France. He was ordered to visit Acadie in 1685, and his accounts of this trip were given in letters to the King and the Minister, dated July 18 and 19, 1686.

HON. ROBERT MONCKTON.—Second son of first Viscount Galway. Entered army, 1741. In 1742-43 fought in Flanders and Germany. Captain in 1744. Fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy. Major in 1747; Lieut.-Colonel in 1751. Elected M. P. in 1751.

Sent to Nova Scotia in 1752. Commanded at Fort Lawrence in same year for a time. Member of Council in Halifax in 1753; quelled German insurrection at Lunenburg in same year. In 1754, made Lieut.-Governor of Annapolis Royal (a title which he retained until his death.) In 1755, sent to Boston to command troops raised there by Governor Shirley for the attack on Fort Beauséjour. Besieged and captured this Fort in June of this year. Remained in command of the fort, renamed Fort Cumberland, until November 25. In December of the same year, made Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, being next to Governor Lawrence. In 1757, he became Colonel of the 60th Royal American Rifles. In 1758, he remained in Halifax at the head of the Government, while Lawrence served at the siege of Louisbourg. In 1758, he was sent to destroy the French settlements on the St. John river. In 1759, he was senior Brigadier-General at Quebec under Wolfe, and was badly wounded. Afterwards he went to New York, and in 1760, commanded the troops at Philadelphia. Became Major-General and Governor of New York in 1761. Late in the same year he commanded the expedition to Martinique, which he captured, along with Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent; for this campaign he received the thanks of the House of Commons. In 1763, he returned to England. In 1765, Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed. In 1770, Lieut.-General. In 1771, he received the freedom of Edinburgh. In 1778, Governor of Portsmouth. In 1779, elected M. P. for Portsmouth. He died in 1782, and was buried in Kensington Parish Church, London. He never married.

THOMAS PICHON.—Born at Vire, Normandy, April 30, 1700. He was well educated, being for a time in his youth at Marseilles, and studied medicine. In 1741, appointed by the Minister of War, Administrator of French Army Hospitals on the Danube and in Bohemia. Being made prisoner, he was employed by Maria Teresa on a Commission to settle accounts of the French Army. He returned to France about 1743, and was made Inspector of Forage in Alsace; from 1745 until 1749, Director of Hospitals of the Army of the Lower Rhine. Believing that he was not being treated well, he went to Cape Breton in 1751 with Count de Raymond, who had been appointed Governor, as his secretary; he had met the Count in the Bohemian campaign. Pichon was

dismissed by Count Raymond in 1753 on account of an affair of gallantry. This Pichon resented as being outside the Governor's concern. However, the Count gave him a certificate stating that he had carried on his work with "all the intelligence, fidelity, exactitude, and disinterestedness possible." Pichon never forgave him, and later, described him as "perhaps the most foolish of all animals on two feet."

In 1753, he went to Fort Beauséjour as Commissary, but as two Commandants in succession filled this office, in addition to their military duty, Pichon was left in an uncertain position, and had no opportunity to obtain the perquisites which belonged to the office of Commissary. This may have helped to make him become a spy in the pay of the British. He was in constant communication with Fort Lawrence, and his letters are still preserved at Halifax. It is doubtful if he supplied much that was of great value. After the fall of the fort, he was taken to Halifax (ostensibly as a prisoner). He was then set free on parole mixing with French prisoners of rank on parole, whose conversations he reported to the Government, receiving pay for his services. In 1758, he went to England, where he lived until his death, under the name of Thomas Signis Tyrell, engaged in literary work. He married Madame le Prince de Beaumont, by whom he had six children. She left England about 1760, and settled in Switzerland, but could not induce her husband to join her. Pichon and his wife did not get along well together; she was devoted to him but was very religious, while he was not so inclined, being rather free and easy-going.

Pichon wrote several works, most of which have remained in manuscript, one being a large treatise *De la Nature, &c.* That which is of most interest is his published *Lettres et mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, civile et politique de Cap Breton*, published at La Haye, 1760. An English edition was brought out in the same year anonymously. The work is interesting and valuable.

He died in 1781, bequeathing to Vire, a good library, which has been used by the citizens since 1783. His papers and a portrait are also there.

RICHARD PHILIPPS.—Born in 1664. Entered the army early, and probably first saw service in Flanders in 1679. In 1688, he was sent to England as an agent to distribute circulars secretly in favor of William, Prince of Orange. He was made a Captain afterwards, and fought at the Battle of the Boyne. In 1702, he joined the 2nd Queen's (Bellasis') regiment, and fought in Spain. In 1707, he became Major. In 1710, he paid 7000 guineas for the Colonelcy of a Foot regiment (Bretton's); after its disbandment he became Colonel of the 12th Foot. After serving in Minorca and Spain, he was made Governor of Nova Scotia in 1717; at the same time he was made Colonel of a new regiment of Foot formed out of independent companies at Annapolis Royal and Placentia, Nfld. This was named the 40th Foot, and was the first regiment of Foot added to the army after the accession of George 1st. He arrived at Annapolis Royal in 1720, and returned to England in 1722. He found the country in a most unsettled state. The garrison had been neglected, the Indians were constantly a menace, and the Acadians were opposed to British rule. Philipps made representations to the Government in London, but without results. He tried to solve the problem of the Acadians but without success. Returning to Nova Scotia in June, 1729, he occupied himself chiefly with the Acadian difficulties. In 1731, he was recalled and ordered to give over the government of Nova Scotia to Lieut.-Governor Armstrong. He held the title of Governor, however, until the time of Cornwallis in 1749. He became a Major-General in 1739 and a Lieutenant-General in 1742. He died in 1754 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Philipps' financial relations to Nova Scotia were peculiar. From the time he was made Governor until Cornwallis succeeded him in 1749, though most of his time was spent in England, he continued to draw his full salary. When he returned to England in 1725, he agreed to give half to Lieut.-Col. Armstrong, whom he recommended to be made Lieut.-Governor of the Province. When the latter died in 1739, Phillips decided to keep all his salary, and he recommended that the office of Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia should be abolished and that the Lieut.-Governors of the Fort of Annapolis Royal should administer the Government, without any additional pay. Thus Philipps saved his salary, and the Commanding officer at the Fort had to administer the affairs of the Province without remuneration for the work. This condition continued until the time of Governor Cornwallis.

JACQUES PREVOST.—Born at Brest in humble circumstances, May 16, 1715, nothing being known of his early life. In 1729, he became a clerk in Government service and for six years he worked chiefly at Rochefort in the Department of Marine, which had to do with construction, repair and outfitting of ships, stores, etc. In 1753, Maurepas sent him to Louisbourg as a Commissioner under de Mezy, who was "Ordonnateur" there.

In 1737 he returned to France to point out the bad state of the colony and to get supplies. He was successful. In 1738, he went again to France in bad health. In 1739, he was again sent to Louisbourg to take care of the warehouse, hospitals and artillery, and was added to the "Conseil Supérieur."

In April, 1746, he was made "Commissaire de la Marine." He sailed to Canada with D'Anville's fleet and the vessel containing all his property was lost on Sable Island. He was himself wrecked in December of the same year and suffered greatly from exposure.

In 1747, he left France with La Jonquière's fleet, and was captured in the fight with Anson off Finistère. He was exchanged and took up his duties at Rochefort.

In 1748, after the restoration of Cape Breton, Prevost was appointed Commissary in Louisbourg, where he took up his work in 1749. He also became President of the "Conseil Supérieur, sub-delegate of the Intendant of New France, and, in 1755, Commissioner for War. He worked at Louisbourg until its fall in 1758, and was regarded by the King and Ministers as a very successful administrator. In 1757, he was given the title of "Commissaire Général de la Marine." In 1758, he worked hard to improve the neglected defences of Louisbourg. In 1759, he was employed in France in preparing an account of his administration in Louisbourg.

In 1763, as a result of the trial of De la Borde, who had been Treasurer of Cape Breton, Prevost fell under suspicion and was placed in the Bastille, where he was kept until April, 1764.

In 1768, he was made "ordonnateur de la marine" in Corsica. Later, he was made Chevalier of St. Louis; in 1776, he became Lieutenant of Marine in the department of Toulon.

The Chevalier Johnstone, who was an officer for years in Louisbourg, had no high opinion of Prevost, who was generally detested by the entire officer class. In the Appendix to his account of the campaign of Louisbourg, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the following description is given:

"Prevost, the Intendant of l'Isle Royale, was one of the greatest rascals that ever escaped the gibbet; and, if he had been poor, they would have rendered him justice in hanging him. On his arrival in France, he was clapped in the Bastille, where he was confined for some time; but, as gold there is the favorite

idol, he was at length liberated without trial. * * * M. de la Porte, first clerk in the Marine Office for the Department of the Colonies, retired a few years ago with a revenue of 3000 livres a year."

JEAN BAPTISTE NICOLAS ROCH DE RAMEZAY.—Fifteenth child of Claude de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal. Born at Montreal, September 4, 1780. Made an Ensign in the Colonial Troops in 1792, and served six years in the garrison of Montreal. In 1726, made Lieutenant and was sent to establish a small post at Niagara. In 1745, he became a Captain and was sent to a post at Nipigon, near Fort Rupert. Early in 1746, he went to Acadia with a large force of Canadians and Indians, being ordered to join D'Anville's force which was expected to arrive at Chebucto, for the purpose of taking Louisbourg and Nova Scotia. He established himself at Beaubassin. Early in the winter of 1747 he sent a force (being ill himself) under Coulon de Villiers, marching by land, to attack Col. Noble, who had established himself at Grand Pré. The French surprised the latter in the night in a terrible snowstorm and defeated Noble, who was killed. Later in the year he returned to Canada. In 1744, he received the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis. In 1749, he was made Major of Quebec. In 1758, he became Lieutenant of the King in Quebec, and was in command there during the siege. After the defeat of Montcalm, he capitulated, for which he was blamed by Vaudreuil, who had fled, leaving a draft of the capitulation with De Ramezay, with instructions to surrender if he were not relieved by the 15th. He actually resisted until the 17th, and then obtained better terms than those proposed by Vaudreuil. After the fall of Quebec he went to France and was given a pension. He probably died in 1771.

COMTE DE RAYMOND, GOVERNOR OF LOUISBOURG.—Jean-Louis de Raymond, Chevalier, Seigneur d'Oye, Lieut.-Col. of the Vexin Regiment; in 1747, he became a Brigadier. In 1751, he was made Governor of Louisbourg and was made Marcéhal de Camp (Major-General). He brought with him to Louisbourg, M. de Surlaville, who was in command of the troops. Also Thomas Pichon, who acted as Secretary until 1753, when he was dismissed for an affair of gallantry. Pichon resented this and became his enemy. However, Raymond gave him a certificate regarding his work. Later Pichon described him as "perhaps the most foolish of all animals on two feet."

JOHN ROUS.—The first record of him is as master of a Boston privateer. In August, 1744, he cut out a French fleet of five armed vessels from a Newfoundland port, which he captured, laying waste their fishing stations, capturing a 16-gun ship and many fishing vessels, which he destroyed. In the 1745 siege of Louisbourg he commanded the Shirley Galley, 24 guns, and was second in command to Capt. Tyng of the New England vessels. After the fall of the fortress, Rous was sent with the news to England, where he was rewarded by being made a Captain in the Royal Navy on September 24, 1745. In 1749, he was on duty in the Bay of Fundy. In 1755, he was Commodore of the fleet which took Monckton's forces to attack Beauséjour, after which he went to the mouth of the River St. John, which had been fortified by Boishébert, with orders to destroy the fort. On his approach, the fort was blown up and burned, the French retiring up the river. In 1756, while commanding the *Winchelsea* off Nova Scotia, he captured a French warship. Next year he commanded the *Sutherland* and was at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758, and at Quebec the following year. General Wolfe issued his last order, before climbing the heights, from Rous' ship. Afterwards, he settled in Halifax, where he died in 1760. He had been made a member of the Council in 1754. His daughter married Hon. Richard Bulkeley.

GEORGE SCOTT.—Captain in the 40th regiment, June 1751. In 1755, he went to Boston with Lieut.-Col. Monckton, and was made Lieut.-Col. of the Second Battalion of Shirley's regiment in the expedition against Beauséjour. He was made a Major in 1758, and as such commanded a force of Rangers and Light Infantry at Louisbourg. In 1761, he became a Lieut.-Colonel.

WILLIAM SHIRLEY.—Born December 2, 1694, in Preston, Sussex County, England, the son of a London merchant. He became a lawyer. In 1731, he went to Boston and started a law practice. He was made Surveyor of the King's woods, and in this capacity gained a wide knowledge of the country and its resources. In 1740, he was very active in raising troops to serve in the Cartagena expedition. He became Governor of Massachusetts in 1741, and carried out many reforms, *e. g.*, the establishment of a sound currency system. He gained the confidence and goodwill of the Colonials and had great influence among them.

He was the chief factor in inducing the Colonies to attack Louisbourg in 1745. In 1746-47, he proposed an attack on Canada, and raised over 8000 men for the purpose. His plan was adopted by the British Government but they failed to put it into execution. Later, it was chiefly due to his influence that the authorities finally changed their drifting policy in Nova Scotia. He pointed out that the Acadians would certainly join the French if they should attack Nova Scotia, and, in 1746, advised that "the most obnoxious of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia" should be removed. It was not until Charles Lawrence was Governor that Shirley's views were carried out in the province.

In 1749, Shirley went to England, and in 1750, was sent to Paris as one of the Commissioners to settle the limits of Acadia. It was unsuccessful and he returned to Boston in 1753, and continued to advocate war on the French and erected several forts. He worked out a plan of campaign with Crown Point, Niagara and Fort Duquesne as objectives, months before war broke out. During 1755, he was Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in America, after Braddock was killed, but after a year he was superseded by Lord Loudoun. In 1755, he was instrumental in raising a New England force which, under Colonel Monckton, captured Fort Beauséjour in Chignecto. The expulsion of the Acadians which followed was due to the co-operation of Shirley and Lawrence. In 1756, he was dismissed from office, probably because Loudoun blamed him, for the loss of Oswego. In England, however, he was vindicated from the charges made against him, and was made a Lieutenant-General in the army. In 1761, he was made Governor of the Bahamas, but in 1789, his son took this post and Shirley returned to Roxbury, Mass., where he built a large house. He died in 1771. Shirley published several works, *e. g.*, *Electra, a tragedy*, *Birth of Hercules, a mask*, *a Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, with a Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg, 1747*, *Conduct of Wm. Shirley, briefly stated*.

MICHEL LE COURTOIS DE SURLAVILLE.—Born in Bayeux, Normandy, June 17, 1714. Entered the army in 1734 and was made a Captain in 1745. For his conduct at Fontenoy he was given the Cross of St. Louis. In 1751, made Colonel of the Grenadiers of France. He went to Louisbourg with Count Raymond in 1751, and was made Major of the troops, for whom he was held responsible. He also had to report on Cape Breton and Acadie. He was very able and, indeed, only his own abilities accounted for his rise. He greatly improved the morale and discipline of the troops. He was sent by the Count to Halifax to announce to Governor Cornwallis his arrival as Governor of Cape Breton. He brought back a report of conditions in Halifax. His appointment led British officers to suspect that his activities had to do with a coming war.

He returned to France in October, 1753, when Count Raymond also retired. Afterwards, he served in the army, rising in rank until he became a Major-General in 1762. When his patron the Duc de Choiseul died, his advance was less rapid. He became a Lieut.-General in 1781. Died in Paris, 1796.

ANTOINE LOUIS ROUILLÉ, COMTE DE JOUY.—Born in 1689. Councillor in the Paris Parliament in 1711. Intendant of Commerce, 1725. Councillor of State and Commissioner of the India Company, 1744. Colonial Minister in succession to De Maurepas, 1749, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1754-1757. He died in 1761.

PIERRE-FRANÇOIS DE RIGAUD. MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL-CAVAGNAL.—Born at Montreal, in 1704, the third son of Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had been Governor of Canada from 1703 to 1725. Joined the army and became a Captain in 1715, Major in 1726. Made a Knight of St. Louis in 1730. In 1733, appointed Lieut.-Governor of Trois Rivières; in 1742, Governor of Louisiana. In 1746, he was made a Captain in the navy, and in 1748, succeeded to his father's title. In 1755, he was made Governor of Canada as well as of Louisiana. He had greater powers than any previous Governor for he was superior to the General commanding the military forces, and controlled even the Intendant in many matters which previously had been the prerogative of the latter. Montcalm's position during his period of service in Canada was rendered very difficult. He often quarrelled with Montcalm and did not check the iniquities of Bigot. Indeed, he greatly praised the latter in his reports to the Minister in France. After the cession of Canada, Vaudreuil went to France, and was placed in the Bastille, charged, like Bigot, with having been guilty of the same crimes. He was imprisoned from January, 1761, to January 27, 1764. At the trial, he was exonerated, but, as one writer says, "at the expense of his intelligence." Thereafter, he lived in Paris and died in 1778.

BENJAMIN ROUER DE VILLERAY.—Born in 1701. The family were prominent in Quebec. He entered military service as an Ensign in the Marine. In 1733, he became second Ensign, and in 1739, was promoted to be *Ensigne de pied*. Promotion was very slow afterwards, for in 1748, he was still holding the latter rank in Montreal. At the end of 1748, or the beginning of 1749, he was sent to Louisbourg, and in 1750, he became a Lieutenant. In the following year he was made Captain. In 1753, he was sent to Fort Gaspereau at Baie Verte as Commandant, and was still there when Monckton's army besieged Beauséjour. After the fall of the latter De Villeray gave up Fort Gaspereau when Monckton sent a summons from Beauséjour. For this he was criticised, as it was thought he should have waited until the enemy appeared in force before his fort. Drucour, who commanded at Louisbourg, and was his superior officer, wrote, on July 8, to the Minister recommending that De Villeray should be removed from his company and that it should be given to M. de Saint-Aigne. De Villeray evidently heard of this for he wrote to Drucour on September 20, 1755, justifying his action, and blaming the Acadians, whom he terms cowardly and as preferring to work for the English at Fort Lawrence than to carry out his orders. (It is likely that the English offered better pay). When the English army arrived, he said that he had been ordered to send all the male Acadians in his district to Beauséjour, and that he had with him only twenty soldiers. These inhabitants returned and would not obey him any more than they would M. de Vergor. Moreover, his fort would not stand for a moment against a single discharge of artillery. His explanation arrived too late in France. The Minister ordered a Court-Martial on him and De Vergor; it was held in Quebec, in Sep-

tember, 1757. Both were acquitted. De Villeray was sent back to Louisbourg to command his company. He fought through the siege of 1758, and, afterwards, was taken to France, where his family joined him. The King gave him the Cross of St. Louis. He died at Rochefort, November 30, 1760.

SIR BROOK WATSON.—Born in 1735, probably at Plymouth. He was left a penniless orphan at the age of ten. In 1749, he was sent to a distant relative named Levens in Boston, and was placed by him on a small trading vessel sailing to the West Indies. The boy went swimming in Havana harbor one day and was bitten by a shark, losing his right leg just below the knee.

On returning to Boston his relative had disappeared, and Watson fell in with a trader, Capt. Huston of Chignecto, who took him home with him and gave him work. After the building of Fort Lawrence in the autumn of 1750, Huston sold supplies to the garrison, and Watson was thus brought into relations with the officials. When Colonel Monckton was Commandant the boy helped him with his accounts and became noted for his diligence and obliging manners. When Joshua Winslow became Commissary officer, Watson helped him in his work. In April, 1755, Watson swam the Misseguash river, naked and having only one leg, in the midst of floating ice, and rescued a large number of cattle which had crossed the river to graze on the territory claimed by the French. This action was considered very plucky. A sketch was made of the incident, and later a painting was made in London, which Watson treasured throughout his life. It remained in possession of his heirs until 1918, when, after the death of the last male member of the family, it was sold in London. This is now in my collection. A small drawing of the picture is reproduced on Plate.

In 1758, Watson started in business with Joseph Slayter of Halifax, the former managing the Chignecto branch. In 1759, he went to London and joined Joshua Mauger; later, he was associated with Wm. Goodall and John Turner, who traded largely with Nova Scotia. During the last quarter of the century he became prominent in London and filled many important positions.

In 1774, he was sent on a secret mission to America on account of the disturbed state of affairs there. Some of his letters were discovered by the Colonial authorities and he was forced to return to England. He sailed on the same vessel with the artist Copley, with whom he formed a permanent friendship. In 1779, Copley painted the large picture representing the episode of Watson and the shark in Havana Harbor.

In 1782, Watson was made Commissary-General under Sir Guy Carleton, when he became Commander-in-Chief in America. After peace Watson was chiefly responsible for sending the Loyalists from New York to Nova Scotia.

On his return to London he proved a constant friend to the Loyalists in their new homes in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and helped them with their claims which were presented to the government. In 1783, the government gave a life pension of £500 to his wife in recognition of his services in New York. In 1784, he became a Member of Parliament, holding his seat for nine years. In 1786, he became first Agent for New Brunswick in London.

In 1793-95, he was Commissary-General with the army in Flanders. In 1798, he was made Commissary-General to the forces at home, an office created for him and never afterwards filled.

He held office in various City Guilds, and was a Director of the Bank of England. In 1796, he became Lord Mayor of London, his term being a troubled one. As this high official he was painted by Copley and the portrait is now in my collection (See Plate XVIII). On December 5, 1805, he was made a baronet,

with remainder to his great-nephews as he had no children of his own. He had a country house at East Sheen, where he died on October 2, 1807, being buried in Mortlake Parish Church, October 10.

He was succeeded in the title by his great-nephew, Wm. Kay of Montreal. The sixth and last baronet, Wm. Algernon Ireland Kay, Major in the King's own Royal Rifle Corps was killed in action in 1918.

MONTAGUE WILMOT.—Became Lieut.-Colonel of the 45th Foot in 1755. He was sent by Governor Lawrence to Fort Cumberland in 1756 with 400 men. In 1758, he fought at Louisbourg. He became Administrator of Nova Scotia in September, 1763, and Governor in November of the same year. He died in Halifax, 1766.

JOHN WINSLOW.—Born in 1702, son of Hon. Isaac Winslow of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and great grandson of Edward Winslow, first Governor of Plymouth Colony. He was Captain of Provincials in the unfortunate expedition to Cuba in 1740. In 1752, he was Commissioner to Fort St. George in Maine to adjust disputes with the Indians. In 1755, he commanded the first battalion of Shirley's regiment with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel at the siege and capture of Fort Beauséjour, and afterwards took a prominent part in carrying out the orders of Governor Lawrence for the expulsion of the Acadians. In 1756, he commanded 8000 men and was made a Major-General of Militia by Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New York, sent to act against Montcalm at Lake St. George. Montcalm, however, did not remain there but went west to Oswego. In 1758-59, he was sent with a force to fight the French at Kennebec. In 1762, he was made Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Plymouth County, Mass. He was Commissioner in the first attempt to decide which was the true river St. Croix, when the eastern boundary of Maine was being determined. During the Stamp Act troubles he was Counsellor of the Province in the Legislature and was associated with Samuel Adams and others in trying to settle the controversy. Winslow in Maine, was named after him in 1771. He died in Marshfield in 1774. His portrait is now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. He left two sons, Pelham and Isaac, who both were loyal to the Crown.

JOSHUA WINSLOW.—Born in Boston, 1727. Son of Col. Edward Winslow, being third in descent from John Winslow, brother of Edward, first Governor of the Plymouth Colony. He started a business career with his brother Isaac, in Boston and became a shipowner of some importance. He fought in the Louisbourg campaign of 1745. In 1755, he had the rank of Captain and was chief Commissary in Monckton's army at Fort Beauséjour, where he remained for some time afterwards. In 1760, he was one of the fifty-eight Boston Memorialists who opposed the officers of the Crown. In 1773, he was one of the consignees of the cargoes of tea thrown into the harbor by the mob. In 1774, he was an addresser of Governor Hutchinson and a protester against the whigs. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War he moved to Halifax, where he was made paymaster of the British forces. Later, he moved to Quebec, where he died in 1801. His widow returned to the United States, where she died in Medford, Mass., in 1816.

SECTION II

A

A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE DETACHMENT UNDER
MY COMMAND AFTER ENTERING THE BASIN OF CHIGNECTO.

BY

MAJOR CHARLES LAWRENCE

1750.

Friday, April 20th.— About dusk in the evening, the weather fair and fine, we anchored immediately within the entrance of Chignecto Basin, the Tide of flood being spent; as soon as we were well at anchor, I consulted with Captain Rous how it might be practicable to procure intelligence in regard to the situation of ye place we were destined to, the State of the Enemy and the Disposition of ye Inhabitants, for at Minas we had been able to learn nothing, nor had we whereon even to form a bare conjecture, except that Chas. Leblanc, one of the two Inhabitants we brought from thence, had uttered in his wrath and displeasure, at being forced on board solely against his Inclination whose ansr was far from favourable. In order, therefore, to have farther and more certain Information, we came to a Resolution of dispatching three Boats well mann'd and arm'd to a village situated on the S^o side of the Bason, it being least probable that they would meet with any opposition on that side; accordingly, Cap. Clapham, Cobb and a French Pilot with 30 good men of Gorham's and Cobb's were order'd into the Boats with directions to repair to ye aforesaid village with the utmost dispatch, and bring from thence, if practicable, three or four Inhabitants.

They set out about eleven o'clock and returned about one without success, thro the badness of the weather, wch tho fine when we came to an anchor, was, by this time, grown so stormy that one of the Whale Boats had almost filled, and the whole had difficulty to live.

Saturday, being the 21st.— We weighed with the morning's tide, got under sail and pushed three leagues farther into the Bason and then again came to an Anchor. The weather continuing still very wet and dismal, in the afternoon I sent Capt. Bartelle in Cobb's vessel up to the Town to reconnoitre, and put on board Landri, the Minas Deputy, with a mild letter to be carried by him on shore to the Deputies there, acquainting him before he went off (in order to make him the more faithfull) that I had left Directions with Capt. Stanfield to take his family into the Fort as sureties for his good behaviour, that the letter was to signify my countenance and good Intentions towards the Inhabitants, that I expected upon the Receipt of it that the Deputies (as was their duty) repair immediately on board His Majesty's Ship Albany to receive my commands, and, that, if possible, he himself should return on Board so soon as he should have deliver'd my letter.

About eleven at night Cobb returned with his vessel (after putting Landri on shore in a cano carried for that purpose without seeing any more of him) and acquainted me that most of the Houses in the Lower Town which he had observed to be in flames from eleven in ye morning were reduced to Ashes, except a few which seemed to stand on a particular spot that Capt. Bartelle and he had imagined the enemy had preserved with Intentions of maintaining and defending them. From hence I had too much reason to apprehend the

disaffection of ye Inhabitants, and to conclude that if they did not think their Strength sufficient to dispute our Landing they would at least retire to the woods with a resolution of committing every mischief they were capable of in Cobb's absence; Clapham, Gorham and the party before mentioned were again to have attempted getting Intelligence from the Shore, but the continuance or rather increase of the bad weather rendered the Project impracticable, nor could we, as the Deputy Landri was detained, either hope to see any deputy from the Place, or fall on any method of coming at the least knowledge with regard to the Enemy. It was therefore resolved at all events to get the vessels under sail (all but the Albany, which with safety could not go higher) with the morning tide, and repair as near as possible to the Place and there land the troops.

Accordingly on Sunday ye 22nd, the weather being much more favourable about seven we got under sail and proposed to disembark the Troops on the marsh situated on the North side of the old Town, to avoid the inconvenience of being annoyed in landing from the Dykes that were observed the evening before to lie on the other side of the River running towards Bay Verte. We got up to that part critically just at high water, and put the last of the Troops on shore in less than an hour and a half without any interruption. By this time came on again small rain. Whilst we were forming the Troops a large white Flag was waved several times by two peasants and afterward planted on a strong Dyke with a small creek in front of it, about a quarter of a mile to our left, which I supposed to be intended as a Flag of Truce; I sent Capt. Scott to know the reason of it, and to acquaint those Persons that till the Deputies waited on me according to my orders of the day before, I could have nothing to say to them; who returned and informed me that the two men (which were Inhabitants) were order'd to plant the Flag on that spot as being the Boundary of the French King's Territories, that they had received no Letter from me, but that an officer from M. la Corne was coming with a message to me, when the officer appeared, which was soon afterwards. I sent Capt. Scott a second time with orders to tell him from His Excellency, the Governor of this Province, that La Corne was immediately to retire out of His Majesty's Territories, otherwise that no orders whatsoever of M. Jonquière's would protect him against being treated as a publick Incendiary. The Officer replied as from La Corne that he hoped I would not be so precipitate as La Corne himself proposed to see me if I would give him leave and shew me his orders.

In the Interim, I observed that the Dyke aforementioned was entirely lined with Indians from the sea at one end of it to a thick wood that flanked it on the other; I weighed and considered the necessity and what might be the event of immediately forcing the Dyke in order to strike the Flag that was planted, and consulted with Bartelle on that head, who joined me in opinion that such an attempt would be rash, and from the appearance of the Ground about us and other circumstances, it might be attended with bad consequence, that, therefore, we thought it more prudent to remain as we were till we could see La Corne, and, in the Interim, reconnoitre the River, which lay to the right, and was to be passed before we could get out of that part, when I presently discovered we were strongly surrounded on every side with numbers and every advantage of ground that might distress People totally unacquainted with it.

I accordingly sent Cobb with a party, who was supposed to be best acquainted with it (not that he had the least real knowledge useful to us) to view the river and find out the properest place of Passage in order to our getting to the Town of Chignecto, which by this time was deserted and reduced to ashes, the Mass-House not excepted, though there were about a dozen houses standing to the right of it. When Cobb returned he informed me that there was no passing the River but in boats at the mouth of it, upon which I immediately

order'd the Boats thither, the vessels to fall down likewise and the Troops to march to that Part along the sea-side. By this time, M. La Corne, by a Flag, sent to desire an Interview. I went to meet him in company with Capt. Bartelle and Capt. Scott, and on joining put to him all such questions as I thought were proper on the occasion, and such as I thought might contribute to the finding out his strength and the knowledge of his designs and intentions. Amongst other questions I demanded to know by whose orders he was there within His Majesty's undoubted Limits, committing such unheard of outrages; he replied by M. Jonquière's who had directed him likewise to take possession of Cheppodie, St. John's River, Memramcooke, Pitcodiack and all that Country up to the River on our Right, as being the property of the French King, or at least that he was to keep it and must defend it, till the Boundaries should be settled by Commissioners appointed for that Purpose. I asked him where were the Inhabitants; he said dispers'd about in their Territories, Where were the Deputies? There were none. Who had burnt Beaubassin which he confessed belonged to the King of Great Britain. He said the Indians who claimed it as their own. By whose instructions? He knew nothing of that. Where was that villain Loutre? With his Indians perpetrating, I told him, as a Priest, those impious Practices, that he as a military man was to execute.

I asked to see his orders, which he faintly declined shewing at first and afterwards absolutely refused; in short his replies were all so peremptorily and of such a nature as convinced me he was determined in his purpose, and had collected a force very sufficient to maintain himself against a strength very superior to ours. He did not scruple to own his having a considerable number of Canadians, which but too well corresponded with Mascarene's Letter to that purpose; his situation in respect of ground was properly chosen, and an argument of his good judgment. He had the Dyke that I have mentioned above on his front, the sea on his right, an eminence with picketted ground in his rear, and a wood on his left. In short he had everything so much under his command on that side of the river that divided the ground he claimed and Beaubassin which he allowed to be ours, that I too much feared we had no pretensions to dispute that part of the country with him.

But before we parted I repeated to him the message that I had before sent him by Capt. Scott, which (very well knowing his own superior strength and advantage) he seemed to treat with contempt, and to be only desirous of our commencing hostilities. He even asked me what he was to expect from me. I told him I was there in order to have protected and supported His Majesty's subjects, to drive the Indians, our Enemy, out of the Province and every other enemy whatsoever. When we separated I prepared to pass the river and get footing on what he was pleased to call our own ground, it appearing more and more imprudent if not impracticable to force the Dyke on our left, when it began to rain much faster than it had done before the face of the weather appearing as bad as I ever saw it.

Immediately on our moving the enemy set fire at once to every house that remained on that side of the water. This last circumstance, together with the unfortunate one of the weather put me on considering the propriety of passing the river and what end it might answer, the result of which was that I could foresee nothing that was then to be gained by it. On the contrary, we had no prospect but of harassing and extremely fatiguing the Troops, leaving the Vessels (then dry) as it were, in the hands of the enemy, rendering our arms useless and the risque if not the certainty of having all communication with the vessels cut off by an infinitely superior force and in the case probably the loss of the whole detachment.

I say an infinitely superior force, because I was satisfied from the country's being laid in ashes (so far as it was granted to be ours), the cattle being drove off into their limits and M. La Corne's confident air of superiority, that the Inhabitants to a man had rebelliously joined him, which inhabitants from the number of villages and houses, and, indeed, from Winnet's, Clapham's and other accounts, cannot on the whole consist of fewer in number than 1000 men at a modest computation. To these were to be added all the Indians that after a fortnight's intelligence, could be collected together, besides La Corne's detachment of Regulars, his Canadians and the rebel inhabitants of all the different parts of the Province, every one of whom after being desperate enough to do as they had done, must necessarily have resolved to carry things to the last extremity. These circumstances with the concurrence of some of the Officers, determined me to reembark the people at least for that night.

When we were got again on board, I sat down seriously to consider the state and condition of the enemy, our own strength, and the utility of disembarking again to morrow. The first thing that occurred to me in the course of these reflections was that there was no establishing where everything was laid waste, or, even if there were, to have sat down on one side of the River and leave the Enemy in possession of the other was a tacit acknowledgment of the justice of his claim. To beat him out of it (the only alternative), I believe every officer as well as myself was convinced required a force much superior to ours. The inhabitants whom we hoped to gain, had revolted, the service to be done between Bay Verte and Beaubasin was impracticable, and as far as I was capable of judging every useful end and purpose proposed to be obtained from the expedition was totally and effectually frustrated by the Enemies having every advantage to be hoped for from strength of numbers and situation.

Another and the last consideration was, and I think a very important one, that had we engaged the enemy the consequences would not have been like that of a skirmish, but decisive, and I believe every man will agree with me, fatal too.

After this I could propose nothing by remaining in that part to encourage and increase the Insolence of the Enemy. The thing then to be considered was, whether or not we could annoy and molest them elsewhere, at Chipodie or Memremcooke. I thought we might, and accordingly, fell down the Basin with the transports that night and joined the Albany about 12 o'clock. The next morning had the opinion of Capt. Rouse and the principal officers upon that affair which were all in the negative; on the contrary they thought it much more for His Majesty's service to repair with the utmost dispatch to Minas lest in the interim great mischief should be committed in that part of the Province, which they the rather apprehended from our ill success at Chignecto and the bad disposition of the Minas Inhabitants at the time we sailed from thence. We therefore resolved to repair directly thither and after a troublesome passage arrived at Minas, April 26, 1750.

CHARLES LAWRENCE.

Above is No. 6 in Duke of Bedford's of June 4th, 1750. British Museum MSS Room. No. 32810, f. 345.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM GOVERNOR CORNWALLIS

TO

MAJOR CHARLES LAWRENCE

4TH APRIL, 1750.

You will march with the detachment under your command to Piziquid where you joyn the detachment commanded by Captain John Gorham. You will take that detachment under your command and march to Minas where Captain Hanfield will have orders to strengthen your command with 50 men. You will then consult with Captain Rouse the properest method of conveying your detachment to Chignecto. It is probable you may meet with resistance of landing. Therefore, it must be left to your discretion to land in such places where you will be least liable to be annoyed.

You will establish yourself at Chinecto, send to the Deputys, and read to them the inclosed letter and Proclamation.

As there is reason to apprehend that there is a detachment of French Forces at Chinecto or thereabouts, and that they have erected a Fort, in that case, you are to endeavor to erase it, as it is an open violation of Treaties subsisting between the Crowns of England and France.

You must not suffer any detachment of the French to remain at Chinecto. If they have erected a Fort at Chippody or any where that you can come at, you will endeavour to erase it.

If there is only a detachment at Chippody you will expostulate with the Commander, demand by whose Order he came there, protest against such proceedings as contrary to Treaties subsisting, and no ways justifiable, as belonging to the Crown of England. His answers and behaviour will best direct you how to proceed.

You will have an eye on Bay Verte and acquaint me with your proceedings as often as possible. As several half pay Officers will go with you, you will give them such commands as you will judge most proper. In case of any accident happening to Major Lawrence, Captain St. Loe is to take command of the whole, until further orders from me.

Given at Halifax, the 4th April, 1750.

ED. CORNWALLIS.

British Museum MSS, Duke of Bedford's, June 4, 1750.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR CHARLES LAWRENCE

Monsieur Jonquière, Governor of Canada, acquainted me in winter of his sending a detachment towards the Isthmus of Chiconecto, which I protested against as contrary to publick Faith and the Law of Nations, and insisted on his immediately recalling his detachment.

Notwithstanding which I have reason to believe that some forces of Canada have been there all winter, and that they have excited the Indians to commit their outrages all over the Province and provided them with all sorts of ammunition and provisions. I have Intelligence that they have erected some kind of a Fort thereabouts. If upon your arrival in those parts you shall find that they shall remain there you are to send to the commanding officer and protest against his proceedings. I insist upon his returning his detachment from the Province.

If he pretends to produce orders or raise other difficulties or if you find that they have presumed to erect any kind of Fort you will act as your prudence will direct.

You will chuse the most advantageous situation for a Fort at Chinecto, and throw up what works you can for the present to secure it.

Given at Halifax the 5th April, 1750.

ED. CORNWALLIS.

British Museum, MSS, Duke of Bedford's, June 4th, 1750.

HIS EXCY GOVR CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR LAWRENCE
AT GRAND PRE APRIL 15, 1750.

Halifax, April 15, 1750.

DEAR MAJOR,

If you see La Corne or have any Intercourse with him, tell him from me that the Inhabitants having owned that they have received many threatening messages from him and Loutre in order to make them retire, and orders not to sow their lands, a sort of audaciousness almost unheard of, inconsistent with all Treatys, all publick Honour, publick Faith and the Law of Nations, tis my express orders to leave this Province directly and return to Canada, otherwise that no orders whatever that he may produce shall protect him from being treated as a publick Incendiary.

I am,

Yours, etc.,

ED. CORNWALLIS.

British Museum MSS. Duke of Bedford's, June 4th, 1750.

LIEUT.-COLONEL MONCKTON'S JOURNAL OF 1755.

For many years historians interested in Nova Scotia have sought for the Journal of the Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition against Fort Beauséjour. The missing document has at last been found among the Cumberland papers in the Royal Library of Windsor Castle by Mr. Stanley M. Pargellis of Yale University, while engaged in research work. Through the courtesy of Dr. H. P. Biggar, Canadian Archivist in London, I have obtained a copy of the Journal, with the gracious permission of His Majesty to publish it.

JOURNAL of the Expedition against *Beauséjour* Fort, Erected by the French on the Isthmus of *Chignecto* in the Province of *Nova Scotia*.

May, 1755.

In Pursuance of my Orders from Lieut. Governor Lawrence having prepared every thing necessary at Boston for the Expedition and having Embarked the Troops raised by Governour Shirley amounting to about 1900 Non Commission Officers included. We set sail from Boston the 19th May, 1755. The Fleet Consisting of 31 Transports under Convoy of three 20 Gun Ships Commanded by Capt. Rouse.

May 26th. We arrived at Annapolis where we were joined by three Transports from Halifax with Stores under Convoy of the Vulture Sloop of War, and the Detachment of the Train of Artillery under the Command of Captⁿ.

Broome, also by Mr. Bruce the Chief Engineer and others intended for the Expedition; Here we remained till the 31st taking on Board Stores from the Garrison, this Evening sent off a Province Vessel to Captⁿ. Hussey Commanding at Fort Lawrence for Intelligence.

June the 1st.—At 4 in the Morning the Whole got under Sail, and at 8 the same evening came to Anchor under Cape Maranguen, which is about three Leagues from the Forts, where we remained that night.

June the 2nd.—Held a Council of War on Board the Success man of War, Wherein at "it" was resolved to get under Sail and land the Troops that Evening; As we were getting under Sail, the Province Vessel returned and brought word that every thing was well at Fort Lawrence, and that by the Intelligence Capt. Hussey could get, the French were not in Expectation of us. As there was a very thick fog the French did not perceive us till we were got into the Bason of Chignecto and were just landing; which we did this Evening on Fort Lawrence Side.

3rd.—Got everything in readiness for our March.

4th.—Marched out at 7 in the Morning, for want of Horses were obliged to draw the Six Pounders by men.

ORDER OF MARCH.

A Captain two Subalterns and fifty Irregulars to Scour the woods.

Then the Regulars being about 270 Rank and File.

After the Regulars Capt. Broome with the Detachment of the Artillery, 4 Field Six Pounders, Tumbrills and Materials for a Bridge.

Then followed the 2nd Battalion of Irregulars under the Command of Lieut. Colonel Scott.

The First Battalion under the Command of Lieut. Colonel Winslow bringing up the Rear.

Between Eleven and Twelve came opposite to Pont a Buot the place we intended to Cross the River Musquash* where perceiving that the Enemy had thrown up a Breast work on the other side and seemed to have a Considerable Body of men, I drew up the Troops and ordered Capt. Broome to get the Six Pounders ready and the Materials for the Bridge to be carried to the Water Side.

Upon our beginning to lay the Bridge the Enemy behind the works & that lined the woods gave us a fire and the Indian Cry, they likewise fired some Swivel Guns from a Log House, where they were used to keep a Guard.

Upon which I immediately ordered Capt. Broome to fire upon the Log House, which he did and soon Silenced their Swivel Guns, Our Six Pounders playing upon this Logg House and against the Breast work made the Enemy give way. Upon which I immediately march'd over with the Regulars followed by the two Battalions, at the Sight of which the Enemy ran off, and we took possession of the Hill.

On the first fire of the Enemy followed by the Indian Cry, The Troops in General, were a little Surprised; But afterwards behaved very well, The Regulars in particular.

In this Affair we had but one man killed, & about twelve wounded, the Shot in General flying over or falling short of us.

After a Halt of about two hours we Continu'd our March towards the Fort, about six in the Evening came in Sight of the Fort.

*This is meant for Missaquash.

June the 5th.— Having reconnoitred the Country a little we advanced and lay within about a Mile and a Quarter of the Fort with our Right to the Road leading to the Bay Verte and our Left to the Musquash where we were to get up the Cannon and Stores.

An Alarm this night but of no Consequence.

6th.— Sent to reconnoitre a Hill called Buot a Roger,* where I intended to have raised a Battery, but found it too great a Distance.

Much rain this afternoon.

This day's Tide several of Our Vessels attempted to get up to us from Fort Lawrence, of which only one Arrived, the rest were prevented by the Indians and French firing upon them from the Dykes;

But in the Evening having sent a Strong Party to Cover them, Several of the Store Vessells got up.

7th.— Busied in landing Stores and getting up more Vessells.

It must be observed the Navigation up the River is very difficult on Account of the Strength of the Tides and being only practicable about the height of it.

8th.— We got out the 13 Inch Mortar, some Royals & Cohorns also the 24 Pounders and Carriages.

This morning sent Col^o. Winslow with a Detachment as a Covering Party to Mr. Bruce the Engineer, they were fired on by a Small party of the Enemy, but without any loss.

In the Evening a Flag of Truce from the Fort brought us an Account of Ensⁿ. Hay's being taken as he was coming from Fort Lawrence to the Camp.

June the 9th.— Employed in making Roads and getting up the Cannon & Stores from the water Side, in which we found much difficulty from the badness of the Roads occasioned by the Rains and from the want of Cattle, being mostly obliged to make use of men.

10th.— Same.

11th.— Cutting Fascines and Carrying Shot and Shells up from the water Side.

12th & 13th.— Having fixed on a Spot for Our Approaches, and having determined to Amuse them with some Shells till such time as we could get our Guns, Shot and every thing ready for to raise our Batteries.

I ordered a Detachment of 400 men under the Command of Lt. Col^o. Scott and Major Pribble of the Irregulars, and Captain Spital of the Regulars to be ready to march in the Evening to take possession of the Ground, & 200 men with Tools &c to be ready to follow them to open the Trenches; At Five in the Evening Col^o. Scott march'd with his Detachment when they came near the Ground they were fired on by the Enemy, who were concealed behind the Rocks and some old Chimneys, Notwithstanding the advantage the Enemy had, by the Good Conduct of Lt. Col^o Scott and the Officers Commanding under him, they drove off the Enemy and took possession of the Ground.

Our loss on this occasion was two men killed and three wounded, Major Pribble of the Irregulars slightly wounded and Lieut^t Tonge of General Warburtons doing duty as Engineer, and who was very active on this occasion badly wounded in the thigh.

The Detachment of Regulars under the Command of Captⁿ Spital behaved much to his & their Credit.

Lieut^t Col^o Scott having taken possession of the Ground I sent off Ensⁿ Peach of General Laseeles's Regiment who acted in Quality of an Engineer with

*Meant for Butte a Roger.

the 200 men with the Intrenching Tools &c. By Break of Day they ran a Parallel; which the Enemy perceiving began to fire on them, but did not hurt except slightly wounding one man.

This Morning having got up some Royals to the Trenches, we threw about fifty Shells, but to little purpose.

In the Evening Col^o Winslow had Major Frye of the Irregulars and Captⁿ Hale of the Regulars relieved the Trenches, Several Alarms in Camp this night.

June the 14th.— Continued Carrying on the Trenches but the weather was so bad that little was done.

This evening, Capt. Hussey of the Regulars, Major Bourne & Major Goldthwaite of the Irregulars relieved the Trenches, Continued our works, got up the 13 Inch Mortar.

15th.— Continued our works, which from the great falls of Rain, went on but Slowly, Threw some Shells. Lieut. Col^o Scott releived the Trenches this Evening.

June the 16th.— This morning at Break of Day the Fort fired very briskly on the Trenches, We threw some 8 & 13 Inch Shells — their firing did no damage. About twelve o'clock I received a letter by an Officer from Mr. Vergore desiring 48 hours to Capitulate. I Granted him but till two O'Clock to return his Proposals, which he Comply'd with, and I immediately sent him back Terms, which he Accepted off, and delivered up the Fort accordingly to Lieut. Colonel Scott between 7 & 8 in the Evening.

Some time before the French Officer return'd with the Proposals, a Body of the Enemy fired upon the Rear of Our Camp from the Woods — thinking it might be a Detachment from Louisbourg, I immediately lined the Breast work we had in the Rear, and sent off Detachments from the Flanks. Some of the people I could not for some time restrain from firing.

The Detachments soon return'd and brought in an Indian who was wounded in the Back, by whom I learnt that they were about 60 French and Indians that had been sent out some days before by Mr. Le Loutre the Priest, the Indian was a Sachem of St. John's Tribe and dyed a few hours after.

17th.— This morning the French marched out being about 160, the Peasants had left it the Evening before.

This day nam'd the Fort — Fort Cumberland under the Discharge of the Guns. In the Evening Embarked some of the French Troops and wrote a letter to the Officer Commanding at Fort Gaspereau at the Bay Vert offering him the same Terms upon his immediate Surrender; which he accepted of and Sent an Officer as Hostage.

June the 18th.— Began to Clear the Fort, Detach'd off Ltⁿ Col^o Winslow with 300 men to take possession of Fort Gaspereau; Issued orders to the Inhabitants to bring in their Arms.

19th. Sent Major Bourne to New England to Govern Shirley. Captⁿ Spital to Halifax to Lt. Governor Lawrence.

The Garrison from Fort Gaspereau come in Consisting of one Captⁿ, two Subs & about thirty Soldiers.

20th.— Three hundred of the Inhabitants bring in their Arms. Embark the Remainder of the French & their Baggage.

One Brusrar* alias Beau Soleil a French Inhabitant who had been very active in heading the French and Indians comes in, on a promise of being pardoned. He Commanded the Party that fired on the Rear of the Camp the 16th.

*Joseph Brossard.

21st.— Employ'd in getting in our Stores and Cleaning the Garrison.

22nd.— Ditto. It being His Majesty's Accession to the Throne, fired 21 Guns.

23rd.— Works carried on. The three 20 Gun Ships & Sloop under the Command of Captn Rouse Sail to look into St. John's River, a Report prevailing that two French 36 Gun Ships had been seen in the Bay of Fundy — The Transports with the French Prisoners for Louisbourg Sail likewise.

24th.— Works Carried on &c.

25th.— Ditto, and Embark Stores for to go to St. John's.

June the 25th.— Ditto. More Inhabitants bring in their Arms.

27th.— Ditto.

28th.— Continued cleaning and repairing the Fort.

Stores for St. Johns all on Board. Beau Soleil whom I sent some days before to St. Johns River, returns with two Indian Chiefs to the opposite side of the River.

29th.— The Chiefs come to the Fort, Offer them Peace or War. They consent to go with me to St. John's to bring in their Tribe. Confine them to the Fort.

July the 1st.— Transport and everything ready for St. John's.

2nd — The Vulture Sloop arrives from Capt. Rouse with an Account the French Commandant at St. Johns had blown up the Fort and retired with his Garrison on the Appearance of the Men of War. Upon this News, write to Lt. Governor Lawrence and wait his orders.

3rd.— From this to the 20th Nothing Extraordinary. The works go on.

21st.— A Province Sloop arrives with orders from Lt. Governor Lawrence to Discharge the Transports.

22nd.— Send off Beau Soleils son with one of the Indians to St. Johns to bring in more.

23rd.— A Party from Gaspereau brings an Account of one of their men being killed.

24th.— Major Bourne who returned some days before from New England marches with 200 Hundred men to Fort Gaspereau.

25th.— Major Bourne returns, by whom we learn that the man was killed by some Indians from the Island of St. Johns. Nothing Extraordinary to the 1st of August. Works Carried on.

August the 2nd.— Sent Capt. Lewis of the Rangers with a Detachment of 150 men to Cobequid. Beau Soleils Son returns and brings the same Indian and 8 more to the other Side of the River.

3rd.— Sent out Beau Soleil to bring in the Indians which they refuse, unless Lt. Colonel Scott was first sent as an Hostage, which I would not Comply with, as I was Suspicious of their wanting to Destroy him. Use all methods I can to bring them in, but to no purpose. Having now but one Indian in my possession did not think him worth detaining, therefore Set him at liberty, thinking it my (*sic.*? may) make them Change their opinion, but all to no purpose. They send for Excuse that Some of the Penobscott Tribe that were lately trading with the New England people in a friendly manner (which was but too true) had been Destroyed, they also send me word, that in return for my Setting at Liberty their Indian, they would not molest us.

4th.— Nothing Extraordinary, Works as usual.

5th.— Receive orders from Lt. Governor Lawrence in relation to the Sending off the French Inhabitants.

6th.— Captⁿ Willard marches with 100 men to join Capt. Lewis to burn and destroy the Villages of Cobequid, Falmagouche,* Remrkeeke† & others thereabout, and to bring in the Inhabitants and Cattle. Nothing till the 11th.

11th.— Secure upward of 400 of the French Inhabitants in Fort Cumberland & Ft Lawrence.

12th.— Captⁿ Gorham of the Rangers Arrives with an Account of General Braddocks Defeat, Works go on, nothing till the 21st.

August 21st.— His Majesty's Ship the Syren Captⁿ Proby with nine Sail of Transports from Halifax to take off the French, Arrive in the Bason, Works as Usual. Nothing Occurred to the 26th.

26th.— Capt^{ns} Lewis and Willard return with some Inhabitants, having Executed the Orders sent him.

27th.— Nothing Extraordinary.

28th.— Send Major Frye of the N. England Troops with 200 men to Destroy the Village of Chipoudi, Memeramkook & Pitcondiack and bring in the Inhabitants. Works as usual nothing Extraordinary till the 3rd Sept. Major Frye returns but with very bad Success for having devided his Party. One of them was Surprised by the Enemy and lost 23 men killed and taken, One Officer killed and another wounded; However they burnt upwards of 300 Houses and brought in about 30 women and Children. Works Continued, nothing till the 10th.

September 10th.— Begin to Embark the French.

11th 12th & 13th.— Works as usual.

14th.— Some Cannon Supposed to have been heard towards the Bay Vert.

16th & 17th.— Works as Usual. More French Embark'd.

18th.— Major Prebble returns. All well at the Bay Vert. From this time to the 12th October, the works are Carried on as usual, Frequent Parties Sent out to bring in the Stragglng French Inhabitants. Very bad weather.

The Night of the 1st of October 80 odd of the French Inhabitants Escape out of Fort Lawrence, not by any Apparent Negligence of the Officers or Sentries; for though the place they were Confined in was Examined daily they Contrived by means of an Adjacent Cellar to make a Hole under the Ground for upwards of 30 feet into the Ditch, through which they got off. Besides the Night was so Dark: Rainy and Blow'd so hard, that a Centinel could not hear or see Six Yards from him. This I have been the more particular in taking notice of, least any Reflection should be thrown on Major Bourne the Commanding Officer at Fort Lawrence at that time; who upon all Occasions was very active and diligent.

October the 13th.— The Transports Sail under Convoy of the Success and Syren men of War, having on Board about 1100 French. From this time to the 13th November employed in Getting in Wood & Carrying on the Works, Send out frequent Scouting Parties, but to little purpose. The N. England Troops turn home Sick, Discharge about 100 of them. Some Indians & French Continue about us. Continual Rains & Bad Weather.

*Meant for Tatamagouche.

†Meant for Ramsack or Ramshag, now Wallace.

November 13th.— Send out a Detachment of 300 men to burn the Villages of Tantarar — Richards* Bourgs† and Vest Kak which they Completed, they Exchange a few Shot with Some of the Enemy.

15th.— Sent Lieut. Colo Scott with 200 men more to join the other Detachment at Vest Kak with Orders to march and burn the Village of Memeramkook.

November 19th.— Lieut. Colo Scott returns having Executed the Order Given him and brings in with him upwards of 200 Head of Cattle and two or three French women. Nothing Extraordinary after this.

The 26th Embark for Halifax by leave from Lieut^t Lawrence, leaving the Command with Lieut^t Colo Scott.

(N. B.— The remainder of the original Journal is in Monckton's handwriting and is signed by him).

In regard to the Behaviour of the Offrs & Troops Employ'd on the Expedition —

I must first Observe that Capt Broome, the Other Offrs & Detachment of the Train of Artillery; shew'd on Every Occasion the greatest readiness & activity —

Mr. Bruce the Chief Engineer & others employ'd in that Branch, were likewise verry Active.

The Regulars Under the Command of Capts Hussey, Hale, & Spittal; As also the Other Officers; And Men; Ever shew'd themselves Diligent & Behav'd much to their Credit —

As to the New England Troops The Men in General are good; But for the Offrs I can't say much — Lieut Col. Scott who Commanded the 2nd Battn was on all occasions of the greatest Service to me — As well from his Knowledge of the Indians & Inhabitants as from his activity & good conduct —

Maj^r Pribble a good & Brave Offr — Maj^r Frye & Maj^r Bourne always active in their several dutys — Some few Capt^s were likewise Verry Active — But as to the Rest excepting two or three — I must be silent.

ROBT. MONCKTON,

Lieut. Colonel to the 47th Regt of Foot.

B

EXTRACT FROM A JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOSEPH GOREHAM

RELATING TO AN ATTACK ON FORT CUMBERLAND IN 1776.

(*Archives Reports, 1894, p. 359*)

The Proceedings at Fort Cumberland situated on the Isthmus of Nova Scotia during the late investment and attack on that fortress by the rebels.

(This Journal covers part of the period in the one sent by Massey on 22nd November, 1776, but gives details not mentioned in the other and extends to 22nd December).

“On the 4th of November the Command boat was sent with provisions to a small party which had been posted at Chepodia to intercept deserters and to cutt off their communication from Machias thro' the River Peticotiack to

*Près des Richards, a village in region now known as Upper Sackville.

†Près des Bourques, on site of modern town of Sackville.

this province. The people in the boat first discovered the Enemy's being in the Country immediately returned with an information which they received from the inhabitants, that on the 25th October a number of boats from the westward with about two hundred men includg near fifty Indians, surrounded and took that detachment of the Regiment and carried them to Machias.

"The remainder of this body of the enemy dividing themselves into three divisions, two of which went to stop the communication from Cumberland to Halifax, the other up the river Cocan and Merimick to collect Indians and others.

"The Transport Sloop with our winter's provisions and Stores, that arrived into this Harbour the 25th October under Convoy of the Juno, which soon after sailed, got into Cumberland Creek, near the Garrison. A night Guard was placed for her protection, and spies sent out in the Country to reconitre, (*sic*) but they not returning about the time they were expected and hearing various reports of the Enemy from the Country people, the Guard were augmented and the whole Garrison employed to Complete the Works, and put the fortification in as respectable a situation as time and circumstances would admit.

"The 7th found that the Enemy under the advantage of a thick Fogg and dark night had surprized and taken the provision sloop and party placed on board, and early in the morning took by a decoy and otherwise Capt. Barron Acting Engineer and the Rev. Mr. Egleston acting Chaplain and a great part of a working detachment sent to unload the provisions before they discovered the Sloop and Guard were in the Hands of the Enemy; A party of fifty men were immediately sent. One of the Cannon drew down from the Garrison to retake her but the vessel floated and soon got out of their reach as she sailed further up the Harbour into the River Leplanche.

"The Chepodia party taken by the Rebels consisted of one subaltern officer, one serjeant and twelve Rank and file, this with the safe guard placed on board the provision Sloop, and those of the working party, Spies and others taken and decoyed amount in all to one Captain acting Engineer one Lieut. one Acting Chaplain three Serjeants and forty-two Rank and file. A small escort before detached with the Surgeon and Pay Master Sergeant to fetch up Money Medicines &c., on the Major joining the command from Halifax, Reduced the Regiment to One field officer Two Captains Eight Subalterns thirteen Serjeants, six Drummers and one Hundred and forty-two Rank and file. Fifteen Carpenters inhabitants of the country who had been employed in the Engineers branch during the summer carried Arms and continued in Garrison, one-half pay Lieutenant, three Officers of the militia being Majestrates with eight or ten more Inhabitants with their numerous Familys were all that joined us either for defence or protection, therefore the whole strength was found to consist as follows, Royal Fencible Americans One Hundred and seventy-one, including Commission Officers, Royal Artillery one Bomb and three Gunners, fifteen carpenters, one half-pay Lieut. three Militia Officers and Nine Inhabitants, the whole amounting to about two hundred, including the sick.

"We got but between three or four months flour from the provision Sloop and a few pease, the Rebels having taken every other store and supply, Ten Days only of other Species were remaining of provisions in the Garrison, the Contractor for fuel had not lain in a Fortnights Wood. Under these circumstances all the Horned Cattle, Hogs, Sheep, Salt, Spirits, potatoes, Fuel and other commodities that lay contiguous to, and which might be of use to the Garrison or that could be of any service to the Rebels was seized and a Manifesto Published warning the Inhabitants against giving them the least assistance

commanding them to act with the King's Troops in repelling and driving them out of the province, otherwise if they abetted or took up arms in their behalf they would incur an immediate military execution &c.

"Soon after came in a letter under colour of a Flag of truce signed by one Jonathan Eddy, Commanding Officer, Summoning the garrison to surrender to the United Colonies of North America desiring an answer in four hours, otherwise they were determined to storm the Garrison and we must abide the consequence. An answer was returned and by an other Flag received a paper in the name of the Inhabitants of the Country directed to the Commanding Officer being an answer to the Manifesto.

"The strength and situation of our Artillery, Ammunition, Works, &c., were as follows, the former consisted of three-nine pounders and three six-pounders taken from the transport, three platforms finished, about twenty Barrels powder and a proportion of cannon ball, eight or ten thousand musquet Cartridges. The embrasures (embrasures) and many parts of the parapet incomplete (parapet incomplete) the face of the Bastions Curtains, &c., by being so long exposed to the heavy rains and frost were bent down to such a slope that one might with ease ascend any part of the fort, which was Guarded by a line of small Pickets only of about Ten Feet in height (placed in a shallow ditch) that we had been able to erect during the Summer, the covert way without any Pickets and the glacis reduced almost on a level.

"The Spur which contained the magazine, Officers Quarters, Carpenters shop and many large old buildings erected and occupied by part of Lord Loudon's army from Halifax, in the year 1758, and calculated for the accommodation of about eight hundred men was lined with a row of short palisades only such as we could provide in course of the Summer and placed about three feet from the Glacis but was possible (passable) without much difficulty either in or out. Yet our greatest apprehension and danger was in the facility of setting fire to those old building either by throwing bundles of hay or other Combustibles over them short picketts or communicating fire to them first from the houses in the suburbs or other buildings contiguous to the Fort, the Flames of which must of course extend to the Fort Barracks. Having received information of their making preparation for such methods of attacking, therefore the powder was removed from the magazine, to one of the old Cazamits in the fort the decayed and most dangerous situated buildings pulled down and some fence rails of about fifteen feet long which lay near the Garrison placed as a Freeze, one end in the Trench sloping between the upper part and bearing upon the Ribbons of the short palisades, and pointing over the Glacis which not only made the access in or out very dangerous but prevented their throwing combustibles over them, large logs were fixed all round the Parapet on rollers and one hundred spare bayonets fitted on poles of twelve feet long which were placed in readiness on the ramparts a Traverse erected to the Fort and Spur Gate, and the Windows of several well situated houses baricaded in the Spur, the Soldier's Barracks were they had lodged during the summer in the Spur were exceedingly bad and those repairing in the Fort for the Winter at this time not fit to receive more than Forty or fifty men, the Regimental Cloathing not yet arrived, the Ordinary Supply Vessels taken and the communication with Halifax shut up or attended with so great difficulties the Garrison was left destitute of most every necessary in the Cloathing way and placed in open leaky Barracks all Summer, the whole Garrison from their arrival to this Command had been daily employed in Kings works fatigues or guards, the disaffected country people using their constant endeavours to seduce them, by offers of high wages and reward in the Rebel Service, One must expect great murmurings and desertions, &c. Yet under all these difficulties and disadvantages, altho' too many did desert, these were not

so many as in such a situation & under such enticements might be expected from a new raised Corps, And no Troops could be more ready and alert at their posts nor more active in extinguishing the Fire, under these circumstances was found necessary to give all the Regiment not only an allowance of Rum by day but to the Guards and others by night, as one half of the Garrison by tour was constantly in the Ramparts and further to support this hard labour & duty the Cold Season advancing. Fuel scanty & scarce of Cloathing and other necessaries which could not be purchased an extra allowance of two pounds of beef a man per week, and Potatoes equal to that quantity of bread, also half a pound of Tobacco and the Soldiers permitted to wear the Barrack Ruggs and Blanketts otherwise they must suffer greatly if not entirely perish.

"Several early attempts was made by Lieutenant Sharman and others who understood a Birch Canoe to convey intelligence of our situation, thro' Windsor to Halifax, but was intercepted by the Enemy, and at length got out a small open sail boat which left this the 1st of Nov. Lieutenant Dixon half pay officer generously offered himself for this piece of difficult service, with two soldiers and two of the inhabitants of the Garrison.

"Scarce a night passed but they disturbed the Garrison by firing their Musquetry or setting fire to the adjacent houses when the wind favoured their purposes; but their first grand attempt was on the 13th at 4 o'Clock in the morning which began it being exceedingly dark; by a heavy fire on the Flagg Staff Bastion from the Bricklin and drains at the foot of the Glacis and other hollow places, with a view to draw the principal part of our strength to support that post, there real attack was intended on the Curtain opposite the Bakehouse between Princes and Howe's Bastion which was weakest part of the Fort, but the Main Guard being kept as a reserve to reinforce occasionally where most required, they soon found themselves deceived in their schemes and received such heavy fire that they threw down their scaling Ladders, Saws and other implements for cutting down the pickets, quitting some of their Arms, fell flatt on the ground and scrambled off they had an Indian and several others wounded.

"Their next tryal of any consequence was between three and four in the morning of the 22nd, it being very dark and a high wind from a quarter, which exactly favoured their purpose they set fire to a Barn and some other Houses, the contiguous, the shingles and pieces of wood on fire went over the Spur buildings which had got to a considerable length but the readiness and activity of our men on this difficult occasion was really surprizing, the Enemy made but a very indifferent use of their expected confusion, more than half the Garrison being employed in extinguishing the fire and kept but Ten or a Dozen men firing at ours who were placed on the tops of the houses in full sight and much exposed.

"Next day the Garrison was employ'd in uncovering the houses near the Fort that had escaped this served us for fuel, some very good houses was intended to have been reserved for Barracks, should a Reinforcement arrive but the night following they sett fire all the remaining buildings being about twelve dwelling houses Besides Barns & our Hospital, which was a very large building.

"This morning the Rebels taking the advantage of a very thick Fog drove most of our Cattle off from some Hay Stacks near the Garrison, an officers party was sent out to intercept them and an other to support them, which brought on a smart skirmish, our men drove them into the woods and kill'd several, but we had three privates wounded.

"At 10 o'clock His Majesty's Ship Vulture appeared off the Harbour and at 1 Major Batt and Captain Studholme landed with Captain Bransom and his Company of Marines being all that could be got on shore that day.

"From the 7th inst to the 28th had 8 of the R. F. Americans deserted & 3 died. One private which they took on board the provision sloop escaped from the Rebels and joined us.

"The 28th Captain Pitcairn landed with the remainder the whole amounting 2 Captains 4 Subs 1 Surgeon 3 Sarjeants 2 Drumrs and 77 Rank and file they parted some days before with two Companys of one hundred and twenty of the Royal Emigrants but they not appearing in sight the whole of the Marines were ordered to hold themselves in readiness with 1 Captain 4 Subs 4 Serjeants 2 Drumrs & 64 Rank and file of the R. F. Americans (those best shoed or cloathed), under the Command of Major Batt to march at 4 o'Clock the next morning to attack there Camp where they were Huttet &c., at a place call'd Camp Hill about a mile distant from the Garrison, some people came in which gave an account of their being but two or three hundred only remaining in that Camp and in the houses adjacent This detachment which consisted of 150 Rank & file left the Garrison at about 5 o'clock in the morning and soon began the attack on a number of the Rebels they found in Reeds house which they called their Head Quarters, routed them and all the others who were in Hutts and Sheds, which they pursued four or five miles in the Bay Verte road killed several Indians, French Acadians, and Rebels. Two of the R. F. Americans were killed & one wounded, Major Batt reports that both Corps behaved with great activity and resolution. The Enemy on this retreat firing from some of the Houses, the soldiers after beating them out set fire and consumed almost all the buildings from the fort to bloody Bridge and on report that Howe with some other Heads of their people had agreed with the Indians and French Acadians who have been very mischeivous and revengefull in the Rebellion to burn all the houses belonging to the Yorkshire Familys and other Government friends particularly at Fort Lawrence. A Company of Marines with a Detachment of R. F. Americans was sent to take post there to secure the Houses and a Quantity of provisions they had left. A detachment of about 100 men was ordered to proceed to Westcook and Memramcook to cut off their Retreat and destroy a number of Boats and Canoes the Enemy had lain on the Banks of that River and Chepodia Bay. But the weather turning out rainy, the Roads excessive bad, and not half the Men of the Regt a shoe to their feet this march was defer'd and in the interim a letter was received by Mr. Charles Dixon of Westcook who informed that most of the people of that district which had been in Arms were convinced of their errors and desirous of surrendering to the Kings Mercy and further representations and Petitions presented from most all the Yorkshire Familys, and other friends of Government who were threaten'd that if any more Houses should be burnt the Indians and French would absolutely sett fire to them which they could easily effect during the night and that the continuance of this burning on both sides must soon terminate in the destruction and ruin of the whole Country, and drive a number of people with their numerous family to their last resource of recovering their support & protection from the Garrison.

"November the 30th. In this criticle situation a declarations of conditional pardon was to those who should lay down their arms and surrender in four days to the King's mercy on which numbers daily came in giving up their Arms and greatly regret the part they been taking.

"The Commanding Officers recommended and prest in the strongest terms for Capt. Feattas, of His Majesty's sloop the "Vulture" to remain in the Harbour as long as the season would admitt, having late intelligence the Rebels expected a reinforcement of Men and Artillery under the command of a Col. Shaw, and of their detaching a party to Pictou to take a Vessel laying there with Cannon and provisions on board.

"December 2nd. Capt. Dawson of the Armed Brig Hope arrived in the Harbour with a large Victualing Ship from Halifax, in this passage took the Independence rebel Brigg with 14 guns and one hundred men, he offered to supply the garrison with four six-pounders and eight four-pounders which was readily received; some of the Accadians French, who surrendered with a few Indians for the sake of the Reward and to retrieve their characters was engaged to apprehend Eddy, Howe, Roe & Rogers, and by threats, persuasions &c., some of the inhabitants were prevailed on to retake the Vessel the Rebels went after to Pictou by surprizing them immediately on their arrival at the Bay Verte, for should a party be sent for that purpose the Captors would immediately sett sail with their prizes.

"Some Officers of Militia and Majestrates who had been taken and surrounded having particular complaints exhibited against them a number of the principles were sent on board the Vulture for Halifax.

Proclamation by Goreham:

"By Joseph Goreham, Esq., Lt. Col. Commandt, of the Royal Fencible American Regt. of Foot and Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Troops at Cumberland, &c. &c.

"Whereas a most daring Rebellion has for some time prevailed in most of the Provinces of the American Continent and a number of armed men infatuated with those Principals have lately entered this Province in Arms and seized a Vessel with Provisions for this Garrison with the safe Guard placed on Board and have taken some detached out Guards and further are using Methods to seduce and compell by Threats and force of Arms his Majesty's liege and well affected Inhabitants of this Province of Nova Scotia from their allegiance and to join them in the unnatural rebellion.

"I do therefore hereby think it necessary, not only to warn those of His Majesty's subjects in this district & province from taking any Part either in Arms or otherwise by giving them or their Abettors the least assistance but to inform those who should by any means be so far prevailed on and seduced from their allegiance to the best of Kings and the duty they owe their Country as to join, abett or to assist those in Rebellion that they will (not only) suffer the Penalty as the laws in this Case direct but subject themselves to an immediate Military Execution.

"Given under my hand, &c &c at Ft. Cumberland, 7th November, 1776.

Signed JOS. GOREHAM.

Demand by Eddy to Goreham to surrend the Fort.

"To Joseph Goreham Esq., Lt. Col. Commandt. of the Royal Fencible Americans Commanding at Fort Cumberland.

"The already too plentiful Effusion of Human Blood in the unhappy Contest between Great Britain & the Colonies, calls on every one engaged on either side to use their utmost efforts to prevent the unnatural Carnage, but the Importance of the Cause on the side of America has made War necessary & its Consequences tho' in some cases shocking are yet unavoidable but to evidence that the virtues of Humanity are Carefully attended to, to temper the Fortitude of a Soldier, I have to summon You in the name of the United Colonies to surrender the Fort now under Your Command to the Army sent under me by the States of America — I do promise that if you surrender yourselves as Prisoners of War you may depend being treated with the utmost Civility and kind

treatment; if You refuse I am determined to storm the Fort and you must abide the consequences. An Answer is expected in four Hours after You receive this and the Flag to return safe.

I am Sir, Your humble servant,

JONTH EDDY,
Commanding Officer.

Refusal by Goreham:

Fort Cumberland, Nov. 10th, 1776.

"I acknowledge receipt of a letter signed Jonathan Eddy Commanding Officer Expressing a Concern of the unhappy Contest at present Subsisting between Great Britain and the Colonies and recommending those Engaged on either Side to use the Endeavors to prevent the too plentiful Effusion of Human Blood & further summoning the Commanding Officer to surrender this Garrison.

"From the Commencement of these unhappy Contests I have felt for my deluded Fellow Subjects and Countrymen of America and for the many Innocent People they have wantonly involved in the Horrors of an unhappy Rebellion, and entertain every human principal and aversion to the unnecessary effusion of Human Blood—Therefore Command you in his Majesty's name to disarm and recommend your surrendering your Self and party immediately to the King's Mercy and further desire you will Communicate the enclosed Manifesto to as many of the inhabitants you can and as speedily as possible to prevent their involving themselves in the same dangerous and unhappy dilemma.

"Be assured Sir I shall never dishonor the Character of Soldier by surrendering my command to any Power, but that of my Sovereign from whence it Originated.

"I am your humble servant,

JOS. GOREHAM."

SECTION III

A

LETTERS FROM CHIGNECTO.

The following letters written by French officials in Chignecto, between 1750 and 1755, are of interest as giving some idea of the daily life and interests of the garrisons and people, relations with the British garrison of Fort Lawrence, adventures and thrilling episodes. These have been translated from the French documents published by De Beaumont in *Les Derniers Jours de l'Acadie*, Paris, 1899. In addition, the Journal of M. de la Vallière (sometimes spelled "Valière" in the text), Captain of troops of Ile Royale, is given. This officer was a descendant of the original Seigneur of Beaubassin, and his account of what took place in Chignecto from September 15, 1750 to October 29, 1751, is of great interest. The original French version is printed in the Archives Reports, Ottawa, Vol. II, 1905.

Lettres de M. de Saint-Ours de Chaillon* to M. des Herbiers† and M. de Raymond,‡ from Beauséjour.

July 30, 1751.

The 9th of this month an English brigantine coming from Boston, with supplies for the Fort of Beaubassin (Lawrence) ran ashore at this point in a gale. The Indians were immediately on the scene, and pillaged the vessel, the captain and crew having given themselves up, and afterwards set her on fire; and all this near a coast guard boat anchored off Ouescak (Weskak). The wind was too high to permit any help to be given by her and she only fired a few useless rounds from her cannon.

M. Hungerford Luttrell, commandant at Beaubassin (Fort Lawrence), wrote me in regard to sending assistance to the wrecked vessel. I answered at once that I would do my best to save the crew from the savages but as for the vessel and her cargo, it was impossible to save them from 1000 or 1200 Indians,**, who were encamped nearby. Two days later I sent him the captain and crew. Yesterday, 150 English crossed the river at a point opposite their fort to destroy the dyke along the river on our side, behind which the Indians used to hide to fire on the English boats when they came to Beaubassin, often killing men in them; the river ran straight at this part.

I wrote to the English Commandant that I considered it extraordinary that his troops should trespass on our territory, especially as M. Lawrence and Chevalier de la Corne had agreed that we keep to our own sides, and M. de la Jonquière and M. Cornwallis had both ordered that neither side should commit any hostile act. I warned him that if his troops should again come on our land I would offer opposition and thus our peaceful relations would be interrupted, for which he would be responsible.

I have decided to send away the Indians of M. Maillard and those of Abbé Le Loutre, for lack of supplies. Those from Canada left some time ago. We have reason to complain at the failure to send sufficient supplies from Canada

*Commandant of Fort Beauséjour.

†Governor of Isle Royale.

‡Governor of Isle Royale after Des Herbiers.

**An error; the number of Indians is far too great.

for our use as well as for the refugee families. I have induced M. Le Loutre to go to Canada by the river St. John to represent to the authorities the particular needs of this place, being more conversant with this country than any body else.

The two forts, Beauséjour and Gaspereau, which I have been ordered to build are almost finished, except that planking is lacking for the houses. I have learned that the frigate *La Fidèle* was at Louisbourg. I told you in my last letter that it had arrived June 9 at St. John river. I wish she had come to our waters off Point Beauséjour, to be seen by the English.

It is unfortunate for peace, that the boundary is not settled this year, as the habitants will be discouraged, and I fear, indeed, that we shall not be able to support them, as the country is poor in supplies. M. de la Vallière could explain to you. It is stated that in Canada wheat costs 4 livres a minot (a bushel) and bacon 15 sols (sous) per pound. I regret to have been compelled to send the Indians away, but privation has compelled me. As soon as the last vessel arrives from Canada, I shall make this known to the frigate so that she may report the matter on returning to France. No troops have arrived at Halifax. I often have news from there. At Port Royal, Pejegit (Piziquid) and les Mines (Minas) the garrisons are small, but at Fort Lawrence there are about 400 men. On the 25th of this month 6 soldiers of the Canadian troops deserted. I wonder that this does not occur more frequently as the forts are so near.

July 31, 1751.

In spite of the letter which I wrote yesterday to the Commandant at Beaubassin (Fort Lawrence) regarding troops coming to our territory, the same thing occurred today. I, therefore, did what I said I would and marched towards the river with my troops. As we approached the enemy began to fire cannon from their vessels and from a battery which they had placed at Point Mezagouèche (Missaguash) with a detachment of troops. Another detachment came to our side with their flag. My small detachment, being at a disadvantage, was not able to attack in mass. Only a small troop of Canadians fired from behind a dyke. The English fired several bombs and cannon shot at the Isle de la Vallière, where I held my main force. This, Sir, means war in this colony, because I am resolved to have vengeance for the insult to our nation in planting the English flag on territory which I have the honor to guard. You see, Sir, that if a frigate had come to our bay she could have helped us, and the English would not have been so insolent or audacious.

St. Ours.

Le Chevalier Poilvillain de la Houssaye* to A. M. de Surlaville†.

Beauséjour, Oct. 8, 1751.

After five days sailing I returned to Baye Verte where I found an officer of the Company of M. d'Orfontaine who commanded there. This officer, named M. de Serre,‡ told me of the increase in desertions, whose names I send you. One day after my arrival, M. de Vassan, formerly captain in Canada, took command at Beauséjour. Two days after, the English accustomed to corres-

*Captain in the troops of Isle Royale. In 1752 Commandant of Fort Gaspereau.

†See p. 128

‡Lieutenant of Militia in the battalion of Troyes, ensign of foot in the troops of Isle Royale.

pond with M. Dumas, asked for a parley. The new Commandant went to meet them and I accompanied him. I saw by their conference that they were curious and disquieted, for which you are partly the cause, as you have been in Halifax. * * *

They ask us many questions relative to your visit, concerning which they have received letters from Halifax.

We would not take the trouble to reply nor to increase their anxiety. A new major comes to drill the Louisbourg troops — do they then wish for war? This was often repeated. I believe that, henceforth, frequent interviews would lead to desertions. Our fortifications proceeding slowly and our munitions are not abundant, especially those for the cannon, and we shall be very deficient by May unless fresh supplies come. The English, on the other hand, are strongly fortified and grow stronger daily.

Feb. 20 1752.

I have the honour to inform you that the departure of M. Dumas has given me the command of Fort Gasperreau, where the vessels arrive with provisions for all our establishments in Acadie * * * It is certain that the failure of the vessels to carry soldiers has prevented me from having the rest of the company of Louisbourg. I have only 17 men, including a sergeant and corporals; the remainder are at Beauséjour, where they have only very bad samples of Canadian troops, the soldiers bring very free of speech and threats, which is very prejudicial to the good of the service; but it can scarcely be otherwise since their officers apply themselves to meaner things than discipline and training. Nothing has been so disgraceful and painful to endure as the manner in which the furnishing of firewood has been manipulated. Instead of having divided this work among several Acadians who have sufficient oxen, which would help to recompense them for the losses which they have suffered, as well as to economize the resources of the King and to ensure a good supply to the troops, we see a brother of La Ronde, who is with us, an ensign performing badly the duties of a major, taking over the contract with a habitant. The wood having often run short, altercations have arisen among the soldiers who fight for the logs and even among the officers, who tell the habitant to carry out his contract. This poor man says that the agreement was made between M. Vassan, commandant, Almin, commissary, and La Ronde, acting major.

Being the judges as well as partners, they do not hurt their interests, and they provide for the fort only 1500 cords, and charge for them 40 livres (short measure). The soldiers who no less than the public are aware of these illegalities, and being so badly served, burn the carpenter's wood; when chided for this they say that when there is nothing to burn they will go to the English for wood.

I shall be delighted if curiosity and duty makes you come here; you will see that the King in Canada is indeed more liberal than elsewhere, to weigh what one says. I am certain that the manipulation of stores and wood will give to two individuals more than 20,000 livres each this year. It has been unfortunate for them to have had M. Jacau*, brother of Madam Rodrigue, of Louisbourg, an artillery officer, to direct the works here. His probity in fixing prices, and in watching his workmen is on a footing with the solidity of his works. Were it not for him, they would make 30,000 each. I would have more to say to you about the plunderings, the misery of the Acadians and the difficulties which are made for the troops of Louisbourg. * * *

*Captain Jacau de Fiedmont.

Gaspereaux, March 13, 1752.

From the same.

I confess to you, with my usual freedom, that I have here too often been obliged to make representations in order to escape the inconveniences which partiality and interest in the service ordinarily cause, in place of authorizing them and still less formenting them.

The first act of difficulty which had occurred in the service was on Oct. 2, the day of the arrival of M. de Vassan and of myself at Point Beauséjour. A soldier of the Louisbourg troops, named Saint-Serre, absent more than 24 hours without permission, and a doubtful character, was taken two leagues from the garrison by command of M. Langi, the oldest officer of Louisbourg and commandant of the detachment left by M. d'Orfontaine. This soldier, on his arrival, was, I believe, condemned to be put in irons by M. Langi,* his commanding officer. Before carrying out the order, he was taken before M. de Vassan, who had arrived only about two hours previously. The latter told the sergeant who was about to place the soldier in irons to free him in five or six hours. M. Langi, not accustomed to such blunders in the service on account of the character of the soldier in question and the large number of desertions both among the Canadians and the troops of Louisbourg, had him put back; half an hour later M. de Vassan repeated the order for the soldier (*i. e.*, to free him). M. Langi, piqued, wished to repeat the order for punishment, but on my advice did not do so.

This is the affair as it occurred, and I ask for your opinion on it, Sir, for my peace of mind. The morning following, I was a witness of the moderate representations made by M. Langi to M. de Vassan, who had little taste for them, and replied indeed in a trivial manner and with less consideration than would have been shown by one with a better knowledge of the service and with more character, and sent him to his room. I could not then refrain from representing to M. de Vassan that I had seen persons in his position act differently, even by order of the Court. My truthful statement, though modest and proper did not please him, so I decided to keep silent and to attribute his bearing to the reception which had been given to him the day before by M. Dumas who had been in control here.

Several days after, I was requested by one of the officers of Louisbourg, who had come with M. d'Orfontaine, to ask M. de Vassan to distribute some small gratuities, either in clothing or provisions, to officers and soldiers of the regiment of Canada. These were only allowed to the soldiers when it was too late, since it was after the receipt of the letter of the Count, to whom I had the honor to write about it. As regards the officers, I was curtly told that it was not the custom to give them anything. This stinginess was not at all to my taste and I contended myself with telling him that he had distributed more than was customary in Canada among the cadets of his relatives and certain officers of Canada who had been less discreet than us, and had told us without being asked. Thereupon, M. de Vassan replied to me haughtily and asserted that he was master. Instead of replying I wrote, after some days, to M. Bigot, whose answer I send you, which proves the habit they have of not retracting, a stand which they have no right to take. I know that measures will be taken to disguise the divisions made among the Canadian officers, making them appear to be payments for unforeseen contingencies. The chevalier de Serre, ensign of M. Orfontaine, also had trouble in the service in January, inasmuch as the soldiers proved that they were tricked by false weights and measures used in the storehouse from which they obtained supplies. He wrote to me here, not

*Levraux de Langy, ensign of foot in the troops of Isle Royale.

being detached from me. I answered him urging that he should not take the part of the soldiers with intensity of feeling lest they might start a riot (which would not be difficult here), but, on the contrary, to advise them to speak amicably to M. de Vassan, who has caused some reimbursement to be made, not complete, it is true, since it is only a month since he began. All the officers of Canada have been unhappy to the same extent because he has favored some over others, and has treated M. Le Taureau de Drouilly, French officer of the country of the Count (Raymond), and only a short time in the service in Canada, to jests, ill-timed and out of place.

In bringing to an end the complaints which I have felt it my duty to make, I assure you Sir, that if a Corporal should command here I would not offend him. M. de Vassan and all the officers serving in Canada love positions because they know well how to get the very most out of them, and would not have other witnesses of their actions. I have observed their actions as much among the troops of the company of Louisbourg, as well as among the poor miserable fugitive Acadians (the latter being more thoroughly exploited).—LE CHEV. DE LA HOUSSAYE.

M. du Caubet, lieutenant aux troupes de la Marine.:

Fort Beauséjour, 8 Sept., 1752.

An English deserter, of French origin, assures us that all foreign nationalities as well as English who make up the population of Halifax, are very discontented with the government, as the conditions which were made to them in Europe have not been kept viz., three years' supplies, a certain number of acres of land, a house erected for each one, with implements. This determined him and several others, famishing and nearly naked, to join the troops in the town. Eight deserted and he alone reached us. They were fired at while running as fast as possible between the Point Beauséjour and the Fort of Beaubassin (Lawrence). He speaks very good french, and thinks that the other seven have been made prisoners at Mines (Minas) having been tired out in the woods and chased by several detachments. He left them, when they insisted on entering a cabaret very near the fort (at Minas). He says also that there was a rumor in the town when he left that there would be a rupture between the English and us, which would force them into our part of the country. I would not be surprised if, while buying supplies at an exorbitant price, when money is owing them, they are forced to take goods from their store for the amount due them.

Sansfacon, drummer of the company of de la Houssaye, deserted August 6th, from the Beauséjour garrison; Trumpeter L'Amour, Jasmin and Sansquartier, of the Gaspereau detachment, did the same the 2nd of this month, and we are informed that they have gone over to the English. This evening three men of my detachment deserted, of whom one Tranchmontagne was a soldier of the first rank (next to a corporal) * * *

Chevalier de la Houssaye to M. Surlaville:

Gasperod Oct. 9, 1752.

If desertion were not an incurable evil, I would dare to believe that ours would be cured by the large number of soldiers who come to us from the English. Since our departure from here, Sir, forty-eight have arrived, among them being five or six women. I sent some to Isle St-Jean so that they might go to Louisbourg, and on Oct. 6th I sent 38 to Canada. Several of them were from the district of Neufchatel, speaking good french; they have tried to dissuade our men from expecting any good from the English if they should desert from us.

Several have assured me that one Lafleur, corporal of the company of Orfontaine, who deserted from here last year, and had come back from Chibouctou (Halifax) this year to Mizaguèche (Missaguash), had charged them to propose to M. de Vassan (Commandant of Beauséjour) that if he would let him off for his desertion with a year in prison, he would leave the English and rejoin us.

I followed your advice, Sir, and wrote again to M. Bigot. I do not doubt that M. le Loutre has only clearly shown that M. Almain, Bigot's clerk here has given them just cause for complaints by his bad temper. It is unfortunate to serve in such circumstances, where justice is sacrificed to the vilest interests.

M. du Caubet to M. de Surlaville:

Veskak, Feb. 16, 1753.

The Cartel* proposed by M. Duquesne regarding deserters has been accepted with all possible eagerness by the Governor of Halifax (Halifax) because for one man whom we have lost he has lost ten, not counting the women who would have been of value in the new colony.

The desertion of inhabitants who had come to settle Halifax continues all the time; there have been several at Gaspereau, one being a Swiss officer who had all his service papers; as he did not find employment there he was sent away with the others. On the request of M. de la Houssaye, M. de Vassan gave him supplies at the expense of the King, as he was in great need. The Cartel of which I have spoken being accepted, whereby deserters are returned by each side, has had a remarkable effect and has made the troops as pliable as a glove so much so that they have submitted to a cutting down of supplies, as in Louisbourg, without complaining.

I have learned by a courier from Canada, who passed here on his way to Beauséjour, that the Indians of the upper country had sold the White River to the English, and are helping them to make their fort and to assist them with all their power against the French or others who might wish to disturb them. As soon as M. Duquesne learned of this he went with M. Bigot to Montreal to equip 5000 Canadians whom he ordered to go and oppose the building of the fort, in the name of the King of France, and to have no mercy on the Indians, who had sold themselves.

Chevalier de la Houssaye to M. de Surlaville:

Gaspereau, Feb. 21, 1753.

I believe I had the honor to write to you by the last vessel which left here before the close of navigation. Since then, Sir, we have received the agreement of the Governor of Halifax relating to the mutual arrangement regarding deserters, as well as the proposal for the return of M. le Loutre to Canada.

The next day I made the cartel public at Gaspereau, and a soldier of my company deserted, doubtless because of a theft from the King's storehouse with which he had been charged. I was not absolutely convinced of his guilt and I believed it necessary, before his departure, to inquire into the matter in order to restrain clerks from taking the King's goods. The English have played

*On September 30, 1752, the Marquis Duquesne, just appointed Governor of Canada, wrote to Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Governor of Nova Scotia, suggesting that in the interest of good will it would be advisable to check the desertion of troops from both sides, by establishing a cartel between them for the reciprocal return of deserters. This was agreed to by Hopson (The Northcliffe Collection. Public Archives, 1:26, p. 5).

fair with this deserter and four others whom they have faithfully sent back from Chibouctou (Halifax) since the date of the cartel. Five Indians of the River St. John scalped two Englishmen on Jan. 31st, near the fort of Misagouesse (Lawrence), piqued at having been refused brandy at that place, and charged by M. Le Loutre with having gone there too frequently, as had been their habit. If this act does not smash the cartel agreement it can only be advantageous in that it will put an end to the too common illicit intercourse between the French and English.

It will be necessary to relieve Messrs. du Caubet, Langi and Desgoutins* especially the last, as his sojourn here for two years has prevented him from performing his military duties with zeal. Cadet Cournoyer is in the same category. Du Blaisel† asks for an extension. He has a good character free from any suspicion of having been corrupted. Courriers will make known to you not only our misery but that of Canada. In place of helping us they say we ask for the impossible. It is at Louisbourg that the stomachs are devoted to being well filled.

The same.

Fort Gaspereau, April 14, 1753.

I have been much surprised to learn that M. Duquesne has ordered that deserters both from Canada and Louisbourg, who have been returned by the cartel must be sent to him. We have two of Louisbourg, one named Plumet of the Company of La Vallière and another Rossignol, of my company, who before he deserted had been accused of stealing, but so little credence could be placed in the accusers, who are a bad lot, that we can scarcely believe him guilty. Moreover, Sir, the storehouse guards who were suspected of having been robbed by him, vow that this is not so. The said Plumet has been lashed by order of M. Duquesne,‡ but I don't know what M. de Vassan will decide about Rossignol.

Forty-six persons arrived from Halifax, Germans and Swiss, on Nov. 17, before the institution of the cartel. They have wintered here. You may, Sir, understand my embarrassment inasmuch as the houses in the fort were insufficient to hold them, and though M. de Vassan had sent word of their arrival and sojourn in Acadie by the first courriers who went to Canada in January and who returned in February, nothing had been said about them, though by the second courier which left in February and returned at the end of March, he has ordered that all (*i. e.*, the Germans and Swiss) be sent to him (M. Duquesne); he (*i. e.*, De Vassan) had commissioned me two days previously to send them by the vessel of Jacob Maurice which he despatched for supplies which are so rare here since the distress in Canada began. I do not doubt that by his neglect to explain himself in his orders, he will accuse me of this evasion (Rossignol's desertion), as he has done in regard to the loss of a letter of l'abbé Manach to M. Duquesne, and who was in consequence freed from the embarrassment of keeping a close watch both on the Acadian refugees and the Indians. The Acadians were much irritated on account of being watched and the Indians even more so.

It is surprising to me that they have wished to return, these families which deserted before the cartel was agreed to; all being earnest folk and some of them Catholics; nevertheless, I have not been able to have much pity for them.

*Second Ensign in the Isle Royale Troops.

†Ensign of foot in the Isle Royale troops.

‡Governor of Canada.

The same.

Gaspereau, May 12, 1753.

There is no doubt, Sir, that the Cartel proposed by M. Duquesne at the instigation of M. le Loutre, and accepted by M. Hopson can only be provisional; this right should only emanate from crowned heads themselves. I have the example of Micissipi (Mississippi) in mind and the mistake made between Carolina and ourselves by order of the Court. In September, October and November, many Germans came to us from Halifax partly discharged by the justice of M. Hopson, who succeeded M. Cornwallis, whose Government had failed to carry out the stipulations regarding them. I have been their jailer up to the 13th of April without being able to house all; we were obliged to place the greater part in the woods, where they have suffered considerably, both from the climate as from their own poor powers of endurance. M. Duquesne had ordered these people to be sent to Beaubassin (Fort Lawrence) whose commandant certainly would not be expecting them. Thirty-five men, women and children, were returned, and nine were sent to Louisbourg by the vessel of Maurice in which all should have been sent to you.

With regard to presents to the Indians and supplies furnished by the Crown to the Acadian refugees the interests of the King are not well looked after. The Acadians have suffered most, and the Indians could not be less favourably disposed towards our command. We hear that a party of more than fifty have gone to Halifax (*Sic*) to work for a firm peace with the English and that they have been well entertained there. * * * I have received word about a black fox which was bought for me at Emchique*. If it is not as fine a specimen as you desire, I shall keep it and send it to the chevalier de Crenay† (whose patronymic was also Poilvillain.)

I have just learned the decision of the inquiry on Rossignol, of my company, which M. de Vassan has carried on for nine days. This soldier has been condemned by the Council of War to the galleys for life. I have no doubt that he (*i. e.*, de Vassan) will forward a report to Count de Raymond‡ this, he cannot fail to do, in my opinion, without breaking the ordinance of the King, as well as to send him and Plumet to Canada.

Thirty-one of our Micmacs have asked for powder, balls and supplies for a hunting expedition. These I have given according to custom.

M. du Caubet to M. de Surlaville:

Weskok, June 1, 1753.

I have the honor to inform you that, on account of the absence of the two mission Indians, I do not know when I can send you an account of that which you have asked of me, relating to Father Germain, Jesuit Missionary of the river St. John, and Father La Corne, Recollet, at Miramichy. As to Abbé Le Loutre, I do not doubt that the abbé Manach, his substitute during his absence, will furnish it to me with pleasure. I shall send you in addition the census lists, parish by parish, refugees and non-refugees, in the territory of M. de Vassan, who appeared to me to have been very much flattered by your remembrance. Not having been free to go there since the 25th of last month, after the receipt of your letter, I write to you without him knowing anything. Not wishing indeed to miss the occasion of Sieur Belile, father of Madame du Vivier**

*Ramshag or Ramsack, now Wallace, N. S.

†Relative of M. de la Houssaye.

‡Governor of Isle Royale.

**Wife of Captain du Vivier, of the Louisbourg troops.

M. du Caubet to M. de Surlaville.:

Veskak, August 1, 1753.

I have received the letter dated June 22nd last which you have done me the honor to write. I would have answered sooner but for trouble with my eyes and also that I awaited the response of Father Germain, which I would never have had save for his chance coming to my post. I immediately gave him paper and demanded that he write a census statement regarding the Indians, herewith sent. He said to me that he had already prepared one for the river St. John, but that he had forgotten it, and that it was very exact — all pure falsehood. He has given me this one saying that it was as near the truth as he could write from memory, which is a pretext for not giving a faithful account. I await in vain the answer of Father La Corne. You will note their delicacy in referring to the answer given me by Abbé Le Loutre on the subject of his mission. The Abbé Manach being under him, and not having a thorough understanding of the matter, gave me no satisfaction, which a schoolboy could have done. The Abbé Le Loutre, severely censured Father Germain's action with regard to myself and said to me at his own house that the Missionaries were not obliged to reveal the number of their Indians, and that it is the will of the King that if they do make it known it is only to Governors General and special persons, and that he would reveal nothing to any particular officer. He would only send one report to M. Duquesne and another to Count Raymond, who are very exacting, and those who are curious to know about the census have only to write to them. This is the polite compliment which he has paid me, having taken me to his house for the purpose. He said to me, further, that when orders were sent to arm their Indians, while often as they would promise only three hundred, they would make it appear six. I believe that it is more the presents which the King gives them and the supplies which are the important factors in this policy than anything else, as they are themselves the distributors, who indeed ought to be the commanders of the nearest posts; they would thus be able to know the forces of the Indians and thus would make these missionaries lead a little more frugal life. Instead of which they sell the surplus goods which have been given them, in order to have good fish, good game and other canonical requirements.

We expect every moment the arrival in Beaubassin Bay of *La Téthys*, commanded by M. de Belingham. By order of the Commandant, I am going to send the King's boat according to our custom, with two deep-sea lines and a sounding lead, to take soundings between here and the river St. John, where the pilots ought to meet the said frigate; a King's clerk joins there to write down the findings and the depth of water to be sent to the captain with three letters which he carries. She should remain in this port about eight days. According to what I hear, I am persuaded that this will not be very pleasant news for the garrison of Beaubassin and will cause the English to send a vessel there, which they have not yet done this year.

There arrived here a deserter to Beauséjour from Beaubassin, where Captain Scott has been in command a short time; he left last year, the same time as I did from Louisbourg. This man reports that the cartel was broken by them eight days ago, and that there were twelve other deserters the same day, but we paid no attention to his statements and he was sent back immediately, and was found to have been a falsifier. The Cartel is in force stronger than ever. As a proof, three deserters from Isle St. John, have just been returned from Halifax and M. Scott has sent them to Point Beauséjour; they are to be returned to you.

I recall that I have forgotten to tell you when the Indians of each mission must report at Fort Beauséjour. For those of the Abbé Le Loutre, residing at Chefmenakady (Shubenacadie), it is a three-day journey by land, the sea not being used for this journey; for those of Father La Corne's Mission at Miramichy five days in winter, and at all times, the same; by water about the same depending on the wind. Those of Father Germain on the river St. John about four days, but more quickly by sea if the wind be favorable. From the distance of the other Canada Mission near Fort Saint-George to the river St John, you may estimate how long it takes these Indians to come to the Fort.

It is eight days since I have seen M. de La Martinière; he has not been well and attends to nothing, having appointed M. de Falaize (Lieut. of a Canadian company) in his place.

The Chevalier de la Hossaye to M. de Surlaville:

Gaspereaux, Aug. 2, 1753.

Since my last letter, the prohibition of the lively visits of our Acadians to the English has been made public by agreement between M. Manach and myself. The post was becoming as much frequented as the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca, since the wives and daughters went there under pretext of getting treatment for their pretended illnesses.

M. Le Loutre came unexpectedly and has poured out all the thunders and censures of the Church against the erring ones, and threatened them for the future with a double punishment.

An English deserter from Midgagouèche (Fort Lawrence) came to Beauséjour on the 28th July. In consequence M. de la Martinière fired a cannon to notify the English that he would be returned according to the terms of the cartel. M. Scot, the Commandant returned the favor and said very politely that the Acadians could go after several of their horses which had strayed to his territory. Thinking about this I decided that Scot, who has a cunning and wheedling way with our Acadians, used this stratagem to determine our feelings towards them. As no Acadians had been near his fort for a month he told Maurice that he had received orders from Halifax to give full satisfaction for the generosity which he had exhibited towards the said Cartille*, who was captured by the Indians, and whom I sent, but I who took a little part formerly in all the acts of politeness had seen him twice at Missequash. He is said to have known that I wished to imitate M. le Loutre and that he had known that I had been the chief author of this murder. If it was allowable for me to speak to him, I would say naively to him that if I could not do more on this continent it was not because I was lacking in good will.

M. Le Loutre began yesterday to decide on establishments for the refugees of Gaspereau. All those of Gobite (Cobequid) are inclined to return to their homes, in spite of his menaces, and they continually insist on leaving.

*Anthony Casteel was a Frenchman who had been captured by the English, who kept him in Halifax with his little son. He was employed as an interpreter and in other ways and showed no desire to return to his own people. In May, 1753, he went in a small vessel to Jedore on business of the Governor. The vessel was captured by Indians and Casteel was taken a prisoner. He travelled with them for several weeks arriving at Fort Gaspereau on June 10. On the 12th, the Indians demanded a large ransom on penalty of death. He was unable to meet their demands and was about to be killed when an Acadian, James Morrice (Jacob Maurice) advanced 300 livres from his own funds and obtained Casteel's freedom. Maurice also outfitted him so that he could sail for Louisbourg. There he arrived on the 16th. After considerable difficulty he persuaded the authorities to allow him to leave and he left Louisbourg on the 28th, arriving at Halifax on July 2nd. (A full account of Casteel's experiences is given in *Le Canada-Français*. Documents sur L'Acadie, Vol. II, p. 111).

Letter of M. de Raymond and M. Prévot to M. de la Martinière, commandant at Beauséjour and the Abbé le Loutre, dated Oct. 1, 1753.

Since the letter, Sirs, which Count de Raymond wrote you on the matter concerning which the Minister has written on July 17 last, a copy of which has been sent to M. Le Loutre, we have conferred together and have decided to ask you for an estimate made with M. Jacau de Fiedmont, as soon as possible, as to the cost of the dykes or aboiteaux which M. Le Loutre proposed to the Court to build, the said aboiteaux to serve the refugees and non-refugees in the district commanded by M. de la Martinière, so that they may make their living as a result of building them. It is very fitting, Sirs, that this report should state that the work will not cost the King more than the sum (mentioned), and that it will be sufficient for the undertaking. M. de Fiedmont must make a detailed statement regarding the project. The Minister desires, further, to be assured that for 50,000 liv., which the King allows, the habitants can be established without further cost to His Majesty.

PICHON A. M. DE SURLAVILLE

(From de Beaumont's *Les derniers jours de L'Acadie*, p. 130:)

Fort Beauséjour,

Nov. 12, 1754

I have been here a year. M. de Martinière, the Commandant, kept me in idleness, as has his successor, M. de Vergor, each having discharged the functions of Commissary. The former, although bed-ridden, has managed to accumulate and take away more than 80,000 livres. His successor, without even knowing how to read, will take away even more. M. Bigot has given him as a Clerk a former soldier and has given him advice concerning what he terms his little affairs. Both (*i. e.*, De Vergor and his Clerk) make me write and correct their letters of importance. M. Le Loutre also makes further use of me, considering that he has the right to do so. Though his protection costs me dear, I have received information from the Court to the effect that I could not have a better (protector). He, indeed, wishes me to write nearly all his letters, memoirs, etc. The one which he sends this year to the Abbe de L'Isle-Dieu (Vicar General of Colonial Missions) is a précis of all which he has written to the General, the Intendant and the Bishop, etc., since the month of January. It is a sorry history of the Colony. I am in intimate correspondence with Father Germain, Jesuit, who assures me that he will interest his Superior, and through him, the confessor of the King, on my behalf. This good father works on his memoirs, to be added to those which I already have on Acadia.

You know, sir, that I have much information on Cape Breton. These memoirs could be used to make the various colonies much better known than they have been thus far.

May I recall to you that there are certain things which you have promised me. I beg to ask them of you, as well as a Royal Almanach, some literary novelties, etc. Without books how miserable I would be!

The Chevalier de Drucourt, successor of M. de Raymond, makes himself loved and feared; you know him. M. Franquet does not like me, according to information sent me.

The poor Du Caubet* has been killed by Langi, the elder, who, with his brother, is with us to-day; they are two veritable savages. The Colonial officer would like to do as much (*i. e.*, to kill) to the last of the officers from France. * * * Canada is in distress; seven or eight gentlemen are skimming all the cream. (This refers to the peculations of Bigot and his friends). All New England is very much disturbed by all our military preparations, which she has not expected. We are assured that they are making great efforts to avenge themselves. Take care that the English don't try to drive us from our fine post of Beauséjour. Their preparations give me reason to reflect.

The Council of Halifax have had the Abbé Daudin (curé of Annapolis Royal) arrested on the charge of having incited the Acadians to revolt against the English, etc.; he has since been released.

M. Bigot should return to France this year to succeed M. Normant (Le Normant de Mezy, Intendant of Marine at Rochefort). The *Caméléon* which was to transport him has been wrecked above Quebec. There has been a considerable fire in Montreal, in which all the documents of the Colony have been destroyed. So he will not leave it at present. He wishes me well but has written to the Court that he does not care to have a Commissary at Beauséjour. He makes no opposition to his good friend, M. de Vergor. This he has confided to Father Germain who has just returned from Quebec. * * *

B

JOURNAL OF EVENTS IN CHIGNECTO AND OTHER PARTS OF THE FRONTIERS OF ACADIE FROM SEPT. 15, 1750 TO JULY 28, 1751.

Account by M. de la Valière,† captain of troops of Isle Royale, who was present at the frontier during all the disturbances there between the French and the English. (Archives Report, 1905, Vol. II).

(Accompanied a letter to M. le comte de Raymond of Oct. 29, 1751).

On the morning of Sept. 12, 1750, the English appeared in the Bay of Beaubassin to the number of 17 sail, consisting of brigantines, schooners and boats. On the 13th they anchored off Weskak, and remained there over the 14th. On the 15th, part of the force raised anchor and went to Beaubassin where, on attempting to land, it was opposed by the fire of 60 Indians and 30 Acadians from behind a wall (dyke) which had been raised by the Abbé Le Loutre, and which reached from the river des Planches to the Menagoüesch (Misseguash). The English detached a small schooner to enter the former river in order to flank the Acadians and Indians, and they were forced to retire.

*There was always ill feeling between the Colonial officers and those from France. Du Caubet, an officer in Louisbourg, was sent to Beausejour. There he quarrelled with the Langi's brothers, who were Canadian officers. At a later period they were all on duty again in Louisbourg. One evening Du Caubet was found dead with many wounds, in his quarters. An investigation was held, without result. It was open talk that the older Langis was responsible for the murder, but he was not arrested.

†Capt. Louis Le Neuf de la Vallière was sent from Louisbourg in 1751 with fifty picked men as a result of the urgent appeal made by La Corne. He was the grandson of La Vallière the original Seigneur of Chignecto. He was born in Placentia, Nfld., in 1713, his father being named Michel. The family afterwards moved to Louisbourg. In 1739 he married Marie Charlotte Rousseau de Souigny, native of L'Isle Royale, daughter of Pierre Rousseau de Souigny and Jeanne de St. Etienne de la Tour.

Another schooner, entered the Mezagouech (Miseguash) for the same purpose, but so sharp was the fire from the shore that she was unable to accomplish anything. On seeing the Acadians and Indians retire as a result of the fire from the other schooner, the English gave the signal to land, which was carried out in good order, meeting with but a feeble fire in spite of the efforts of Fathers Germain and Lelerne (Le Loutre), the Missionaries, who urged on the Acadians and Indians, and who themselves escaped with difficulty in the disorder which ensued. The English marched to the cemetery, which was surrounded by a wall three or four feet high and a foot thick, in which was a small party of French and Indians who kept up a fire of musket shots, though out of range. During this time M. de la Corne had taken a squad of troops and 200 Acadians to Beauséjour Point and had left M. de la Vallière at Weskak with his detachment and 200 Acadians. The English detached from the vessels at Weskak two armed barges with a flag at the bow, with 20 men in each, to seize some pirogues which were in the Weskak river ready to carry help to Beauséjour Point if necessary. M. de la Vallière sent 40 men from his detachment to oppose them. When the English perceived this they burned two musket primings with the intention of firing and when they observed that we did not fire, they fired two musket shots with balls. The French returned the fire and killed the captain of the long boat and wounded some men, which caused them to retire to their vessels, shots being exchanged as they did so. The same day M. de la Corne ordered M. de la Vallière to bring his men to Beauséjour Point, leaving thirty with an officer at the post (Weskak). On his arrival, he reported what had occurred.

The English since that day, had worked vigorously to build a fort. Some days after, Mr. Bertetol* commanding a company of 60 men, had advanced in the woods on a scout and having crossed the Mezagouetch had arrived on our territory, as he had often done, when he met a party of thirty-five Indians and Acadians who fired on them killing the captain, wounding and taking prisoners the ensign and seven men, killing the rest with the exception of the lieutenant and five or six men who retreated. Two Indians were killed of whom one was a chief who died afterwards of his wounds. The Indians through the night attacked their camp, killing one and taking some prisoners. In spite of this the English worked hard on their fort which was ready for occupation early in October.

On September 23, the families of Les Planches, Wiskok, Mengan (Maccan), Nainpan (Nappan), River Hébert and Menoudy (Minudie), whose men were already at Beauséjour Point, left their homes and came to our territory. The houses and barns with their contents were burned causing a great scarcity, so that the people had to be supported at the expense of the King. Most of the cattle were lost, and the remainder could not be kept through the winter as there was not enough salt to preserve the meat.

When the English were established in their fort, Captain Fox was sent in a pirogue with 20 men to Chipoudy (Shepody) where at night they captured a habitant in his house on the coast and took him to Beaubassin (Fort Lawrence) where he was questioned by M. How as to our condition and strength. As nothing could be gained from him he was kept prisoner, but after six weeks he escaped. M. de la Corne left Beauséjour Point on Oct. 8 and was relieved by M. de St. Ours des Chaillons.

Towards the 15th of October the Indians, having learned that M. How, Commissary of the English troops often took a walk on the river bank, holding conferences with officers and missionaries, and talking to the inhabitants to whom he made many promises in urging them to return to their homes, ambushed

*An officer at Fort Lawrence.

themselves with some Acadians during the night behind the dyke which extended along the river bank and at eight in the morning Etienne Batard, an Indian, called Père la Corne, carried a flag (white) along the bank near the place of ambush. M. How appeared also with a flag on the opposite shore. The Indian asked him several questions and then waved his flag as a signal to those in ambush, who suddenly fired on M. How, mortally wounding him.

M. Lawrence having noticed this, sent a detachment from his fort to withdraw M. How. The Acadians and Indians continued to fire, but M. How was recovered and taken back to Fort Lawrence, where he had spent only five or six days. The Indians and Acadians continued to harry the English, who at length made a demonstration by crossing the river with about 100 men, approaching as far as Isle la Vallière. M. de l'Ours marched some troops towards them and the English recrossed the river and returned to their fort without firing a shot.

Fort Lawrence fired cannon shot at us during this period but without effect as we were protected by a dyke. On All Saints Day about 15 Indians and Acadians boarded an English schooner during the night which had grounded on our shore of the Missequash near its mouth, and after having killed one or two sailors, made prisoner of the captain and the rest of the crew, and looted the vessel, which was then set on fire and destroyed. An Acadian of Mines was found on board, having been forcibly taken to serve as a pilot. He was looked after by M. Le Loutre who cared for him until he could find his family which had removed to our territory.

About November 15th Captain Cox, commanding an English boat armed with 6 cannon and 30 soldiers of Goron's (Gorham's) company in crossing from Cape Enragé to Beaubassin noticed a long boat coming out of the Petitcodiac river, in charge of Michau d'Amboise making for St. John; he immediately gave chase, which lasted nearly all day, and about 4 p. m. forced the latter to run ashore at Cap des Demoiselles (The Rocks) on the Chipoudy coast. He fired many cannon shots at here as she lay stranded, sent 20 men on board of her forcing the five men who were in her to abandon her; they retired, firing on the enemy. They took out of this boat a large sail, a feather bed, some bacon and peas, as well as its anchor and cable.

M. de Baurans, officer of the Louisbourg troops, who commanded at this post, two leagues distant, and who had received notice (of the encounter) took about 30 Acadians and ambushed his force throughout the night near the longboat, after having secured it with an anchor to the shore and lightened it so that it would float easily. Captain Cox, having learned of the arrival of this force by the noise which they made, fired cannon shots during the night but without effect. At daybreak this fire was continued on M. de Bauran's force but nobody was hurt because they were protected by the bank of a stream. About 4 p. m., after having tried to land some men on two armed pirogues containing 12 or 15 soldiers in each, and having been repulsed three times, Captain Cox decided to raise anchor and abandon the French longboat, having been unable to attain his end. Captain Cox had been cruising in these parts. His cargo which consisted of 20 barrels of wheat flour and a barrel of pork, had been taken for the King's account and distributed by order of M. de Saint Ours to a number of the habitants who not having been able to reap their harvests at this time on account of having been employed on guard service at Chipoudy as well as at Beauséjour, had lost everything and would have perished if they had not been given help according to promises made them in the King's name by M. de la Corne for all losses which they might sustain. which promises had only been partially fulfilled. There have always been since May five signal posts in these parts, viz., at Cap Enragé two men to light a wood fire as a warning

signal to the people immediately any vessels should be sighted; two at La Potrie, two at Haha; two at the Ambuscade or Chepoudy point; two at Cap des Demoiselles. All these signals formed a chain of communication and thus could warn the camp. They were maintained until September 15th when the English had completed their establishment. Independently of these posts a separate corps of guards of ten men had always been maintained. Until the end of December all these guards were fed at the expense of the King. Since the arrival of the English at Beaubassin, apart from the troops which were at Point Beauséjour, there were 15 men at Chepoudy, 13 at Petkoutiak (Petitcodiac) 15 at Memeramekouk, le Lac, la Coupe, Tintamarre and la pré des Bourgs; and the refugees furnished about fifty men at Beauséjour as well as at Buot, where there was a guard of 20 men, all these were relieved every eight days and were supported by the King's supplies.

At the end of November, M. de Saint-Ours having assembled the inhabitants to ask them to secure winter lodgings for the troops who were quartered in the farms, to provide wood and water which had to be brought some distance, they replied that this was not practicable, as in this district there were very few oxen, and these were not in condition to be used for carting; also there was little fodder as they had been unable to gather any; the season was too far advanced to gather bark for roofing the houses. Thereupon M. de Saint-Ours decided to leave an officer with a guard of 20 Acadians at Point Beauséjour to be relieved every eight days and to go into winter quarters at Le Lac, a league and a half distant, where barracks had been made, covered with hay, in order that the troops might be within reach of wood and water. He established a post at Pont à Buot, near the river Mezagouech on an elevation a quarter of a league from his camp; the guard consisted of ten men, commanded by Messrs. Catalogne and Saint-Blin (cadets à l'Eguillette), who were relieved every 15 days after the evacuation of Point Beauséjour in the beginning of December.

The Indians have their wigwams behind us and they go out with the Acadians to harry the English, who have several times pursued them vigorously, especially during February. While a band of 60 Acadians and Indians were annoying the English who were collecting wood supplies, they were chased by a force of about 300, sent by M. Lawrence from his fort, as far as Pont à Buot, where they crossed the river and formed up for battle on our territory. M. de Saint-Ours having been warned advanced thither with his troops and as many Acadians as he could gather. When the English perceived this they recrossed the river and retired to their fort. M. de Saint-Ours then retired also. The Indians and Acadians continued to harry the English and frequently killed some of their men.

About February 15th a boat coming from Boston to Beaubassin was driven by a gale on the Weskak shore. The captain having no other alternative, was forced to give himself up with his men to M. de Bailleul, a Canadian officer who was in command at Weskak, who having news from M. de Léry, the elder, and M. de Langy, Canadian officers who had been sent by M. de Saint-Ours, that the Indians were coming, hid the English in the Weskak mill, whence they were taken to Pré des Bourgs. When the Indians reached the stranded vessel, which was loaded with rum, sugar, coffee, Madeira wine, planks, madriers (thick planks) and other articles, they pillaged her completely and for two days they were in a very disorderly state in spite of the efforts of the abbé le Loutre and three Canadian officers to keep them in order. After the looting, the vessel was set on fire by the Indians. Two or three days after, M. de Saint-Ours sent the captain and his crew to Fort Lawrence, having saved them from the hands of the Indians who, while drunk, loudly demanded that they be given up so that they could kill them. M. Lawrence returned a polite letter of thanks to M. de Saint-Ours.

During the winter M. de Saint-Ours having been ordered by M. de la Jonquière to build a fort on Point Beauséjour and another at the Gaspereaux river, both free of cost, assembled the habitants to instruct them to provide immediately the timbers (palings) which were required. The habitants promised to find the stakes and to transport them (which they have done), but claimed that the rest of the work should be done by the troops and Canadians, and that they (the habitants) ought not to work for nothing. M. de Saint-Ours had definite orders not to employ them, when their own work began at the beginning of April. M. de Montesson, Canadian officer arrived with a detachment of 100 Canadians and 100 Indians; the former were stationed at the Butte à Roger, and at Point Beauséjour under command of Messrs. Denis la Ronde and Langy Canadian officers. The Indians were quartered at Le Lac; the guards of Acadians at Point Beauséjour and at Pont à Buot were dismissed and replaced by Canadians. After the arrival of the Canadian Indians a party was formed of Micmacs, Amalécites, Canibas of Canada, Acadians and Canadians, to the number of 350, with a Missionary, to approach Fort Lawrence and to do all they could to provoke the English to make a sortie. They killed two men near the gate of the fort and fired a long time at the windows of the Commandant who was obliged to close the shutters. No one left the fort during 48 hours — the duration of the attack, while our forces were in readiness at Pont à Buot ready to give support to the Indians if they should be repulsed and driven to our territory. The Indians having failed in their attack retired and continued their usual petty tactics. A short time after, M. de Saint-Ours took all his troops to Point Beauséjour and established his camp. On his arrival the soldiers and Canadians were ordered to work on the new fort at this point; their progress was very unsatisfactory and they at last complained that having neither brandy socks nor shoes, and being nearly naked and badly fed, it was impossible to carry on work. Thereupon M. de Saint-Ours seeing the necessity of expediting the building of the fort resolved to offer payment and to make them work vigorously. Having moreover, received 6 pieces of artillery, viz., two 6 pounders and four 8 pounders, he was anxious to have them safely mounted.

About the first of May the Indians and Acadians despairing of accomplishing anything against Fort Lawrence, formed a party of about 130 with three or four Acadians as guides, and went to Chibouctou (Halifax), where they killed about 30 persons and took about a dozen prisoners, after which they returned to Beauséjour.

Towards the end of June the Canadian Indians wearied of doing nothing, began to slip away in order to return to Canada, and on the way they killed sheep and pigs of the habitants before their eyes, even near Beauséjour, without any effort being made to prevent them. This caused much loss to the habitants.

On June 11th a detachment of English troops numbering about 300 left Fort Lawrence before day break and marched behind (the ridge) so as not to be seen, and at day break they were within sight of Pont à Buot. M. de Saint-Blin, cadet, in command there, sent word to M. de Saint-Ours. The English crossed the river and fired several rounds of musketry, but were met with a return fire of muskets and two swivel guns which killed two or three men, and they were forced to retire as they perceived that all our people were on the alert. M. de Saint-Ours, on receiving word of the advance of the English, set out with all his troops to give support, and hearing of the retreat of the English, halted at the Butte à Roger. The Indians and some Canadians crossed the river and pursued the English, while on our part we followed along the bank firing until the enemy reached their fort. M. Delangy, Canadian officer, received a ball in the thigh. The Canadian soldiers and Acadians who were a disorderly mass, fired a long time on the ships which replied with their artillery vigorously, but

without effect as our people were behind a dyke. We retired about mid-day without any losses. The Canadian Indians and even the Acadians continued to harass the vessels which brought supplies to the fort under protection of a dyke which extends along the river and killed the second (in command) of a vessel with two sailors; shortly after, the English landed men during the night and carried off six head of cattle which were on the marsh.

The next day Beausoleil and two Indians went over to their territory during the night and captured 24 sheep and a pirogue; two or three Acadians also made a raid across the river and took seven or eight horses. Some days after, the captain of the vessel which was anchored opposite Weskak sent an armed pirogue to take a canoe which was in the river. M. de Saint-Ours, warned of this design, sent M. de Beaurans, officer of Louisbourg troops, with 20 men to prevent it but they arrived too late, the English having already captured the canoe. When the English saw this force they fired two cannon shot which injured no one. Two days afterwards they fired at our fort in reprisal, after the Indians and Acadians had fired on a sloop which entered the Mezagouesch. Their shots fell very short of our fort, which replied with seven shots which reached near their ship and made them cease their fire.

Towards the beginning of July, a schooner coming from Boston to Beaubassin was blown ashore within range of the cannon of our fort, about opposite the English vessel anchored off Weskak. The Indians, Acadians and Canadians hastily ran towards her under the protection of a dyke and at low tide boarded her, but killed no one. M. de Saint-Ours sent Messrs. de Léry, the elder, and Montesson, Canadian officers, to save the captain and sailors from the Indians. M. le Loutre went there also. They were only able to save the Captain, and they stove in all the casks of brandy, rum, wine and other liquors. When the crowd of Indians and Frenchmen had looted the vessel, they set her on fire, saving, however, the planks which they found in her, which the Indians used in making cabins. The same day, M. Hungerford Lutrell, Commandant at Beaubassin (Fort Lawrence), wrote to M. de Saint-Ours asking him to give assistance to the captain and sailors who had been cast on our shore.

Two days after, M. de Saint-Ours sent to him the captain and his crew, not having been able to send them earlier, because the Indians who had not become sober, haughtily demanded them. M. Le Loutre had to ransom them as was his custom with prisoners and scalps. M. Hungerford said nothing in his letters of the reception of this captain; he merely returned his thanks by M. de Baurans who had taken the prisoners to Fort Lawrence.

M. de Saint-Ours, about July 15th, deeming it impossible to feed the Indians, the refugee families, and his troops, having but small supplies and the country being ruined, resolved to send the Micmacs to Saint Michel, as they with their wives and children made a large number. The day following the departure of the Indians six Canadian soldiers deserted to the English and informed them of the departure of the Indians. The same day M. de Baurans was sent by M. de Saint-Ours with a letter to M. Lutrell in which he asked why the sailors or soldiers of the vessel anchored near Weskak had landed on our territory and had chased the habitants who were going to Beauséjour. M. Lutrell said that he would reply the next day. In the night he sent a detachment of his troops across the river, supported by two pieces of field artillery placed on their side of the river, which broke down a portion of the dyke along the bank on our side and behind which the Indians and Acadians used to entrench themselves to annoy the English vessels, which transported provisions and which at low tide were stranded in the stream Galop. M. de Baurans having gone the next day to get an answer from M. Lutrell was told by an officer that it was not yet ready, but that in two or three days he would send it to M. de Saint-Ours, with an explanation of his mission and his operations in our territory.

The night of the 26th to the 27th which was the day following, M. Lutrell once more sent about 100 men across the river on a pontoon bridge opposite their vessel which was anchored in the stream Galop under protection of the cannon of the fort, and supported by two pieces of field artillery, to carry out the destruction of the dyke. In the morning their manoeuvre was detected by us as they were still at work until full day light. M. de Saint-Ours ordered the General beaten and summoned the habitants to come to the fort. The English, thereupon, recrossed the river and went to their fort. M. de Saint-Ours wrote, asking the reason for these hostile acts, by which the habitants had suffered owing to the inundation of their marsh lands.

After the departure of the Micmacs, two belonging to Father La Corne's Mission who had remained, went with a white flag to speak to the English, who on perceiving them sent a canoe to take them across the river. They were well-received, given presents and every effort was made to establish peace with them. M. de la Vallière represented to M. de Saint-Ours that for the good of the cause he should arrest these men and send them to Canada or to Isle Royal, but he did not consider the proposal expedient. They went back three or four times afterwards. One of them was the same Indian who had a white flag when M. How was killed; they left camp on the 27th.

At this time the fort at Beauséjour was not completed. The barracks and guard house were only half covered; the powder magazine was not ready for the powder; only three platforms were finished, the others being in a shabby condition and unfit for use; the pickets not having been supported by a terrace, either inside or out, had been much disturbed by the rains and the heavy winds.

Fort Gaspereau is not completed.

At Point Beauséjour are stationed 70 or 80 Canadian and Louisbourg troops.

At Butte à Roger 30.

At Westkak 10.

At Bay Verte 12 Canadian soldiers.

At Gaspereaux 10.

About 250 Acadians bear arms not counting refugees and others who are constantly arriving.

The total number of Canadian troops is 220 men apart from the officers.

BEAUBASSIN OU CHIGNITOU ET LA BAYE VERTE

(From De Meulles' Report)

Mémoires Généraux 1686

Archives Publiques du Canada. Acadie-Correspondance Generale. Série F.
Vol. 114, p. 110.

Bay Verte is on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, sixty-five or seventy leagues from Isle Percée, in a direct line, and three from Isle St. Jean. At its entrance it is five leagues in width, and it narrows towards its head which is about five leagues from the entrance. The land on both sides appears to be good. At the head of the Bay are three large meadows, capable of supporting many cattle. By land the distance to French Bay (Fundy) is four leagues, but by making a portage of about one league (from Bay Verte) one can travel three leagues by a small river (Missaguash) which opens into French Bay at Chignecto, this portion being known as Beaubassin. The latter (bay) is a quarter of a league across at its outer part, two leagues in length, and has a width of one league.

Around it are extensive meadows (marshes) which are capable of feeding 100,000 head of horned cattle, its grass being termed "misotte," very suitable for fattening all kinds of animals. On two sides of these marshes are gentle upland elevations, covered with good hardwood. More than twenty-two farms can be seen on these low uplands, from which it is easy to reach both the marshes and the woods. There is not one of the habitants who has not three or four buildings suitable enough for the country. Most have from twelve to fifteen or even twenty cattle, ten or twelve pigs, and as many sheep. They don't keep these under cover except for two or three months in the year and when they slaughter them, and as a result they lose many from the attacks of wild Indian dogs, which destroy them.

There is not yet a large area of cultivated land; when they can raise enough wheat to provide for their needs they will be well-satisfied, and will not require to purchase from strangers. The majority of the women make the material with which they clothe themselves and their husbands. They make nearly all the socks for the family and don't buy any. As for foot-wear they use only Indian moccasins which they make themselves. Each year an English vessel arrives in April and brings them the few remaining necessities which they require. These they buy with furs which they obtain from the Indians. They also make linen cloth.

Beaubassin is twenty-five or thirty leagues from Port Royal in a straight line, and about twenty-five from the mouth of the river St. John.

The portage of one league from Baye Verte, on the way to Beaubassin, referred to above, can easily be cut by a canal* because all the land is low, and thus water communication could be established between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and French Bay; this would shorten the distance between Quebec and Port Royal by 200 leagues at least, and would, by such a communication, lead to the development of new settlements in a short time, and would enable Quebec vessels to acquire the trade with the people of Beaubassin, Minas, Port Royal, and other places, as well as the river St. John, which is now carried on each year by the English, and which is very considerable. The latter visit the coasts each summer in three or four vessels from Boston, and sell, at their own prices, all their commodities to the Acadians; this will always prevent the development of the country. The canal need only be ten or twelve feet wide at first; when the sea-water once passes through it, a fine river would be formed in a short time, and thus vessels from Quebec could easily traverse it. This would lead the merchants of Canada, who now trade with Anticosti and Isle Percée to send their vessels to Port Royal by way of this canal. The English of Boston regard themselves as masters of all the coasts because they are always there and control all the commerce, and have more regard for the inhabitants than the French people themselves. Not having this communication (canal) it is indeed necessary to allow them to trade, as the Acadians would have no assistance from the French because of the great distance from Quebec, which is more than 400 leagues from Boston, requiring almost a whole summer to make a voyage, which greatly raises the costs to the Quebec merchants.

The trade which the English have developed with the Acadians gives them the opportunity to catch and dry fish in the roadsteads belonging to the King of France. Thus they profit to a very considerable extent, while the Acadians are forced to serve as laborers under the English, to whom most of them owe very considerable sums. It is to be noted, moreover, that the English, through the trade which they have developed, by drawing the Acadians into their employ-

*This is the first proposal to make a canal across the Isthmus of Chignecto. Its situation as suggested by De Meulles is seen on his map. (See Plate I).

ment, thus tend to take them away from their farms, and so, on all the English coasts, are found Frenchmen who have been attracted by the good pay and the advantages afforded them.

Beaubassin is so well-suited for the feeding of large numbers of animals, that, in case His Majesty should wish to make a town at Port Royal, he could find a sufficient number to establish a trade with the West Indies, and send them supplies of beef which they now obtain from foreign countries. The cattle which are now in the country (Chignecto) are of poor stock, which should be changed. It would be a wise expenditure to send about thirty head (of good stock) to as many inhabitants; after about eighteen months they would sell the same number to others, and thus the country would very soon be supplied with (better) horned cattle. The cows, also, are very small and milk can only be obtained from them when the calves are suckling; this prevents the habitants from making their own supply of butter.

M. de la Vallière is the Seigneur of the country, and, in the course of his residence of six or seven years, has through his own enterprise induced most of the inhabitants in the district to settle there. He has built a mill at his own expense. During the period in which he was in command in Acadia, before M. Perrot, he was so highly considered that many deemed it a pleasure to take up lands in his Seigniory because he has always given assistance as far as he was able and he still continues to do so.

It is desirable that other Seigniors should exhibit the same wisdom and moderation; then would Acadia be more quickly settled.

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