

THE LIFE OF

THOMAS PICHON

"The Spy of Beausejour"

WEBSTER



THOMAS PICHON

Reproduced from the painting in the Public Archives, Ottawa, which is a copy of the original by Concourt in the Bibliothèque de Vire, France.

THOMAS PICHON

"THE SPY OF BEAUSEJOUR"

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS CAREER
IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

With many original documents, translated by
Alice Webster

BY

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TO THE STAFF
OF THE
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
AS AN EXPRESSION
OF PROFOUND GRATITUDE
FOR THEIR GENEROUS ASSISTANCE
TO ME,
AND FOR THEIR ENCOURAGEMENT
OF
HISTORICAL RESEARCH
IN CANADA

PREFACE

In the mid-eighteenth century conflict between Great Britain and France in the Province of Nova Scotia, a clever and unscrupulous Frenchman, Thomas Pichon, who had served his country for many years in an official capacity, chose to change his allegiance secretly, partly because of resentment at the failure of his government to provide for him in a manner which he considered adequate to his merits, partly to his love of British gold.

Soon after being sent to Fort Beauséjour in Chignecto, as a civilian official, he entered into negotiations with the Commandant of Fort Lawrence, the rival British stronghold, and, until the fall of the former in June, 1755, he was able to keep the enemy well-posted as regards conditions within the French lines, as well as to forward information received from Quebec, Louisbourg and Paris. Even after the Capitulation, when, by arrangement, he was taken to Halifax, ostensibly as a prisoner, he continued to spy on French prisoners in that town, sending his information to British officials. Thus, he well deserves the designation, awarded him by historians, of "Pichon, the Spy".

Not daring to return to France, he settled in London, under a new name, receiving a pension from the British Government. There he became involved in an amorous adventure with a distinguished Frenchwoman, which furnishes an interesting but not glorious chapter in his life. He built up a fine library and wrote very considerably, but, apart from publishing a history of Cape Breton, his labours did not go beyond the production of manuscripts which now repose in the library of Vire, his birth-place, to which his possessions were bequeathed by his Will.

This work gives a somewhat detailed record of his varied career, based on an analysis of numerous letters and documents. Many of these are reproduced in translation, made by my wife, Alice Webster, to whom I make grateful acknowledgment for her careful and accurate work.

The two main sources of the material used by me have been the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Bibliothèque de Vire, Normandy. The documents in the former of these, forty-seven in number, are bound together in a volume, entitled "Manuscript Correspondence in 1754 and 1755 between M. Pichon (or Tyrell) at Beauséjour and Halifax and British Officers. Memoirs by the same on Beauséjour and Louisbourg, &c. Collected and arranged under the direction of the Commissioner of Public Records at Halifax, 1861".

I obtained copies of these ten years ago, through the courtesy of the Government of Nova Scotia and, in reproducing translations of them now, I have not followed the order in which they are found in the bound volume, but have arranged them as nearly as possible, in chronological order. Most of them are dated; those which are not can be placed with reasonable accuracy.

Several of Pichon's letters do not indicate to whom they were written. I do not agree with the views expressed by the Commissioner of Public Records regarding these omissions and have ventured my own opinions as to the addressees. Some of Pichon's Beauséjour letters are not in the collection, and have evidently disappeared. The earliest of those preserved is dated "17 Sept. 1754". In this letter Pichon, writing to Captain Scott at Fort Lawrence, refers to two previous communications sent by himself, thus clearly proving that their correspondence had been carried on, at least, during the previous weeks.

The range of topics in these documents is extensive and varied. Being the confidant both of the Commandant and of the Abbé Le Loutre, and assist-

Europe, for information supplied during the preparation of this volume. Notwithstanding the abundance of documents relating to Pichon, which have been preserved, no comprehensive study of his career has been attempted until recently. A severely critical analysis of his character was published by Rev. Albert David, Missionnaire du Saint-Esprit, in three papers in *Le Revue de L'Université d'Ottawa*, 1933-4, entitled *Le Judas de l'Acadie*.

In 1924 Pierre Bagot published a small volume containing several letters of Madame de Beaumont to Pichon and a few written by the latter, now in the Vire Collection. It gives little information concerning Pichon and omits all account of his life in Isle Royale and Nova Scotia.

In writing an account of Pichon's career, the data have been provided mainly by his own correspondence. His habit of retaining copies of some of his own letters and of preserving those received, even though containing statements damaging to himself, is responsible for the abundance of material available to his biographer. While inconsistencies and distortions of truth make it difficult, at times, to establish factual accuracy as regards Pichon's life, no effort is required to arrive at a just estimate of his character. He has so clearly portrayed it that all who read may understand. Regarding the early part of his career no estimate can be made, for want of documentary evidence. Later, when he became a traitor to his country, a spy and informer in the interests of its enemies, and, afterwards, a pensioner on their bounty, in London, he exhibited a continued disregard for truth and honour. Only near the end of his long life when the infirmities of old age and his approaching end filled him with terror, was he overwhelmed by an avalanche of remorse. Little wonder that he closed his epitaph, written by himself, with these words:—

"Dear God, who regardest this world and the anxieties of men, take pity on my soul!"

I desire to express my acknowledgments to the printers of this work, for their continued helpful co-operation, and to Dr. Alfred Bailey, of the New Brunswick Museum, for his assistance in proof-reading.

J. C. WEBSTER.

Shediac, N. B.,
May 1, 1937.

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T. H. Tyrell

Th. Chirel

Th. Tyrel

Thomas Signis Tirel

T. T.

Th.



Fac-similes of various signatures used by
Pichon after assuming his new name.

I

LIFE OF THOMAS PICHON

Thomas Pichon was born at Vire, Normandy, on March 30, 1700. The register of his birth is preserved in the Municipal Archives of that town. His father was Jean-Pichon, a small merchant, and his mother was Marie Esnault.

In various letters found in this volume, Pichon has stated that his grandfather was an Englishman, who had moved to France and settled there; this was given by him as the reason why he adopted the name of Tyrell, while at Beauséjour, in sending his communications to the British Commander at Fort Lawrence, and which he adopted afterwards, during his long residence in England. He also tried to make it appear that, for the same reason, his real sympathies were with the British and not with the French.

The names of his parents are pure French and suggest no English derivation. In his letters sent from Beauséjour to Fort Lawrence, he first used the assumed name of "Th. Tyrell" in one of Oct. 15, 1754. In a later communication he used the signature, "Thomas Signis Tirel," explaining that this was his mother's name, and that he would, henceforth, adopt it. He was not consistent in his spelling, for on examination of the various documents in which the name is used, besides the two forms just mentioned, other variations are found, viz., "Tyrel," "Thirel," and "Tyrrell," the latter being in his Will. These irregularities seem remarkable, for, certainly, an educated man would never spell his own mother's name in five different ways. There can be little doubt that his English parentage was a fabrication, for the sole purpose of providing a plausible excuse for his change of allegiance from France to England.

It is not possible to write an accurate account of Pichon's early career, because we must depend on his own autobiographical data, which vary considerably in the documents at our disposal. These are the following:—

1. Memoir in the Nova Scotia Archives (p. 28).
 2. Letter to Hinchelwood in the N. S. Archives (p. 111).
 3. Memoir (to Lord Halifax) in the Duke of Cumberland Collection, Windsor Castle Library, a variant from the Hinchelwood letter, on which it was based (p. 121).
 4. Letter to Madame de Beaumont, just before she gave herself to Pichon in February, 1757. This is in the Vira Collection (p. 129).
- Pichon finished his school studies at the age of fourteen. In one of his

papers, he states that his parents tried to force him to become a priest, but that he refused and went to Paris and commenced the study of medicine. His parents stopped his allowance, and he entered the service of the Procurator and, later, of the Advocate of the Council, presumably as a clerk; later, he was tutor in a nobleman's family.

To Madame de Beaumont he stated that his family destined him for the bar and that he spent several years with honour in the profession. There can be no doubt that the latter statement is false and that he was not educated as a lawyer. Being clever, he undoubtedly acquired a considerable smattering of knowledge of legal procedure, while serving as a clerk with two prominent legal officials, and, at the same time, as he himself states, he gained experience of business methods. Thus, he was able to be of help to his father in a prolonged lawsuit, in which the latter had become involved, lasting for six years, and finally decided in favour of the family. Pichon said that his father requited his efforts by refusing to compensate him for his work, and, as he had used up all his savings, he was forced again to find a job. He became secretary to a Parliamentary official for eight years.

During this period of his life, he seems to have acquired an unsavoury reputation for his conduct towards young women. Among his letters in Vire are two, which give evidence of this. They are unsigned and are probably copies of originals which were given to Pichon by the person to whom they had been written, and who evidently took Pichon to task. The first was sent to a man who exercised some sort of guardianship over a young girl, whom Pichon was endeavouring to make his victim, the writer being anxious to save the girl from ruin. It reads as follows:—

"I can no longer resist the continual reproaches of my conscience concerning the silence I have maintained in view of the snares which are being set to destroy the innocence of the young girl in whom you take an interest. You will understand that I am referring to little . . . Mr. P., who has long made a profession of suborning young girls, is making use of verbal promises of marriage in connection with this one. He considers such promises as an infallible means of success with a young girl who loves and adores him, and who would certainly not resist the solicitation of an enterprising and well made lover, when opportunity presented itself. I know from a reliable source that Mr. P. has used the same stratagem with more than one young girl, and has even boasted that he has no intention of marrying this one.

You, Sir, love virtue and are the protector of this young girl. In God's name, watch over her conduct and try to place her beyond reach of the seducer. Madam . . . has some things belonging to him in her house, which gives him an excuse for his visits. Make her return them to him and break off all relations with him. He is too dangerous for her. If you have any doubt about the information I have given you, demand a clear explanation from Mr. Pichon. I am convinced that he will withdraw if pressed to commit himself in writing. I know him of old.

All means of deceiving a young gentlewoman appear excellent to him. It would be a pity if he seduced this one, and that he should take advantage of her credulity to make her unhappy. She deserves a better fate. You served her in her tenderest youth; redouble your kindness and care in her most critical age. Heaven will recompense you. As for myself, I shall be acquitted by my conscience."

The second letter refers to another girl and was written to her father by a young man who was interested in her, and who objected to the attentions which she was receiving from Pichon:—

“You have permitted M.P. . . . to impose upon you too long. He will ruin the chances of your daughter if you do not break with him immediately. More than one eligible candidate is ready to declare himself when you have sent him about his business. Do not wait any longer for the sake of your honour and your advantage. Do not inquire whence came this warning; it is sincere and you will soon discover its significance.

In 1741, the Marquis de Breteuil obtained a position for Pichon in the hospital service of the French armies, then fighting in Bohemia and Bavaria. In one account Pichon states that he was the representative of the French King to the hospitals; in another that he was Inspector. Father David can find no corroboration of these statements and believes that Pichon was only a chief clerk or accountant. However, in his own Memoirs, he magnifies the nature of his services and claims that the commanding officer recommended him for special rewards, which were granted by the Government. He, also, states that the Hungarian authorities were so impressed with his ability that they offered him various positions in the service of the Queen. Later, according to his own account he was made Forage Inspector of the army in Upper Alsace, and, in 1745, was appointed to organize French hospitals on the Lower Rhine and in the Netherlands. On the declaration of peace he returned to Paris, receiving fresh rewards from the Government.

In describing his army career, he says that wherever he went, he won the esteem of honest men and the approbation of his superiors. In a letter to Madame de Beaumont he boasts of his continued probity, of his resisting all temptations to fill his pockets, and of his determined opposition to all who used their opportunities to enrich themselves at the expense of the soldiers, thereby gaining the gratitude of the latter, but the deep hatred of the grafters. He, also, dwells on the efforts made by the latter to destroy him or force him to leave the country. They employed a man to insult Pichon, who was forced to punish him. This agent was then spirited away, and Pichon was accused of having fought a duel. This led to an attempt to arrest him and he was forced to go into hiding. In his other memoirs, Pichon makes no mention of this experience, doubtless, because they were meant for men. This hard-luck story was sent to a love-sick sentimental woman and would be likely to stir her sympathies. He, also, told her of his diminishing savings, of his vain struggles to obtain another position because he could not afford to buy favours at Court, nor gain an approach to Madame de Pompadour, who was all-powerful in dispensing them. This is a very different tale from that told in his memoir sent to Capt. Scott (p. 29), wherein he says that *when he returned to Paris, a nobleman, formerly Minister Plenipotentiary to a foreign Court, offered him a place in his household, where he remained until he went to Louisbourg.*

The latter step marks the next phase in Pichon's career. Through the influence of d'Argenson, a Minister of State, Count Raymond, kinsman of the

latter, was made Governor of Isle Royale. Pichon accompanied him as secretary, saying that the Count had invited him to do so. He states that they had been intimate friends in the army and that the Count was determined not to go to America until he had, by the most magnificent promises, induced Pichon to join him, in the expectation that he was to fill the most distinguished positions in the new world. They arrived at Louisbourg on August 3, 1751. The Count was scarcely an ideal Governor. He loved pomp and ceremony, overdrew his account, and tried to make the French Government pay his deficits. Relations gradually became strained between him and prominent officials. He tried to establish a large seigniorship for himself on the Island, but this was prevented by the Government. The intimate friendship which Pichon claimed had existed between him and the Count did not prevent discord arising between them.

Pichon complained that none of the promises made to him were carried out. He said that all the important Government business transacted was his work and that the Count merely signed his name to the documents which Pichon wrote. He accused the Governor of writing letters to Paris praising Pichon's services but that these were not forwarded; instead, others, which discredited the latter, were sent. Later, the Count actually gave Pichon a strong letter of recommendation (p. 29), which Surlaville pronounced "a monument of generosity." In 1753, the Governor believed he had caught Pichon in certain irregularities. He found a paper in his waste-basket, which aroused his suspicions. In a letter to the Minister of Marine, dated May 8, 1753, the Count stated that he had proof that Mr. Shirley "was informed of the situation in Louisbourg, and that there was some one who had furnished very accurate information." Undoubtedly, he suspected Pichon, and, thereupon, decided to get rid of him. The latter learned of this one day when he called at the Governor's residence. He was not received, but was told of the incident which had raised suspicions against him. Soon afterwards, he wrote to Count Raymond, claiming to be innocent, and protesting against the interpretation which had been placed on the finding of the paper. The letter reads as follows:—

Having presented myself at your house a few days ago in order to have the honour of saluting you, I learned with great surprise that I had become an object of suspicion to you. Had this suspicion, which is as discreditable to my honour as it is damaging to the sentiments I have always felt for you, seemed to be founded on probability, I might have been seriously perturbed. I confess that I was moved to find myself exposed, by so trifling a matter, not only to the loss of the good opinion of myself which my conduct had led you to entertain, but the honour of your favour, the value of which I know.

I know, however, that you are too fair and too judicious to pronounce without a hearing, and though truth does not need to justify itself and is her own witness, she must be called upon occasionally to give evidence. This you will permit me to do. Can any one suppose that the memorandum found crumpled among the papers thrown into the waste-basket in your study, a long time before I left you, was constructed as the result of my prevarication and bad faith? Would not a man whose conduct was crooked and reprehensible have destroyed this shameful proof? Would he have wished to expose himself to the risk of being recognized some day for what he was instead of what he

wished to appear? Can I be thought so guilty and, at the same time, so stupid? He whose lack of probity gives rise to justifiable fears is always on his guard, and does not expose himself unnecessarily to a risk against which he can so easily protect himself.

On the other hand, a man who is going straight and has nothing to fear may, through carelessness, act in a manner which might be open to interpretation unfavourable to his behaviour. This, without doubt, is what has occurred in my case, although I know neither the document in question nor by what chance it was found there.

Furthermore, has any one noted in me the desire for gain, which is the making of rascals and prevaricators? I should be ashamed even to justify myself in such a matter. Only animosity or prejudice could condemn me in such a rash and unworthy manner. Your prudence, Sir, your judgment, your insight, and my open conduct, while with you, are a certain security for my peace of mind on this point. Can a few letters, written by persons of the opposite sex, which were found among the same papers, tarnish in any way conduct otherwise irreproachable?

If sincere probity is only to be found in hearts made of ice, where are we? Who are the sages who are not open to accusation, if it be a crime to love and to be loved? Make no mistake; it is not love which makes men infamous and perverse,—it is debauchery. Is there any indication of it in the aforesaid letters? Was it observed in me during the extended period of my residence with you?

An honest man may love without ceasing to be such, a privilege which is not given to base souls. An honest man regards love either as a serious affair or as a diversion. He requires probity in both ways of loving. Either he has in mind a home which would not be permanent if it were founded on disorder, or a pastime, which could not be called that, if it were criminal in its nature.

I have confidence, Sir, that all these reasons will produce the impression they should on your mind, which is naturally just, kind and reasonable, and that they will persuade you to restore me to that place in your esteem which I have always endeavoured to deserve. Only on that condition shall I occasionally give myself the honour of calling upon you, to assure you with how much respect and gratitude I shall always desire to be, &c., &c.

Count Raymond suggested to the authorities that Pichon be sent to Fort Beauséjour to serve in the Commissary Department. This was approved, and the latter had to leave Louisbourg.

Writing on Sept. 26, 1754, to Mr. Hinchelwood, Pichon refers to his dismissal in these words, "Grossly deceived by the man whom I had accompanied to Isle Royale, of which the Government had made him Governor, and who owes me most, I contemplated returning to a nation which I like, and which I knew to be the most reasonable and the most generous of any in either hemisphere." Also, in a letter to Capt. Scott, he referred to Count Raymond "as possibly the stupidest of all two-footed animals." Yet, in spite of these opinions, he had written to the Count, before leaving Louisbourg, "People I like are held in almost the same veneration as the things I adore."

It is interesting to note that Pichon, in referring to his Louisbourg work, lauds his own uprightness and his efforts to correct abuses among officials, as he had done before in describing his army career. He says that M. Rouillé, Minister of Marine, acknowledged this and highly recommended him to a position; this so infuriated Count Raymond that he passed the word to officials in the Colonies that if he were to be appointed there would be no further opportunities for them to enrich themselves, because Pichon could not be influenced, as had been proved in Germany, where all the schemes of the contrac-

tors had been thwarted by his vigilance. Before leaving Louisbourg, Pichon tried to obtain the appointment of Sub-Delegate of the Intendance, but failed. He, thereupon, departed for Fort Beauséjour without being given any official position. In the memoir, now in Windsor Castle library, (p. 121), he says that the Intendant of Isle Royale sent him as Clerk and Sub-Deputy of the Intendance; while in his letter to Madame de Beaumont (p. 129), he states that he was sent as Commissary and purchasing agent, and that the sanction of the Government would follow. The latter was never obtained, and Pichon's resentment was, undoubtedly, one of the factors which induced him to turn traitor. Before leaving Louisbourg he received the following letter from the Abbé Le Loutre.

"Misterium misteriorum, grande secretum"

Monsieur,

(Having read my letter, I beg you throw it in the fire).

Our Commandant being very infirm, I took the liberty of asking M. Prevost for you, entreating him to send you here to act, in the interim, under the orders of our Commandant. This he promised to do and wrote that as soon as the Count left he would ask you to set sail to join us there. He has, accordingly, written to Mr. Bigot and has requested me to do likewise, which I did, with much pleasure, by M. Almain, who has just left. Our Commandant asks for you immediately, and I, without mentioning you by name to M. Prevost, make the same request, and your room is all ready for you. As soon as the Count has gone, you should, also, see M. Prevost and try to get yourself transferred promptly. This is a great promotion for you. Once on the spot I do not think anyone else will be sent to fill this post. I shall not tell you anything more, for I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you before long. I am, in this fixed hope, with esteem and respect, Sir,

Yours

J. L. LeLOUTRE,
Priest missionary.

Beauséjour,
Oct. 8, 1753.

Note.—This letter is now in the Vire collection.

Pichon travelled by water to Baie Verte, where he arrived the first of November, 1752. There he was welcomed in person by Le Loutre, who presented him with the following letter of welcome from the Commandant of Beauséjour, La Martinière.

Fort Beauséjour,
Nov. 2, 1753.

Sir,

I received the letter which you did me the honour to write me, with all the more pleasure because, at the same time, it announced your arrival for which I am assuredly very thankful, and shall be very much more so when I see you at this post, at which I shall expect you tomorrow with M. LeLoutre, who leaves to-day for Baie Verte, where he will remain only till then. Your lodging is all ready for you, and next to mine, with only a step to take for your meals.

I have the honour

La Martinière.

Note.—This letter is now in the Vire collection.

Pichon entered Fort Beauséjour on November 3rd, 1753.

BEAUSEJOUR

Pichon at once entered on his duties as chief clerk in the Stores Department, though without having any actual official appointment. He soon revealed his ability to transact business and to keep his books and papers in order, winning the commendations of the Commandant and of the Abbé Le Loutre. It was not long before they were employing him to draft and correct their letters and reports, whereby he was able to inform himself in regard to official secrets and to the intrigues in which the priest was involved. Moreover, he was in a position to make and retain copies of documents which he considered important. In one of his letters he boasts of his own superior style, which was appreciated by Le Loutre, "who knew how to take advantage of the differences between my mode of expression and his own, thereby advancing himself with the Ministers, the Powers in Canada, in Isle Royale and even with his Bishop, who, since I have been so obliging as to correct the writings of this missionary, has complimented him on his style, his arrangement, and his extensive and new range of knowledge." (Letter to Hinchelwood, Sept. 26, 1755 p. 111).

When and how did Pichon establish relationships with the British at Fort Lawrence? Father David (op. cit. p. 502) says that both French and British officers were accustomed to frequent an eating-house at Pont-à-Buot and that it was here that Pichon met Captain George Scott, Commandant of Fort Lawrence. This may be correct, but the writer, during a long period of research, has never noted such a statement; he wishes that Father David had given a reference to the source of the information. While La Martinière was Commandant at Fort Beauséjour, relationships between the two forts were fairly cordial, as is indicated by the following letter, written by Col. Monckton, before he retired from the position of Commandant of Fort Lawrence at the end of June, 1753:—

Sir,

I can assure you that nothing would be more agreeable to me than to maintain a good understanding between our two garrisons . . . so it is my desire to continue it. I am sending back four horses, which are all that we have at present, as I shall do in the case of all that may in future stray to our side.

Scott became Commandant, after Monckton, at the beginning of July. On the second he wrote to La Martinière as follows:—

Sir,

. . . . The Hon. Colonel Monckton, whom I have succeeded in the command of this garrison, gave me a letter which he received from you a few days ago, in which you state that it is your intention to continue the good understanding which has existed for some time between your garrison and ours. I seize this opportunity to assure you that, on my part, no effort will be spared to maintain this accord, and I shall ever be delighted to cultivate pleasant relations with a gentleman of your character.

On July 3rd the French Commandant thus replied to Scott:—

Sir,

... Permit me, I beg you, to respond to-day with a thousand thanks for all the kind and generous things it has pleased you to say to me, and to assure you that it is entirely satisfactory to find your sentiments so much in accord with mine in regard to perpetuating an agreement, the fruits of which can only be very gratifying and advantageous.

At the time of Pichon's arrival at Beauséjour, a good understanding undoubtedly existed between the garrisons, and it was, doubtless, easy for him to meet British Officers. In his letter to Lord Halifax, dated, June 27, 1756, (Cumberland Papers, Windsor Castle Library, p.121) he gave the following account of his first meeting with Scott:—

"Mr. Scott, whom I had met at Louisbourg, and who was in command at Fort Lawrence, close to the French fort, **asked me to go to see him.** In the course of our conversation about the respective interests of the two Crowns in North America, he gave me to understand that he could make my fortune, that he knew of means which were very safe, and that I should have no cause for regret, if I accepted his proposal. The repeated assurances that he would place me in the most agreeable comfort, that nothing should be lacking to give me satisfaction, and that his promises were made in the name of the Government, induced me to surrender myself to everything he desired me to do. We established a correspondence which was most active."

Pichon then specifies the kind of information which he sent Capt. Scott, e.g., warnings of every measure taken by the French priests to incite the Indians to attack the English ("which," he said "I always frustrated"); information regarding French official actions and plans relating to the country, etc., etc., reports on the French military posts, on the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia and the refugees who had moved to the west of the Missaguash. He also gave Capt. Scott a detailed report on the best means of capturing the French forts, merely adding that the majority of his recommendations were actually employed when the British were successful in 1755, and that, therefore, he should be considered as one of the instruments which effected this important conquest. He also states that when Capt. Hussey succeeded Capt. Scott as Commandant in the autumn of 1754, he continued to forward similar information until just before the siege of 1755.

How were the interchanges between the two forts carried on without discovery? Various subterfuges were employed. In the early months, when the French settlers were allowed to visit Fort Lawrence to sell their supplies and purchase cheap English goods, the transmission of messages by carefully selected intermediaries was not difficult. Pichon also gave British officers instruction in French and this formed an excuse for interchange of papers. Then, he wrote concerning medical matters, especially to the English doctor, Veale. In course of time, the French Commandant prohibited the settlers from visiting Fort Lawrence and posted guards to see that his orders were carried out. Under these circumstances, exchange of correspondence became difficult and was only

possible through the employment of a few carefully selected French settlers who were able to reach the British fort without being caught, and who were well-paid for their trouble. That none were ever detected speaks well for the precautions which were taken. Pichon, however, admitted that, in the spring of 1755, he was suspected by one or two officers at Beauséjour and that he had to be constantly on his guard.

For all these services, Pichon's reward was cash, which was sent from Fort Lawrence. Moreover, he had received promises of future support from the British authorities. Thus, in a letter to Hinchelwood (p.111), referring to Capt. Scott's promises, he wrote:—

"He demonstrated so clearly that I should have no cause to regret devoting myself to the project he suggested to me, that, upon the assurances he gave me—and, which he often repeated, he would establish me in the most agreeable comfort, and that nothing would be lacking for my satisfaction. I yielded myself entirely to whatever he desired of me."

In several of his letters he reminds his British employers of these promises and makes suggestions as to the kind of position he would like to fill, in future.

Following the account, just given, of Pichon's initiation into his career of traitorous correspondence with the British in Chignecto, which was written by him on June 27, 1756, after he had settled in England, it is interesting to report another account which he wrote to Madame de Beaumont in the spring of 1757, when he was ardently seeking her favours (p. 129). Knowing that this loyal Frenchwoman might be shocked by a bare narration of his treachery, he artfully impressed on her that, being English by descent, it was easy to understand why his real sympathies were with that nation rather than with France. He wrote:—

"It gives me pleasure, Madame, to emphasize this circumstance, for though it reminds me of what my destination should have been, I find in it a motive of justification which purges my conduct of all reproach and leaves me with a right to blame fortune, whose caprice made a foreign land my birthplace without first extirpating from my heart the germ of attachment which has always made me turn toward my original home-land,—that of my fore-bears. I may have made a few mistakes, but digressions due to such a costly miscalculation are certainly pardonable."

This ingenious line of approach, based on a false premise, might well serve to smother the suspicions of a love-sick woman.

Referring to his life at Beauséjour, he said that he went frequently to Fort Lawrence, whose Commandant, Mr. Scott, he had met at Louisbourg.

"He appreciated my character, and, often, made me offers of employment. He pointed out the ingratitude which had repaid my services to France, adding that, since I was of English origin, he could not understand why I failed to look toward a Government which knew so well how to recognize and recompense talent and loyalty, as did that of Great Britain. I listened to such talk gratefully, without feeling any temptation to profit by his advice, until the most unfortunate event forced me to act."

His downward course is then described as follows:—

"The Colonies swarmed with people who had been forced by their crimes or their misconduct to expatriate themselves, and who lent themselves readily to the basest actions; among them was a man named Langi (though born in Canada). He it was whom the officers of Beauséjour, his comrades, had placed at the head of a conspiracy to cause my death. Mr. Hussey, successor to Mr. Scott (at Fort Lawrence), informed as to these projects, warned me to be on my guard, and that saved my life."

"Having, on several occasions, upset the plans of my assassins, with whom I was obliged to live, they realized that I was seeking evidence to prove their plots; Langi, fearing that I might succeed in doing so, decided to make a final attempt with two of his accomplices. I determined to sell my life dearly, and two of my assailants were frightened by my resolution, when Langi succumbed. I immediately laid a complaint before Commandant Vergor, to whom I had already reported the warning I had received. Whatever his partiality for my enemies, their intention was too well known for him to have hope of condemning me with any shadow of justice; he, therefore, feigned to sympathize with me and to desire to adjust the affair, and, in the meantime, he took steps to ruin me."

He states that De Vergor plotted to induce him to go to Quebec on the ground that his services were to be rewarded. However, Pichon did not fall into the trap, because he was warned by the Intendant of Louisbourg, who informed him that the Langi family of Quebec were preparing to bring legal action against him. Pichon, incensed and perplexed, sought refuge with the British. He continued:—

"France was still at peace with England, and it was, therefore, easy for me to go to Fort Lawrence, whose Commandant generously accorded me a refuge; he repeated all that Mr. Scott had said about my antecedents and about the small obligations I was under to France. These conversations made such a strong impression on me at that time that I was resolved to attach myself to my liberators. A circumstance delayed the carrying out of my intentions; I saw that the English were getting ready to attack Fort Beauséjour; the moment did not seem very propitious for taking the step."

A careful analysis of the statements in this letter of Pichon to Madame de Beaumont makes it clear that they were merely fabricated falsehoods, meant to deceive the lady and to ensure her sympathy for him. He states that, while "Capt. Scott endeavoured to make him secretly serve the British, he did not then do so; and that, while, later under the persuasion of Scott's successor at Fort Lawrence, Capt. Hussey, he actually refrained because he learned that Beauséjour was about to be attacked and he felt that, as a brave patriot, his place was in the fort, which he could not abandon in a time of danger." In other words, he assured Madame de Beaumont that he had not committed any traitorous acts. He felt that he was on safe ground because the poor lady could not possibly produce any evidence to show that he was lying.

But, now, it is easy to refute him, for the evidence against him is in his own letters, now preserved in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, reproduced in translation in this work. The earliest of these is dated, Sept. 17, 1754, and was sent to Capt. Scott. Others followed until November, when

Capt. Hussey became Commandant; he, likewise, continued to receive letters and reports of all kinds, full of information which Pichon considered of value to the British. These letters and documents are nearly fifty in number.

The Langi episode, described so dramatically in the communication to Madame de Beaumont, affords another illustration of Pichon's untruthfulness. Doubtless, it was meant to impress the lady with his bravery in meeting and slaying a determined enemy. It is to be noted that Pichon's account fixes the period of the occurrences detailed by him, some time before the siege. Now, in Jacau de Fiedmont's Journal we find (Edited by Dr. J. C. Webster, 1936), that M. de Langy, an officer from Cape Breton, was alive and fought bravely during the siege, becoming a prisoner of the British at the capitulation.

How, next, did Pichon behave during the siege? He tells Madame de Beaumont that, in spite of his inclination to the English, he opposed them in every way that his immediate duty required. Yet he admits that he helped them by advice to the perplexed and terrified settlers, who were kept under arms in the fort. His heart bled for them, and he pointed out to them the perilous position in which they would be placed if the British captured the fort and found them bearing arms. He urged them to demand that the Commandant surrender immediately. After the capitulation, he says that he addressed De Vergor and the assembled officers, recapitulating all the injustice and indignities he had suffered at the hands of his enemies, announcing that, henceforth, he would renounce France and devote himself to the service of Great Britain, because from this country he would obtain fair treatment. That this alleged *grand finale* is another falsehood is evident from our knowledge of the facts. Had Pichon indulged in such an open renunciation of his country, the news would have spread everywhere; his usefulness to the British would have been ended and his own life might have been imperiled. What really happened was that he had arranged with the British that he should be taken prisoner with the rest and moved to Fort Lawrence. This is stated in his letter to Lord Halifax, dated June 27, 1756 (p. 121).

Whatever may have been Pichon's activities during the siege, he found time to write a Journal (May 15—June 26), which is an exceedingly good account of events as they occurred from day to day. He gives only facts, with scarcely any mention of himself, and free from the boastfulness or self-glorification found in some of the letters already mentioned. This Journal is translated and printed in this volume (p. 100), and is well worthy of a place among the documents relating to the siege of Beauséjour.

After his transfer (ostensibly as a prisoner) to Fort Lawrence he remained there several days and according to his Journal, urged Monckton to exercise clemency toward the unfortunate settlers. He was then sent to Fort Edward, Piziquid, for a time. There, he states in his letter of June 27, 1756, he was visited by many Acadians, who sought his advice as to the course they should pursue. He pointed out that, being a prisoner, he could not do much for them, but asked them to consider well the fate which would be theirs if they had to suffer deportation, and to remember that the rule of the British

was infinitely more kindly than that of the French. At length he was sent to Halifax, where he found many other French prisoners, who considered him as an unfortunate like themselves. In this situation, he was able to obtain much information regarding their views, plans and intrigues, which, of course, he immediately sent to the British authorities. These communications are printed in this volume.

The majority of these prisoners were officers and men of the French ships *Alcide* and *Lys*, captured in the engagement between the squadrons commanded by Boscowen and De la Mothe, near Newfoundland on June 8, 1755. Several of the officers, with whom Pichon was friendly, are mentioned in his letters to Hinchelwood.

If Pichon had ever been actually suspected by any of his associates at Beauséjour, nothing was heard of it afterwards. The action of the British in excluding him from the terms of Capitulation, holding him prisoner, taking his papers, and emphasizing his intimacy with Le Loutre, evidently deceived everybody.

In Halifax, he was not permitted to meet British officials, but associated only with the French prisoners. They were led to believe that he was to be sent to Louisbourg and afterwards to go to Isle St. Jean as Paymaster. They entrusted him with letters and reports, whose contents, of course, were communicated to the British. Plans were made for inciting the Indians to attack Halifax; also, for the escape of prisoners in fishing boats. These were revealed by Pichon.

In his letter of Oct. 14, to Hinchelwood, he reports the case of a man Rondell, a trader, who owed Mr. Prevost, the Intendant of Louisbourg more than 2000 francs, and had in his possession some fine mink-skins for his client. Pichon told Mr. Hinchelwood that Prevost owed him three years' salary for his work in Louisbourg, amounting to 4600 francs (adding, that he had sacrificed this and many other things, which alone justified him in changing sides), and he asked his aid in making Rondell pay him in cash and mink-skins; he needed the latter to add to what he already had for the purpose of making a coat. Now this plea of Pichon may be considered as a cunning subterfuge. In all his fulminations against Count Raymond, he does not once accuse him of having withheld his salary. If Pichon had been thus shabbily treated he would certainly have made loud and repeated complaints. There can be little doubt that the claim made in Halifax was for the purpose of enforcing Rondell to give up the money which he owed Count Raymond. Whether or not he succeeded is not revealed.

As the time for his departure for England drew near, he became more anxious about his future. Again he recounted his many services to the British, as well as the losses he had sustained, and asked for the support of those who were influential in high places, such as the Governor of Nova Scotia and Admiral Boscowen, in order that they might favour him with their support at the Court of England and with the Ministry, so that he might obtain benefits from them. He particularly requested that he might sail to England with the

Admiral, so that he might have the opportunity of securing his patronage. It was, however, arranged that he should make the voyage in a ship which was to convey several Frenchmen. Pichon protested strongly against this, urging that his compatriots would be suspicious of him, since they had been informed by him that he was to go to Louisbourg to take up service again with the French. He wished to travel in no such company. He had been given a chest containing confidential papers and a number of letters, from French officers, meant to be delivered by him in Louisbourg; these he kept and took to England. Finally, he requested that, as he was a bad sailor he should be provided with a servant and suggested that a negro, offered for sale by a French merchant-captain, be obtained for him. This is found in one of the last letters in the Halifax Collection, dated, Oct. 9, 1755. Nothing is known as to the time of his departure and of his arrival in England, though it is likely that he reached London before the end of the year.

LONDON

When Pichon, under the name of Thomas Tyrell, settled in London early in 1756, he was fifty six years old. While he possessed some property in France, he derived very little income from it. He therefore threw himself on the mercy of the British Government. His memoir (to Lord Halifax) dated June 27, 1756 (p. 121) implored his Lordship to help him. The King instructed the latter to pay Pichon a pension of £200 yearly. His value to the British Government was ended, and it is not likely that he was employed again by them. However, he seems to have tried to do something in return for his pay, for soon after his arrival in London, he tried to seduce from their allegiance to France two officers, whom he had known in Nova Scotia. One of these was Dumas, a Protestant, who had been somewhat disgruntled by his experience in the French army; the other was no less a person than Jacau de Fiedmont, Artillery officer, who had been Acting Engineer at Fort Beauséjour at the time of the siege. The latter had not been promoted in rank to his satisfaction, and the officers of Beauséjour had blamed him unfairly for the defects in the fortifications. Pichon urged both these officers to join the British. Evidence of this is found in two letters written by him in March, 1756, which are now in the Loudoun Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, California. Translations are given in this book (p. 118). He was not successful in his effort.

Pichon did not speak English, and, consequently, his social acquaintanceship must have been restricted. He seems to have established contacts with some of the French people who then resided in London, and thereby developed a relationship with a woman, in which romance and tragedy commingled, ending in sorrow and remorse to the woman, and emphasizing the sordidness and meanness of Pichon's character.

Madame de Beaumont was a handsome charming, cultivated French-woman, engaged in literary pursuits. Her previous history is of considerable

interest and may now be stated. Marie-Barbe Le Prince, the eldest daughter of Jean-Baptiste Le Prince and Marie-Barbe Plante (or Plantare) was born at Rouen, April 26, 1711. The family was one which had produced a number of painters and sculptors. Through force of circumstances she had to give her time for several years to the education of her seven younger brothers and sisters. Then she entered a convent, taking the first step towards adopting a religious life. This abruptly ceased when, without obtaining a release from her preliminary vows, she left the convent within two years of her entrance and married M. de Beaumont, a man much older than herself.

The union was very unsatisfactory and she obtained an annulment of the marriage from the Courts in 1745, on the ground that important regulations relating to the marriage ceremony had not been complied with. The details of this experience were given with great frankness in a letter to Pichon in February, 1757, previous to the establishment of intimate relations between them. She confessed that marriage had become intolerable to her and was worse than death itself. She had been carried away by excessive infatuation for a middle-aged man, whom she did not really love. She gave herself to him in good faith, but was disgusted when she discovered that he had a loathsome disease, which made it impossible for him to have healthy children. She did not, however, urge the latter fact as a cause for annulment but on the advice of her lawyer gave only the following reasons, viz., the performance of the marriage by a priest who did not belong to the district, and who had acted without authorization; failure to obtain consent of her father, who was falsely described in the register as "dead"; neglect to publish the banns in the proper manner.

Though she was assured by her lawyer that these reasons would assuredly free her, she admits that her conscience was uneasy, and that she consulted a Jesuit priest, who assured her that there had been no real marriage because of failure to observe the conditions already stated. She was, also, troubled on another score. On entering the convent, she took a vow of chastity for two years. She married before this period was finished, and on this account, was advised to make the dissolution complete by carrying her case to the Papal Court in Rome. This, however, she failed to do because it would have involved her in heavy expense.

Her anxieties seemed to disappear after the annulment, and she decided on a literary career, which was to be her chief interest during the remainder of her life. Her first publication was a novel "*Le Triomphe de la Vérité, ou Mémoires de la Villette*", published in Nancy, in 1748. Soon afterwards she moved to London, where she gave lessons in the French language and literature, at the same time, continuing her writing. She founded a magazine for children, and in 1750, a "*Nouveau Magazin français, ou Bibliothèque instructive*". In addition she published works on education, history, and geography. The most successful of her productions was her magazine for children, which was translated into several languages; its style was simple and direct, its moral tone high, the topics well-selected, and made very attractive to young people.



MADAME DE BEAUMONT

Reproduced from a copy of the original portrait by Nattier in the
Bibliothèque de Vire, France.

Thus, in the rich maturity of middle life, possessing a well-developed physique and engaged in active intellectual pursuits, Madame de Beaumont met Thomas Pichon, aged 56, a man of rather coarse physical type, who had already revealed himself as a clever, cunning, avaricious, unscrupulous, self-seeking, quasi-adventurer, and a traitor to his country; with all, having a well-stored mind, a love of books and the ability to express himself well in writing. Madame de Beaumont has related that they met first accidentally while visiting a French prisoner in London. The lady was at once captivated and very soon fell madly in love, manifesting the ardour and desire more characteristic of earlier periods of life. She made no attempt to restrain her feelings, which were thus made known to the surprised Pichon. He, while admitting in one of his letters that he was not carried away by any such overwhelming affection, nevertheless decided not to reject the ripe fruit which was offered him, but to take advantage of the opportunity to practise all his wiles to gain complete ascendancy over the lady. Master of the situation, he did not hesitate to tell her that she loved him too much, and that he did not love her. She professed to find satisfaction in this cynical statement and replied "I know that, providing you are not asked for love, you will endure being loved and *that is enough for me!*" She then affected to contemplate a relationship purely platonic, saying, "I am resolved to care for you like the tenderest mistress and live with you as the best of friends". This, however, was far from being Pichon's aim. He pushed his suit with the end in view of complete possession. With subtle flattery he wrote to her.

"Your esteem is precious to me; the nobility of your character, the radiance of your fine qualities, prompted me long since to make it the object of my ambition, and the kindness with which you have honoured me constantly inspires me with a new desire to receive from you the expression of goodwill which have given such encouragement to my respectful gratitude, and the complete loss of which would be too cruel a torment to my sensibility. It means to be in honourable possession of your kind favours, means too much, Madame, for me to neglect any means which might bring about a happy renewal of them."

He then outlined the story of his life, his struggles against unscrupulous enemies, his bitter disappointments, his final abandonment of France for a country which he revered so highly and to which he inclined naturally because of the English blood which, he claimed, ran in his veins. Various references have been made to this letter (p. 129), in which so many false statements were made for the purpose of gaining the lady's sympathies. Madame de Beaumont was no less frank, and revealed to him the story of her first marriage and her reactions to it, without any reservations. But calm reasoning and restrained speech soon became impossible to her. Her advances became more insistent and impetuous. Said she:—

"The danger point approaches. I can make all the arrangements necessary to form an indissoluble bond; it is for you to fix the time. I flatter myself that your impatience which equals mine will make it short. For me it will be the moment you come to take possession of my apartment. I shall then give you myself with all my heart."

Pichon held back, stating that he could not leave his lodgings on account of owing his landlord arrears of board. Whether this was true or not, the amorous lady insisted on giving him the money necessary to settle his obligations.

Her offer is found in the following undated letter in the Vire Collection:

"It has occurred to me that, perhaps, you owe something to your landlord; this thought affects me because it would be proof of little confidence in me. Are you not master of my little fortune, as well of my heart and my body? I have a hundred guineas which I can, at any moment, withdraw from the place where they are deposited. I desire, I even command you to make use of them to settle your trifling business, in order that you may not owe a sou; this is my whim, resolved to obey you in everything, I wish to be obeyed in this matter. It is the only proof of love which remains for you to give me. Would you refuse me, who would give my life for you with pleasure?"

This action of hers is not remarkable, considering the excess of her infatuation. The climax soon came and the lovers abandoned themselves to the intensity of their desires. Pichon has described this experience in a remarkable outpouring written immediately afterwards and now found as a fragment among his papers at Vire:—

"I spent several days with Madam in inexpressible bliss. We had to separate at length, and our separation was the more cruel because our happiness had increased. I spent every day with her; our conversations revolved around our love, rigorous duties and the necessity of fulfilling them. I continued to find in her the same tenderness and the same charm. Far from being able to maintain the reserve she exacted, I felt my desires becoming more and more ardent. I began to press her; I vowed that my heart was too inviolably devoted to her, that she had become too essential to my happiness, to my very existence, for her to fear my inconstancy. She tried to remind me of my respect for her; my love was too violent to be restrained. I implored, I urged; to the eagerness of my salutations I add demonstrations; I kissed her; she was moved; she sighed; I met with little resistance after that, and became the happiest of men. To conceive my rapture, one must have experienced the same desires. Although I have spent my life among women, this pleasure was new to me; it was love that enhanced its value. I did not feel the humiliating disgust which follows the fires of possession in ordinary lovers. My soul continued to rejoice.

Scarcely had she begun to grow calm, when I noticed that Madam dared not look at me, even letting fall a few tears. Her pain passed into my soul; I was receptive to all her emotions. I regarded myself as a malefactor; I feared that I had become odious to her; I implored her not to hate me. "Alas!" she replied; "is it in my power to hate you? I feel, however, that I shall lose you, and can I forgive myself for that?"

I omitted nothing to dissipate her fears, which were a reflexion on me. I assured her of my inviolable constancy. I vowed to her that, whenever she wished, the bonds formed by love should be ratified by the Seal of the Law, and by public acknowledgment.

The ardour of my caresses sustained my professions. Madam grew calmer, and, kissing me tenderly, said that she should never regret sacrificing everything to my desires, so long as she was sure of my heart, whose fidelity or inconstancy would render her the happiest or the most wretched of women. My vows, my transports put her fears to flight; I obtained my pardon, and it was confirmed by a renewal of the same caresses of which I had been guilty but a moment before, but which were rendered innocent and delicious by the participation of two lovers. Happy state, when satisfied desires renew themselves!"

The lady's feelings were expressed in a letter to Pichon as follows:—

"I will commence by saying that with you I have tasted the **ne plus ultra** of the delights of love. It may be a weakness in me, but, when I see you and have kissed the tips of your fingers, my heart is satisfied and asks nothing more. If I could imagine greater joys, about which I have often heard people speak but have never experienced, if, without such knowledge, I should desire them, I would admit it honestly, as I do these. Nature has not given you the same temperament; she exhausted herself in forming my heart. You have assured me that you love me, and it would be so painful to doubt your sincerity that I have made no attempt to penetrate below the surface."

She was not unaware, however, that her excess of endearments tended to bore and irritate Pichon, yet she made no effort to modify these manifestations.

It was in the latter part of February, 1757, that Pichon settled in Madame de Beaumont's comfortable apartment, to enjoy its delights at her expense. There was no marriage. Though Pichon had definitely promised a binding union it seems to have been a minor consideration in the mind of either of them. She was too much concerned with her mad infatuation to bother about conventions, and the wily Pichon, knowing that everything was coming to him regardless of a ceremony, preferred to enjoy her favours as a free man. Later in his life, he stated that he never offered more than a union of hearts and solid friendship, because he had not been in a position to establish a home and social position for her. His memory failed him badly and his earlier writings still exist to refute him.

The very few biographical sketches of Pichon and Madame de Beaumont, which have been written, have taken it for granted that there was a marriage, yet all efforts which have been made to find a record of the ceremony have failed. That their friends in London believed them to be legally united is certain. Their status would have been imperilled if the truth had become known and Madame de Beaumont would never have dared to establish a school for girls in London. Undoubtedly, suspicions arose after a year or two, and both Pichon and the lady were much disturbed. It is interesting to note that in the voluminous correspondence preserved in Vire, there is not a single letter of Madame de Beaumont which is signed "Pichon"; all bear the name "de Beaumont." If she had been legally married she would surely at some time have used her correct name. She practiced no deceit and used the designation which her conscience told her was still binding upon her, in spite of the annulment granted years previously. In her heart, she declared in a letter, she could not consider herself as completely free from her original marriage bond. The marriage myth may, therefore, be dismissed from further consideration. The union was one of nature, unsanctioned by law. The period of rapturous bliss did not last long. Disillusionment soon followed, at least to Madame de Beaumont, the earliest indication being found in a letter to Pichon written on March 2, within a few days of the union.

I quote from it as follows:—

"More concerned with my lover than with myself, I have been less conscious of the misfortune of being insufficiently loved to deserve

his confidence than of having disturbed his peace of mind by permitting him to notice the painful impression which his reserve made on my heart. Is his happiness no longer the only benefit which I had in mind when I proposed that we should unite ourselves forever? Should I consider my satisfaction at the cost of his?

I am to blame, without doubt. Action followed emotion, and it is a crime for which it is difficult for me to forgive myself, though to him it should seem excusable. Yes, dear lover, what has passed between us during the last month must have revealed to you my heart and my views. I sought in the union of our bodies only a means of uniting our hearts. I felt sure of yours and was indifferent to the indications that, in future, it is likely to be the only bond between us.

That my tenderness, my tranquility, my joy, have not altered in the least, that my carresses have not lost their vivacity, I call you to witness. But the indifference towards the pleasures of the senses, which you have perceived in me, has rendered me more eager for those of the heart. Is it not excusable that I should experience a feeling of loss? Yes, dear friend, I have been deprived of them. I possess not your esteem, for I have not your confidence. If I had secrets of such a nature that their discovery would cause my death, I should not hesitate to pour them out on your breast, for art thou not another self? Are not my interests your most cherished interests; is not your life bound up with mine; your happiness with mine? These are my sentiments. Are they not yours? I am conscious of the difference, but I should not have made you aware of it. I have been wanting in delicacy in afflicting you. You are avenged by my remorse. In future, I assure you, I shall consume my sorrows. I wish you to share my joys and not my sorrows."

This account of Pichon and Madame de Beaumont offers an interesting field of speculation from the point of view of female sex-psychology. The lady, when young, had entered a convent, planning to become a nun. Under the impelling influence of a male, she was dominated by such powerful desires as to lead her to enter recklessly into marriage with an abandon which made her disregard family obligations, religious vows, and legal regulations. Since she admitted afterwards that she did not love the man, her mad course of action must be attributed to an uncontrollable sex-drive. There is no other explanation. She was not unhappy in the convent and had a good home, in which she had been happy. When she found herself tied to a man much older than herself, afflicted with a bad disease (probably syphilis), which made it impossible for him to produce healthy offspring, the situation became unbearable; her sexual impulses were destroyed and she sought and obtained freedom in the Courts.

Then followed twelve years of continuous intellectual work and sex-repression. At the age of 45, she met Pichon, whose influence stirred her nature to its depths. The restrained sex-impulses of twelve years burst forth with such violence that all considerations of propriety and modesty were forgotten, leading her to manifest an overpowering desire to possess him. An explanation of her behaviour may be found in the changes associated with her age. The years between forty and fifty are critical ones in a very large percentage of women, who live in the temperate zone, because of the development of the climacteric, whose outstanding feature is a profound alteration in the sexual life, with a marked transformation of physical, mental and temperamental characteristics; these are found with a wide range of variations, though there is one constant phenomenon, viz., the cessation of the ovarian function. The

period of the "change" ordinarily lasts from one to three years, and many variations are found in the intensity of its manifestations. In a very considerable percentage of cases, women must be classed as decidedly abnormal. Sex-desire disappears in many cases, but in others it is inordinately increased, with distressing results. In some instances, increase in appetite is associated with deficiency or disappearance of physical satisfaction. That this was the case with Madame de Beaumont is evident from her statement, written early in March, 1757, from which I have quoted. This form of sexual dissonance often exercises a very disturbing influence on a woman's nature, especially when she lives with a man whom she deeply loves. The torments of Tantalus could not have been greater than those endured by a woman in Madame Pichon's position, and, therefore, it is not difficult to understand why she found the situation becoming more and more intolerable. There can be little doubt that this was an important factor in determining her to leave Pichon, though other reasons may have influenced her, e.g., the desire to escape from unpleasant gossip concerning her which had arisen in London, failure of her school, the cost of living and, perhaps, a disturbed conscience. There was no definite break between her and Pichon. Her affection for him had not ceased, but continued, as her letters show, throughout the rest of her life.

She left London in 1760, without definite plans, visiting Paris and considering going to Berlin or Vienna. However, she finally decided to go to Annecy in Savoy, where her nephew Moreau practised surgery. She established herself in his household and undertook the education of his numerous children.

Among the Vire papers are two letters written by Madame de Beaumont to Lady Shelburne, from Savoy, in the latter part of 1766. They refer to her leaving London and to Pichon's promise to join her. The first is dated Sept. 18th:—

"It was from the late Lady Pomfret that I learned in a general way about the affairs of Mr. Tyrrell. She said that it was unnecessary to go into details, but that I could take her word for it; he had done nothing contrary to honour. . . . When my health forced me to leave England, Mr. Tyrell promised to rejoin me soon; he was only awaiting a favour for which he had been given reason to hope; it was a sum of 200 pounds sterling in lieu of his pension. He comes of a family which lives for 100 years; so it would be to the advantage of the Government and mine too. With the kindest feelings in the world for me, I should lose all if he remains in London. Those who care for him would take possession of his last moments, to my detriment."

The second was dated, Nov. 24, 1766. It is not important, but on the back of it is a note in Pichon's writing, as follows:—

"If I were assured about my pension and that payments would be continued regularly every six months in the land to which Madame de B. has retired, I could rejoin her."

During her last two years in London, Madame de Beaumont, in addition to carrying on her literary work, opened a French school under influential

patronage, and made a friend, Mademoiselle de Vins, director. This undertaking was not very successful.

Pichon was occupied during this period with the preparation of a book on Cape Breton. It was published anonymously at The Hague in 1760, under the title "*Lettres et Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Politique du Cap Breton.....*" An English translation was issued in London in the same year. The book purports to be a series of letters written from Louisbourg in 1752-58, and edited by the author, though, of course, the entire work is Pichon's. The Islands of Cape Breton and St. Jean are described in considerable detail, and, also, the life and habits of the native Indians. Most of the letters deal with government activities, military affairs, civil developments, trade, fisheries, relations with the British, the siege and fall of Louisbourg in 1758. The letters, though relating to such a wide range of subjects, are clear and concise, and demonstrate Pichon's ability as a writer. The book must have taken rank as an authority, for few works relating to Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean, were available to the public at this period.

Pichon was not, apparently, much disturbed by Madame de Beaumont's departure. In spite of the knowledge that he would lose her sustaining hard-earned income and her comfortable quarters, he may have felt relief at the separation, for he had no real affection for her and must have been greatly bored by her temperamental peculiarities and sexual unrest. He remained in her apartment in Woodstock St., keeping for his own use her furniture and silverware. This embarrassed her considerably as is indicated in a letter of protest which she wrote to him. She had expected him to bring her things to Annecy. Failing this, he should have sent her what she needed. "I am tired of borrowing silver when I have guests and drinking my coffee with a soup spoon.....I do not wish to deprive you of anything which might be useful to you, such as the coffee pot, the tea service, the gravy spoon; but that lamp and Lady Pomfret's silver dish are absolutely useless to you and they would provide me with what I need. I think you are too fair-minded to refuse me these things, or to be angered by my request. Remember a trip to London would force you to give me back the superfluity you are enjoying, the fruit of my sweat, which are necessary to me."

It was not long before Pichon found a new mistress in the person of Madame de Beaumont's friend, Mlle de Vins, who, after the closing of the French school, opened a perfumery shop. Her sympathetic attentions were evidently very satisfactory to him, for in a letter of Oct. 28, 1766, he refers to the advice of a friend who recommended as a "local remedy for gout and sixty years of age" a love-affair on the side, which "causes no trouble, makes no defence, nor exercises any tyranny."

One of Pichon's friends in London was John Cleland, who spoke French very well. He had had a chequered career. After being a consul in Smyrna, he went to India in the service of the East India Company, but did not remain long. After wandering through Europe for several years he returned to England, and, in 1750, published a scandalous book "Fanny Hill,

or the *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*." This caused him to be brought before the Privy Council, where he pleaded extreme poverty as an excuse, and was not punished. Lord Granville then obtained for him a pension of £100, in order that he might use his talents more worthily. Thereafter, he wrote for the press and published several plays. Afterwards, he gave himself to serious works, especially to a study of the Celtic language. It was at this period that he and Pichon became friends. In the Vire collection there are a number of his letters, in which are references to his Celtic studies. Among them is a copy of a letter, dated Nov. 24, 1758, sent to him by Pichon, which contains an account of the latter's relations with Madame de Beaumont, written as the results of statements damaging to the lady by a Dutchman in the Hague.

"You will, doubtless, pardon the liberty I am taking in writing to you without having the honour to be personally known to you. The motive which impels me to do so will be my excuse, since it is a question of doing justice to the one who least deserves the damaging charge which has been made against her. I know that this is the greatest service I could render her, inasmuch as your esteem is the thing she values most.

I met Madame de Beaumont almost at the time of my arrival in London, owing to an unfortunate prisoner whom she set free, with my collaboration. I need not tell you that I loved and respected her as soon as I knew her. Your sentiments for her justify mine, and demonstrate that it would be impossible for a man of honour to refuse her that tribute. If her fine qualities created an attachment at the outset, compassion soon increased its strength. This generous woman robbed herself for the benefit of a family, which repaid her kindness with the blackest ingratitude. She cut herself off from all social life on this account.

The indiscretion of her father, the limited education of her brother and sister-in-law, had forced her to refuse the solicitations of those who desired her company. These ungrateful persons, for whom she had made this sacrifice, impressed upon her that the time spent with her on one day of the week was a great favour, and, with an intolerable perversity, became her shadow the moment a stranger appeared in her apartment, to be regaled by her father with stories about his eight children, related in a manner which might have served the most bitter enemies.

I had reached the age of 60 without any desire to form ties, and, as the result of the kind of life I had led, had further reasons to renounce them forever. Few women accept a husband solely for the pleasure of a quiet and reasonable association. They require something more ardent and different in character, and those I was no longer able to provide. I explained the situation frankly to Madame de Beaumont and offered her all that was in my power to give, that is to say, a friend, association with whom would provide her with the security she deserved.

I was not ignorant of her position. Her father had most indiscreetly informed me about the nature of her bond, the flaws in it, and the steps she had taken to establish its invalidity. I am no theologian, but I am a good jurist. She turned over to me all the documents in the case which her father had instituted at Nancy to have this so-called marriage in 1747 annulled. My opinion, like that of the three advocates, was that there were three flaws, each one sufficient to render the union invalid.

The decision of the professor of theology of Pontamousson was even more emphatic, as you will see in a copy which I sent to the dear sister. He pronounced definitely that it was useless to break a marriage that had never existed and which was a violation of all law, human and divine. The verdict of the English theologians was the same, wherefore Madame de Beaumont believed herself authorized to give me her hand, that is to say, to ratify by a solemn act the union of our hearts,

which I can assure you, Sir, is the only one between us, but not because of scruples. I admit frankly that I should have claimed my rights, had I been capable of doing so; but, possibly, because I have been too much so, I no longer am able.

To justify her, I made the mortifying admission, and I made it willingly. This circumstance was not unknown to her family and I was truly outraged by the motives which they attributed to this action. I got no better treatment than Madame de Beaumont. I was never able to make a display of any kind. Without being rich, my resources were far more than they supposed. They were not informed; Madame de Beaumont did not know herself.

Interest is the touch-stone of friendship. I had desired to enjoy the subtle pleasure of assuring hers by concealing the state of my affairs. Her family, however, attributed to me the motives which, under similar circumstances, would have inspired their actions. They tried in vain to disguise them by ostentatious caresses. They were prodigal with them as long as there was hope that they could continue to despoil and maltreat her; but, when they discovered that I was not disposed to tolerate it, they showed their true character and there was no kind of infamy which they did not vent against her and me.

It was carried to such excess that grief took possession of my wife, and soon reduced her to extremity. During all this year I have feared for her life, and it is only in the past two months that I have hoped to save her, by taking every possible precaution to spare her the slightest sorrow. Her nervous system is so undermined that the slightest emotion throws her into convulsions, and she has been incapable all summer of doing anything except hand-work.

This, sir, is the ingenuous story of my relations with Madame de Beaumont. Judge, then, the horrible injustice done to her by your Dutchman, when he attributes this union to her temperament. I believe you to be too enlightened to have accepted this idea, yet I have been able to deny myself the pleasure of justifying her. I did not dare to show her the letter from her sister, which would have caused her too violent an emotion; but could not you, my dear sir, who are a friend of this sister, open her eyes to her own interests? My modest fortune amounts to an income of about 3000 livres. I should like to leave it to a niece whom she cherishes. Does she desire to deprive herself of this advantage by forcing us to transfer ourselves to some place where her claims will be contested? I hope you will give her suitable advice on this matter. . . .

Signed Tyrrell.

Why Pichon should have revealed the intimate details of his relations with Madame de Beaumont to a man whom he had never met is incomprehensible, but there must have been some good reason for doing so. When he stated that she "believed herself authorized to give me her hand, that is to say to ratify by a solemn act the union of our hearts, which I can assure you, sir, is the only one between us," he evidently wished to make Cleland believe that they had been married. But, as it is certain that there had been no such ceremony, Pichon must stand again convicted of prevarication.

Again, in describing the troubles Madame had endured at the hands of her family, stating that she had robbed herself for their benefit for years and that they had rewarded her with the blackest ingratitude, his aim was to show how nobly he had acted in freeing her from these leeches. It is highly probable that there was not a word of truth in his statements, for in all the voluminous correspondence of Madame de Beaumont, she does not refer to her family save in the kindest terms.

Years afterwards, Pichon was living with a young woman, to whom Cleland tried to pay attention. Pichon protested and received a letter dated

Aug. 6, 1766, from Cleland, in which he said, "Be sure to give my compliments to the young lady; tell her that I regret that I am not sufficiently young or sufficiently rich or sufficiently agreeable to rob you of her, despite the perfidy of attempting to do so." Shortly after, Cleland behaved in an unseemly manner towards the lady, drawing a sharp rebuke from Pichon. Cleland wrote to the latter (Sept. 2, 1766) in reply:—

"I must, also, ask a thousand pardons of Mademoiselle for having, with unseemly familiarity, indulged in trifling. There was not the shadow of an intention to offend but I gather from your reprimand that I cut the figure of the ass in the fable, whose clumsy caresses drew down upon him the blows of a stick. In seeking a light note to avoid dullness, I unfortunately fell into the error of giving grave offence. But, as there appears to be much sweetness and common sense in the character of Mademoiselle, I trust that she will forgive me, and consider me sufficiently punished, for a transgression (of which I was in intention so perfectly innocent) by the unfavorable opinion you say she has formed of me."

On the whole, Pichon's life in London must have been rather dreary, for his society must have been mostly restricted to the few French who lived there. He carried on literary work, and wrote many articles, which he did not publish. His manuscripts are in the Vire Collection (See p.). In a letter he says, "It is true that my ignorance of the language (English) deprives me of much agreeable society, in which I should enjoy many different pleasures. Thus, I am limited to a very few persons, and as they are French, my good nature is the more often imposed upon." This indicates that his compatriots frequently importuned him for assistance.

He probably had few opportunities of performing any new services for the British. Yet, in 1768, we find him showing interest in the attempts of his old friend, the Abbé Le Loutre (freed from his Jersey prison in 1763) to make satisfactory arrangements for the settlement of exiled Acadians, who had been sent to France, in Belle Isle and other places. In a letter to Mr. Pownell, dated Jan. 22, 1768, he refers to two residents of St. Malo, Pierre Duon and Pierre Henri, delegates of 500 Acadians, whom Pichon hoped to have transferred to British sovereignty writing a petition to the King on their behalf. He stated that "they were not among those who took up arms to defend Fort Beauséjour at the insistence of priests," and, moreover they no longer ran the risk of "being deceived by French missionaries who had been cruel enough to make them suspected by the government."

As time went on, Pichon became morose and irritable, suspicious even of his friends, and continually anxious about his finances, even though he was accumulating his savings continually. He unburdened himself of his complaints to Madame de Beaumont and she refers to them frequently in her letters to him. For example in one she remarked, "Overwhelmed by sickness, disgust, ennui, ingratitude, the bad behaviour of those to whom you have shown nothing but kindness, your poor heart is torn, without resource, without consolation." And again, "false friends, leeches who esteem, or pretend to esteem you, in proportion to what they want of you." Then, she made his

complaints an excuse to again urge him to rejoin her, asking why he was determined to live "in an unwholesome climate without health, society or true friends." In regard to his desire for more money she wrote, "you cannot make up your mind to renounce superfluous things. A little more, a little less money are in the balance with your welfare, your health, your peace of mind, your life itself. Money wins.....Shake off this wretched interest! Why torment yourself about the superfluous when you possess what is necessary? At your age does one run after Fortune?"

In one of her letters, Madame de Beaumont referred to his "conscience which cannot be at rest, since through my humble instrumentality, God has given you light." Her continued bombardment of him with admonitions to reform his ways and turn to God must, undoubtedly, have had an influence on him. They certainly upset his peace of mind for he abruptly finished one letter to her, saying:—"Do not disturb me further." But she continued her admonitions,—

"May God save you wherever you may be! Providing this one mercy were accorded to you, I should be happy to see you reduced to nothing, or to very little. It is true that I believed your salvation might be obtained more readily here than elsewhere, and that, from my point of view, is the only matter which, at your age, should concern you. Spiritual aid is rare and difficult to secure in London, but here they are to be had in abundance, and when the greater part of one's life has been spent in amassing a fortune, it would be well to devote the remainder to thoughts of salvation." (Sept. 18, 1766).

Again:—

"Your passions should be cooler with age and ill-health; you no longer sin, unless it be in hating various individuals. You should do good, and make haste about it. The only satisfaction I shall permit myself is to wish that God may direct you to the place where you will be happiest, and may most easily obtain grace without any consideration for my desires and interests."

Her last letters of exhortation were written in 1769. It is likely that Pichon grew weary of them. The old sinner was not to be so easily driven into the ranks of the saints, even though he had been for a time uneasy in his conscience. At any rate, there was an abrupt cessation in their correspondence, and Pichon left London for Saint Helier in Jersey, after the end of 1769.

We now return to Madame de Beaumont's career after her departure from London. She went to her nephew Moreau, a pharmacist-surgeon in Annecy, Savoy, and took charge of his children, at the same time, continuing her literary work. After a time she bought a small property near Annecy hoping to add to her income by agricultural pursuits, but in this she was not successful. She continued to write to Pichon urging him to join her. He refused on the ground that his income would not suffice for life in Savoy. The fact is that he was determined to enjoy his independence in London. Moreover, he had no desire to cross France and run the risk of arrest and imprisonment.

Their correspondence, which ceased when Pichon moved to Jersey, was

not resumed for five years, being reopened by Pichon in 1774. Madame de Beaumont replied to him. In the Vire collection there are seven of her letters of this period, the last of which was written in September, 1775, just before she started for Spain. Their contents deal mostly with her movements, details of her daily life, and the Moreau family. She had sold her property in Savoy and accompanied the Moreau family to Burgundy. In 1780 she died in her little village of Chavanod in Savoy, at the age of 69, just one year before the death of Pichon.

JERSEY

Nothing is known of Pichon's life in St. Helier, Jersey. Advancing years brought marked bodily infirmities, mental unrest, fear of death and concern for what followed death. These troubles and anxieties are well expressed in a letter written by him in 1778, when he was in great distress and feared that his end was near. It is the latest found among his papers at Vire.

"What a horrible thing is old age! I am barely the shadow of the man I was! The springs of my origin are worn by time, and, possibly, by debauch, the result, as the saying is, of having lived too much. My infirmities are constantly increasing, and my days and nights are spent in insupportable torment. My legs, once an adornment which aroused admiration at balls and assemblies, are extended, immobile and oedematous, on a chair or footstool. My cheeks, once glowing and plump, are parched and shrivelled with wrinkles; my lips are merely covered with tense and livid skin. I have lost, not only the power to enjoy pleasure, but even the desire for enjoyment. I am avoided as a pitiful and disgusting object, and, far from complaining of the solitude in which I am left, I should like, were it possible to do so, to escape from myself.

This is only a portion of my miseries. The list of my infirmities, my sufferings, even the troubles caused by my servants might be given here were it not so long, and if it were likely to interest any one except myself,—but how can I express the overwhelming fear inspired by approaching death? I tremble, in spite of myself, before something menacing, in which I vainly strive to disbelieve. I have a confused sense of despair, which has made me think, more than once, of voluntarily terminating such a miserable existence; but when my hand is raised to carry out this frenzied impulse, I shrink back filled with horror. I am afraid of I know not what concerning this future which I have ridiculed a thousand times, and which I regarded as an illusion. What causes my uneasiness? Is it the uncertainty? Ah! what am I to think of this appalling future? Might there be joys in anticipation to which I can no longer aspire or, what would be more terrible, must I apprehend some disaster, the mere presentiment of which drives me frantic? Wretch that I am! I destroy myself in this confusion of thought and emotion. Alas! you, to whom I am writing, are as near death as I, yet you appear to await it without fear. Why are you so calm? I have always conducted myself according to the laws of honour; I have loyally kept my promises; I never wronged or injured any one. In short, I have adhered to the principles of nature. Do they not suffice to govern our lives?

The torch of reason is lighted to guide us; if it misleads us, shall we be blamed because it is dim?

I have noted your scrupulous observance of the maxims of religion and the teachings of churchmen. You are at peace; I am not, a despairing confession wrong from me by truth. Reason, then, has deceived me; it was, doubtless, incapable of directing my life, since it is too weak to defend me against the terrors of death.

I see too late the fatal extent of my error. The moral probity which I made my idol was but the shadow of the obligation I failed to fulfil, for, alas, what is honour without piety? What does loyalty to my friend amount to when I have been a rebel to my God? No, no, reason alone was insufficient to enlighten me; she was only potent enough to seduce me, and could not even maintain the deception until the end. She has abandoned me. Who will repair the harm she has done?

My remorse is extinguishing the breath of life which remains in me. Oh, God, is there yet time to raise my eyes to thee? Wilt thou be merciful to one who invokes thee for the first time when he is dying?

You see, Sir, the mortal agony of my heart; I can bear it no longer. If this letter be made public, some may learn from my example, whether or not it besseems a man of sense to live according to a system in which he does not dare to die."

This letter was printed in a collection of documents, probably by the man to whom it was sent. Some time later, Pichon added the following words to it:—

"He who wrote this letter is still alive; there are some indications that Heaven has heard his prayer, but how difficult it is to find the right road at the last moment, when one has erred for an entire Lifetime."

He died on November 22, 1781, having lived in Jersey for about eleven years. His will (*Testament de feu Thomas Tyrrell, Escuier, enregistré et approuvé le 24 novembre, 1781*) contained these words,—

"I protest that I am a Christian, and, by the special grace of God, am convinced of the truth of my religion, and, in consequence, believe all it commands me to believe. Such is my faith that, according to the infallible word of God and the help of his mercy, which I implore with all my heart, I have hope that my soul will one day enjoy eternal happiness."

He had renounced the Roman Catholic faith and died a Protestant. He requested a funeral like that of the poorest inhabitant, without ostentation, willing 50 French livres to the poor of his parish, and six livres to each man who carried him to the grave. He added further.—

"I have studied long to find out very late how little I had learned; science has added nothing to my fortunes. I have been of great usefulness in many circumstances in France, Germany, America and England. I must consider myself fortunate that I only lost the recompense due to my success, and that scorn was not added to calumny and ingratitude."

Among his papers was found his epitaph, written by himself in Latin. This has been translated for me by Dr. Carleton Stanley, of Dalhousie University, as follows.—

"Devoted to the humanities from my boyhood, I cultivated them to the last day of my life.

I had my share of faults as well as merits, was heedless and careless, but gentle and of goodwill. Often I gave way to anger but not to such a degree as to be implacable.

I shunned luxury and avarice thinking these not so much a fault as a derangement of mind. I admitted hospitably fellow citizens, guests, and strangers. For myself, I took sparingly of food and wine. I lived with the great, with the common people, with all, in order to come to

know men, and myself above all. Yet, alas, I know them not.

Many a friend had I, but (this perchance thanks to my stock) very few who were true, steady, and kind. More enemies I had, but these were envious, wicked, and inhuman, and no wrongs they did moved me as much as my own feelings.

The great age I reached I neither wished to have, nor blamed when I had it. The troubles of life I calmly endured, just as its joys did not make me too happy. Death I neither scorned nor feared. Dear God, who regardest this world and the anxieties of men, take pity on my soul!"

By his will he left to Vire, in Normandy, his birthplace, his library of 3000 volumes, most of which dealt with history, science and political economy; also, part of his furniture. The catalogue still exists, but many of the books have disappeared from Vire, owing to pillaging during the Revolution. His letters and unpublished manuscripts also went to Vire, as well as his portrait by Concourt. Madame de Beaumont's portrait is also there, and was probably sent with Pichon's effects, having been in his possession ever since her departure from London in 1760.

II

PICHON PAPERS IN THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF NOVA SCOTIA

No. 1

MEMOIR

Mr. T....., is..... years of age and of good family. Having finished his Collegiate studies at the age of fourteen, he left his parents, who wished to force him into the priesthood, and came to Paris, where he, at first, studied medicine. His family refused to continue his allowance; he was obliged in order to live, to enter the service of the Procurator, and, subsequently, that of the Advocate of the Council. The business training he had acquired, combined with the knowledge derived from his studies, won for him the favour of a nobleman who entrusted to him not only the direction of his affairs, but the education of his children as well. He left this gentleman because of a prolonged lawsuit between his own family and a Lieutenant General, his mother having begged him to be at hand to support her appeal to the judges. The judicial investigation of the case by the Grand Council of Paris continued for another six years. It completely exhausted the money he had accumulated by his thrift. The lawsuit having been won, his father refused to compensate him for his outlay, and, by treating him as a child who had not attained his majority, hoped to add his son's fortune to his own. The latter, victim of his affection and respect for unfeeling parents, was again forced to take service. He became the secretary of a Parliamentary President and Councillor of State, and for eight years, until the death of this magistrate, he was honoured by his favour and confidence.

At the beginning of the last war, his patron, the late Marquis de Breteuil, who was then Minister, sent him as Inspector of Military hospitals to the army in Bohemia and Bavaria. His conduct in this position prompted the commanding officers to recommend him for special rewards which were accorded to him by the Government. In 1743, in the retreat from Bohemia, he and six hundred sick soldiers were made prisoners of war, after having been despoiled of everything they possessed. During his detention he was forced to attend the twenty two sittings held at Augsburg in the upper Palatinate by the Commission appointed by the Queen of Hungary, now Empress, to ascertain and liquidate the liabilities of the French. His answers resulted in the collapse of

the majority of the claims made by the would-be creditors. He secured substantial loans from the Queen's General for the maintenance of the French prisoners. Prince Lobkovitz and Count d'Harets invited him to become their secretary and offered him various positions in the Queen's service.

When he arrived in France, more than a year later, he was made Forage Inspector of the army in Upper Alsace. In 1745 he was removed from this post and entrusted with the construction and direction of hospitals for the army of the Lower Rhine which, previously, had been badly organized. He followed this army to the Netherlands, where he carried on the same work. Peace having happily been re-established, he evacuated the French hospitals at Maestricht and Namur, and received, thereafter, fresh rewards from the Government. Wherever he went, he always enjoyed the esteem of honest men and the approbation of his superiors. On his return to Paris, a nobleman, formerly Minister Plenipotentiary to a foreign Court, offered him a place in his household. There he remained until Count Raymond, whom he had known intimately in the army, having been appointed Governor of Isle Royale, suggested that he should go with him as Secretary. On the Count's assurance that he would receive adequate payment, and in due proportion to his own, from the Government, he decided to accompany him.

The following is a copy of this Governor's recommendation; what M. T..... has done since the Count's return to France, will be set forth hereafter. "We, Brigadier General in the King's Army, Governor and Commandant of Isle Royale, St. Jean, etc.,

Certify to whom it may concern: that we have known M. T..... for nine years, having seen him, during the late war, at work in different sections of the army; that he has always performed the duties assigned to him with the greatest efficiency, winning for himself distinction as well as approbation; and that, having invited him, at the commencement of the year 1751, to accompany us in the capacity of secretary to Isle Royale, the Government of which had been entrusted to us by the King, he fulfilled his functions with the utmost intelligence, probity, fidelity, precision, and all possible disinterestedness, to our satisfaction and to that of everyone else; in evidence of which we have written this certificate. Louisbourg, Isle Royale, October 10, 1753.

Signed thus: LE CTE DE RAYMOND,
And below by: M. LE COMTE GALLANDRE.

Notes,—

Notes.—Professor Pargellis of Yale found, in the Cumberland Papers, in Windsor Castle Library a Memoir of Pichon with the following title:—**Memoire touchant M. T. P. et la Situation.** It is very similar to the above, but there are several differences, most of which are unimportant. The following may be noted:—

Line 1. "Mr. T. P. is more than fifty years of age."

Line 22. "and, after, took degrees in law

Line "the futility of which he proved."

A few words and clauses, which are in the Halifax Memoir are omitted in the Cumberland version. The statement that Pichon took degrees in law must be regarded as false.

Notice to readers regarding Pichon's spelling of names of persons and places in the following documents. For the most part the spelling used in the original manuscripts has been retained. In the Appendix will be found Glossaries giving the variants as well as the modern equivalents.

No. 2.

MEMOIR ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BEAUSEJOUR
FRONTIER OF ACADIA

(The succeeding letter of Pichon to Scott, dated Sept. 17, 1754 states that this Memoir and the comments accompanying it were prepared by Pichon and Colonel Surlaville at Louisbourg before Pichon left. In the original, the comments are written alongside the various sections. In this translation, the comments are printed after the Memoir, each section being numbered corresponding to those in the former, so that reference may be easily carried out. Pichon evidently took a copy with him to Beauséjour. In forwarding it to Scott, he states that he did not believe that Surlaville forwarded a copy to the French Government).

To form any opinion about this fort, a knowledge of the region is absolutely necessary. Otherwise, it is impossible to determine whether the position is good or bad, whether it could be held in case of war with the English; what advantages might be derived from it, and what impediments it might present to the enemy. The maps of Acadia, so far, have been too imperfect to give more than a general idea of the country.

Acadia is a peninsula separated from the Mainland of Canada by an isthmus about five leagues in width between Baye Verte and the French Bay. This isthmus is intersected by several rivers and streams, the most important of which are the Tantamarre, Le Lac, Mejagouech or St. Marguerite, the Maskoudagaine and the Gaspereau.

Section 1.

The river Mejagouech or St. Marguerite, separates us from the English. The meadows along its banks form a kind of basin, enclosed on either side by uplands. We occupy those on the right bank, and our neighbours those on the left. The river's source is a league from Baye Verte and it flows four to five before it empties into French Bay. Although it is only a small body of water, the tide rises so high that the settlers have been obliged to build aboiteaux and dykes along its banks to protect themselves from inundations. The bed is so muddy at its mouth and even a league or two above it, that it is very difficult to ford.

Section 2.

Our most important posts are the forts of Beauséjour, and Gaspereau. We have, furthermore, small detachments at the Memerankouk river, at Oueskak, Butte à Roger, Butte à Mirande, Pont à Buot, and the village of Baye Verte. (An officer is stationed at Chipaudi and another at Oueskak).

The English have troops only in Fort Lawrence, at Beaubassin or Chignitou, on the Mejugouech, and a kind of fortified wooden house near the place where they unload their transport vessels.

Section 3.

It is two leagues from Memerankouk to Oueskak, and one from Oueskak to Beauséjour. These three posts communicate only by water or by very roundabout ways over land. From Beauséjour it is about a quarter of a league to Butte à Roger, half a league to Butte à Mirande, a long league to Pont à Buot, about four to the Portage, five full leagues to the Village of Baye Verte and six to Fort Gasparau.

About two years ago a road, four fathoms wide, was made from Beauséjour to Baye Verte, but it is falling into disrepair and is not always fit for use. This year, 1754, one was constructed between Baye Verte and Gasparau; previously, communication between these places was only possible by water and at high tide. The work along the shore was done at low tide, and, because of the mud, was carried on with great difficulty.

The English, who occupy only the fort at Beaubassin (or Mejugouech) and the block house, have no communications to maintain except with the mouth of the river where supplies of all kinds are received. They took possession and got rid of whatever incommoded them. Two years ago they even destroyed the dyke which extended from the mouth of the river to a point opposite their fort either to deprive the Indians of a cover which enabled them to annoy the English with fusilades of musketry while they were unloading their vessels, or else to destroy with sea water our meadows which had previously yielded good crops.

The English could, however, communicate with Baye Verte by an old road opened long since for the convenience of the settlers, but to-day so neglected and so little used, that it is becoming choked by the trees that are growing up in it. There is, as yet, no indication that they are planning to make a road to Minas.

Section 4.

Quite apart from his troops and the Indians, the King, for almost five years, has had on his hands more than three thousand Acadians of both sexes and all ages. Of these there are two classes; the first, settlers who remained on their lands under the protection of our forts; the second, refugees who abandoned their lands because they were under English rule. As a matter of fact, very little help is given to the former, who would have had less need of it, if,

during his administration, the Chevalier de la Corne had not detained them so long that they missed the haying, the harvest seasons, and the time for sowing, which resulted in the death by starvation of almost all their live-stock during the following winter. But everything must be provided for the latter, for, either because of their natural indolence or because of the trouble which has long been taken to tantalize them with the hope that they might at any moment recover their former possessions, they have not, so far, made any clearings. They have done little more than build wretched hovels for themselves, and the cattle, which have survived, are still without shelter.

All supplies are obtained from Canada, and this can only be done by sea, either by way of French Bay or Baye Verte; but apart from the fact that the distance of the former is too great there is always the fear that the English might intercept them; only the latter route, therefore, can be used. The cargoes are unloaded and stored in a warehouse in the village of Baye Verte, until they can be taken overland to Beauséjour, for the river Mejagouech is not to be depended on for transportation because our neighbours might not grant us free passage on it.

The English who have not, as yet, opened a road from Minas to Beaubassin can obtain stores of all kinds for their post by French Bay only; they sail up the Mejagouech until they are alongside and within two hundred paces of their fort. Having neither Acadians nor Indians to feed them, however, consume very little.

Section 5.

At present all is very peaceful between the English and ourselves.

Section 6.

Our forces consist of two hundred regulars and six or seven hundred Acadians capable of bearing arms, of whom some live so far away that it will be difficult to assemble them when they are needed. The refugees will always be afraid to take up arms because they have been menaced by the English. We can rely on five or six hundred Indians who are roaming about the woods within 30 or 40 leagues; we do not dare to keep them at the fort lest they should consume too much food; it would take some time to round them up. We cannot count on a larger number, unless they could be brought from a distance; like those of Father Germain (on the river St. John).

It takes twenty five or thirty days to make the journey overland from Quebec to Beauséjour in winter, but less in summer; the distance is estimated at 150 leagues, and by sea, 200. It is 22 leagues from Beauséjour to Port La Joye on the Isle St. Jean, and more than 60 to Louisbourg.

Besides five or six thousand new colonists who are in fighting trim, the English have a force of about three thousand regulars in Acadia, of whom 400 are in Fort Lawrence, at Beaubassin, which is only 40 leagues from Halifax. From Halifax to Minas, by a road 20 feet wide, it is 22 leagues, and 18 more

by water from Minas to Beaubassin across French Bay. A very large force could also be collected in New England, which is thickly populated. They have, moreover, an infinite number of vessels of every variety, and could reach Beaubassin from Halifax in six or seven days.

FURTHER COMMENTS TO BE ADDED TO THE MEMOIR ON FORT BEAUSEJOUR

On Section 1 (See p. 30)

The King, when he established this post could have had only two objects in view; first, to keep the English within their proper boundaries; second, to facilitate the retirement of his former subjects who had remained in Acadia under foreign domination. The Chevalier de la Corne, who, on his arrival, met with no opposition, should have advanced at once to the river Maskoudagaine, instead of remaining at Beauséjour. By so doing he would have deprived our neighbors of two harbours, one formed by this river and the other by the Mejagouèche. The English would then have been able to establish themselves only on the Rivière aux Pommes,—possibly only at Minas, because it would have been impossible to obtain supplies elsewhere. The village of Mejagouech and all the cultivated lands in its neighbourhood, which are infinitely better than those we possess, would then have been behind us.

On Section 2 (See p. 31)

Fort Beauséjour is more than 1000 fathoms from the Mejagouech River, whereas that of the English is only two or three hundred. Our cannon cannot, therefore, protect the detachments sent to guard its banks. These detachments would be exposed to the fire from the English fort and blockhouse. Several direct means of communication should have been opened up across the marsh so that a strong force could reach and occupy the Isle de la Valière, which is the only place on our side suitable for mounting a battery to protect any defences we might wish to construct along the river, or to prevent similar undertakings by our neighbours. To this error, or negligence, must be attributed the audacity of the English in demolishing the dyke on our side of the river, which should be rebuilt not only to deprive them of the use of the river in case of war but to restore the fertility of our lands.

On Section 3 (See p. 31)

It is a maxim in any plan of campaign to begin by placing the stores in safety, and then to secure the communication between them and the forts. Here this important rule has not been followed.

1. Our line is too extended, it being more than ten leagues from Memramcook to Gaspereau.

2. It is intersected by several rivers.

3. The new road over which all our convoys must pass is not safe, being crossed at the Portage by the Mejugouech.

4. Our general depot at the village of Baye Verte is detached, and is not protected by fortifications of any kind.

5. It is moreover cut off from nearly all our posts by this river, (Mejugouech) and is on the same bank as the English, who could reach it quite easily by the old road and make an attack while we should be unable to give aid, especially if they took the precaution to conceal their movements, and, at the same time, cut off the Portage bridge and entrench themselves there to check our advance.

It is hard to conceive the reasons for constructing a fort at the mouth of the Gaspereau river, when the general depot was to be at the village of Baye Verte. It would have been better to place the store-house within the fort; it would have been easier to discharge there because of the channel in the river. Since it was decided to build a road from Gaspereau to Baye Verte, a wharf has been projected near the fort so that cargoes might be unloaded for a storehouse which is to be built within or very near Fort Gaspereau. It is from this point that the new road should have run in a straight line to Beauséjour, with one or two small redoubts for its defence until it reached the source of the Mejugouech, which would thereafter afford protection, or else a good fort, solid and spacious, should have been built in the village of Baye Verte with redoubts along the road which has been made and a few outworks to safeguard the approaches to the portage bridge.

Our neighbours acted with greater wisdom. Their line of communication is only half a league from Beaubassin to the mouth of the Mejugouech, and they found means to destroy the dyke on our side, which was a source of annoyance when they disembarked; this we should never have had the weakness to tolerate. It is surprising that they have not yet thought of establishing overland communication between Beaubassin and Minas, such as they now have between Minas and Halifax; the road is twenty feet wide, but travel is only possible on foot or on horseback because neither the stumps nor the rocks have been removed.

On Section 4 (See p. 31)

It costs the English, who have only one fort to maintain, very little; their supplies are obtained at low prices and there are practically no expenses for transportation, whereas the King has more than four thousand persons dependant upon him, and provisions, already very dear, become much more so because it is necessary to convey them five leagues over land. Allotments under the protection of our forts should have been assigned long since to the

Acadian refugees and they should have been compelled to clear them for their own maintenance. Or, what would be even more advantageous, some should be sent to the Isle St. Jean where the soil is perhaps better, and its cultivation would contribute far more to the support of Isle Royale, and to the development of its fisheries. For, whatever happens, these colonists would still continue to be with us, and it is to obtain this end that we must apply ourselves; as matters stand, it is to be feared that, when peace has been restored, these refugees, if they find themselves without homesteads already made, will return to their former holdings, which they so keenly regret having quitted. They would go back to them to-day were it not for their fear of the Indians.

From his many expenditures His Majesty derives only regret that, for so long a period and with almost no return, he has provided them with everything, while some parts of the country remain uncultivated and uninhabited. It would have cost much less to maintain 400 good regulars on this frontier, for they, with the Acadians who had remained in their old settlements, would have been more than sufficient, while awaiting the decision, after which a very small post would suffice to keep watch on the proceedings of our neighbours.

When it has been clearly established that our posts and those of the English can obtain their supplies only by French Bay or by Baye Verte, it is certain that, whichever of the two nations can drive the other from these two bays, will be able to demand the abandonment of the struggle and withdrawal.

It will be a long time before we can expect to have sufficient ships in these waters to keep the English out of French Bay, quite apart from the fact that we should be short of harbours, whereas they would have several. But, as the channel at the head of this bay runs within cannon range of our land, it might be possible, with good batteries, to keep them out of it, if, as we are assured, the passage at point Oueskachiche is only practicable for light vessels. It is certain that, by placing a battery of twenty guns at this point, we could close the entrance to the Mejagouech, completely, and incommode them greatly on the Maskoudagaine. It must be pointed out that it would be necessary to support these batteries by good out-works, especially if it should be decided to construct one at Pointe Oueskachiche, because it would be abandoned to its own resources, and could not be relieved without great difficulty.

The English can reach Baye Verte only through the passage of Fronsac or by the Gulf of St. Lawrence after skirting Isle Royale. It would be very easy to prevent the use of the first route by erecting a heavy battery protected by a good fort on the Pointe à la Croix, opposite Porcépic Mountain, where the passage is so narrow that it is barely three hundred fathoms across. This would, also, afford protection to Isle St. Jean, whose peace and prosperity would always be insecure so long as the English were able to make use of this passage. There is very little reason to fear that they will dare to attempt the other route, because it is too roundabout and they have no stations on this coast, which is very dangerous.

On Section 5 (See p. 32)

There is more concern about the security of the troops in our forts than about our real interests. After the offense given by the English when they destroyed our dyke, the Indians, who were at war with them, should not have been checked. They would, at least, have harried them so that they would not have dared venture outside their entrenchments. A garrison, thus blockaded, is soon in need of a thousand things.

Listlessness and sickness creep in, and desertions soon follow even when there is no insubordination; they might even be compelled to abandon their fort, etc.

On Section 6 (See p. 32)

It requires nearly two months to ask for, and to obtain, assistance from Quebec. Although it would take less time to get it from Louisbourg, we would not dare to weaken that place. Nothing is to be hoped for from Isle St. Jean, and we cannot rely very much on the Indians or the Acadians. Moreover, reinforcements from Canada would come either over land or by sea. If over land, they would bring rations for the journey only; if by sea, their provisions could only be landed at Fort Gaspereau or the village of Baye Verte. How are they to be conveyed thence to Beauséjour, which would, presumably, be the theatre of war? The horses and oxen of the country scarcely suffice to transport the regular supplies. It is futile to say that this inconvenience could have been obviated by establishing, beforehand, large store-houses inside Fort Beauséjour. It would not have been possible. The interior is much too small.

On the other hand, consider the combination of regular troops and militia which the English can obtain from each of their Colonies, and the quantity of ships of all sizes that are at their disposal to transport men and supplies, which may be discharged under Fort Lawrence itself. We have little knowledge about what takes place on their side, whereas they are very well informed about all that happens on ours. Finally, it is only 5 or 6 days from Halifax by way of French Bay, and, when they choose to open a road from Minas to Fort Lawrence, it will be found that not only are they far stronger than we are, but they will, probably, take us off our guard. They might, even now, go without difficulty to Baye Verte and seize our warehouses, entrench themselves, and dispatch vessels to that bay to cut off all communication with us by sea. Our Acadians then would be forced to disperse, and our forts would succumb sooner or later, either voluntarily or as the result of hunger, etc. Let us, however, suppose that we had been warned in time, and that our reinforcements had arrived; we should not be able to remain to protect Fort Beauséjour, because of our weakness and the shortage of food; only 200 or 300 men, at the outside, could be stationed there, because it cannot contain more, and there is only one very poor well. It would be necessary, therefore, to abandon the fort to its own garrison, in order to keep in touch with our supplies of food, leaving the English complete freedom to carry out their operations, and take it either by storm or by regular siege, unless they chose to burn it, which could



LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE SCOTT

Reproduced from a copy of the miniature formerly
owned by the late Mr. Brandon Thomas of London,
England.

easily be done by throwing in firebrands, for it is filled with wooden buildings, and the fortifications are made of fascines and turf.

It follows from these observations that

1. It costs the King immense sums to maintain this fort while the English keep up their's at small expense.

2. Our position is so defective that whenever the English choose to make the effort to drive us out, we should be unable to resist them. There are therefore, only two courses open to us:—either to settle the boundary question promptly; or, by not waiting for these over-near neighbours to attack us but to forestall them by making ourselves masters of Fort Lawrence, and restricting them to the harbours of the Rivière aux Pommes and Minas. We need then no longer fear that they would come so far through the woods in search of us, because of the difficulty they would have in obtaining supplies, their fear of the Indians, and the intrigues we could devise to obstruct them. If a decision were given in favour of this undertaking there would be no doubt of its success if it were properly handled. It should not take place, however, until the fortifications of Louisbourg have been repaired. It would be imprudent to attempt an armed rising before that.

No. 3.

The following letter is the earliest of Pichon's sent to Fort Lawrence, in the Nova Scotia Collection. That others preceded it is evident from reading this letter, in which two are referred to by Pichon; one having been written on July 30. There is no record of the first communications which were sent by him.

Abstract.—Refers to Pichon's Memoir on Fort Beauséjour, sent with letter, and makes suggestions regarding an attack on Beauséjour by the British. Gossip about Prevost, Raymond, Boishébert, Franquet, Vergor and others. Use of English surgeon Veale in sending messages. First use of name "Moses" in these papers, as applied to Le Loutre.

(To Capt. Scott)

17 Sept., 1754

My very dear Sir and very good friend,

You have left me long in a state of uncertainty. You did not think of writing to me until August 20, and it was almost a month later that I received your letter. You do not mention the one transmitted by M. de Rodo-

han; he himself assured me that it had been delivered. Don't forget about it in your next. I am delighted, if it so be your pleasure, that you are to remain in Acadia this winter. I shall more readily have news of you. For your amusement, I am sending a few of my own productions. The memoir and comments on Fort Beauséjour are not entirely my own. M. de Surlaville and I traced the outline together. I don't believe that he forwarded it to the Government. He tells me he is not satisfied with it. Count Raymond contributed nothing to it. That man, possibly, the most stupid of all two-legged animals, knows, nevertheless, how to profit by the inspiration of others, and to turn it to his sole advantage. This memoir, which may possibly seem important to you, was, however, conceived and drawn up at a time when I did not expect either to see you or to be of service to you. May it not offend you nor anyone else; but after having read it, do you not think that it is more than ever important to forestall the French next spring? Nothing is more certain than that, once communications have been interrupted, it will be farewell to Fort Beauséjour.

As I make no rough notes and can keep no papers, I am apt to forget everything I write. I am delighted that my letter of July 30 amused you. I add herewith a sketch of some incidents in my past life which will serve to make me known and show the use that could be made, even by utter strangers, of a man who combines experience with a vast amount of good-will. I hope that you will be kind enough to take it up with the authorities and try to persuade M. L.....ce to interest himself on my behalf, and recommend me to Lord Halifax.

I have as yet no news of the paymastership here. The Government has not appointed anyone, and M. Prevost, who has always desired me to rely on him, does not send me news of himself. Your powerful Abbé Le L., the friend of the Minister with whom he is working, tells me of the latter's favorable disposition toward me, yet nothing has come of it; but, whatever happens, I shall make every effort to remain at Beauséjour, even though it might lead to more than one kind of unpleasantness with Moses and other scoundrels. One must gain Heaven somehow. If the shower of Danae is abundant it may possibly curtail a certain project. It will certainly be used only for the very best purposes.

I shall not, herein, express regret for all that I have written to M. Hussey since the departure of my good friend, because I have no doubt that he forwards my letters to you or to M. L.....ce, (and some of them were interesting), as well as a few I sent to the amiable M. de Veale. The latter appears to be jealous because I do not write at such length to him as I do to M. Hussey, but I could not transcribe the same thing twice. Moreover, I feel certain, that M. de Veale communicates everything to M. Hamilton, and there are secrets which cease to be such when they are revealed to more than two. I always address them to M. de Veale, but he and I concern ourselves only with medicine, about the deepest mysteries of which I am informed. If I were to write directly to M. Hussey I might be suspected, even by our messenger, and

that must be avoided. Indeed, I am obliged to be more circumspect now than ever before, and concerned about the transmission of my papers; furthermore, I cannot send them whenever I wish to do so. What merchandise could I give in exchange for what is given me? I know very little about business because I have never been a trader. Would it not be well to settle the matter?

The long and impertinent letter of Moses to M. L.....ce, which I nevertheless drafted, because I am obliged to lend myself to more than one act of folly, should indicate clearly enough what is to be expected of the Indian peace. I shall be informed of their plans and if they are intent on harm, I shall send a warning.

We have not yet gone so far as to establish a battery at Oueskak. The timber, which was cut there by the settlers, was for their own use, and is of no consequence. I shall at the first opportunity interrogate the learned Bailleul who is in sole command there. It is more probable that a battery will be established a little farther on at Oueskachiche. (See the memoir, p. 35).

I am still enjoying the letter I wrote for M. de Vergor, our present Commandant, on his arrival, in which he describes to his General the condition of Fort Beauséjour. I think, as you are aware, and write and make use of others. It tells you enough about this fort. A little more work has been done since. I shall try to secure the plan, but Jacau Fiedmont is conscientious, although he claims to be of English origin. I might have obtained it at Louisbourg when he sent it to M. Raymond, who took it away. I had a good copyist. One cannot foresee everything.

You know that M. Franquet, who has been made brigadier, is at Louisbourg. He and M. Prevost are to repair, and, with economy, to extend the fortifications of this most important place, but I doubt very much whether he will achieve anything worth while. Both he and Prevost are devilishly fond of money, and they will need good sand and good lime which are not to be found there. Only about forty soldier-recruits have come out, and some twenty workmen. This is a very small number, but some people wish the work to last a long time.

Moses has just received a letter from M. Boishébert, who is in command on the St. John river. This officer said that, on the second of this month, at seven in the morning, a frigate of 40 guns and a snow appeared at the harbour and manoeuvred as though they intended to make an attack; but they retired about eight in the evening. It was, according to him, merely to intimidate the Acadians who are going there to settle.

M. de Veale has sent me the vest and breeches. I return thanks to the good friend until the time comes for reprisals. I gave the red vest to M. Bordage, surgeon, who has made a number of trips to M. Veale's house, from whom he receives medicinal secrets. That, up to the present, is what he believes *firma fide* he has carried. I thought it would be well to propitiate him with something.

The news from the upper country is retailed in so ambiguous a manner that we can make nothing of it, except that the Chevalier de la Corne has

been taken prisoner, that about a hundred English were killed, and that the Indian nations have declared themselves for the French; that some Indians took thirty scalps to Quebec, which gave rise to shouts of victory. You, dear friend, should be much better informed. Would not the attack of the French on the Ohio be the best pretext for reprisals in this neighborhood next spring? One could not have a better one. Canada could not furnish aid, and a single frigate in the passage of Fronsac would keep Louisbourg from sending any. The good Vergor, who cannot even read, but is no less arrogant on that account, would at once lose his head. The officers could give little heed to their duty. The troops are disgusted, and a considerable number would desert. The settlers would think more of escaping to the woods than of joining the French, especially when they realized that you were the stronger. Those at Pecoudiak and Chipoudi, where there is only one officer, could easily be driven away first; then those of Memeramkouk and Oueskak, etc; the latter place, if seized and entrenched, would give you absolute command of French Bay. What else should be done is perhaps sufficiently well indicated in the Memoir, the comments, and the letter to the General concerning the fort, etc. *Intelligenti pauca* (a word to the wise). Is it proper for me to give advice? All preparations should be made with the greatest secrecy. Surprise alone will insure complete success. I shall doubtless be made use of in the capitulation and you must not fail to take me prisoner.

It is possible that Moses, who has not, as yet, the gift of performing miracles, like the Abbé Daudin, might then fall easily into a trap. I foresee all this so clearly that I am already wishing that my personal effects and books were at Halifax, or rather in Philadelphia.

I have, however, since your departure, acquired a piece of very good land near Moses' house. It has a frontage of 138 feet on the projected road opposite the church, and a depth of 800 feet. I am not sure that, as a matter of policy it would not be wise to built myself a house. It is on this old land that I found the spring which provides water for everyone. The Commandant has bought the adjoining land, with the house of a man named Grandmaison who moved to the St. John river with his family and that of his father-in-law, Jean Thibaudot, whom I persuaded to return to his property at Cobequik. It was this Thibaudot who, eight or nine months ago, paid you such silly compliments on behalf of bed-ridden La Mart. Like the other refugees he is afraid of the Indians. I believe, nevertheless, that he will return to your territory. All these people and Boishébert, will deal in every kind of contraband in that neighborhood, from which, I think, therefore, it will be easy for you to drive the French at the same time that you would make them hop from here.

A Dieu, fas est. (Thank God, there's the end of it.) My idle prattle ceases.

Ominino tuus.

The deputies of the refugees leave for Quebec, the day after tomorrow,

to obtain permission from the general to return to their old homes. Moses has forewarned the General and they may be ill-received. How cruel are the priests, although they be Theophages!

Notes.—

1. In the above letter Pichon designates Abbé Le Loutre as "Moses", and, in succeeding letters usually refers to him by this appellation. Presumably, it was applied to the priest because he was trying to lead his people from the peninsular part of Nova Scotia to the part of the province (west of the Missaguash River), which the French claimed as their territory, as the prophet of old led the Israelites from Egypt to Palestine.
2. The name Veale occurs frequently in these letters. He was the surgeon at Fort Lawrence, and he served as the intermediary for some of the correspondence which passed between Pichon and the British Commandant. The communications were believed to refer to medical matters.
3. Pichon's property at Beauséjour. It was about 400 yards northwest of the fort on the slope of the hill-side leading down to the Aulac marsh. The well referred to was at the bottom, and served as an accessory water-supply to the fort. As it supplied water for Le Loutre's church situated above it on Beauséjour ridge, it was named the "Holy Well," a designation which has persisted to the present day.

No. 4

Abstract.—Departure of deputation of refugees to Quebec to consult authorities. Treatment of them by Le Loutre (Moses). Trouble regarding trading at Fort Lawrence. News about Father Germain, Abbé Manach, Bigot, and Abbé Desenclaves.

Sept. 23, 1754.

(To Captain Scott)

Olivier Landry and Paul Douaron, deputies of the refugees, set out the day before yesterday with one Mignaux, a courier, who is taking everything that M. de Vergor and Moses have written to the General of Canada, the Intendant and the Bishop. They will have something to read if they have sufficient patience. I have done all the work for Moses. The petition taken by these deputies is in the name of 83 refugees, who have only made their mark. It was shown to Moses, who knows all of them, and, in consequence, he manifests toward them the kind of resentment which will not be tempered by charity. He made notes on the three copies sent to the authorities. He wrote them

very long letters, and has enclosed a number of documents to confirm them,—proclamations of Queen Anne and of several Governors of Acadia since the Treaty of Utrecht, and the form of the oath taken by the Acadians, with observations on the same, *sed more Mosaico* (from the point of view of Moses).

These deputies did not depart without misgiving. They had been told that they might be arrested in Quebec, that Moses would have prejudiced the authorities against them. I helped to reassure them. It was necessary to send them off, but it would have been greatly to their advantage if they had had a more reasonable and more coherent petition than the one they took with them. It was really full of absurdities. I said to them, even in the presence of Moses, that if they had asked me, I should have tried to set forth their just grievances more clearly, so that the authorities might be moved in their favour. I did not fail to give them some advice about the manner in which they should present themselves and speak in the name of their associates.

For the consolation of these poor refugees to whom Moses preached, very harshly, indeed, *et si non in commotione Dominus*, our Commandant announced formally that, after they had gathered in the hay which was still growing on the opposite shore and had brought back their livestock for the winter, there was to be no further communication, and any who attempted to go across thereafter would be shot; for this purpose, guards would be posted from Butte à Roger to Baye Verte.

One, Arsenault by name, of the latter village, with whom the Abbé Manach boarded, having told Moses that he required to go to the English fort to trade beaver pelts, asked permission from M. de Vergor three days ago, and was refused; Moses did not wish it. Billy was subjected to a kind of examination. I had prepared his answers for him and they were good.

Father Germain, the Jesuit Missionary to the Indians of the Saint John River, went to Quebec and will return soon. He will bring us news, for he is to come here. He loves me and is interested in me, *dum modo non sit more Jesuitico*. He is said to be the son of a personage of importance in the Netherlands and to have great influence. The following is a portion of one of his letters to Moses, dated Aug. 27:—

“There is no confirmation of the news from Peskadamokkauti except by the fact that the English are trying to advance in that direction. There will be Indians only to oppose the erection of a fort at Pentagoet next year. The project was conceived in Boston but it could not be carried out this year.”

This Father Germain gets information from time to time from another missionary in the neighborhood of Pentagoet (now Penobscot). The Abbé Manach, a pupil of the Abbé Maillard and of Moses, who ministers to Baye Verte and the Micmac Indians, whose language he knows slightly, should soon visit Cobequid on their behalf and administer to them; or rather to make a reconnaissance. He is even more violent than Moses. It will depend on the information which the latter is to receive shortly, whether he goes to Louisbourg, and possibly, to France.

The tree-cutting at Oueskak last year was done by one Peroche, a refugee favored by Moses, whom he supplies with fish. He is building a house there. The soil from there to Chipoudi appears to be good, for it is covered with hardwood. Nothing is more certain than that there is never here more than one year's supplies on hand, and something essential is always lacking.

M. Bigot, Intendant of Canada, is transferred to France as Intendant of Rochefort. It is not known who will succeed him at Quebec. There is some indication that the innumerable complaints made by many people in the colonies may bring about a reform in their administration.

Much resentment is felt against the Abbé Desenclaves, who retired to Cape Sable, and he would be given a bad time if he were to return to France. The Abbé Le Loutre, should, as Grand Vicar, place him on the interdict for being so friendly to the English; also Abbé Le Maire because he has become insane.

M. de Vergor quite frequently sends out a certain Hypolite, whom he brought with him from Canada, and in whom he has confidence, to make reconnaissances at night. This man is of small stature and appears to be about forty years old; he wears a blue overcoat to which is attached a kind of hood.

A vessel has arrived from Quebec bringing the capitulation, of which I enclose a copy. The Abbé Le Loutre is to set out in 8 or 10 days for Louisbourg in the vessel *Pierre et Margot* of Baye Verte. He will be back shortly. His aboiteau has compelled him to defer his voyage to France till next year.

Notes.—

1. The refugees, referred to in this and other letters, were the unfortunate Acadians who had been persuaded or forced, chiefly through the instrumentality of Le Loutre, to leave their homes in the peninsular part of Nova Scotia and settle in that part which is now New Brunswick. The greatest number which, at any one time, moved across the Missaguash were the inhabitants of the thriving village of Beaubassin, which was deliberately burned by orders of the priests Germain and Le Loutre, in 1750. Though they and others who followed them afterwards were promised new farms, both in the province and on the Isle St. Jean (Now Prince Edward), only a small percentage were thus provided. The majority remained in Chignecto, a burden on the people already settled there, and a source of anxiety to the authorities at the Fort. They, thus, became discontented and came to regard Le Loutre as the main cause of the predicament in which they were placed.
2. The capitulation mentioned in the last paragraph was that forced on George Washington by Coulon de Villiers at Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754.
3. The General of Canada mentioned was Du Quesne Governor-General (See p. 147). The Intendant was Bigot (p. 145), and the Bishop Pontbriand (p. 154).

No. 5

Abstract.—News about Father Daudin and his troubles with the Halifax authorities; Le Loutre's vehement sermons; his treatment of the refugees. Gossip about Louisbourg, Beauséjour and other matters. Urges that something be provided for himself so that his future be assured.

Oct. 14, 1754

(To Captain Scott)

Sir and very dear friend,

I believe I replied to the letter with which you honoured me at least two months ago. I expected to receive others, and because it vexes me to be deprived of your good tidings, I shall tell you everything I know so that you will be obliged to write to me.

The Daudin affair is causing a great sensation. We heard about it on the evening of the 7th from one Jacob Michel, of Port Royal, who was to have brought Moses some of this priest's papers, which were doubtless found, if a search was made at the time of his arrest. The following day, Sunday, Moses preached a most vehement sermon, singularly adapted to the British nation, and concluded with harsh words to the refugees, whose transgressions are, according to him, the sole cause of a saintly man's detention. He then described the treatment that a refugee might expect from the English. There was no lack of epithets; if they went over to the other side they would no longer have priest or sacraments, and they would die as outcasts.

The passion, or rather the petulance, with which he preached, so exhausted him that he was twice obliged to pause. He then told these unfortunate refugees that, at the conclusion of Mass, they were to go to the house of the Commandant who had a letter for them from the General of Canada. The refugees, however, did not go. M. de Vergor sent a sergeant twice to summon them. About twenty arrived at the fort, and, as they were in no haste to enter, the impatient Commandant came to his door and called them himself, and to induce them to enter his house more quickly, he threatened to put them in irons, and then addressed them in the harshest manner. When they were inside, M. de Vergor's clerk read them the letter which was expressed in more polite terms. Its purport was to urge them to remain with the French, and to settle down; and it promised them assistance of various kinds. This letter, as you may well believe, was written by Moses himself. These poor wretches withdrew without offering any compliments. Moses was present and played the part of Aaron. He was the spokesman; M. de Vergor stammers.

The same Moses has since sent emissaries to the priest Chauvreux, and they have reported that Daudin has been transferred to Halifax; well, on Sunday his sermon was no less vehement than that of last Sunday, and again centered on the persecuted Daudin; but he added that he was to be sent to England. Special prayers were offered for him.

Workmen have just been summoned to complete the fort and to repair the road to Baye Verte, which is almost impassable for waggons.

You will have been informed that on the 21st of last month, 83 of the refugees sent two of their deputies with their petition to the General of Canada, in an attempt to obtain permission to return to their former possessions, since it is not possible to provide them with lands on this side fit for farming; those offered to them are in districts claimed by the English. They have not been released from the oath taken to the King of Great Britain, and, if they are captured on the French side, they would be liable to criminal punishment.

Moses, always watchful and active, having heard about it from M. de Vergor, made the most edifying observations on this petition, and I helped him to concoct diffusive letters, in the form of dissertations, for the General, the Bishop and the Intendant. These delegates are expected at the end of the month; I shall, perhaps, see the answer they bring back, and you shall then know what the politicians and the casuists have decided. In the meantime, Moses, before the altar, has declared to those refugees who signed this petition, that, if they do not come to his house to retract, and efface their crosses with their own saliva, they cannot hope for heaven, nor for the sacrament to take them there. A few have not dared to hold out against such powerful and effective arguments.

M. Prevost sent me some French gazettes. I see that Major Lawrence made a successful attack on a French detachment near Trichenopoli, but that he was slightly wounded in the arm. Is Trichenopoli near Philadelphia or on Belle Rivière? I also noted that M. Belcher has been made Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Could not the French of that province have a Judge to settle their disputes, or some deputy?

The fortifications of Louisbourg continue to advance slowly. Funds are lacking.

I sent you, my dear (friend) various papers. Have you found them interesting? I wish you would confer with the authorities about a way to employ, with some national advantage, one who is very devoted to you etc., etc.; Lord Halifax is all powerful. It has occurred to me that your Government might ask the Court to replace Daudin by Abbé Maillard, and offer him, furthermore, certain inducements; he alone would be most suitable in every respect and might not be averse to the idea. He could certainly bring back the Indians; you know the peaceful character of this kindly Abbé, and that we should get on well together.

From Louisbourg and Quebec, comes the news that M. Bigot may not leave there at once because the King's ship *Cameleon* has been wrecked above Quebec, and that there has been a destructive fire in Montreal. They write, I say, that the administration of our Canadian colonies is to be entirely changed next year; that freedom of trade will be re-established; that there will be a general staff at Beauséjour, etc.; that Marshall de Noailles has replaced M. de la Galissionnière on the Commission for determining the settlement of the

boundary question, which he has resolved to bring to a definite conclusion during the winter, that the English concede that Chibouktou is French, but to retain it they would give up Beaubassin, Minas, etc. *Credat Judaeus Apella*. (Let Appella the Jew believe such rumours).

All this makes me think about myself. I hope that, in the spring, something can be done for a man who is most loyal to the wisest of nations, because on your side, as on ours, changes occur so frequently that one does not know where one stands, and, as you are aware, life is transitory. I venture to think that I might still be of service, either in Philadelphia, which I would prefer, or in Nova Scotia. There might perhaps be a way to procure a sound and profitable business in this Province which would not involve the British Government in much expense. I speak to you of my dreams, but then I always open my heart to you. It is upon you, especially, very dear friend, that I depend, convinced that every consideration will be shown for one in whom you take an interest, whom you are good enough to like, and who is most deeply attached to you.

I have just been told that fifty Indians left Baye Verte a few days ago, and it is believed that they were on their way to Chibouktou.

Yesterday, the 14th, Moses came to fetch me to read at his house the abstracts of the letters I have written for him since the month of January. He showed me several letters and a journal of Abbé Daudin, which we read. He had just received them from a messenger whom he had sent off on learning of Daudin's detention. Therefore, his papers were not seized when he was arrested. Some peculiar items would have been noted. I shall secure fragments, at least, but there will be precautions to take. He complains to Moses that the English are aware of what occurs here, etc. Chauvreur said the same thing some time ago, etc. Jacob Michel should be watched, without his knowledge, but no injury should be done him. I am always with unwavering attachment, *ominus deditus*, etc.

P. S. The Abbé Maillard, who made a journey to Quebec, where the affairs of the Seminary are in very bad condition, took a notion to recommend me to the Intendant as the person best fitted to restore order. I received yesterday one of his letters imparting this extraordinary news, and informing me that I shall have a very substantial stipend, and he writes to Moses to urge me to accept this position. I do not understand it; he knows that I could not live with any priest except himself. What would you advise me to do?

Notes.—

1. Trichenopoli. It is impossible to determine what place was meant by Pichon.
2. Boundary Commission.—In 1749, Great Britain and France agreed to form a Commission to settle the exact boundaries of Acadia. It met in Paris in 1750, William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts being one of the British Commissioners, and La Galissonnière one of the French. They deliberated until 1753 but failed to come to an agreement, and dissolved. Their deliberations were afterwards published in two large volumes, which now are an important work of reference for historians.

No. 6

This letter is the earliest of Pichon's which is signed "Tyrell." The succeeding communications sent to Fort Lawrence are unsigned until the letter of Nov. 18 was forwarded. This was signed "Thomas Signis Tirel", accompanied with a statement that, henceforth, this signature would be used.

Sir:

After having written to you last night I went to bed and tried in vain to sleep. The loss of certain effects and documents has perturbed me so much that I am in a kind of fever. I rose again at midnight and made a fresh search for the papers relating to Isle Royale, Isle St. Jean, and Acadia, and at length found a few fragments. I send one describing the conditions in Louisbourg at the beginning of 1754. I believe that they have not changed materially since. I am also sending some books with those which belong to you. "The Art of Courtiers" is an excellent article, etc.

TH. TYRELL

Le 15 Oct. 8 a.m.

STATE OF THE TOWN OF LOUISBOURG IN 1754

I am assured that, up to the present, no repairs have been made.

1. The coffer-dam at the Dauphin Gate is so dilapidated that it is in no condition to withstand an inundation which might be caused on this front.

2. During the past winter, the sea washed away so much ground near the covered way on this side, that there is a landing-place ready-made within two fathoms of the gateway, and easily accessible, because of the rising ground and cover which are to be found all along the shore.

3. The facing of the curtain between the Dauphin's demi-bastion and the King's bastion is much impaired and is beginning to crumble in many places. The King's is in far worse condition. It could be scaled at almost any point, especially on the face and left flank.

4. The curtain between the King's bastion and that of the Queen is also giving way in several places. The same is true of the Queen's bastion, especially on the two faces.

5. The curtain between the Queen's bastion and the Princess demi-bastion is also delapidated. The right face of the latter is somewhat impaired and the left demi-flank which looks towards the sea is in such bad shape that it would collapse with the first discharge of a cannon on the top, or if a shot were fired at it.

6. Most of the embrasures of the crenellated wall are blocked elbow-high on the outside by stones washed up by the sea, and the fosse is almost filled by them.

7. The coffer-dam along the beach is entirely demolished as the result of repeated inundations in this section. It is perhaps upon this that they have been at work.

8. There are no palisades at all on the side of the Dauphin Gate. Many are missing along the covered ways; there were none in reserve, nor have any been procured since. Count Raymond suggested to the Minister that several redoubts or palisaded houses should be built at various places on the island, especially at those points where attempts might be made to land.

Another version of this document was found among the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle Library. The only important difference is the addition of a lengthy statement at the end, which is not in the N. S. Archives version. It reads as follows:—

The Court contents itself with ordering that only the fortifications be repaired and two demi-lunes built, one between the King's and Dauphin's Bastions, and the other between the Queen's and Princess Bastions. The Court of France is apparently unaware that these new works will be over-looked (commanded); the first by several heights which could not be sufficiently lowered so that this would not be the case; the second would have been (commanded) by Black Cape, but in the autumn of 1753, an attempt was made to lower this. There is no indication that the needed repairs of these fortifications have been carried out or that the two demi-lunes have built.

Autumn of 1755.—

This place was still in the same condition. M. Franquet, Chief Engineer of New France, who should be still in Louisbourg, has only commenced assembling materials. He was having lime made, but nowhere in Isle Royale can sand be found fit for masonry. He must find, also, the necessary workmen. A great number of palisades must be brought from Baie Verte.

Besides it will always be difficult to make Louisbourg a satisfactory place without very considerable expenditures. It would be absolutely necessary to change the entire fortifications. The face of the Dauphin Gate should be extended, starting from the salient angle of the King's Bastion to the lane of the Intendant's house, and starting from the same salient angle it would be necessary to enclose Black Cape, whereby the town would be of the same size and would not be over-looked commanded.

It is doubtful if there are actually (March, 1756) 18 hundred soldiers and six to seven hundred settlers fit to bear arms, and there is little doubt that they are lacking in many necessities, etc.

No. 7

Fort Lawrence,
18 Oct. 1754.

I have this day received the following information concerning the Indians from Mons. W.....n.

"I have just been told that about fifty Indians left Baye Verte four days ago and it is believed that they are on their way to Chibouktou. Though I do not find this information to be confirmed by any of the refugees with whom I have talked, I think it my duty to acquaint you therewith that you may receive or reject it as you see fit."

T. HUSSEY.

To the Commandant in Chief.
(Col. Lawrence)

No. 8

Abstract.—Securing copies of Daudin's letters. Gossip about Louisbourg and France. Suggestions for benefits to himself. Father Germain and refugees. Transmission of letters between the forts. News about River St. John. Copy of letter by Le Loutre for France. Plans for Beauséjour.

Oct. 28, 1754.

(To Captain Scott)

Sir and very dear friend,

Since my last, nothing has happened of sufficient interest to report to you. I have, moreover, been very busy, and still am. I have continued to transcribe, very hastily, many of Daudin's writings, such as his Journal from December onward, and other more interesting papers which he had doubtless concealed when he was captured, for they have all come to Moses since his detention. It is said that he had also given a sealed packet to Jean or Joseph Abraham which this Joseph entrusted to the wife of a sergeant who was returning with him from Halifax, and that she had delivered it to M. Murray. I have two original documents as well, in peculiar handwriting, one of which is signed by Moses. I don't know when I shall be able to send the lot to you. It will take time to transcribe them, for the copy is in abbreviations and our Commissary (Pichon) is afraid of being observed. It is most important that he should be safe-guarded from all suspicion.

M. Prevost writes me from Louisbourg that the settlement of the boundary question is to be pushed; that M. Rouillé is no longer Minister of the Navy, but has replaced M. de St. Courtest in Foreign Affairs; he is succeeded by M. de Machault, keeper of the Seal, whose post of Controller General has been given to M. de Sechelles, Intendant of Flanders. It is believed that M. de Machault will be made Chancellor and Prime Minister; that M. le Normant, Intendant of the Navy at Rochefort, a relative of Madame de Pompadour, will become Minister of Marine; that Count Dargenson has retired with the title of Duke and has been followed in the Ministry of War by his nephew, the Marquis de P. . . ., who had the succession of it. It is also rumoured that before January there will be other changes. Parliament has opened. There is every indication that Madame de Pompadour's power continues, and increases.

It is said, furthermore, that we have met with some check in India and that our operation at Belle Rivière has caused a great commotion in Europe, that the English Ministry complains bitterly about it and that a rupture is quite possible.

This is a lot of information, considering that I have heard from you but once! Shall you, then, let the winter pass without giving me the news, which I so desire to hear, that you are returning to our neighborhood with a polite request to make way for you by surrendering the isthmus which divides Acadia? If only you could quickly change this place into Pennsylvania, where I might live in plenty and peace, as you promised me I should, how grateful I would be! I know well in what manner I should extol you. I am in constant dread that the good-will felt for me may diminish during your absence, that some upheaval may occur which would make it impossible for me to profit by it; for I confess to you that the authorities have other plans in view for me, and do not intend to leave me in Acadia; I mean on the frontier. If M. de Normand, to whom I am known, and who holds me in esteem, becomes Minister, he will shape an entirely different career for me. Give thought, therefore, dear friend, to all which concerns my interests and remind.....

Could not M. Mauger procure for me, for use next summer, some woolen material which would be suitable for a summer coat, a silk vest of a different colour from the suit, something which would not soil easily, with all the accessories such as buttons and braid to match? It should be kept in mind that I am stout, and that our coats are made fuller than yours. The lining of the coat should be of wool of the same shade, but as thin as possible, and that of the best white silk, and strong. All these things should be sent to Mejugouche, where I shall make an exchange or pay in gold. Speaking of gold, I do not dare admit that I have guineas. If I were asked where I obtained them, I should, perhaps, be tripped up.

All this week we shall be writing to the Minister in France.

Father Germain, Jesuit, who is very friendly to me, preached on the 20th to our refugees and called them knaves and liars. Yesterday Moses spoke only of the eight beatitudes and was fairly temperate. For fifteen days he has had a colleague, a young priest who is very ignorant, but a good fellow.

Will you labour on my behalf and continue to love me as I love you?
Usque ad manes (until tomorrow morning).

I very much fear that the letters which you undertook to forward for me to France by way of London have not been received. They are not mentioned in those written to me by two or three of those to whom they were addressed. May I know whether you could pass some through for me in this month of December?

No. 9

Abstract.—Gossip from Beauséjour. Pichon's concern for his future. Speculations as to British plans in driving the French out of Acadia. Pichon to Capt. Scott, undated and unsigned. In the letter, however, it is stated that it was written after Oct. 14, and sent with one of later date. Captain Hussey succeeded Scott about Nov. 1, and may have received it.

Sir and very good friend,

I send you all the merchandise I have secured up to the present. It is said that this year is the last time our storehouse will be refilled for the benefit of the settlers, whom the authorities are tired of supporting; this means that M. Bigot, on leaving the Intendance of Quebec, will no longer indulge in private trafficking and will leave the way open for some one to do so here. Our Commandant has just received news from the aforesaid Intendant, who is expecting my commission from the Government. It is thought that I am qualified to assist in reforming many abuses in our colonies. I am shrewd, and I do not like trickery. What defects?

If you have read all I wrote you some days ago, you will have noted my desire that, next year, and at the commencement of it, you should take me prisoner, even in Fort Beauséjour, itself, and send me to Philadelphia with all the gratifying things you have promised me. There, perhaps, I shall not cease to make myself useful.

It is certain that postponement will make the enterprise which is to be carried out here more difficult. Extensive additions to the defences of the fort are projected, and storehouses are to be built.

When the isthmus which separates Baye Verte from the bay of Beaubassin is under your control, it will be easy to drive away those who might stand in your way, even the Indians and their Moses. This isthmus will be easy to safeguard and to hold. Once you are Master of Baye Verte, there will be no thoroughfare to Acadia. Events in the upper part of the country warrant all you may do in this region. There is even a fear there that you will

soon establish settlements at Gaspée. It is a pleasant place, the Baie des Chaleurs! I have noted your claims on the map which is based on that of Mr. Danville. I shall translate something which seems to me to have a bearing on the Boundary question.

I thank you very much for the present, but am I not to have the description of America by Doctor Duglas, etc? I shall have very little to do this winter, so give me some occupation, and, above all, your news, etc. I recommend myself, etc., etc. I re-opened this letter, and see that I have omitted the date. It was, without doubt written after October 14. I add it to the others; though it may serve only to prove how much I am concerned about your interests.

No. 10

Abstract.—References to interchanges between Pichon and Fort Lawrence. Reports from River St. John. Part of one of Le Loutre's letters to France. Projects for strengthening Fort Beauséjour in coming spring. News of Daudin. First description of Father Germain as "Aaron".

Nov. 2, 1754.

(To Captain Scott)

Very dear and much beloved,

Your precious letter reached me yesterday. Your treat is far better than mine. Good use will be made of it. *Ad Majoram Dei Gloriam*. I am delighted that my dish was to your taste and that of M. L.....ce. I am at a loss for means to get the rain under my roof. You will receive herewith four other dishes, which, although prepared some time ago, still have flavour. You should have had them in their proper seasons, if opportunities for transmitting them to you had not been so rare. You can not believe how impatient I am to receive and to furnish new viands. Would it be impossible, during this winter for you to address them to a lady, a physician, a habitant, etc., to be forwarded to.....? I shall become, during that period, the most scrupulous observer of the law. It would not suit me to cross the sea nor to change my domicile again. Moreover, how shall I transport my personal effects, books, etc? Oh, that they were already there!

I cannot do otherwise than accept my doctor's advice. He alone has the means to provide me with the best remedies. I should, however, be very much annoyed if he were to divulge my malady. The profoundest secrecy is one of the obligations of his profession, but, since there are doctors abler than he, who are less interested, I might conceal many things from him.

I think that some action is contemplated on the River St. John, the banks of which are dominated by Aaron, Father Germain, without a doubt, who, a short time ago, returned with an assistant from Quebec, where he went in August. There is a fort in a narrow part of the river above the Falls, which are very difficult to ascend, and the Father says is almost inaccessible and easy to defend. I have neither information nor a map relating to this region; the priest has promised me one. The young and presumptuous officer in command, Boishébert by name, was placed there to hold and repair or rebuild the fort, and to engage in trade. He might have twenty or thirty soldiers with him. This year eighteen refugee families were sent there, making fifty two with those who were already established; more are to be sent. The climate is good, and suited to various products. The river extends far into the wilderness and, by means of certain portages, almost to Quebec. Our couriers and travellers take this route to Quebec, a distance estimated at about 160 leagues. It is 30 leagues from here to the mouth of the river but the distance can be reduced by going overland. This is by way of Pekoudiac, where the Beausoleils live, who grew rich, so it is said, on the spoil taken from the English during the last war. They behave like the Indians, with whom they are on very intimate terms.

The following is an extract from a letter to be sent to France, which is now being fabricated by Moses, with my assistance:—

“Father Germain informs you separately, Sir, about the river St. John. “May I be permitted to call your attention to his statement that the English “have built two forts at Neranchowak, called by us the Kinibeki, which formerly separated the English and French territory? One is at the mouth of “this river, and the other 18 leagues higher up, at the limit of tide-water. This “river extends back through fields and forests, and corresponds to that part “of the St. Lawrence river known as the Chaudière Rapids a little above Quebec, about 3 leagues from the place where the King’s flute *Cameleon* was lost. “During the late war the Indians of this region withdrew. When peace was “concluded, they returned, twenty five families in number, with Father André, “Jesuit. These Indians, seeing that these two forts were being built, again “retired, raising the hatchet which they presented to other villages and Indian “tribes. This hatchet has already reached Father Germain’s mission, and in “all probability it will not be long before it comes to my Indians, which will “soon occasion some encounters with the English in our districts.”

There will be, doubtless, some other references to the Indians in this letter, which will indicate the views of their Councils.

Our Commandant says that the General of Canada told him that new works were to be undertaken at Fort Beauséjour in the spring; 300 more regulars will arrive from France, as well as ships and frigates to be stationed in French Bay. Be on your guard, therefore. It is believed that our supplies, rations, &c., will be exhausted by early spring. What should we do if none were to arrive?

Moses announced to us yesterday that Daudin had been liberated and

at mass a *pater* was said for the people, to celebrate this good news. Announce a few to me on which I can build! Continue to love me and rest assured of the liveliest gratitude on the part of your most devoted servant. The winter will appear long to me. I shall not cease writing to you. Perhaps your answer may come. At least I shall expect one in return for all these.

Note.—“Aaron” is the designation applied by Pichon to Father Germain, just as he named Le Loutre “Moses”.

No. 11

Fort Lawrence,
Nov. 4, 1754

I am honoured with your order of the 3rd of October from Captain Cotterell and shall take care to comply with it if occasion requires. The contractors for the wood have sent in six hundred cords.

The commissary, Mr. Winslow, hath appointed Mr. Huston to act during his absence, for whose conduct he is bound by an instrument left in my hands. By the inquiries I have made about the fifty Indians I had the Honour to acquaint you of in my last I believe the report was groundless.

Yesterday an Indian came over from the French side with some beavers to sell; he talked French very well and told me that there were no goods in the stores at Beauséjour to give him in exchange for it. I ordered him to be treated very civilly, made him a present of some Tobacco, and informed him of your good intentions toward his Nation, and that his chiefs, would they go to Halifax, would be very graciously received by you and hear of many things to their advantage. I gave him all the encouragement in my power to bring in the Beaver they took and desired him to acquaint the chiefs that they would be very civilly received whenever they came here.

I am with great respect

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. HUSSEY.

To the Commander-in Chief,
(Lieut.-Col. Lawrence)

No. 12

Abstract.—Arrival of Deputies of refugees back from Quebec. Copies of letters received from Le Loutre from Duquesne and Bishop of Quebec, which deal with Le Loutre's policy of using the Indians against the British. New orders to prevent any dealings with Fort Lawrence. Then follows copy of Bishop of Quebec's letter to Le Loutre, relating to position of refugees, the question of allowing them to return to their homes. Interference of priests in temporal affairs. Franquet's plans for improving Beauséjour.

(To Captain Hussey)

Important

Nov. 9, 1754

Sir,

You have already learned that since Sunday evening the couriers and the deputies of the refugees are back from Quebec. They were rather ill-received by the General of Canada.

The courier brought several letters from the General, from the acting Intendant, for Mons. Bigot has gone to France, and also from the Bishop. I have not seen those received by our Commandant, but here are copies of those written to Moses by the General and the Bishop. In entrusting these to you, I beg you, to remember that it is of the utmost importance for me that nothing in this connection should transpire. Messrs. L. . . ce and Scott must endeavour to keep the content secret, even while acting upon it. Otherwise, it will be truly my ruin, or, at the least, will deprive me of the power to serve my friends.

Letter from M. Duquesne of Oct. 15.—

He heartily thanks Moses for his zeal and for the good news which he has sent, and continues:—

“Your policy of threatening the English with your Indians is excellent. They will fear them even more when they see them strike. The present position of the colony makes it necessary for me to put an end to the English negotiations with the Indians, because their object is to corrupt the latter, so that they will attack us, if they can do so by means of presents, money and trickery, as they have planned. I, therefore, urge you and M. Vergor to seek a plausible pretext to make them strike vigorously. I depend entirely on your resourcefulness. I am aware of your zeal and ability whenever the King's arms and the preservation of the colony are in question.

I am obliged to you for making known to me so good and worthy a person as Abbé Daudin. It is clear, from what he has told you, that the English are resorting to treachery because they do not dare to advance in force. I beg you to continue this correspondance, even at greater cost, in order that I may be informed about what is taking place. I believe that the two rascally deputies whom you sent to me, will not recover soon from the fright I gave them, notwithstanding the consolation offered to them after my reprimand, for I told them that it was thanks to you they were not left to rot in a cell. They promised to submit to your will. I consider that your proposals of peace be-

tween the English and your Indians would be advantageous if they were accepted; but, I have reason to believe that there could be no pretence of such a peace, because of the objects which I know they have in view. Should the English agree to your proposition, they would be obliged to evacuate their fort at once and the establishment specified therein. I exhort you to be on guard against these same negotiations which I attribute to a desire to gain time; this ruse being the same as that which they employed in dealing with our Abenakis at St. Francis and Bekancourt, who struck long and vigorously during this summer. The more familiar I become with this project the more inclined I am to think that our Abenakis, Malachites and Micmacks should never be permitted to conclude peace with the English. I consider that these Indians are the mainstay of the colony and in order to maintain this spirit of hatred and vengeance, they must be deprived of every opportunity to yield to corruption. The present position of Canada requires that those nations which are strongly allied should strike without delay, provided it does not appear that it was I who gave the order, for I have definite instructions to remain on the defensive. Therefore, I leave you to keep the balance in connection with this peace, which I regard as a pretence on the part of your Indians. I must advise you, Sir, furthermore, not to express yourself, to be on your guard, for I am convinced that if the English could lay hands on you, they are capable of putting you to death, or, at least, of making life very hard for you.

You have doubtless noted in the English plan their desire to confine us in such a manner that we should no longer be able to leave our own territory without passing under their noses; this is an even more potent reason for you to make every effort to thwart a project which would only tend to imprison us; it increases the necessity for striking with vehemence, for you know, better than I, that the lifting of ten scalps would stop an English army, a very fortunate circumstance, because they are so numerous that they would soon over-run this country."

There is no indication that the proposed peace between the Indians and English can be concluded, because the latter have not even deigned to answer the letter which I wrote (this was written by Moses at the end of the preceding extract) in the name of the Indians who are, in consequence, truly shocked, piqued and indignant. They are assembling daily from different parts of Baye Verte to come to a final resolution.

Moses has with him, constantly, Indians to whom he gives instruction, but M. de Vergor is absolutely determined that they shall not make an attack at Mejugouech. You should not depend too much on this. If they do go, he will say that he was not in a position to restrain them, and that they are at war with the English. He will even have a complaint presented to the Government by some of the local settlers who owned land enclosed by a dyke or levée, almost 500 fathoms long, which M. Lutrel demolished because the Indians took shelter behind it and fired on the English who passed by it on their way to your fort. In this is set forth to the Government that these lands, which yielded very large crops, and in which as much as 30 barrels of wheat had been

sown, no longer produce anything. You perceive the excuse and the plan of Moses.

An Order of the General will be posted and published on Sunday forbidding on some pretext, all communication with you. The Indians will be responsible for its execution. They will be stationed at various points to keep watch. This is why I am losing no time in sending all this to you, for it may be difficult to find an opportunity to do so hereafter. As there will certainly be a few settlers who are much displeased, it may be easy to win over one who is trustworthy and could come here by round-about and unsuspected ways, with some excuse for making my acquaintance, because I foresee that the outcome will be very interesting from several points of view.....The Government will be obliged to order the re-establishment of the settlers and meet the costs, or exact payment from the English who owe compensation to them. I believe that Mr. Hamilton is better qualified than any to find such a person; and, if not, what are we to do? We should have cause for quaking. I shall always be uneasy about all this business, until I have news from Mr. Scott, to whom I beg you to transmit the letters with precautions. He should be to me a second self. I beg you also to ask him to assure his General of his friend's deep and respectful regard.

I am expecting Jacob Maurice whom I shall sound, test, etc.

The letters I have written to the Government for Moses, and on which I am at work night and day, would make a volume; it is a history of the colony. I shall know it, even if I have worked against you,—but what else could I do?

Here is the reply of the Bishop of Quebec to Moses, of the 12th or 15th October:—

“You now find yourself, my dear Sir, in the predicament which I foresaw and warned you about a long time ago. It was inevitable that the refugees should suffer sooner or later and that they should blame you for their misfortunes. It will be the same on the Isle St. Jean the next time war breaks out. They will be the prey of the English, continually despoiled, and they will always hold you responsible. The Government thought it advisable to assist them in the evacuation of their lands; that was no concern of our profession. It was my advice neither to protest against this nor to encourage them in any way.

I told you long ago that a priest should not meddle in temporal affairs, for he would create enemies and cause discontent among his people. I am convinced that, at present, the General and all France would not disapprove if these refugees returned to their lands, and the English government should make an effort to attract them.

These refugees would be well-advised to insist on: (1) Liberty of religion; the priests should not be required to ask the blessing, so to speak, of the Governor. There should be a stipulation that the Bishop should visit them, at least once in every five years. (2) That they shall not be called upon to

take up arms against the French, or their allies, nor even act as pilots. (3) That they may leave the country when they deem it proper.

Exhort them and insist that they shall not return to the English except under these conditions; make them realize that without such a definite understanding, their religion would soon be lost to them. But, have you the right to refuse them the sacraments, to threaten that they shall be without priests and that the Indians will treat them as enemies?

I desire them to be free to abandon the lands which they held under English rule; has it then been clearly established that they cannot conscientiously return to them, *secluso pervertionis periculo*. I consider this question too delicate to be made the subject of a mandate, and I confess to you that I should find it very difficult to determine, even in the confessional. Nevertheless, you have publicly decided that you wish me to pronounce to-day.

I did not offer an explanation to your deputies. I confined myself to giving them the reasons why they should remain with us, and urged them to insist upon the conditions for which they asked, because those of the Treaty of Utrecht are not sufficiently precise."

Moses is very ill-pleased with this letter from his Bishop. Were it not for his aboiteau, and if he were not in debt to the Colony, he would, as the result of it, have made up his mind to abandon everything.

M. Franquet, Chief Engineer of Canada, is coming here in the spring to decide upon the extension of the fortifications, for the fort is much too small. The entrance is to be changed; it will be on the northwest. They expect to have it all finished by next summer. There will, undoubtedly, be a demi-lune large enough to contain barracks, a bakery, hospital, forges and storehouses. There will then be no more fear of you Gentlemen. If, in the spring, you do not forestall us, look out that we do not drive you from Me-jagouche. We expect to do so and preparations are secretly being made.

See to it that M. de Veale makes so much of our messenger that he will without scruple or uneasiness continue to serve us. He is sturdy, and the safe routes should be pointed out to him. I believe that this dish, is sufficiently well-seasoned to stir the most sluggish palate. I am not sure that it would not be worth while to send it to my good friends by a special messenger. All this will, doubtless, be known to the entire continent, and will stir up activity in more than one quarter.

Mr. S. . . . asks the number of Indians in Father Germain's mission on the St. John River. Moses does not know. He thinks there are four or five hundred. He sometimes exaggerates.

I commend myself, and am *ex toto corde* (whole heartedly).

No. 13

Fort Lawrence,
Nov. 11, 1754

(Capt. Hussey to Capt. Scott)

Dear Sir,

Enclosed you have some letters I received from your friend under a *chachet volant* as you see.

I do not see anything very material in them and what I have not long ago acquainted the Colonel of concerning the refugees. I have lately received one from him of more consequence; he desired me to send it to you, but as I thought you might be on command at Lawrence town or some place else have sent it directly to the Colonel. I must confess I have some suspicions of your Friend's sincerity and have communicated them to the Colonel.

I am your most humble servant,

T. HUSSEY

No. 14.

Abstract.—Hussey reports to Lawrence in Halifax. Refers to Pichon's letters and states suspicions regarding some of his information, particularly mentioning DuQuesne's letter, a copy of which was sent by Pichon in his communication of Nov. 9th.

(Capt. Hussey to Col. Lawrence)

Fort Lawrence,
12 Nov., 1754.

Sir,

Enclosed you have the Returns for the Months of September and October with the victualing abstracts.

The 9th of this inst. I received the enclosed letter which if authentic or not I think it my Duty to transmit it to you as soon as possible.

Tho Capt. Scott, by his more intimate acquaintance with Mr. Pychon and you yourself Sir, from what he has informed you of him, and by his letters that you have seen, must be a better Judge of his intentions than I can possibly be or in the least pretend to, yet I cannot help suspecting his sincerity and very often find great inconsistencies (sic) in his letters. I cannot but remark it: in this, Sir, he makes the General of Canada say that he engages Le Loutre and Mons: Vergor to find some plausible pretext to make the Indians

break out, and then tells me that Monsr. Vergor will take care that they do not attempt anything on the Me jagouech.

He hath, also, ever since I have been here complained how narrowly he is observed and how jealous Le Loutre is of him, which I think is a little inconsistent with his trusting him with his letters so far as to take copies of them.

I think, Sir, that I have good reason to believe that the letter he calls Monsr. Duquene's is of his own composing for I am this morning informed by Joseph Kesse (one of the Refugees who is deputed to me to know the number of cords of wood I would have brought in for the use of the Hutts,) who has often given me information how their affairs go on, and in whom I think I may put some confidence, that on Sunday Evening after M. Le Loutre read the letter he says Mons. Duquene sent to him the purport of which was that their petition had been graciously received and that it was sent to France by Monsr. Bigot for an answer to which they must wait till the Spring when they would have one very early; he further told them that they were permitted to have a free intercourse with us and allowed to come here as often as their affairs required. Since that some of them have been here of whom I have made it my business to inquire particularly if there was an Ordonnance fixed up as the enclosed says, they all tell me no.

I asked him also if the Commandant had said anything to them about their returning, he answered not a word.

Mr. Pichon is also a little mistaken about the Deputies for Duron's son was very well received but L'Andry was desired never to show his face there again.

I have had also some advice from him since I have been here not worth troubling you with and which on enquiry I have found to be groundless.

I hope you will not impute the liberty I have taken Sir to any officiousness in me, but to the necessity I think myself under of giving you all the information I can of every body and thing that hath any relation to the service I am entrusted with.

I have lately Sir received a letter from Capt. Scott with some money that I shall take care to deliver as he desired, would you think proper of my keeping up this correspondence during the winter, I shall endeavour to do so Sir to the best of my abilities till I have your directions and shall be very cautious that no advices he gives me shall bring any detriment to the Fort committed to my charge.

The troops are in great want of iron pots if you would be pleased to order some to be sent.

I am with great respect your most obedient, humble servant,

T. HUSSEY.

To the Commander in Chief.

Note.—The suspicions of Hussey, expressed above, may have been justified. Pichon may have fabricated the letter, the copy of which he sent to the Commandant at Fort Lawrence, which he stated had been written by Governor DuQuesne to Le Loutre. From what we know of

Pichon's character he would not have hesitated to take any step which would be to his own advantage. He was paid for furnishing information. If news happened to be scarce, why should he not concoct some? Yet, careful reading of the DuQuesne letter indicates that there was little in it which was not known or surmised in the British headquarters. It deals mostly with Indian activities. The savages were always a menace to the British, and there was abundant evidence to prove that Le Loutre's influence over them was the chief cause of their hatred of the British. Naturally, the latter tried to come to terms with the savages. This was opposed to French policy, and Le Loutre was constantly on the alert to prevent any rapprochement.

No. 15

Abstract.—Request of the settlers of Cobequid to those of Beaubassin, stating that Gorham had raided them, taken their guns, and threatened more trouble, asking that they be helped to escape from the English and settle on French territory. This document is in Le Loutre's hand-writing.

APPEAL OF THE SETTLERS OF COBEQUID TO THOSE OF THE
PARISH OF BEAUBASSIN (1749-1750)

Brothers, while we were at peace and were expecting to enjoy security, Mr. Joseph Gorom, with 60 men came to Jan Robert's. M. Gorom came fur-
tively during the night to take our pastor and our four deputies; he read the
orders by which he was authorized to seize all the muskets in our houses,
thereby reducing us to the condition of the Irish. Mr. Gorom has returned to
Jean Robert's and has pitched his camp there; he expects his brother with 100
men, and is making preparations to build a block house and a small fort to
close the roads and keep the settlers from leaving. You can have no doubt
that early in the spring the English will station vessels to guard the entrance
passage. Thus we see ourselves on the brink of destruction, liable to be cap-
tured and transported to the English islands and to lose our religion. In these
sad circumstances we appeal to your charity, and beg you to help us to escape
from the hands of the English, and to repair to French territory where we can
practice our religion. We ask you to make an attack and when we have driven
M. Gorom from our parish, we shall all go together to our brothers at Pigi-
guik, Grand Pré and Port Royal, who will unite with us in order to escape
the slavery which threatens them. We have no desire to make war; if the
country is English, we wish them to have it, but, being our own masters, we
are absolutely determined to leave it.

It is your brothers who ask help of you, and we think that charity, religion, and the ties which have always existed between us, will oblige you to come to our rescue. We shall expect you; you know that time is short and we implore you to respond promptly. This, gentlemen, is what I have been asked to write to you, in testimony whereof I have signed this petition.

LE LOUTRE,

pretre miss.

The people of Tintamare would like to know the sentiment of the parish in regard to giving assistance to the settlers who ask for immediate assistance.

No. 16

Abstract.—Petition of the French inhabitants of Acadia to the King, complaining about Governor Cornwallis' demand for unconditional oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and asking for protection or settlement on French territory. Written by Le Loutre.

Sire,

The French Acadian Catholics implore the powerful protection of Your Majesty.

The Peninsula which they occupy was ceded to the English Crown by the Treaty of Utrecht, confirmed, it is reported, by that of Aix la Chapelle. They were, by the first treaty, to enjoy the freedom to exercise their religion if they remained in the province, and, for a year, they were to be at liberty to leave with all their moveable effects. Far from restricting the conditions, the English Government appeared willing to grant others even more favorable, first by exacting from them no oath or promise during the twelve years which followed the Peace of Utrecht, but still more by the clause which, in 1727, this Government itself added to the oath which it then required.

These clauses cannot be separated from the Oath of Allegiance; the settlers in accepting them, and the Governor by granting them in the name of King George the Second, did only that which followed naturally from the Treaty of Utrecht, and conformed to the laws of Great Britain, wherein the Acts, proposed by the people, when they were sanctioned by the Royal will, acquire an authority which even the King cannot take from them. Mr. Cornwallis, the New Governor of Acadia, insists nevertheless on forcing all the settlers to take a new oath without conditions, and, in the same proclamation,

announced a procedure entirely contrary to that of his predecessors, and to this these petitioners have declared they cannot admit.

1. In regard to the clause dealing with religion, it appears that the English Governor, wishing to take upon himself the selection of priests, and unwilling that these new missionaries should recognize even the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, is now trying to dispense with them altogether.
2. By the attempt to impose on them the obligation to fight, and by other proclamations, it appears that he wishes to force them to take up arms against the Indians, which is not only contrary to all justice, since the Indians have always lived on good terms with them, but beyond their strength.
3. The declaration that the year accorded to the settlers of Acadia for withdrawing with their effects expired in 1714 is evidently a scheme to ruin these people, lulled into security by the tranquility in which they had been permitted to live from that time until 1727, and by the clauses inserted into the oath which they have since been required to take.

For these reasons the aforesaid settlers beseech His Majesty, not only because of his fatherly affection for all who bear the French name, and his devotion to Religion, but by his right to enforce the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, to be pleased to urge the King of Great Britain

1. To revoke the new ordinances of M. Cornwallis, and to maintain the aforesaid settlers in the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and, consequently, in their right to have French missionaries appointed by the Bishop of Quebec, who would, as heretofore, apply to the English Governor for permission to carry on their ministry.
2. Exemption from the obligation to take up arms.
3. Inasmuch as they have no doubt that it is the intention of the new English Administration to constrain their consciences, and as several among them have already been prescribed without any form of justice, they ask that the year allowed for withdrawal with their personal effects, shall begin only on the day of the publication of the new treaty which may intervene, or the ordinance which they hope His Britannic Majesty will issue in this connection. Finally, having no means of knowing the outcome of their representations, they trust entirely to the King's benevolence, and ask him to graciously give orders that they be granted concessions in the neighbouring French territory of Acadia, with the same privileges that His Majesty accorded to the settlers of Isle Royale.

The suppliants have attached to the present petitions, the following documents in support of their pleas:—

1. Ordinance of Mr. Cornwallis 14/25 July, 1749; petition of the petitioners to the said Mr. Cornwallis, dated Sept. 7, 1749.
2. The second ordinance of Mr. Cornwallis 2/11 August, 1749. The reply to this petition of 6/17 September, 1749.

No. 17

Abstract.—Information sent concerning Le Loutre's stirring up of the Indians. Proclamation of Duquesne regarding the refugees. Copies of correspondence of Daudin, chiefly to Le Loutre. References to the two petitions previously noted. The letter is signed "Thomas Signis Tirel".

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably)

Nov. 18, (1754)

Sir,

I learned with distress of your indisposition, and it would give me the greatest pleasure to know that there have been no after-effects, and that you have entirely recovered. This is my heart-felt desire. I was afflicted in a like manner for several days. Diet and hot water restored me.

The rain came and I sprinkled some of it about. I send:—

- 1st.—The transcription of part of a very long letter from Moses to the Government, which will, at least, indicate his character and his desire to get his Indians into action; it is to be feared that he will end by inciting these savages, over whom he has so much influence, to go on the warpath in your neighbourhood. Such action, he thinks, would be apt to force you to abandon your fort. If it should prove successful, you may be sure they will not be censured. None of these folk have been seen for several days. Moses went to Baye Verte on Thursday to dispatch couriers to Louisbourg with his packets for France.
- 2nd.—The Proclamation of the General of Canada concerning the refugees.
- 3rd.—An extract from the last letter of Daudin to Moses. I was only able to read this letter hurriedly.
- 4th.—Copy of a letter of Sept. 26, from the same to the same.
- 5th.—Another of the 27th.
- 6th.—One from Daudin to Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, of Sept. 26th.
- 7th.—A fairly long one to Moses, of August 6th.

If the originals of any of these documents had been found the priest would presumably not have been released so readily; but he took the precaution that nothing should be discovered. He did not write at his own house, but either at Chauvreux's or that of some trustworthy settler to whom his packets were given for transmission to Moses. His journal, which is a very long, has little to do with business or politics; it describes his missions, first communions, the rope which his penitents have to wear around their necks, the cross he set up, ceremonies, &c. I would transcribe if it provided any entertainment, and was not tiresome to me.

It is, Sir, very important, that you should conceal the fact that you have already written. It would inevitably be surmised that such information could only have been obtained from me, because I alone am in the position to have access to it, the greater portion having been given or, rather, sold to me by Moses' clerk who must be treated with consideration in future. Nothing is more certain than that, if any of this were to transpire everything would be

done to destroy me. I believe therefore, that those concerned will appreciate the advantages of dissimulation, and I should be very glad to be reassured on this point. Daudin, doubtless, will write a great deal. He promises to give an account of all that takes place; he will not fail to report on the Indians, so that Moses may direct them. By watching him carefully, and those whom he dispatches with his packets, it should be easy to convict him, &c. Therefore, rigorous measures against him should be deferred.

I send herewith two papers written by Moses, one signed by himself. They are two petitions, one addressed to the King and the other from the settlers of Cobequik to those of Beaubassin. It is quite possible that these poor wretches, whose desires he expresses in these two papers, know nothing whatever about them. They are the automata who act according to the wishes of the priests, and they fear the English yoke, without realizing that they are kept under one which is even more severe. I entrust these two documents to the discretion of my good friends in order that the priests may be better understood, imploring you at the same time, not to involve me in a quarrel with them, because I know how much their inquisitions are to be dreaded. These, Sir, are the things which I beg you to transmit by the safest channel, and be kind enough to urge the utmost secrecy.

Jacau Fiedmont and St. Laurent leave tomorrow for the river St. John to fetch Boishébert who is in command there. This officer has certainly not more than thirty soldiers with him and Father Germain's Malecite Indians do not number two hundred.

I beg you, Sir, to forward this letter of mine in the original to Mr. Lawrence, &c.

THOMAS SIGNIS TIREL.

It is thus that I shall sign my letters, henceforth. Tirel is my mother's name, an ancient one in English. I ask for a reply to my last letter, advice &c. This will be delivered to you by an invalid called Veal, on whose fidelity I believe we can count. Our Commandant and the other officers are all anxious to gain the support of the soldiers; the latter wish that the truce were at an end. You might fail, but those whom you did win over would more than compensate for the rest.

Abstract.—Copies of Le Loutre's correspondence with the Vicar-General of the Colonies at the Court of France, largely dealing with the status of the Indians in Nova Scotia, using them against the English, &c. Report on the petition of the Deputies of the refugees to Quebec. Daudin's experiences with the British, his complaints about other priests, his report to the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu concerning troubles in Nova Scotia. Also long letter from Daudin to Le Loutre. These copies were enclosed in Pichon's letter of Nov. 18.

Here is what Moses writes to the Vicar-General of the American Colonies at Court, where this Vicar-General works with the Minister on all matters which concern the Missions. Here, I say, is what he writes after having made the *précis* of the letter addressed to Mr. Lawrence on behalf of the Indians.

"1. There is no indication that the peace proposed between the English and Indians will be concluded, since the former have not even deigned to reply to the letter which I wrote in the name of the latter, who, therefore, feel deeply outraged, piqued, and indignant.

They assemble every day from different parts of Baye Verte to make a final resolution. I believe that they will decide to go on the war-path, for it appears that they had been urged to do so by the Abenakis and Malecites, who are already in action. I shall be greatly embarrassed for means to keep them from striking the English at Mejagouech. Our gentlemen are of the opinion that they should not be offered any provocation, and wish to preserve peace in this region, because they live as much too close neighbours. There are, indeed, good reasons for this. Fort Beauséjour is not yet finished. Our refugees have not all been established; they are even obliged to fetch their hay from the opposite side of the Mejagouech, and they still have a number of cattle pastured there. But the Indians are not disposed to listen to these reasons. They declare that since they are at war, they intend to attack their enemies wherever they may be found. And why, they say, should we be compelled to go forty or fifty leagues across country to Minas or Chibouktou, when we have them much nearer at hand. This, Sir, is a part of my troubles. It is, certain however, that when our fort is finished and ready for defence, the refugees settled, and no longer obliged to cross the Mejagouech, the Indians, by harrying the English who live there, will inflict great damage, and might even force them to withdraw.

It is amazing that I have been able to control my Indians so long. How much I should like to have a place assigned to me to which I could retire with them, where I should be better able to care for their salvation and to instruct them; and I, myself, should enjoy greater tranquility; or, at any rate, why not allow the Indians to make war wheresoever they wish.

We have ample time to finish the fort, and establish ourselves in such a manner that we shall have nothing to fear from the English.

I even wish the Indians might be free to obtain recruits where they may. There will be no lack of Acadians who would be glad to join them, in harassing the English in order to force them to abandon their fort of Mejagouech, (which would not be so difficult as is thought); and, that accomplished, the French need only remain on the defensive. In this way, we should obtain land for our refugees.

Why do we not imitate the English who have free companies, rangers, who are at liberty to do all the mischief they can, and may be disavowed if circumstances made it necessary. It is true that it would cost the King a trifle, but great advantages would also be derived therefrom. The English would not be so insolent, they would not do us so much harm, and we should soon have them asking for a settlement of the boundary question, a subject, Sir, which calls for all your consideration, many representations to the Minister, an answer for me, and even something, which I could impart to my Indians according to the situation in which I might then find myself."

Moses then speaks of the new company of thirty picked men, who have been made gunners by M. de Vergor, which will be very useful. He makes them practice on holidays and Sundays, and there are prizes for those who come closest to the mark. He speaks of firewood. The outlay for this reached 75,000 last winter, not half of which was supplied. This is one way of gratifying the Commandant.

Here is the ordinance of the Marquis du Quesne, General of New France, brought by the courier who accompanied the two deputies of the refugees, who arrived on Oct. 3. It was made public and fastened to the church door on the 10th.

2. In reference to the petition of the refugees presented by Paul Douairon and Oliver Landry on Oct. 12, 1754, in which the settlers asked permission to return to their old lands, because they claimed that none were to be found near our settlements capable of maintaining them and their cattle, and demanding, furthermore, that our Indians be ordered not to molest them. And as the petition of these settlers is a proof of their disloyalty, due to the instigation of some one among them who is entirely devoted to the English, rather than to any lack of land for homesteads, since very good land is available and quite capable of supporting them. We, therefore, forbid all refugees to cross, under any pretext whatsoever, into the territory at present occupied by the English, to establish any kind of settlement, on pain of incurring our displeasure, and of being considered and treated as rebels against authority, disobedient servants of the King, and even as deserters.

We authorize M. de Vergor to undertake the execution of these presents &c.

3. In the letter written by Daudin to Moses on Oct. 30, and which only arrived on Nov. 10, he says that he will give an account of what took place; that he has been completely absolved; that he is pleased with the government; that despite the search made in his house, in the church and in the sacristy, nothing was found; and that the settlers had behaved well. He believes that his letters were intercepted; he had been detained a month and had appeared several times before the Council, being always calm. From the questions put to him, he recognized the work of M. Desenclaves, &c; the English are surprised that Moses should be Grand Vicar in their country, and they do not wish the Bishop to have jurisdiction over the region which belongs to them. He asks Moses to tell Abbé de l'Isle Dieu all that has happened, and his friends as well, &c., but to warn them that when they write to him, they should only congratulate him on being on excellent terms with the Government, &c; he is under surveillance, but will take such good care that he will be in no further danger. Moses must communicate with him by very reliable special messengers, and he will do the same. They must not be sparing; the situation was becoming interesting, &c.

Copy of Daudin's letter to Moses, Sept. 26.

4. I sent my packet for Abbé de l'Isle Dieu to you unsealed to save myself the trouble of making copies which would needlessly fatigue me. In God's name get rid of M. le Maire, as best you can. M. Desenclaves is making himself popular with the English. He thinks this is a way to re-establish himself, but in any case, it will be necessary for the settlers to ask for him again. He was very much opposed to the King of France in the Affair. . . . He made no secret of the fact that it was more advantageous to have dealings with the English than with the French.

Judge what follows: I wrote him a letter in which I did not spare him, which he says he forwarded to the Bishop. That is his affair. The settlers will do me justice. Lawrence pesters me a good deal. He would like an excuse to turn me out. He is embarrassed by my lack of submission. I have, however, resolved rather to leave, according to the orders which were given me. The settlers are holding their own well. . . . I expect to be in great need. I have neither resources nor supplies. All roads to your district have been closed to me, and I am now having great trouble in getting to Halifax. I was betrayed by a store-keeper of Mr. Mauger. Write to M. Prevost about my difficulties so that he may advise me what to do. I have reason to believe that my letters were intercepted at Halifax; otherwise, I do not know what has aroused Lawrence's anger against me.

I shall wait a little longer to know where all this will lead. Detachments keep coming and going. I wish I had a few of your Indians to drive them back into their forts. There is nothing new. There is talk about peace and a settlement of the boundary question. You know more about it than we do. . . . Time presses. I shall write you at every safe opportunity. I hope to have time to send you another packet before the departure of the last vessels. Tell me if you are to leave. This is rumoured about the countryside, whatever may have given rise to it. Be sure to satisfy my messenger, &c.

5. Another of Sept. 27 from the same to the same. If you could send a half dozen reliable Indians to act under my orders, not to do any damage, but to behave themselves under my direction, you would see good results. I should like to take this opportunity to write to the Bishop, but I have no word from his Eminence and I am so tired that I have not the courage to do so. It is not my fault that I am almost alone in this country; unless I get help, I shall not be able to hold out. My only hope is in you. Pay close attention to everything I tell you; it is all important.

6. Letter of the same to the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, Sept. 26. Our people are in the best frame of mind, but the English are beginning to be jealous of their trust in me, and I notice some coolness. I tell you nothing of importance. Our Breton (Moses) will write to you. Desenclaves should have been unmasked sooner. He is furious with me. He has threatened me with the Bishop and the King. He does me much harm, and if he does not succeed in driv-

ing me out of the country it is because he cannot do it. The English make constant use of him and they have reason to do so for he serves them well. It is no longer possible to communicate with Beauséjour. The only way is by special messengers who take chances. I am closely watched, and it is very difficult for me to transmit news, or to receive it. M. Le Loutre informs me that his refugees are causing him a great deal of trouble, etc. Until the time is ripe I think him well-qualified to support and encourage our people. I say nothing to them about withdrawal; that would ruin all. The large number of their brethren who died in the first evacuation makes them fear for themselves. M. Le Loutre will, however, prepare reports upon which you can base your instructions to me. I do not think, in the case of the missionaries whom you may send, that it would be expedient to enlarge much upon the methods; this is important in a land where men's minds are disturbed. It is sufficient to enjoin obedience, in order to maintain throughout the country the strict subordination which is absolutely essential, if the troubles, of which you have cited so many examples, are to be avoided. The English policy is to dominate our people absolutely. Orders are issued from time to time which are quite opposed to their interests. Fortunately, they are steadfast and, since I have been regulating their affairs, they are beginning to unite properly. I have no doubt that every kind of chicanery will be resorted to in order to be rid of me. I am treated with great politeness, but in their hearts, they wish me far away. There is a Mr. Lawrence, the Governor's deputy, a self-willed man, who would like to rule with a rod of iron. He is exceedingly displeased with our people who for the second time have resisted him in the matter of two orders he had issued. He held me responsible for this. We shall see what will happen.

The fort at Grand-Pré has been demolished and that at Peguik is to be doubled in size. They attempted to build one at Cobequik, but I think that it will remain an attempt. News from London has led the English to hope that the boundary will be established this year. Our people are poor, especially at Port Royal.....

I am afraid to say here, that M. Le Loutre is Grand Vicar. If the English knew it, all would be lost, because they forbade me to hold any communication with him. . . rosaries, crucifix, catechisms,—the English merchants do not keep such supplies in their stores, and yet they are needed. You would be surprised at the number of people in English Acadia. Within ten years they will themselves be obliged to evacuate. At Port Royal there are more than a hundred marriages to be celebrated; which cannot take place because no dwellings are available, all, in that parish, being occupied. I learn with distress the state of religion in Louisbourg. I beg M. Duflos to send a copy of my journal to the Carmelites of Seure. etc. There are 1760 fathers and mothers in Acadia and 4468 children.

Copy of letter of Daudin to Moses (i.e., Le Loutre)

Aug. 5, 1754.

Sir,

I received, almost at the same time, your three letters which made me very uneasy about Landry. He lied to you. When he asked me to use my influence with you, he said little about his marriage; he concealed many things from me, and the promise they had made long ago to marry after the death of Madelon, etc. His mock-marriage has shocked every one as it has me since I learned everything. Poirier is to be pitied because of his predicament; but he enjoys considerable favour, however, even among the English. This has made a great stir in Halifax, from which place we have as yet received no news. I obtained permission to speak to him, to encourage him before his departure. I promised to give him any help I could.

Nothing is known about the actual arrangements made by the English Government, except that Parliament voted a special sum of considerable size for the defense of this Colony. They are taking measures of every kind, and the most effective ones, to close the thoroughfares to our settlers and the Indians. Ship-loads of men are still awaited, but it is not certain where the settlements will be made. I am told, however, that it may be at your old mission. A road has already been opened to it. If this be true, I shall consider our Acadians as prisoners, and, before long, as slaves. That is the object. They expect by this means to weaken you, and to repulse you whenever they wish. The Forts are being put in good condition. That of Grand Pré has been demolished, and the one at Peguigt doubled in size. The men at Mirligouech are to be trained in woodcraft so that detachments may be formed capable of destroying the Indians. In the meantime, they intend to make much of them; they will be promised many things; advantage will be taken of the dissatisfaction with conditions which are beginning to menace them. Watch these events. This is all I have been able to learn which should be of interest to you. It has been decided to grant no more pardons to French transgressors. My presence begins to be prejudicial; I am too much beloved by the settlers. They place too much confidence in me, especially since I disobeyed three orders to obtain permits which were sent me from Halifax. I am resolved to stand fast and the settlers are not at all disposed to let me be taken. You shall have news of me which will convince you that you did not bring a man of straw from France. I pause to inform you that I have learned from English deserters that the intention is to close the country completely; it is time for the Indians to get to work in the region of Chigabenakadi. At first only tentative efforts will be made, and it would, therefore, be a mistake to destroy the undertaking.

The people of Cobeguik have petitioned me to visit them; but, without priests, I can do nothing more. You are doubtless aware of all my misery and toil. I much prefer that you should hear of them from others than from myself. I administered the first communion to two hundred children. I have been reduced to the utmost exhaustion. For the love of God make every ef-

fort to procure me a vicar. I would do twice as much. It is expedient that I should move about, to sustain the resolution of the people who are quite different when I am at their head. You know how important this is. Conditions could not be better, except in regard to myself, for I am destitute of everything.

I am still without news from France. I no longer know what to write. I sent you a letter with news from M. Chauvreux, one from his own pen to show how closely united we are; it was inevitable. As for M. Descenclaves, I shall tell you nothing, except that he is much regretted by our gentlemen, and with reason. Never has priest served them so well. They knew him better than the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu. I think you will keep watch over his retreat. I send you a reply of the Commandant of the fort which reveals the understanding between them. I gave M. Chauvreux the Bishop's letters which I found intact in some houses at the Cape, which are frequented by the English. We wrote him the most severe letters. As for me, after having set forth all his knaveries, which he could not deny, I concluded by saying that if I were his superior I would lay him under the interdict. It was high time for me to come to this region on a mission in the interest of faith and morals. I have never seen worse conditions, and I am not surprised that the English are asking to have him sent back again.

I shall not write again by way of Louisbourg. I am too much afraid. I shall make use of you; it is necessary. I have had no reply from the Bishop; yet I should have some authorization.....I fear that M. Descenclaves has written against me. Please take heed of these matters. He is a dangerous man, who might have my hands tied. You know what I mean. I wish that I could on this occasion write to M. Manach, who warned me, but it is not possible for me to do so.

Your letters to me are cold and laconic in style. I can hear you answer "I am too much occupied"; as for me, do you suppose my arms are folded? I sent you a letter by our Peguik people which was long enough, God knows, but you did not even acknowledge it. I shall find time to write down my grievances against you. Some allowance is made for you, because there is much of a savage in you, but you know whether such an excuse is acceptable to me. It is to be sure, not merely a question of robbing and plundering men, and mocking them afterwards. You were not always thus.

I am, with the most profound respect, for you are the Grand Vicar; the claims of friendship are wiped out.....etc.

If you have news, let me know; especially, if the report about M. Chauvreux is true, it would, indeed, be sad. Those gentlemen, however, will remember to write to us on this subject. Be assured that if I learn anything which is serious and important I shall dispatch special messengers, etc.

No. 18

Abstrait.—Difficulties in iommunirating between the forts. Movements of Le Loutre and his sale of lands alleged to be part of La Vallière's seigniory. Signed "T".

Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably.

December 6, 1754.

Sir,

I am not very sure when this will reach you; our messenger is finding it very difficult at present to reach you. He is constantly meeting Frenchmen by whom he fears to be betrayed, and Hypolite, the Argus of our Commandant, is always on the look-out observing those who come and go. I have just advised our messenger to fortify himself with a permit to take this to you. He hopes, as I do, that your reply will have been written in advance, so that he may speedily return. I am very eager to learn all the things you say you wish to tell me. I fancy they will be interesting. You must have learned something more after the arrival of Captain Copp, since you have had reasons for firing your cannon. They are still unknown to us and we can only make conjectures. M. de St. Laurent, who is much opposed to me, has had a caleche fetched for him and is going to see you and Mr. Hamilton. He will endeavour to obtain news.

We learned that my Lord Cornwallis had returned from Europe to become Governor General of all New England. It is believed that the rejoicings were on this account. It was also said that the General of Chibucto was dead, and that the cannon had been fired for that reason. I myself think that it may have been for the marriage of the Prince of Wales, who is in his seventeenth year. Being deeply interested in all that concerns the nation I love best, I should like to know what has taken place.

There is no indication that Moses is considering any Indian activity so near us, and about the fort. He has been given to understand too plainly that he would be censured for it. He left on Dec. 1 to visit the settlers on the three Rivers, Memramcouk, Pekoudiak and Chipoudi. He will not return before the Xmas festivities. During these journeys, he acts on a power-of-attorney given to him by M. de la Vallière, captain of the troops at Louisbourg, who claims to be seignior of Beaubassin and all the lands within ten leagues of Isle de la Vallière opposite Fort Lawrence, the center, or point from which these ten leagues are measured. As regards this seigniory, M. de la Vallière should be a rival of M. de Belle Isle, who lives on the St. John river. The latter is a very old man, said to be a descendant of a famous La Tour who long ago built a fort on that river, a fort which his own son defended against him, when the father, who had married a maid-of-honour of the Queen of Great Britain and had received valuable gifts from her, wished to cede this fort to the English.

Moses, I say, authorized by this power-of-attorney of M. de la Vallière claimant to the seigniory, gives concessions of land to these settlers and

lays down the conditions on which they are granted. He does not fail to include among these conditions so many days of unpaid labour which these unfortunate people will be obliged to provide for his church, for his aboideau and for the seignior, etc.

Before his departure Moses told me in confidence that we are threatened with war by England, etc. It is not possible at this season for me to give you any very important information. The couriers whom we sent to Louisbourg have not yet returned. If they bring news which is worth the trouble, I shall make it a point to inform you; but I beg you to tell me all you believe I might hope for, especially if there might be something to my advantage.

I remain, with the most respectful and the most inviolable attachment.

T.

In order to secure the hay, which they planted on your land, the settlers will be given permission to supply you with wood; after the month of April, these unfortunate people will not be allowed to return there. They are provided with rum at a price which is considered moderate, although a profit is made, in order that they may abstain from buying yours. They are required to pay for it, half in paper, half in silver.

Notes:—

1. Pichon is in error in his reference to the La Tours. The incident which he associates with the St. John Fort took place several years before this fort was built. In 1630, Charles La Tour was established in his fort at Cape Sable. His father, Claude, arrived with a force from England, having engaged to take his son's fort for the British. He tried, at first, to persuade Charles to yield, but the latter stood firm. Finally, the father tried to capture the place, but was repulsed, and went to Port Royal.
2. The aboiteau referred to above was a large project of Le Loutre, on which many men were employed at great cost. Its object was to drain the upper area of the Aulac river.
3. Captain Copp is, doubtless, meant for Captain Cobb, a well-known sailor employed by the British.

No. 19

Abstract.—Pichon's anxiety to secure a position in the future. Communication difficulties. Gossip about Le Loutre and Vergor. Deserters. News from Louisbourg.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably)

December 24, 1754.

Sir,

It has always been my ardent desire to please and to be of service. That which you do me the honour to tell me, that Mr. Lawrence is truly satisfied with both my actions and my mode of thought is exceedingly flattering to my self-esteem, and awakens hope that I may obtain from him the protection which will enable me to abandon soon a nationality which each day becomes more irksome to me.

It is a long time since I told M. Scott that I should consider myself fortunate if I could go to Philadelphia, or some place in New England, and there find occupation suited to my mediocre talents. During our correspondence, M. Scott has led me to hope that the manner in which I have done my work will secure for me a kind of ease, which would be very agreeable. It is on this that I am counting. The indications of good will which you, Sir, continue to give me in your recent letters, assure me of success. You do me the honour to inform me that M. Scott has gone to New England. Not knowing when this was, and, having sent him a very long letter, concerning myself more than other matters, which may have remained at Halifax, I should not be sorry if M. Cotterel were to open it. He would know me even better and I believe that it might induce him to make further efforts on my behalf. This constrains me, with your authorization, to write to him. I had, moreover, enclosed in that letter a kind of census of the Acadian Indians transcribed from Moses. I send, herewith, another copy, though it will only serve to show that very few of these wretched people have survived.

You acted very wisely, Sir, in regard to our messenger. He concealed from me the kindness you showed him. He should not be blamed for this; he is, in certain respects, unaware of the motive, but he admitted to me that he was uneasy when he was shown into your presence. His surprise was agreeable. It is better to use him as much as we can, rather than a refugee. He desires your permission to go to Minas in the spring. He will take some things with him and bring others back, and according to the news which I receive I shall have my belongings loaded upon his boat. I should be glad to know the refugee whom you believe we may trust. Give him some unimportant message for me, such as asking the title of a book, etc.

Jacob Maurice told me that he was too closely watched the last time he went to see you to venture to return. I assured him that he will be better received, and took it upon myself to say that M. Hamilton desired to see him. I know that they are connected on the female side. M. Hamilton will find

means to win him over and, through him, the Indians, some of whom are dissatisfied. Maurice is no partisan of Moses. He tells me that there were eleven Indians and their families between Baye Verte and Fort Gasparaux; that they fell ill and, two have died.

Maurice is now building a schooner of over 100 tons for himself and our Commandant, whose kinsman he is, for M. de Vergor has a great many in this colony.

Hypolite did not boast of having called on you. He was on a journey during the holidays, and Moses gave him a commission. The latter dominates and directs everything, ruling the unfortunate Acadian people, almost despotically, whereas M. de Vergor merely applies himself to skimming the cream off this colony. He has scarcely any other talent, and the plans he makes are utterly absurd. He is disposed to make life extremely difficult for all his subordinates, and is, moreover, universally despised. The officers revile him because he owes his position, far above his merits, solely to the contemptible complaisance of M. Bigot, whom he has more than once served as a pimp. If any serious fighting should take place here I doubt if he would be obeyed, but I have no doubt that he would quickly lose his head.

Had the journey of Messrs. Scott and Monkton to New England no object beyond the pleasure and desire to visit climates far milder than these? I shall forgive the former for saying nothing to me about it, only on condition that he has often thought of me when in that land. Would that they might return with a strong force which would oblige our Commandant to beat a hurried retreat to Quebec, to await there further developments?

More than six weeks ago a soldier of this garrison, named La Violette, deserted to you. He has been seen near Cobequid, but no demand for his return has yet been made. I don't understand M. de Vergor's policy in this matter; this soldier is said to be a worthless rascal, overwhelmed with debts. It is reported that two of yours, who deserted from M. Gorom's Company, spent two months in the neighbourhood of Remchique (now Wallace, N. S.) They are believed to be with the Indians. You have not reclaimed them either.

I commend myself to you, and am as respectfully as I am truly yours,

T. THIREL.

P. S. Our messenger has admitted the present which you gave him without saying anything to me. He appears to have been surprised by it. To allay his uneasiness I told him that you, Sir, and M. Scott, having desired to correspond with me about French literature, had been charmed by what I had written to you thus far on the subject, and were very eager that I should continue to impart all that I know about it, that, being aware of the trouble he had taken for our pleasure, you had seen fit to show your appreciation by a generosity which is not usual among the French. I have, moreover, made him realize that circumstances might arise which would enable you to render him much more important services, either in connection with trade, in which he

desires to engage, or in the matter of a homestead, and that he could depend, etc. I should not wish him to have any suspicions about our correspondence. He always believed that M. Veale and I were only concerned with medical questions, and he must continue to believe it.

The special messenger sent to Louisbourg on Nov. 16 has just arrived, without letters from M. Drucourt, the Commandant, or from M. Prevost, which has surprised us very much. I am told by a woman from that region that a settler named Ducoudrai, whose wife keeps a pot-house and is greatly favoured by the authorities, has been in New York for the past six or seven months, but she did not say why. This man, who has spent his life among the soldiers and constabulary of France, plays the violin and teaches dancing. His violin would enable him to earn a living in a land, whose language I do not think he understands. I know that a search was being made at Louisbourg for a suitable person to send to New England, capable of making certain reports. It is my conjecture that this man was selected for the purpose by the authorities at Louisbourg. He might be kept under observation. As a member of the French constabulary he would have acquired aptitudes for such work.

No. 20

Abstract.—Report on Le Loutre's visits to various places, and on his latest sermon. Account of interview of Indian Chiefs with Le Loutre regarding attacking the British; Pichon could not find out what transpired. Anxiety about the post on the River St. John.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably, unsigned.)

December 27, (1754)

Moses, who left on the first of the month to visit the three rivers, Memramkoug, Petkoudiac and Chipoudi, returned on the 23rd. As Grand Vicar, he has established parishes; as legislator he has given new laws to the settlers, etc. On Christmas eve, and during the celebrations, he received about twenty Indians, of whom several were chiefs from Chedaik, MODOCTEK and elsewhere. Yesterday, the 26th, I spent a great part of the day with him. He preached to us on forgiving our enemies; St. Etienne, the first martyr, to be accorded a day of remembrance in our church, having set a good example by praying for those who were stoning him. About five o'clock in the afternoon three Indian Chiefs entered his house; one, who was fairly tall, was called Simon of Medoctok, and Moses represented him as one of the chief warriors. This Simon delivered a

very long speech, which was sustained by the other two, and to it Moses replied. Their conference lasted almost two hours. After their departure he assured us, but with an air of confidence and satisfaction, that he had with the greatest difficulty restrained these wretches and kept them from lifting scalps in our neighbourhood. They had asked, and in such a manner that it was almost impossible to find an answer, why, since they were at war with the English, they were not allowed to attack them wherever they were to be found; why did he, Moses, wish to send them to fight far away, when they were so close to the enemy (here)? On the other hand, why keep them from going over to make their own peace with the English, so that they might buy from them the things they needed, which they could not procure from the French, who, themselves, certainly did. To this Moses replied that it was for this winter only that the refugees had permission to cross to the English side to get the hay they had grown there, and that it would cease next summer. He complained afterwards that these Indians were expensive, that it had been necessary, in order to restrain them, to give them a great deal; moreover, if they should make an attack he might be blamed for it; that his position, in this respect, was very unpleasant, because he foresaw that they could not be withheld long. He continued to repeat these remarks, and while we were at supper, there arrived another Indian Chief, of most hideous appearance, with whom he had an almost similar argument, or, at least, that is what he made us believe. As for me, I was not taken in, because I know the man. I sympathized, however, with the distress, the embarrassment he professed to feel, adding that his calling as a priest compelled him to use every means to prevent any being shed.

At his house, after supper, during what he calls "the watch,"—eight or ten Indians, sat in council until midnight. The previous evening was spent in the same manner, and this will probably continue as long as the Indians remain here. I cannot help thinking that he is giving them instructions, and what instructions, Good God!

The 28th.—The Indians, having received additional presents, which were distributed by the order of Moses, departed, each to his own district. Some are expected from Father Germain on the River St. John. Moses will also give presents and instruction to them. A man has tried to make me believe that Father Germain's Indians on the St. John river number 200. Moses and our Commandant are as anxious about the post on the St. John river as they are about this one. I really believe that it would not be difficult to capture a post which is quite ill-defended, and by a young officer who is as greedy of gain as Vergor. There are two families on the upper Petkoudiac, named Beausoleil, who, though they are not Indians, live as they do. Moses has enjoined them to watch the movements of the English. These Beausoleils enriched themselves during the recent disorders, and boast that they did much damage to the English and took from them property of value and many cattle. They speak the language of the Indians and obtain from them all the beaver skins which Moses sells.

No. 21

Abstract.—The Commandant of Fort Beauséjour warns that he would be attacked by the British in the coming spring or summer. Sending extra supplies to be stored at Baie Verte. Suggests a redoubt and battery for eskak. Anxiety of Pichon as to means of sending communications between the forts. Rumors from Louisbourg that there will be fighting in Chignecto.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably, unsigned.)

The last day of 1754.

Last night, Marcel, store-keeper and confidant of Vergor, had a serious conversation with the Commandant, who told him in confidence that he had been warned that he would be attacked by the English in the spring or summer; for this reason, he was now sending for a quantity of flour and all the provisions in Baye Verte, which are being stored in the casemates of the fort; he has, however, no anxiety, because he is expecting relief. He intends to send a courier to Canada and will suggest the capture of Mejagouèche, the name we have given to Fort Lawrence, which could be carried out by a sudden attack of Indians and settlers. He spoke of erecting a battery at Point Ouescachiche and a redoubt for its protection, in order to destroy English vessels and cut you off from communication with French Bay.

After consideration, I think it is important that I should know the refugee in whom we are to confide. I shall test him. Would it be well to lengthen his journeys, occasionally, so that he should not cross at Pont à Buot, or in our neighborhood? I could go toward Isle Verte, or elsewhere, through the woods and beyond the range of observation. We can arrange it with him. The watch is to be doubled and when things assume a certain importance, there is reason to fear that Bordage may be suspected, and we could make more frequent use of the refugee.

In the letter received from the Secretary of the Authorities at Louisbourg in which he asks me, on behalf of M. de Drucourt and M. Franquet, to send reports on Acadia, he says there are many indications that there will be fighting in this region. Moses, who has gone to make a loan to the settlers at Baye Verte, is preparing to go to Louisbourg very soon.

No. 22

Abstract.—Difficulty in reaching Fort Lawrence. Troubles with the settlers, who dislike Le Loutre more and more. Le Loutre's growing power. Weakness of De Vergor. Recollections of attack on Col. Noble's force at Minas, in Feb. 1747. Trade and currency considerations.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably, unsigned.)

Jan. 3, 1755.

Sir,

The difficulty in approaching your side forced our messenger to postpone going over with all my odds and ends, enclosed herewith, and which I am resealing for the third or fourth time.

Acting on the idea which was suggested to our Commandant, that he might be attacked in the spring, he is having all the food supplies transferred from Baye Verte, and is filling the fort with them. Moses, who has not yet returned from Baye Verte, where he is arranging a loan to the refugees, has taken it into his head to refuse it to a certain number of families in that district, who came here yesterday with Jacob Maurice at their head. They consulted me before speaking to the Commandant. I gave them advice which enabled them to get what they wanted from M. de Vergor. I had, afterwards, a long conversation with Jacob Maurice about Moses, toward whom the entire Colony is becoming more and more ill-disposed. This priest, indeed, wishes to direct everything; the fatuous Commandant scarcely dares oppose him and allows him to act in an absolutely arbitrary manner.

The days on which there were wild snow flurries recalled the attack on Minas by Canadians and Indians during the night of the 13th or 14th of February, 1747. Hypolite, who was there, gave a description which was intended to inspire some one in this garrison to take advantage of similar conditions to pounce on your fort. It is rumoured that this man was very near you on Sunday last and again the day before yesterday. If you know a good refugee who can be trusted, I might have this Hypolite watched, and I could make good use of him in other ways, but we must be very sure of him. Some of the refugees are beginning to fear that, in the boundary settlement, all this region will be ceded to you. Some desire it—those who have grown tired of priestly despotism. From time to time I tell them things which tend to alienate them from French domination.

There is to be unrestricted trade this year. But wherewith are those who bring merchandise to be paid? Would the trumpety paper money, issued by the Commandant and the Commissary, be accepted elsewhere than at Beauséjour? The soldiers and a few country people, who have these notes, offer them at fifty per cent discount or even more in exchange for silver. This might serve as a basis for speculation, especially if the truce came to an end. How many soldiers would give three hundred livres in notes for a hundred in sound money, and, with this, go over to you. The store-keeper presented me with a pack-

age of tea, but it is so poor that I have been unable to use it. Might I ask you to get some for me which would be, at least, tolerable? *Annum non annos tibi plures opto, sed annus hic, mea si valeant vota, platonis erit.*

If the settlement of the boundary question does not take place, but is deferred, Abbé Maillard should not be lost sight of; he might be made patriarch in Acadia. He would win back those who are prejudiced and I would help him.

No. 23

Abstract—Letters from Prevost to Le Loutre and Pichon indicate knowledge of projected English attack on the River St. John; he has notified the French Government that he will send supplies to Boishebert in March. Vergor's plans for defense of fort; his reputation as a soldier. Money, if sent to Pichon for distribution, should be French coin. Prospect of appointment for Pichon. Franquet to continue work on fortifications at Louisbourg. Proposed visit of Abbé Maillard. French vessels to unload at Chediak and supplies transported to Beausejour by road if English gain control of Baye Verte. Shortage of molassus etc.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably, unsigned.)

Jan. 4, 1755.

Moses returned to-day from Baye Verte. He has brought me two letters, one of them from M. Prevost, Intendant of Louisbourg; he showed me one which he had himself received. This Intendant informed him, but in confidence, that since the month of September, he has known that the English intend to make an attack on the River St. John in the spring. He has notified the Government, and, especially, the keeper of the Great Seal, now Minister of Marine, that in March, if the ice permits, he will assume the responsibility of sending supplies, munitions and even cannon, to M. de Boishébert who is in command on the River St. John.

M. de Vergor has not been able to store the flour in the casemates of the fort because they are too damp, and it is being kept instead in the old church and in a barn which is even farther from the fort. He speaks of sending all the women to Baye Verte or elsewhere, if he is attacked. The store-keeper, his confidant, has just given me this news and assures me that the Commandant is getting ready to give the enemy a warm reception; he had been informed that Vergor was self-possessed and showed great resolution when he fought with the English snow in October, 1750; that he is a very good soldier, &c.

If there is a rupture, and the truce ceases to be effective, the officers and the Commandant might well be isolated here. If, under those circumstances, money were sent for certain purposes, it would be practical to have French coin. M. Prevost informs me that the Government has prospects which will

be very advantageous to me; the keeper of the Seal, now Minister of Marine, who will soon be Prime Minister, is to put me in charge of certain operations at Quebec as well as at Louisbourg, etc.

M. Franquet will not come here. He has instructions to press the restoration of the fortifications at Louisbourg. The Abbé Maillard writes me that he will spend a summer month with me, and will give me due notice. How different is his character from that of Moses! It is understood that in case of a rupture with you, French vessels will be unloaded at Chediak, if you should be in control of Baye Verte; there is a road from Chediak to the Lake (au Lac) and from the Lake to Beauséjour, where several commodities and supplies will be lacking in the spring. There is now no molasses, &c.

No. 24

Abstract—Pichon's visit to Baye Verte and Gaspereau; conversations with settlers. Arcenault had reported Hussey's request for a parley with Indian chiefs to Le Loutre; circumspection necessary with Maurice family, who, though mistrusted by the priests, were related to Vergor. Settlers disposed to favour which ever side was successful. Statement of Bazert surgeon, that the English had been warned about an Indian ambush had not been substantiated. Vergor visits outposts, distributes arms, and appears perturbed. Pichon by means of presents, obtains information about the Indians from Conoumak. Baralon praises Dame Allen's beef; Vergor suffers from gout.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably, unsigned.)

January 13, 1755.

I have opened and closed my letter six or seven times, which I have not been able to transmit to you before, despite all my expedients. I arrived from Baye Verte where I spent eight days with the Commandants of that place and Gasparau. I had several talks with the outstanding settlers, some of whom you have seen. Arcenault told me that you had commissioned him to send you some Indian chiefs. He did not fail to tell Moses about it. Pierre Vignault, one of the sons of Jacques Maurice, has seen M. Hamilton. This Maurice family is regarded with some suspicion by the priests, but it is related to that of M. de Vergor, and things might not be withheld from him which would be kept hidden from Moses. It is, necessary therefore, to be circumspect with them. If these people see that indications are favourable to the English they will be pro-English, and *per contra*. I learned from them that Charniche of Petkoudiac and one of the Philippes of the River St. John spent several nights at the English fort.

Bazert, surgeon, stationed to-day at Baye Verte, told M. de Vergor, some time ago, that four Indians had set out to attack the English, that the Acadians having discovered them in ambush warned the English fort, from which some soldiers were sent to the place indicated by the Acadians, but they did not find the four Indians. This place, called Cape Chibadeak on the Mas-

koudagaine, is two or three leagues from the Portage. I asked Bazert why he had not reported the Acadians to M. de Vergor. He did not know what to reply, and I believe that it was mere boasting on the part of a man who wished to advance himself with M. de Vergor. The Commandant has also visited the forts of Buot and the post at Butte à Roger. He has already distributed accoutrements to the soldiers, and appears to be perturbed.

During my visit to Gaspereau, I secured, by means of a few presents, conversation with an Indian from Cape Sable, Jean Baptiste Philippe de Conoumak, by name, and Madelaine le Songeur, his wife, who speaks French very well. I learned that, at the village of Tattémigoucouche, there are 20 Indians fit to bear arms; at Pektou, 50; at Chediak, 20; at Richibouktou, 17; at Miramichi, 150; at Baye des Chaleurs, 120; at Remickik, near Baye des Chaleurs, 120; at Gaspereau, 57; in all 449 men or youths, not counting women and children. The two chiefs of Gaspereau village are called Arguimault and François. There is another named Antoine Mius, son of Jacques, also a chief, but no one knows where he comes from. They were not able to tell me how many of the species were to be found on the River St. John, but think the number would not be less than 300.

M. Baralon extols loudly a portion of a round of beef which he says was sent him by Dame Allen, etc. M. de Vergor, assailed by gout, had several attacks which were averted by his real anxiety. He believes that the troubles which affect his heart and stomach are due to the gout having shifted its position.

There is enough to weary you, but nothing should be neglected, and everything should be told while one is about it.

No. 25

(Le Loutre to Captain Hussey)

Sir,

The chiefs and the old men among my Indians came to ask me to express their views to you in writing. You sent word by François Arcenault and Jacques Maurice that they were to go to see you; that you had matters of importance to communicate to them. They ask me to tell you, that they are awaiting the answer of your General or of yourself, Sir, if you have received orders in regard to them; and, as soon as you write to them, that there is a chance to negotiate and make peace, you will find them very well disposed, but, they charge me to tell you, they are not to be amused with words and speeches; they wish written statements and letters.

I have the honour to be, with consideration, etc.

LE LOUTRE, priest missionary.

Beauséjour, Jan. 15, 1755.

No. 26

(Captain Hussey to Le Loutre.)

Fort Lawrence,
Jan. 15, 1755.

Sir,

I have this moment, received yours of to-day; it is very true that I desired Francois Arseneau and Jacques Maurice to tell the Indian Chiefs that I had something of importance and much to their advantage to acquaint them with, and which I shall only communicate to themselves. If they will come to this place they may be certain of being well received and will find that the government far from intending to amuse them as you pretend is ready to enter into a firm and lasting peace with them upon reasonable conditions.

T. HUSSEY.

No. 27

(Captain Hussey to Indian Chiefs.)

I am ordered by Monsr. Lawrence, Lieut. Governor of Acadia, etc., etc., to say to the Indian chiefs that he and the Council of His Britannic Majesty, the King of Great Britain, are ready to make a firm and solid peace with them on such reasonable terms as can be granted, and that this peace should be lasting. He desires me to do all I can to persuade some of the chiefs to go to Halifax with this end in view, which they may do in the greatest safety, because the General has always given his orders to all the English not to molest them in any manner whatever; and I am certain that if they go well-disposed towards peace, they shall have all they can reasonably ask, because the General desires nothing so much as a firm and solid peace with them, and wishes to give them all the satisfaction possible with this end in view.

T. HUSSEY.

Fort Lawrence,
Jan. 18, 1755.

No. 28

(Chief Alkimou to Captain Hussey.)

Sir,

After the writing, which you gave me to show to my people, had been read, they decided to go to Halifax. We are therefore making ready and shall set out in two days. We are sending Francois Arsenau to get from you the letter which you promised us, which should be your assurance that the Government will grant us a domain for hunting and fishing, that neither fort nor fortress shall be built upon it, that we shall be free to come and go wherever we please. Moreover, you know what we told you; we have said the same thing in the Council, and it would be vexatious for us to undertake this journey, if you do not give us some reason for hope.

We await this letter, which you are not to seal. When we return, we shall see you.

ALKMOU CHIEF.

Gasparau, Jan. 19, 1755.

No. 29

(Captain Hussey to Chief Alkimou.)

Fort Lawrence,
20 Jan'ry, 1755.

I received this moment your letter of yesterday and herewith enclose according to my promise another for the General of Chebucto. As I before told you the conditions of peace you are willing to enter into with the English are not in my power, but if you go to Halifax, which in my opinion is the only proper place to treat of a peace as you yourself will then be face to face with the General, you may be assured of obtaining from him everything that you can in reason ask.

I am your servant

T. HUSSEY.

No. 30

(Captain Hussey to Lieut.-Gov. Lawrence.)

Fort Lawrence,
Jan. 20, 1755.

Sir,

The eighteenth of this instant one of the Indian Chiefs called Alkimou with Paul Laurent another of the same Tribe came to this place. I acquainted them Sir as you desired with your good intentions for their nation, the hearty disposition of this Government to enter into a firm and lasting peace with them and the kind Reception they would meet with would they go to Halifax for that purpose.

They gave me for answer that they were very desirous of making a peace with the English and would willingly undertake a voyage to Halifax, could they believe that the Government would grant them a piece of land to hunt and fish on, which they might enjoy as their own property and on which no Fort or Fortress is to be built, and that they may also have complete liberty to go and trade where and with whom they think proper. Wherefor Sir I have given them the greatest assurances that they will obtain from you what ever they can in reason demand.

T. HUSSEY.

To His Excellency
The Governor.

No. 31

Abstract.—Indians negotiate with Halifax. Le Loutre's statements regarding the use of the Indians against the British. Intercepting of British dispatches.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably.)

Jan. 24, Evening. (1755)

Moses, with whom I dined, made me read his letter to the General of Canada, stating that four Indian chiefs left this morning for Halifax with the letter of the Commandant of Mejugouech, which had been delivered to them unsealed. He encloses a copy of this letter, and adds that he does not consider this Indian peace seriously because the English would not give up Mejugouech and their fort. Everything is ready for an attack; the Indians of Cape Breton have been notified; Abbé Manach is in the neighborhood of Cobequik with a

fair number of Indians; there will be little delay after the four Indians have returned, sometime about Shrove Tuesday; it had been agreed to exclude the fort of Mejagouech, but if the English do not give immediate satisfaction to the Indians, if they do not evacuate it, the latter will no longer spare them; if the English make a move to seize the fort on the River St. John, the General has been asked to send about a hundred militia from Canada to join the troops in Fort Beauséjour; with the Indians and the settlers it would take less than twenty four hours to capture the fort of Mejagouech, for it has been examined both inside and out.

He also says that he had taken such precautions to intercept the packets or letters which the English might send to Port Royal or Halifax, that it will be impossible for them to get any through and that he will discover their plans. It would seem that the English were disposed to abandon Mejagouech; they had not been able to find any Acadian settler who would take their letters to Halifax, no matter what was offered them. Manach and his Indians in the Cobequik region, have instructions to stop all the couriers, and all the roads are securely closed to the English.

It would be unfortunate if someone and something had been dispatched by land. It would be impossible to escape capture. He has communicated with Abbé Daudin by means of the Indians and expects this priest to send him much information. I shall tremble until you assure me that you have forwarded nothing. If you have done so, you must on no account conceal it from me. I shall abandon all I have and join you forthwith. This would be the only course open to me, except to have my head broken. The couriers leave on Sunday morning for Canada.

No. 32

Abstract.—Report on activities of Indians. News from the River St. John. The influence of priests on the refugees. Gossip of Chignecto. Information sent concerning French defences. Le Loutre and Indian claims.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably.)

31 Jan., 1755.

Sir,

I have received the letters with which you honoured me on the 25th, and the preceding one, undated. I send both back with some corrections which I decided to make because you desired them. The parts which are underlined should be erased. What would I not give to have equal command of your language?

I could not find out the exact number of Indians who are with Manach, but there are not thirty. Arguimou, the three other Indians, and Francois Arcenault, who should have joined Manach on Sunday evening in Cobequite; they are at present in Halifax, according to Moses. He expects them to return early in Lent. They will call on Daudin, if they have not already done so; thus they may have letters for Moses. The latter considers all these efforts useless. He does not want peace. Let it be made elsewhere, he says; his Indians will join those of Father Germain and the Kennebecs and attack the English in the neighborhood of Pentagoet.

Some persons have come recently from the River St. John; among them, Francois Robichau, who says that a few Indians have already attacked the English near Pentagoet; they took several scalps, but the English killed five of them. One, named Daniel, attached to Father Germain, Jesuit, from whom he brought no letters, and with whom he appears to be displeased, tells the same news. He assures me that nothing would be easier than to surprise the fort of Boishébert, who, like the Jesuit, is pre-occupied with his trading operations. He says that the Canibas number nearly 500 and Father Germain's Malechites 300. This Daniel appears to me very well informed. He has promised me that when he goes on his first journey, which will be about the end of April, he will tell me something very important, providing that he does not confess to Moses. I shall sound him further; but I do not trust those who are so stupid as to reveal their secrets to Moses. This Daniel tells me that Mr. Hamilton's brother and Mr. Mauger had taken an interest in him. I suspect that the rascal, who seems to be very astute, perceives that the French cannot hold this country, and will be inclined, henceforth, to return to the English; he should be allowed to come, and if he does, he might, guided by self-interest, become useful. He also told me that Boishébert had proposed that the Indians should sell pelts only to him, and that he should build a kind of fort in their territory; these proposals were very ill-received by the Indians, who threatened to treat him as an enemy.

The greatest restraint upon the unfortunate Acadians, that which prevents the favourable consideration of all the offers you have made, is nothing else than the confessional, imposed upon them by the priests, who dominate the minds of these poor wretches, and make it a matter of conscience that they should reveal all that they know about you, and every proposal that you make to them.

It will, certainly, be very necessary, next spring, to have some one who is trustworthy. Bordage may no longer be in a position to make frequent journeys, and he would like to go to the River St. John for traffic of some kind in which he is interested. Moreover, he should not, in future, be exposed to danger so frequently. All roads are to be closed. There will be no other approach save that of Buot, where an officer will be in command. Barallon is only a cadet.

There is, at the moment, nothing to talk about. The priests, who are

invariably the local legislators, will, during Lent, exert themselves to gain greater ascendancy over their consciences and otherwise impose on a people, who are simple-minded and blind. I shall, elsewhere, expose the intrigues and hypocrisy of these gentry. A few will disavow errors which they had been induced to make. Hypolite has been entrusted with the returns for firewood and is making fewer journeys. This traffic in wood represents 40000 livres to Vergor each winter.

If the boundary is not fixed this year, will the English remain quiet and wait until the French have taken every measure to maintain their position? The opportunity will never again be so good nor could there be a better pretext than that afforded by the Belle Rivière (Ohio).

I have, Sir, seen your correspondance with Arguimou and the letter which he took to M. L.....ce. Moses has shown everything to me, and a copy was sent to the General in Canada. He says, and believes, that you have gone too far, because he cannot understand your letters. When Arguimou returns we shall have some news. Daudin will entrust some to him, and will give us an account of his experiences, concerning which he has probably kept a journal. I hope most ardently that Lord Halifax will be assigned a place in the Ministry. Nothing could be more advantageous for this Colony. I fancy that it would be of even greater benefit to me.

I have always understood that the road from here to Cobequikt is neither long nor difficult. It is necessary to have a topographical knowledge of the country in which one wishes to establish one's self. I have not yet seen any good map of Acadia. May I be informed as to what Barallon and St. Laurent discussed with Messrs Hamilton and Veale? They are congratulating themselves, as all the French do, on the good reception which was accorded them. Mr. Veale has said nothing about the manner in which I proposed to make an attempt to pay you a visit, so that I might assure you of the attachment with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

P.

Jan. 31.

If I am able to go to Mejagouech, it is at the house of Mr. Copp, to whom M. Veale might introduce me, that I might have the honour of seeing you, if possible, without the knowledge of any one. I shall, as a pretext make some purchase.

Barillon, le c^{te}. Laurem se seroient
entretenu avec M^{re} Hamilton et
Veale. Josephouem, comme on
fait pour les François, de la bonne
reception qui leur a été faite.
M. Veale ne m'a rien répondu sur
un moyen que je lui proposois
pour essayer d'aller vous saluer chez
vous et vous adresser de l'attachement
sincère et respectueux avec lequel
j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très
obéissant serviteur
J^o

Fac-simile of Pichon's hand-writing.

No. 33

Abstract.—Refers to instruction in French given to the British Commandant. Gossip about local Indians and Maurice family. Refers to plans of Fort Beauséjour previously sent. Claims of the Indians to lands and their criticisms of British. Wishes beer, figs, rice and apples sent to him in care of one Bordage.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably.)

Feb. 3, (1755)

Sir,

Whenever a suitable opportunity arises I shall send your letters back corrected, so that you may see what progress you are making in a language which many Frenchmen do not write as correctly as you do. Our Commandant cannot compete with you at all since he is scarcely able to sign his name.

Moses went to Baye Verte yesterday to bury an Indian. He has returned. Four Indians brought him a letter from Manach, from whom they parted at Tatemigouche; he will not return from his missions before mid-Lent. These Indians announce war between England and France. They say this news comes from Halifax. The Maurice family is becoming very intimate with M. de Vergor. Jacob is making a schooner of 89 tons for him; he intends to trade with the Islands. What a loss to his fortune if, in the spring, he should be ejected from Beauséjour! It amounts to more than sixty thousand livres a year, because he believes that he has authority to plunder.

I have, Sir, the honour to send you a plan based on the memoirs which I sent you some time ago; you have, doubtless, kept copies of these memoirs, and it will be easy for you to understand the plan. When you have had it copied by your engineer, you must return it to me. I should be glad to let you keep it if I were not known to have this document, and if there were not a possibility that I might be asked for it. I wish I might send you the plan of the fort as well! but I neither would nor could ask Jacau Fiedmont for it; his character is anything but benevolent. Moreover, I think you know the Fort well enough.

I have had the honour to inform you that it is to be improved and enlarged by a demi-lune this year. M. Franquet, who was to have inspected it, will be too much occupied with the repairs on the fortifications of Louisbourg, and will not leave that place. When Louisbourg has been completed, this Chief Engineer is to lay out a fort and a town of some sort on the Isle St. Jean.

When Moses says that you, Sir, have gone too far in respect to the Indians, he is labouring under the impression and deriving satisfaction from the idea that you promised them to abandon Mejagouech. These Indians are asking for a tract of land for hunting and fishing. They are, according to Moses, the owners of all the land, and, owing to the methods employed by the English, these poor wretches find themselves hemmed in, with insufficient territory for their own use. Could it not be said, in answer to Moses, that

the French began to take possession of the Indian lands, long before the English,—why then did the Indians make no complaint about that? The English do not deprive them of their fishing and hunting rights, and the territory is vast enough to accommodate both, and provide them with a living. If these unfortunates could be informed, could know their real interests, it would be easy to convince them that they are serving as a pretext to sustain and foment the ambition of Moses and his kind. They are unaware of the prodigious amount spent upon them by the King, of which, perhaps, less than one fourth is of benefit to them; the presents accorded by the King to these unhappy nations provide the priests with good food, fine lodgings and furnishings, pay for buildings and acquisition of lands, etc., etc., imposing, with the greatest effrontery on the poor people, who are simple enough to think them worthy of respect, and exempt from passion.

I am, Sir, with the most sincere and the most respectful Attachment,

Yours, etc.

T. T.

Post Script:

If an opportunity can be found to transmit the barrel of beer to Bordage, could not some figs, rice and apples be added? These are good things for Lent, which would free me from the necessity of taking supper each evening in company with those whose conversation is always ridiculous. It was you, Sir, who desired that I should make my wishes known. I have perhaps done so too freely. Also paper. Everything addressed to Bordage, to whom Mr. Veale should send it.

No. 34

Abstract.—Local gossip about Indians going to Halifax, British deserters from Halifax. Gossip in the Fort. Advice concerning communications, which grow more difficult.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably.)

Sunday, Feb. 9, (1755)

Francois Arcenault reached his home in Baye Verte last night, and came to see Moses at ten this morning. He left the four Indians, whom he was to have taken to Halifax, at Cobequit. Abbé Manach, who was in that neighborhood, with a certain number of Indians, detained them. Arcenault, however, believes that they have gone to Halifax. They found two deserters from the latter place, who say that since Epiphany, a vessel arrived from England

announcing war between that country and France, and that the King of Great Britain was dead. These two deserters and a third, who could not keep up with them because his feet were frost bitten, said that they had been pursued by fifty Englishmen. They were magnificently clothed and have gold and silver. Arcenault said that they were the servants of officers whom they had robbed. They are now at Remchique. Daudin is at Port Royal.

The Commandant and Moses have twice been closeted to confer on Manach's letter. Moses spent the night in writing to him, and, this morning, Arcenault dispatched a special messenger from Baye Verte to Cobeguite with Moses' answer. M. de Vergor said at supper that the well of the fort would have to be filled from the spring, and the casemates emptied so that the bacon and flour could be stored in them. He seems uneasy. You must not send me anything until Bordage can go to see you.

I am making use of the bearer, without trusting him otherwise. Mr. Veale should try to induce him to serve us occasionally, arrange the method, and indicate other routes besides that of Buot, on which he would not be exposed to a meeting with the Indians. He might be given a small present and promised a great deal. Whatever is given him for me must be well-disguised and take up very little space; above all, show him how to conceal it properly. The ice is beginning to go out, which increases the difficulty of communication with you, and vexes me greatly, because I foresee that many interesting things are about to happen. Special messengers are to be sent to Canada and Louisbourg. If I write to you less frequently, you must not hold it against me; it will be in spite of me, and in order to avoid all (risk), etc. It is known here that Captain Copp is to set out in twelve or fifteen days.

No. 35

(Captain Hussey to M. de Vergor.)

Fort Lawrence, Feb. 12, 1755.

Sir,

I am informed by the refugees that two deserters from Halifax were lately seen at Cobequid by Francois Arsenoe, and are now at Tatamagouche; by his description of them they must be officers' servants who have robbed their masters; I, therefore, Sir, think it my duty to acquaint you therewith, and hope you will issue your orders so that they may be returned and punished as such villains deserve.

T. HUSSEY.

No. 36

(M. de Vergor to Captain Hussey.)

Beauséjour,
Feb. 14, 1755.

Sir,

I received the letter, which you did me the honour to write to me yesterday, 12th of this month.

I have already given orders in all the districts under my command that the deserters are to be arrested wherever they may be found, and, as I think that they might be in the hands of the Indians, I shall do my best to induce them to send the men to me; even though it chanced that these rascals were taken to Louisbourg or any other part of the dominion of the King, my master, I shall write to the Governor of the place, and to the Commandants of Port La Joye and St. Pierre, to have them arrested and sent back to me.

I shall seize every opportunity to prove to you how much I desire to maintain the truce between the two Crowns and the respect with which I have the honour, etc.

VERGOR DU CAMBON.

 No. 37

Abstract.—Advice as regards messenger between the Forts.
Gossip about the British deserters and local happenings.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably, unsigned.)

February 17, evening. (1755)

Sir,

The messenger brought me nothing from you yesterday, and told me that Mr. V. had told him to return to-day. I thought it advisable to defer his departure until tomorrow; I think he will bring me back some news. Mr. V. could sound him to see whether he is worthy of our confidence. He should be offered some compensation, and then exhorted never to take wine; advise him to cross the river a little above the Butte à Roger.

Your letter, claiming the two deserters, has been received. I do not know when it will be answered; possibly, tomorrow. There is a rumour that someone went to your house yesterday with information. There were certainly more than one. A stricter watch is to be kept, so that it may not happen so often. It is claimed that one of the deserters is a sergeant, and the other a corporal, and it is said that they robbed the treasury at Halifax. If they are

caught, they will be sent back to you. It is also reported that two Englishmen disguised as Acadians were at Baye Verte some days ago. An officer and some soldiers are to be stationed at the Portage, because it is accessible from your post. The gun-powder which is in the magazine at Gaspereau is to be brought here. Moses was at Tintamare yesterday administering to two Indian women who are sick. It is also said that the fellow Richard, of Gaspereau, and another man, having been to see you several days ago, were sent to Buot under escort. The reason for this is not known. The messenger may not return before dusk in the evening; this, would, perhaps, be best, so that he may not be observed.

No. 38

Abstract.—Report on negotiations with the Indian Chiefs and on efforts made to induce them to go to Halifax to discuss matters with the authorities; also the part played by Le Loutre in influencing and directing them. Local gossip, needs of the Fort, asks advice regarding Pichon. Report on British deserters.

(Captain Hussey to Lieut.-Gov. Lawrence.)

Fort Lawrence, 21st. Feb., 1755.

Sir,

The unusual mildness of the winter having occasioned the frost to break up sooner than I expected, I have, in compliance to your orders, sent Captain Cobb to Pisiguid. Nothing very extraordinary hath happened, Sir, since my last to you by way of Boston.

The 12th of January Francois Arsenoe and Jacque Maurice came here from the Bay of Verte, as I knew they were acquainted with, and often saw the Indians I endeavoured, Sir, as you desired me, to undeceive and let them see Mr. Le Loutre's drift in making his proposals of peace for the Indians, and ordered them to acquaint the Chiefs that I should be glad to see them at Fort Lawrence for I had something greatly to their advantage to communicate to them; in consequence of the message the 15th of the same month two Indians came over with a flag of Truce and a letter from Mr. Le Loutre, a copy of which I here enclose, as also, my answer, I heard no more of them till the 18th when Alkimo, a Chief, and Paul Laurent, another Indian, came to this place with Jacque Maurice and Francois Arsenoe as an interpreter, to whom I explained your letter, Sir, of the 8th of November, 1754. They said they wondered much no answer had been made to their letter of last summer, I gave them to understand that the proposals contained therein were so unreasonable that it was impossible any answer could be made to it, but that there was no doubt, if they would go to Halifax where they would see you face to face, that

everything would be settled to their advantage. They remained here about half an hour. I endeavoured as well as I was able, to let them see Mr. Le Loutre's designs and how greatly he imposed upon them, as also to prevail with them to go to Halifax.

They told me that they would very willingly undertake a journey thither could they think to obtain a peace on the conditions mentioned in my letter to you, Sir, of the 20th of January. I answered them that it was not in my power to inform them of the conditions, but that I could assure them they would obtain from you everything they could in reason demand. They then desired me to deliver in writing what I had said to them in order to communicate it to the other chiefs and told me that they would return in two days and inform me what they intended to do; wherefore to induce them as much as possible to wait on you, I gave them, Sir, a copy of the enclosed paper, and, at their request, promised them a letter not sealed when they set out for Halifax; instead of returning to acquaint me with their intentions as they promised I received on the 20th a letter from Alkimo the Chief in which Mr. Le Loutre's cunning plainly appears, for he says *la lettre doit être une assurance, etc.*, a thing he knew was not in my power and what I had before told them I could not assure them of.

I herewith enclose a copy of the letter with my answer; that I gave them to deliver to you, Sir, hath without doubt before this time reached you as they set out for Halifax the 24 of the same month.

The Refugees have brought in the quantity of wood ordered them and flock here in greater numbers than ever to traffic with M. Husten who takes their paper money from them. The Indians also pay us frequent visits and bring in things to sell.

The Fort wants a great many reparations a particular account whereof Ensign Tonge will transmit to Mr. Buckley. I cannot help mentioning to you, Sir, the great want of iron pots and the bad state of the bedding.

Capt. Cobb hath applied to me for leave to enclose a piece of land to sow wheat, barley, etc. I have granted him that liberty but he would be much obliged, Sir, could he obtain from you some sort of confirmation of it, I have taken the liberty to mention it if you would be pleased to grant him that favour.

M. Archbold hath also applied to me for leave to go to Halifax, I did not think proper to consent thereto till I knew your pleasure.

The enclosed French letters with the plan I have lately received from Mr. Thirelle, though there are some of them not very material I thought it my duty, Sir, to trouble you with them that you may be better able to judge how far he merits your protection. I should have sent you, Sir, the original plan but that I was desired to return it, this is a copy I got Mr. Tonge to take. Mr. Thirrell hath applied to me for several things such as figs, rice, etc. I have ordered Allen to supply him with them, and have also made his messenger, who is a Surgeon's mate, a present of twenty dollars.

I was informed the beginning of this month by the Refugees, that

Francois Arsenoe, who accompanied the Indians as far as Cobequid with an intent to go to Halifax as their interpreter, but is returned on account of a hurt he received on his journey, met at that place two deserters dressed in land clothes and who, by the money about them he supposes must have robbed some person or other at Halifax; they were seen last as near us as Tatamagouche, wherefor I sent a letter the 12 of this month to Mr. Vergor demanding them of him and received an answer the 14. Copies of both I herewith send you, Sir. The 19 he returned me three deserters whom I have sent to Pisiquid on board of Captain Cobb; one is Mr. Newton's servant, who left his comrade at Rimchique from whence I hope to get him, the other two are of Capt. Gorham's company of Rangers.

I have sent, Sir, the returns with the victualling abstracts and have also desired the commanding officer at Pisiquid to send an escort with the couriers as I am informed Mr. Le Loutre hath ordered Manach, a priest now at Cobequid with twenty or thirty Indians, to intercept them if possible.

T. HUSSEY.

No. 39

Gossip of Chignecto. Speculations as to Anglo-French relations. Arming of Chignecto settlers. Strict measures to prevent communication between the forts. Sermon of Le Loutre chastising the refugees. Disposition of French forces in Chignecto. Beauséjour news.

(Pichon to Captain Hussey, probably.)

May 13, (1755)

Sir,

During the past month I prepared several packets but as I was not able to find safe means of transmission, I have since burned them. They did not contain anything very important, since we have as yet had no news from Louisbourg or elsewhere. The vessel which dropped anchor at Baye Verte some days ago was from Isle St. Jean; it brought word that, up to the time an officer from Louisbourg arrived in this island a few days before, no ships from France had reached Louisbourg. Vessels had come from the Islands with the information that there is no indication whatever of war in Europe.

Camoures and Brêlay intended to send a vessel from Baye Verte to Louisbourg early in the month but M. de Vergor did not wish it. He now regrets this because we have had no news. He will write to M. de Drucourt and to M. Prevost that they are not to permit any one to bring beverages here. This privilege he reserves for himself, so that he and his family will carry on all the trade of the colony.

On the morning of May 5 a special messenger arrived from Cobequid with letters from Petitpas Dugat. In the evening two others came from Minas

or Peguait with packets for Moses. Nothing was said about their contents, but Moses and Vergor have since conferred on several occasions with great secrecy. It is affirmed, however, that this messenger had said there was war between the two Crowns and that New England is preparing an expedition of more than 3000 men which is to come here or to the River St. John. Moses does not believe it; he says, on the contrary, that he has been informed that the King of England is dead, which has given rise to disorder in his Kingdom; that the Bostonians refuse to lend themselves to the designs of the people of Halifax; that the latter captured an English schooner on its way to or from Louisbourg; that the English have as yet no news from Europe, etc.

Two days later, an Indian chief passed by on his way from Chibouctou. No one says that he brought news, and neither Moses nor M. Vergor saw him. Moses and Vergor are however arming the settlers; those on the rivers of Près des Bourgs and Tintamare have each received a musket. At Le Lac the people wished to decline them; and, because they asked for certain assurances, their leader was put in prison with one of their number who was particularly obstinate; they were forthwith released. It is said that several of them had been to Mejugouech and had seen the Commandant who had threatened them. The settlers, as a rule, are little disposed to resist a strong force. The refugees have not yet been armed. If the latter are included the defense will number eight to nine hundred.

On the 7th, some women of Le Lac, of whom several had permits, who wished to go to Mejugouech to get wool, presented themselves to Barallon. They had with them fowls which were seized by Barallon and a licensed courier named Ferrière.

When the English schooner arrived, Vergor became still more anxious. He and St. Laurent, his chief adviser, watched it through his spy glass. They thought that it was bringing concealed reinforcements for the English garrison.

The most carefully devised measures have been taken to break off completely all communication with Mejugouech. At night, Hypolite and two cadets watch by turns on the banks of the river, and if they can catch any one attempting to cross to the other side, he will be severely punished. St. Laurent is, however, expecting some merchandise which should be in the schooner. Those who have permits to cross will be stripped and searched going and coming. It is known that the English are always informed about all that takes place at La Pointe (i.e., Beauséjour). Investigations are being carried on to discover the source of this knowledge; they will be successful. It is claimed that many things are already known, and there will soon be no more concealment. These are the observations of Moses.

On Sunday, May 11, Moses preached a sermon on the Pentecost, or the coming of the Holy Spirit, and after some curious attempts to explain this mystery, he told the settlers in the roughest manner that they bore no resemblance to the Apostles, who had gone into retirement, and maintained silence in order to receive the Holy Spirit; they did not intrigue; they did not question the motives of their superior; that they, the settlers, have no other superiors

except Jesus Christ, whose priest and minister he was, and who alone could counsel them; the King was their temporal superior, and M. de Vergor represented him; they should obey and carry out his orders, while placing all their trust in their faith in Jesus Christ; if they had not failed in this they would not have suffered all the misfortunes which had pursued them; that, when they again returned to their duty, miracles will be performed for them as they were for God's people, when they allowed themselves to be led by the great Moses, his predecessor. This discourse, which was pronounced with fury rather than vehemence, and which revealed the fanatic, contained various other impertinences and threats. In place of the usual benediction, he ended by saying "This is what I have to say to you, my friends; beware; go and tell that also to the English, whom you resemble, etc." It was after this curious address that the people of Tintamarre were armed. At the same time they were treated to bread and brandy; but, as they were leaving the fort, some were heard to say that they would be on the side of the strongest.

Barallon, who was to have been relieved more than once, will only be transferred when Billy returns. That post is for him. It was promised to his wife, whose family lives at Buot, which is her name. Duplessis is to be in command at the Portage. He will have fifteen soldiers, a sergeant and a drummer and some kind of fort or redoubt is to be built there forthwith.

All that I have the honour to write to you, is perhaps of little interest. I can only do so in the future with great difficulty because of the measures which are being taken to prevent any one from going to your fort. If the news which I am expecting places me in office, I shall find, at least I presume so, means of writing you with greater safety; but do not be impatient, I beg you; if information is delayed it will only be because I cannot help it. I have far more reasons than any one else to take precautions; St. Laurent is constantly on the look out for a chance to catch me, as well as Barallon. The priest also appears to me to be much perturbed. I even suggest ideas for his consideration, so that he may not be, and what I say is often contrary to what I think. I am eager to escape from the sort of labyrinth in which I find myself, and to associate with rational people. Bordage, like myself, seeks every means to prevent the interruption of our communications; he would like to go to Minas to visit the family of the daughter of a man named Munier, whom he desires to marry; he will apply for permission to take with him certain effects, and you will please grant him this favour. He will go over to your side during the night; the schooner's boat might be obtained for him. He will tell Mr. Veal about it, etc.

No. 40

Fort Lawrence.....
May 15 at night, (1755)

Sir,

Since I have sealed my letter and given it to Mr. Grey the enclosed is come to my hands.

T. HUSSEY.

To the Commander-in-Chief.

Note.—The enclosure is not stated.

No. 41

Abstract.—Protest of Drucour to Lawrence against seizure of French vessel. Claim that St. John region is French. Protest against British actions at Canso. Pichon's dealings with French prisoners in Halifax, and reports of their conversations.

(Mr. Drucourt, Governor of Louisbourg to Governor Lawrence.)

Sir,

The news, which I have at this moment received, surprised me in every respect, and it is to ask for an explanation that I have the honor to send to you Mr. Loppinot, Captain of this garrison, who will give you this letter. You will realize, Sir, how great was my astonishment to learn that the schooner *La Marguerite*, Captain Lesenne, which I despatched during the month of March to the post on the river St. John, had been captured on the way and taken to Halifax. If this was by your orders it is reasonable to believe that they could only be the outcome of new instructions received by you from the King of Great Britain. In which case, I rely sufficiently on your sentiments of probity and justice to expect you to disclose them. As to my own, Sir, they are always the same, and filled by the same spirit of concord and tranquility, which I shall seek to maintain in the Domain which the King, my master, has entrusted to me.

The latest news, which I received at the beginning of the month by the frigates sent here by the King, are in no wise contrary to these same dispositions, and, in consequence, I have given no orders to these frigate captains which might disturb the shipping or the safety of His Britannic Majesty's subjects. If you, Sir, are of the same mind, you will without doubt, censure the conduct of and punish him, who, contrary to all laws seized the vessel which

I had destined to carry food-supplies to subjects under the domination of the King of France. You are not unaware that the station on the river St. John is included under this head, and, unless a complete rupture has taken place, it is incredible that communications established on this basis should be interrupted. I shall expect you to return the schooner without delay, and, in virtue of the same orders, which I doubt not you received, and because of the good understanding which has been observed on both sides up to the present, regulate the conduct of the captains who command your vessels. You will not deny that this occurrence was very irregular. If it were otherwise, Sir, I should, at least, have the satisfaction of knowing that this incident would provide evidence, hereafter, that it did not depend upon me to maintain the spirit of peace and harmony which was enjoined on both of us. Whatever the outcome, I must believe that, as the result of my representations, to which I beg you to give attention, you will see that prompt justice is done. An officer of this garrison, on his way to visit his family, was aboard the schooner; to whom, I am convinced you will show all the consideration which his rank and his merit demand, consideration such as I should show, were the law of Nations and of war to place me in a position to do so. I am, with the most sincere esteem.

Your very humble and very obedient servant

LE CHEV DE DRUCOURT.

Louisbourg, May 31, 1755.

Post Script.

I am informed, Sir, that some vessels appear frequently in the passage between Scatari and the Isles de Canceau, and their manoeuvres have led to the conclusion that they have no other purpose than that of cruising. A skiff has even appeared quite close to Gabarus, which forced a fisherman go on board, and, after he had been asked various questions, he was told that they were in pursuit of deserters. I can not believe that this was by your order; you would have given instructions to come here directly to make the necessary inquiries; you would have found me well-disposed to render you every service which lay in my power; my way of thinking will always be the same if no obstacles are created.

You know, Sir, that until the boundary question between the two Crowns is settled, Canceau and the Isles were to remain neutral, without the establishment of any settlement by either side. I trust that in this matter, you will give no orders which are contrary to the intentions of our Kings.

PICHON'S JOURNAL OF BEAUSEJOUR (MAY 15—JUNE 26) AND
HIS MOVEMENTS AFTERWARDS TO JULY 8

May 15.—Armand of Louisbourg arrived in his small schooner with 60 hogsheads of molasses for the King's stores, and some other commodities. He brought us letters from the Chevalier de Drucourt, who commands in Cape Breton, and from M. de Prevost, Intendant. Fifteen days ago, the *Diane*, King's frigate, arrived at Louisbourg, having sailed secretly from Rochefort. M. Prevost informed me that M. Bigot is returning to Canada, because the reorganization of public business and other circumstances make it necessary; a fleet of 32 vessels of the line is ready to sail from Brest, and, in a few days, I shall know its destination; France is at last to do what she should have done a long time ago (I think this means the seizure of all Acadia); this spring only 2 or 3 small vessels came to Louisbourg from New England, and they remained but a short time, which led to the conjecture that the projects of France are known in England; and, by order of the government, I am, henceforth to be entrusted with the sub-delegation of the Isle St. Jean and that of Beauséjour as well.

May 19.—A Canadian snow, the *St. Modet*, arrived at Baye Verte on March 19, having sailed from St. Malo. It brings confirmation of the news that warlike preparations on a large scale are under way in France and England. The Captain of the snow says that he encountered 5 English vessels in the Channel, but, after a few questions, he was permitted to proceed; it is a fact that there is much talk of war; Holland is not to participate and is not arming.

May 25.—A messenger arrived from Louisbourg with letters written to M. de Vergor by M. Bigot while he was in that town, from which he had departed on the 12th. M. de Vergor did not permit the contents of these letters to be known. The pickets required for use in Louisbourg are to be cut in the neighbourhood of Gaspereau. This messenger left immediately for the Isle Madame where he was to load with lime. According to M. de Vergor, the belief is growing that nothing unusual will take place in Acadia this year.

M. de Villejouin, who commands in Isle St. Jean, writes me that it is probable I shall be forced to act as Commissary in that island, which he greatly desires. He tells me that one of the King's ships, the third which has arrived at Louisbourg, brought information that the preparations for war, now being made in Europe, are for a very different object than Acadia.

Monday, June 2.—About 5 in the morning, Messrs. de Vergor and Falaise came to my bedroom and told me that they had just been warned that an

English fleet of more than 36 sail, frigates, schooners and boats was on its way. The man who brought the news from Port Royal had counted them; this fleet might arrive to-day at the mouth of the Mejugouech, for the wind was favorable. Indeed, about 2 in the afternoon, it made its appearance, entered the river, and, toward 6 in the evening, a landing was effected opposite Fort Lawrence.

Tuesday, June 3.—The English troops can be seen encamped close to the fort, with their tents in two rows. They have been drilled and have had target practice.

Wednesday, June 4.—They marched to Pont à Buot, crossed the Mejugouech, and captured the redoubt about 2 o'clock. A few men were killed on both sides. We had also 4 wounded. Two hours later, the English flag appeared on the Butte à Roger. Detachments of their troops were seen in the woods this side of Buot, on the Butte à Mirande, and even closer to us. Messrs. de Vergor and Le Loutre then decided in spite of a few protests to set fire to all the houses, barns, wood-piles, even the church. This was done so quickly, that the unfortunate settlers had no time to save anything. Every house at Pont à Buot was likewise burned with the same unreasonableness.

Thursday, June 5.—It is said that the English are having trouble in building a bridge over the Mejugouech, opposite the Butte à Mirande, on which they have pitched their camp. About 40 of them had scattered over the meadows below the Butte à Roger in order to collect some steers for use in transporting their cannon; they received a round from ours.

Friday, June 6.—Several officers, Barallon and Montarville, cadets, and 12 or 15 settlers, among whom were the two Beausoleils, went to the meadows to fire on the English, who were bringing one of their boats up the Mejugouech and alongside the Butte à Mirande. From this point 3 detachments were sent to attack the small party of French, and several shots were fired at them from swivel-guns on the English boat. The men replied, but after a resistance of several hours, they returned to the fort without any losses.

The outer works of the fort, on which work had begun before the English arrived, have been finished. Jacau Fiedmont, Lieutenant of Artillery, acting as Engineer, is having further work done on the bastions in an attempt to make them bomb-proof.

Towards evening, M. de Rouilly, an officer who went with the detachment in the morning set out again with about 60 men to attack the English, but they accomplished nothing.

Saturday, June 7.—The work on the interior of the fort has continued with sufficient energy. The casks of bacon, peas, flour, etc., have been taken from

the casemate, and placed on the ramparts and bastions, because there was no shelter for the settlers except these casemates.

About 10 in the morning, an English deserter arrived from the direction of the Isle de la Vallière, some kind of sailor, either an imbecile or drunk; when questioned by M. de Vergor, he did not know how to reply, and was placed in irons, on the suspicion that he was feigning some sort of madness.

Sunday, June 8.—About 8 in the morning, we saw an English patrol on this side of the property of Père Charles. Several cannon-shots were fired in that direction. Beausoleil, who with some Indians had spent the night on the other side of the Mejugouech, came to report that he captured an English officer, whom he had left with the detachment near Le Lac. This officer had been surprised at daybreak when he was returning from Fort Lawrence to the English camp at Butte à Mirande. The Indians would have killed this officer had he, Beausoleil, not prevented them.

Demolition of all the roofs of the houses within the fort has begun, and work on the defences, which was suspended on account of heavy rain at midday, has been resumed. An hour later, the English officer was brought in; his eyes were bandaged before he entered the fort. He had been stripped by the Indians, something Beausoleil had been unable to prevent. We have learned that his name is Hay. He was provided with linen and clothes. While he was eating dinner, he said that the English force numbered about 2300 men, of whom 300 or 400 were regulars, and the remainder had been recruited in New England. They had six 18 (pounder) cannon and nine mortars of different calibre. He asked for permission to write to his general and to his wife. This he did, and says, in one of his letters, that he fears he will remain a prisoner longer than he should have believed possible. Barallon was selected to deliver the letters. He returned very late, after hospitable treatment. He reported that he had seen six 18 (pounder) cannon and one mortar only, to which the English officer replied that he had not seen all.

Monday, June 9.—The works progressed rather slowly because of unfavorable weather. Towards evening, however, 15 volunteers made a sortie. We learned that the people of Baye Verte were at Le Lac, and were not at all disposed to come to the fort.

Tuesday, June 10.—We were warned that 150 English had spent several hours about the property of De Rayen and the widow Isaac. The work on the fort is being carried on with a little more zeal; Abbé Le Loutre, in his vest, with a pipe in his mouth, encourages the workers. About 40 settlers arrived at the Fort from Le Lac; they are afraid the English will go there and seize their oxen to haul their artillery. Some of the settlers from Baye Verte, who are now at Le Lac, say that they saw 2 vessels off Cape Tormentine. We are assured that a large number of Indians are arriving, or will arrive; one of them, Paul Law-

rence, who has come recently from Halifax, reports that the English dread the arrival of the French fleet and are afraid that it will come before that of Great Britain. The English are still encamped on the Butte à Mirande, and have made little advance. They can be seen, from time to time, on the Butte à Roger.

Wednesday, June 11.—The works are progressing; the curtain which has the entrance in the center has been reinforced and raised and the latter masked. About 6 in the morning, a detachment of about 200 English reached the rocks on this side of Père Charles' land. At 4 o'clock, some 20 Indians and a few settlers from Baye Verte came to the fort. A scouting expedition is projected for tomorrow morning.

Thursday, June 12.—About 2 in the morning, M. de Vannes set out from the fort at the head of 240 men, in the hope of surprising an English detachment. At 8 o'clock, he returned without having accomplished anything, and those who had gone with him were very dissatisfied with his proceedings.

About 3 hours after noon, we received news that 3 of the King's frigates were at Louisbourg on their way to Baye Verte with troops. At 6 o'clock, a large detachment of English were seen on their way from their camp to the rocks beyond the house of Saint Omer and on this side of that of Père Charles. The Indians advanced on them from one direction and about 30 Frenchmen went through the woods. The firing was brisk for a few moments. Bailleul, an officer, was struck by a ball in the groin.

Friday, June 13.—At daybreak, the English were to be seen entrenching themselves on and behind the rock where they had appeared on the previous evening.

The work inside the fort continues energetically. At present it contains about 500 men. A few cannon shot were fired at the English which are said to have interrupted their entrenching operations. They began to fire bombs during the afternoon; about 6 in the evening, Jean Hugon, the son, was dangerously wounded in the head by the bursting of a 54 and he died a few moments later. Toward evening it was reported that 3 cannon shots had been heard at Baye Verte. M. de Vergor assured me the 3 frigates, which had left Louisbourg some days before, were due with 1200 regulars. In the afternoon, 40 Malicite Indians arrived; they executed many dances, and made other demonstrations.

Saturday, June 14.—The English fired about 30 bombs during the morning, which did no serious damage. We fired about 50 cannon shot to impede their labours. The afternoon was fairly quiet. Many settlers escaped from the fort; 17 were brought back. A sortie of Beausoleil and the Indians is to take place tomorrow night. The works are now advancing more slowly; the settlers appear discouraged.

Sunday, June 15.—The English continued to work on their entrenchment, and did not throw any bombs before 1 o'clock. About 20 have since been fired, of which a few were 250 lbs. Two of these fell into the fort; a settler, Pierre Saunier, was killed by a bursting shell. The main portion of the barracks, the only building which remains, has been badly shaken and damaged.

Monday, June 16.—No bombs were thrown during the night. As soon as it was day, we fired several cannon-shot at the English workmen, and they, in return, threw large bombs. About 8.30 one of the 250 pounders fell on a casemate which was being used as a prison; in it were several officers, Mr. Hay, the English prisoner, M. Raimbault, officer of the garrison, Ferment, the interpreter, and M. Billy, a clerk,—who had the misfortune to be killed. The Srs St. Laurent and Montarville were wounded and almost smothered. This fatal accident and the destruction by the bomb of the place which was considered most secure, and situated directly opposite the casemate in which M. de Vergor, the two priests, and a few officers had taken refuge, and where until then they had thought themselves safe from bombs, decided M. de Vergor, M. de Loutre and the officers, to send an offer of capitulation to the English.

M. de Vannes, the senior Lieutenant, and a relative of de Vergor, was dispatched with proposals drawn up by a man named Courville, who combined the functions of Notary and of Secretary to M. de Vergor. De Vannes returned about noon. A little later, Mr. Sheriff, an English Officer, came to the fort with the answer to our proposals; then M. de Rouilly was sent to the English and the capitulation was signed and exchanged. The settlers were then sent from the fort, all or most of them loaded with goods. The English entered the fort about 7, and formed in a battle-array in the center of the place; some were assigned to the bastions. The French troops lined up in rows near their barracks. The officers had supper with M de Vergor. Le Loutre left before the entry of the English.

Tuesday, June 17.—Although the bales of merchandise had been consigned to the care of sentinels, it was discovered that most of them had been opened and much had been stolen—more by the French than by the English. The French officers and their servants made up large bundles for themselves. Messrs. de Vergor and de Vannes had theirs removed by some of the settlers, who, it is asserted, were his relations, and by St. Germain, the valet of M. de Vergor.

Between the hours of 10 and 11 the French force, composed of 130 men, marched out of the fort and remained in the neighborhood. M. Monckton, the English Commander in chief, had his tent pitched near the fort on the side of the sally-port, the only one which was open. It was said that we would embark on the following day.

Wednesday, June 18.—The English raised their flag on the fort and discharged all the artillery, and, afterwards cried "Hurrah" three times. I was told this



HON. ROBERT MONCKTON

Commander of force which captured Fort Beauséjour in 1755.
Reproduced from a copy of the original portrait by John Mare,
painted in New York in 1761.

morning that the French troops had embarked in 2 vessels. M. de Vergor, his suite and several officers, slept on the bank near an aboideau, where their baggage had been carried, a portion of which was already on board.

Joseph Brossard, called Beausoleil, arrived under a safe-conduct, to negotiate a peace with the Indians, if the General would grant him an amnesty. M. Monckton received him kindly and pardoned him, but conditionally, subject to the approval of the Government. Jacob Maurice and a few settlers from Baye Verte also came with proposals. This morning a strong English detachment was sent to Baye Verte to take Fort Gaspereau, which M. de Villaray, the Commandant, surrendered on receipt of a letter from M. Monckton and a copy of the Capitulation of Beauséjour, delivered to him by a settler. M. Marsal and I were conducted by M. Francheville, the English surgeon, to the camp at Butte à Mirande. We saw there a train of artillery of considerable size and in good condition, six cannon of 24, four of 18, and several field-guns and some of the Swedish type. M. de Villaray and his men arrived at Beauséjour from Gaspereau at 9 o'clock at night.

Thursday, June 19.—The provisions required for the French troops, which are to be transported to Louisbourg, have been delivered. M. de Vergor, the wounded, etc., have embarked. The English artillery has been moved from the Butte à Mirande to Fort Beauséjour. M. de Villaray told me that it was Bazèrt who had urged and counselled him to yield so easily in order to benefit by the conditions of the capitulation. It is asserted that much merchandise had been removed by this officer from Baye Verte to Isle St. Jean, whither he had sent his family. I have been earnestly solicited by the settlers to prepare a petition to Mr. Monckton so that he may be induced to give them favourable terms, and to consider their cruel situation, etc.

Friday, June 20.—I was sent for by the General who told me that he would forward the Petition of the settlers to Halifax, and that he was very much disposed to favour them. He then said that he knew how much confidence they had in me, and, because they expressed themselves so badly that he could not understand them, he desired me to remain a few days longer, and Mr. Marsal as well, in order that we might identify what remained of the King's property and decide what assistance should be given to the settlers, after which, he would then facilitate our transit to the Isle St. Jean.

Saturday, June 21.—In consequence of the orders of the English General, a large number of the settlers came to-day, bringing their arms with them; these they laid down.

Sunday, June 22.—Those who lived along the rivers brought their arms and made their submission; 16 settlers of Chipoudi, whose muskets the Indians had taken, found it difficult to establish the fact. Messrs. de Vergor and de Vannes

dined with the General, after which de Vergor rested in a casemate. The anniversary of King George's accession to the throne of Great Britain was celebrated. Both forts fired salutes.

Monday, June 23.—It was noted that, though a sentinel had been stationed at the door of the cellar, the padlock had been forced and the room entered; our trunks had also been broken open, and M. Marsal and I had been robbed of personal effects worth more than 1000 ecus.

Tuesday, June 24.—In the morning I gave M. Scott a partial list of the stolen articles; a few inquiries have been made and some sort of procedure instituted, but to no purpose. Nothing has been restored.

Wednesday, June 25.—Letters received from Halifax state that Admiral Boscawen had brought into the harbour 2 French vessels of the line, 8 companies of troops, the military chest, and several engineers and officers.

Thursday, June 26.—I presented the Abbé de Guerne to the English General, the only priest left in the colony; he was well received.

Friday, June 27.—The English are preparing for the expedition to the River St. John. It is said that Boishébert, who is in command there, has instructions to burn his fort on their approach and withdraw to Canada.

Wednesday, July 2.—M. Marsal was ordered to Baye Verte and Gaspereau to ascertain the nature of the King's property, which the French left there. At 2 o'clock four persons were told to remove my belongings from the casemate, and I was given to understand that our lodging was to be changed. At 6 o'clock, they were taken from the fort and loaded on two carts and, soon after, I was notified that they were to be conveyed to Fort Lawrence, whither I must go. We could not cross the river because the tide was out and I was obliged to spend the night on the bank.

Thursday, July 3.—At three in the morning a large boat was sent over, in which everything was transported to Fort Lawrence. Toward noon my things were put on board the schooner Warren, Captain Adams. I was told to sleep at the fort.

Friday, July 4.—This schooner set sail at 7 in the morning. The captain did not notify the Commandant of the fort, M. Hamilton, who appeared to be very much annoyed. He had a boat with 5 men placed at my disposal. We pursued the schooner for more than 4 leagues before we overtook her. I gave two coins to these 5 men. We came to anchor at Cape Maringouin; the wind was contrary.



Halifax. 1750.

HALIFAX, N. S., 1750

Saturday, July 5.—I was as much distressed by sea-sickness as I had been the day before. We were only able to reach Isle aux Meules. During the night we again set sail. Passing the Rivère au Pommès, we came to anchor at Cap Chignitou. The wind continued contrary.

Night of Monday, July 7 to Tuesday, July 8.—We arrived at Fort Piziquit. At 7 in the morning, Captain Adams presented me to Captain Muray, Commandant of the fort. I was well received.

No. 43

Abstract.—Pichon's activities in spying among French prisoners in Halifax.

(Pichon to A. Hinchelwood, of the Secretary's Office)

(Aug. 9, 1755)

Sir,

Since I am not permitted to wait upon you, may I, at least, be permitted to communicate with you occasionally in writing about matters which I believe may interest you.

Some days ago I met M. de Sallaberry, a fine sailor, famous among the French. I could not avoid entering into conversation with him; I told him that I was a prisoner because I had taken the cause of the Chignecto settlers too much to heart, and because the English authorities believed that papers of the Abbé Le Loutre concerning this Colony were in my possession. He informed me that he had been promised permission to return to Canada where he lives; as soon as he got there, he would proceed to France, where he would ask to be sent back at once, even during the season of cold and ice, with news, government instructions, and supplies for Louisbourg, which seemed to be in danger; he knew every place where a landing could be made on Isle Royale, etc. He gave me to understand that M. Hocquart, who is there, would be very glad to see me, and that it was indispensable that I should pay him my respects. Indeed, M. de Sallaberry, having spoken to M. Hocquart about me, the captain asked me to call upon him, and said that if this were inconvenient he would himself come to see me. I had the honour to consult you before taking this step, and was told that I should defer it.

Yesterday afternoon, I had a visit from M. de Sallaberry, who presented M. de Vaudreuil, Commandant of Three Rivers, in Canada. After the latter had asked a few questions about the capture of Fort Beauséjour, now Fort Cumberland, to which I replied in a manner which deemed fairly suitable; both informed me that the French had won an important victory on the Belle Rivière. This they described from their point of view,—I mean, it may have been exaggerated. This victory seems to have re-awakened French enthusiasm

and to have raised the highest hopes of success in other projects. There are at present in Canada, according to M. de Vaudreuil, more than 3000 good regulars, a very large number of officers and engineers, and three War Commissaries. There are, in addition, 1200 men, also, regulars at Louisbourg, besides the ordinary garrison, provisions of all kinds, the most competent engineers, etc.

While he was with me, M. de Sallaberry wrote two letters, one to his wife in Canada, and the other to merchants in Louisbourg. They are not sealed and contain nothing, which, in my opinion, should not be sent forward. He believes, as I have taken care he should, that, after my papers have been inspected, I shall go to Isle Royale, and from there to Isle St. Jean, to serve as Pay Commissioner. He importunes me to write, when I get there, to his wife, to the Intendant, and to the General, all that I know about current events in this part of America. I had to promise him that I would do so. He again set forth, in M. de Vaudreuil's presence, his plan of proceeding to France and of returning thence to Isle Royale despite the winter ice.

M. de Vaudreuil also asked me to take charge of a letter for his brother, General of New France, and, like M. de Sallaberry, begged me most earnestly to forward with it the fullest report on all he had endured since the capture of the French vessel. His account might well create an impression that he had been very badly treated. He seems to cherish much resentment on this account, and advocates retaliation on such English prisoners as may be taken in Canada. He says that when he reaches England, he will make the strongest protests to the Lords of the Admiralty. He hopes that war will now be declared by France against England. When he left France there was a body of more than 80,000 men ready to invade Holland, to force that republic either to declare itself in favor of France or to prevent further hostile acts on the part of England. He said much more, and, always, in the most vehement manner, without giving any opportunity for a reply. Having realized that he was very hard of hearing, I gladly let him talk on, well-satisfied with his own remarks. He added that he had seen neither the Governor nor M. Boscawen and that he would not see them. I believe, Sir, that you will not take it amiss that I have made this report in writing, rather than in person, in order that your commendable and important occupations may suffer less interruption. I beg you to indicate the course I should pursue with regard to the French, so that the responsibility for avoiding them will not rest upon me, that I may conform to whatever you believe to be most expedient and that I may convince you of the respectful attachment and complete devotion with which I have the honour to be. . . Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

TH. TYREL.

Saturday, August 9, 1755,
Morning.

Note.—This letter is the first written by Pichon (or, at least, the first now known to exist) after he arrived in Halifax from Beauséjour. He was not allowed to hold direct communication with the

British, but lived with the French prisoners, and report by letters to Archibald Hinchelwood, in the Secretary's Office. The most important Frenchmen were officers who had been captured by Admiral Boscawen's squadron in the fight off Newfoundland, in which the **Lys** and **Alcide** had been taken. Some of these are mentioned in the letter. Accounts of them will be found in the Biographical sketches on p 146.

Abstract.—Pichon's conversations with French prisoners in Halifax.

(Pichon to A. Hinchelwood)

(Aug, 27, 1755)

I shall, Sir, state in writing the subject of our last conversation, since you profess to be insufficiently familiar with the French language to retain all that we said to one another yesterday. I shall, however, report only what is essential or which appears pertinent. I am never with M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Trois Rivières, and Sallaberry, without hearing, especially from the former, bitter complaints about the ill-treatment to which he claims to have been subjected, and the slight consideration shown for his person, or, indeed, for the other French prisoners. He is longing for an opportunity to manifest his resentment and to induce his brother, the Canadian General, to avenge him. His tirades on this topic are too tiresome to repeat. I believe that the vapours to which he is subject, contribute to this ill-temper.

While walking together on Sunday, Sallaberry said:—

"I am going to speak to you of a very serious project which has been planned by some of our gentlemen, who agree that you are in the best position to make it succeed. After your affairs are settled here, you are to return to Louisbourg. There you will propose that Indians and French volunteers should be sent to this part of Acadia, with all that is necessary for a successful revolt. If, he said, the English intend to make an attempt to capture Louisbourg next spring, they must leave seven or eight ships of the line in this port during the winter, presumably at the head of the basin. Under cover of a fog, or snow-storm in the depth of winter, or night, the Indians and French volunteers could approach these vessels and set them on fire with prepared firebrands. There would be very few men to guard these vessels, because each day some members of the crews desert. It would then be impossible for them to undertake anything at Louisbourg next year. "This affair," he said, "is as you see, of importance, and if it were possible to find some one who would go to Louisbourg now, with a letter which you should address to the Governor, steps could be taken in advance to ensure the success of the project." "I have heard a rumour," he added, "that three Frenchmen who enjoyed a certain amount of liberty here, disappeared some days ago, and it is believed that they have gone to Isle Royale with news of all which has happened here."

There, Sir, is part of the proposal made to me on Sunday. Thereupon, I promised whatever they wished of me, and declared myself much flattered, that they had fixed on me to help in the execution of this amazing project.

Here is another which was confided to me the next day, Monday, during our afternoon walk. M. de Vaudreuil was then present, but not when the first plan was proposed. M. Sallaberry, whose imagination is as active as that of the other Frenchman, said: "I regret that I did not take advantage of two occasions on which I might, quite easily, have escaped to Isle Royale". He is allowed, from time to time to go fishing; as a rule, an English officer accompanies him, but on two occasions, none did. The usual fishing grounds are off the little Island beyond Cornwallis Island, and it is from there that he thinks he could have escaped, and he is now taking steps to do so. He will have twelve or fourteen active and very resolute men, who, will provide themselves with biscuits and brandy, &c. He will pretend to be fishing, and if the weather is favourable he could reach the Canceaux shore, and go from there to Petit Degrat or Isle Madame; then on to Port Toulouse or St. Pierre, where he will go overland to Louisbourg by the new road. There he will make many revelations, and arrange to go immediately to France, in order to return in the mid-winter to Isle Royale, Canada, &c.

Yesterday, these two gentlemen, during the promenade, informed me that the Indians, a short time since, had massacred seven persons; they believed the Abbé Le Loutre to be at Louisbourg; many Indians and French had joined the Acadians, who, impelled through despair caused by the removal of their priests, had rebelled; some French officers, unable to obtain an audience with the Admiral, had sent a memoir to him this morning by their landlord; this gentleman had declared that he never wanted to hear another Frenchman talk, and that he wished there were none in existence. The remainder is even less worthy of repetition, and it would only vex you. I request you always, Sir, to keep all that I write to you a profound secret; let nothing transpire, and appearances be preserved. Otherwise the French will soon become suspicious and I don't want to be the object of them. It is only on this condition that I keep you informed about these matters, and to give further evidence of my inviolable and sincere attachment. When the French have gone and effects have been brought here, I shall give you some memoirs on Isle Royale which will indicate its present condition. It is quite necessary that the French should continue to think and believe that I am kept a prisoner only until my papers, among which they believe are those of the Abbé Le Loutre, have been examined, and that, afterwards, I shall go to Isle Royale. It is on this understanding, and for this reason that they always tell me their plans, their thoughts, &c.

I wish you the best of health, and am, with all my heart, Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant

TH. TYRELL.

Aug. 27, morning.

Note.—The British Admiral, whom the French officers had wished to interview, was Boscawen. (See p. 146).

No. 45

Abstract.—Pichon's Memoir recounting his past services to Great Britain, and asking for suitable compensation.

(Pichon to A. Hinchelwood)

(Sept. 26, 1755)

Sir,

All the kind attentions which you have shewn me since I have sojourned here, have convinced me that you are indeed willing to take my interests to heart, and since you appear to wish me to set forth in writing my reasons for accepting the advantageous proposals made by M. Scott almost two years ago, and the nature of my services, of which a large part must be already known to you, I do not hesitate to confide in you. I do not doubt your discretion. I am even counting, to a great extent, on the use you will make of my statement and on your good offices.

Having been grossly deceived by the man whom I had accompanied to Isle Royale, who had been made its Governor by the Government of France, and who was under the greatest obligation to me, I contemplated retiring to a nation I love and knew to be the most just and liberal of all that exist in either hemisphere. Here are the means which presented themselves and which served me in attaining this end.

After the departure of Count Raymond, who had feigned ignorance of all that a generous sense of justice required of him, I was sent by the Intendant of Isle Royale to Beauséjour to act as Pay Commissioner and Sub-delegate of the Intendant. A few days after my arrival, Mr. Scott, whom I had met at Louisbourg, and who, moreover, knew me by reputation, congratulated me on my new position and invited me to visit him at Fort Lawrence, where he was in command. During our early conversations on the respective interests of the two Crowns in North America, he said that he could make my fortune if I so desired; for he knew a very sure way to improve my position greatly and to compensate me for the losses which I told him I had sustained. He made it quite clear that I should have no cause to repent devoting myself to his project, and that, on his oft-repeated assurance, that I should acquire a position of pleasant ease and should lack nothing for my satisfaction. I submitted myself completely to all his wishes. He gave me to understand that all these promises were made in the name of the Government.

Thereupon, we began a correspondence which continued with the greatest regularity. He was warned successfully about every scheme of the priests to incite the Indians to attack the English, which, I flatter myself, were always averted. He was informed, also, of all that transpired concerning the colony and the commandants in Acadia. If Mr. Scott communicated the contents of all my letters to the authorities of Nova Scotia, as I have reason to believe he did, they could not fail to be convinced of my usefulness during his sojourn at Fort Lawrence. There were a great many with reports, interesting as well as informative, on the condition of Fort Beauséjour, on that of the

Acadians and those who were refugees; memoirs, also, on the encouragement I gave to the latter to submit to English rule, under which they belonged legitimately. He knows how much confidence these good people had in me.

A short time before Mr. Scott was transferred I sent him a memoir with many details of the steps which I believed might be taken to ensure the capture of the French forts on the Isthmus between Baye Verte and Beaubassin. I do not hesitate to state here that the main lines of the plan, which I had suggested, were followed, and that I should, therefore, be regarded as one of the instruments which served in making this important conquest. After Mr. Scott left Fort Lawrence, I transmitted to him a few more interesting letters relating to existing conditions. Captain Hussey, having succeeded him, was made responsible for the same correspondence by Mr. Scott, and I continued to transmit many letters and reports, including copies of all those sent by the Abbé Le Loutre to the French Government, as well as those he received from it. This I was in a position to do, because the priest had asked me to prepare his letters and the memoirs in which he rendered an account of his mission, and, as a rule, whatever took place in the colony as well. He knew how to turn everything to his advantage, enhanced himself greatly in the estimation of the Ministers, the authorities in Canada and Isle Royale, even of his own Bishop, who, after I was obliging enough to revise the missionary's writings, complimented him on his style, his method, and his new and extensive information.

I secured with trouble and expense the names of the Indians who were at that time scattered throughout Acadia, as well as the census of the inhabitants of that part of the province which was already under English rule. I sent all these things to Mr. Hussey from the outset. I still possess the census, made last autumn for the French Government, of all the families, name by name, in the other part of this province then claimed as French, which I should likewise have transmitted to him, had I been able to dispose of my papers sooner. The most important document which I sent to Mr. Hussey after his arrival at Fort Lawrence, was the plan, drawn and coloured, of the entire Isthmus, Baye Verte and Beaubassin, their surroundings, the two French forts, and the distances in each section marked most exactly. To this I added a descriptive memoir with valuable observations. I know that this was much appreciated and that it proved very useful in the attack on Fort Beauséjour, and ensured its success.

I might, furthermore, call upon Mr. Hussey for testimony which I am quite sure would be in my favour, if I were not aware that you, Sir, have a fair idea of all that has been set down here. Yet Mr. Hussey knows only a part of all I risked in order to carry on this most difficult correspondence; I may say that I had encounters with more than one envious observer, at considerable cost to myself. I retarded the projected works, which were to be constructed or added at Fort Beauséjour, and those at Gaspereau as well, by saying repeatedly that there would be no attack this year. When the first of these forts was invested, and the effect of the bombs was felt, it was on my advice that the settlers, numbering more than five hundred, who had been retained to aid in its defence, insisted that Commandant Vergor should ask for a capitula-

tion; this shortened the siege considerably. It was also on my advice that Captain Villeray, Commandant at Fort Gaspereau, surrendered only after receipt of a letter transmitted to him by a settler, which I had helped to write. I kept the Brossards, known as Beausoleils, who have large families, and other settlers of Petitcodiac and the River St. John, from abandoning their properties to join the Malechite and Abenaki Indians who count them among the bravest of their brothers. These Beausoleils have since been arrested. Abbé Le Loutre, who did not leave Fort Beauséjour until the entry of the English troops, might have been taken, if the information I had sent about his hiding place, had been received in time.

Since the reduction of the two French Forts, and, in consequence, of the entire Acadian peninsula, Colonel Munkton and Mr. Scott have always been informed with the greatest detail about everything which might be of interest to them in connection with the settlers, etc. When it was decided, later, to undertake an expedition to the River St. John, where a second French fort was to be built, I sent Mr. Monckton a plan, newly made for the French Government, showing the earlier fort on the sea-coast, the mouth of that river, its channel and its soundings.

In order to conceal the nature of the relations which had existed between us, and to enable me to continue to render services of equal value, it was arranged by Messrs. Munkton and Scott, that I should be made a prisoner of war and transferred to Fort Lawrence, and subsequently to the port at Peguigate. In these places I received visits from a great number of Acadians who sought my counsel about the course they should take. "As a prisoner I could not," I said, "give them any"; this seemed to perturb them greatly. I pointed out that they should know, far better than I, what their real interests were; they should consider their future, and that they had families whose deportation to other countries, even to France, could only be to their disadvantage, that it was unfortunate for them that they had been unable to compare English and French rule, for the former was infinitely milder than the latter in every respect. This, Sir, is what I am not afraid to submit to your consideration. I am convinced that these details will enhance your desire to make further efforts on my behalf. You know that since my arrival here, I have shown myself no less eager to be useful. You are aware of my zeal in this respect. I have more than once been gratified by the assurance that all I have done has given satisfaction. May I not, therefore, be permitted now to express my desire that the promises made to me should be fulfilled and that a permanent and profitable position be provided for me? May I not flatter myself that I deserve it? The conquest of Nova Scotia, the importance of this portion of America to all the other English Colonies and to Great Britain, because of the results which followed; of these you are aware, as well as the advantages to be derived from them from now on, and forever,—does not all this seem to justify me in asking for a proportionate reward? It is to obtain this that you should become my patron, for, as a rule, it is much easier to ask something for another than for one's self. Point out that I had a status in France, where I still possess property; that this

year the Government appointed me to three sub-delegations under the Intendant, at Beauséjour, the river, and the Isle St. Jean, and I am even now expected in the latter place; these positions would have been very profitable to me. I abandon them, as well as all I possess in France, to which I can no longer think of returning; I have forfeited the property for which I paid ready money, a large tract of land near Fort Beauséjour, with two houses and gardens in the best location; and when the fort was captured, I also lost two valuable horses, a quantity of supplies, furniture, linen, clothing, books, etc. There are some circumstances in which one should be allowed to speak in praise of one's self; when there is a reason for making one's self known and recalling services rendered. You, yourself, Sir, insisted on my doing so, and the kind I have rendered hitherto have been no less useful than necessary. I am well aware of all the Admiral's influence and the advantages I might hope to obtain by his illustrious protection, and that of His Excellency, the Governor. Might I not ask for the honour of their recommendation to General Shirley and other Governors or outstanding persons in the different English provinces on this continent, so that they may be induced to exercise their generosity by showing kindness to the man who is most devoted to the service of the entire British nation? It is essential to beg their Excellencies to favor me with their powerful support at the English Court and Ministry, so that I may obtain benefits from them. I depend on you, Sir, for all this. I have reached an age when as a rule, one's requirements increase. In short, Sir, I am counting much on your good offices and efforts. If you are willing to do these things for me, you will oblige a man who was born grateful, and who will endeavour all his life to give proof of the consideration and the sincere attachment with which he will never cease to be, Sir,

Yours very humble and obedient servant,

TH. TYRELL

Halifax, Sept. 26, 1755.

No. 46

Abstract.—Anxiety as to Pichon's voyage to England. Last report on results of his spying on French prisoners.

(Pichon to A. Hinchelwood, in Secretary's Office.)

(Oct. 9, 1755)

Sir,

If my effects had arrived from Pigiguit it would not be too late for me to learn that I am destined to go to London. When, then, will they arrive? I cannot leave them behind me, for I have some that I shall find very useful.

I am well aware how advantageous it would be for me to make this voyage under the Admiral's orders. I should be in a much better position to enjoy the benefits of his illustrious patronage, and on that of His Excellency, the Governor, upon which, in fact, all my hopes are based. You said that I was to embark on the vessel commanded by Mr. LeBart, and that a few Frenchmen are also to sail in her. I venture to observe that to give no ground for conjectures, it would be better were I the sole representative of that nation on board. The others would inevitably indulge in speculation because everyone believed that I was to go to Louisbourg after the capitulation. In short, I hope very much that I may not be seen by any Frenchman during the voyage or, after, on my arrival in England. Having joined the Admiral in London, shall I be fortunate enough to be presented by him to the Ministers and to Lord Halifax; shall I have letters of recommendation from the Governor to these gentlemen; and shall I, in addition, be provided with that which I shall need on my arrival in that great city?

M. Hocquart says that the Frenchmen are to go on board next Thursday; the captains of the merchantmen do not know if they are to do likewise. It would be well to notify them, and also that I am the only one who is going to Louisbourg. One and all will then entrust me with their letters, etc. The men who were arrested yesterday while trying to escape may serve as an example to Malfait and the two Provincials, Sicard and Tyran, who had formed a similar project, which was to be carried out to-morrow or the day after; M. Hocquart and others were to give them letters for Louisbourg. They will be delivered to me apparently. I have already been entrusted with a kind of chest, in which are concealed two registers of letters of M. de Vaudreuil, formerly Governor of Micissipi and at present, General of Canada, and several packets of papers. I should think that these letters and papers relate to the French Colonies and might reveal some useful information. I am to take these to Louisbourg only and they will be forwarded to Quebec from there.

It is my misfortune to be very sick at sea, I waited too long before I ventured on that element. I have no servant. My resources are, at present, too limited. M. Desâges or du Houé, a Malouin merchant captain, has two negroes, one of whom he wishes to sell, but the price is much too high. He is wealthy and could very well dispense with property of this kind; I believe the Admiral might make use of the negro who was left on board by M. Desâges, and, I confess that I should not be sorry if he were assigned to me as a servant.

Polignac wishes to accommodate me with a chest, which has been retained here; it contains a few shirts, shoes, etc., for himself, his associates and clerk at Louisbourg. He says that these things, and a sword which belongs to him are worth about 500 francs. I could have taken them in exchange for things of mine which are at Louisbourg. I should lose that much less.

I appear in this letter to be importunate, but you told me that to obtain anything one must ask for it. I send you, in the meantime, two apostles whose names are not to be found in the Roman Calendar. These are, nevertheless, capable of stimulating and increasing the most pious ardour. You

doubtless enjoyed reading the letters of Madame de Maintenon. How many anecdotes one would have to know in order to understand all of them. There have been some arrivals from Piguit; have you any news about my belongings?

This is quite enough, Adieu, I am, with more than consideration, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

T. T.

Thursday, Oct. 8, 1755.

The translation is good and I should like to have the rest. When shall I do as well?

No. 47

Abstract.—Reports loss of papers. Attempt to get money from Mr. Rondell (who owes M. Prevost, Intendant of Louisbourg) as reimbursement for Pichon's claim of arrears of salary for three years' work at Louisbourg.

(Pichon to A. Hinchelwood.)

(Oct. 14, 1755, probably.)

Sir,

Here is an outline of my adventures. You will find it long and not very interesting, but you desired to know about me. Be grateful then, to me for having made it so brief; there are some French authors who would write volumes from such a sketch. What use can be made of it for the benefit of one, who, from so many vicissitudes, has acquired more than ordinary experience?

I despair of finding, despite my efforts, all the papers and memoirs which I had relating to Isle Royale and Isle St. Jean. The monster, that anthropophagous Le Loutre, was in my room while my copies were being made, and I fear that he has robbed me. He had this habit and he knew only too well where my valuable papers were kept, and so did his rascally clerk. Tomorrow, I shall make a fresh and still more thorough search. I shall show you what I find, if your affairs permit you to come to see me. In the meantime, I am sending a number of books, besides those which belong to you, but how many I do not know. I shall, perhaps, find others, when I search for my papers, which might be pleasing or useful to you. If you should come here, let it be only at night. I shall have my supper at the widow Carrette's, and return charged with a few secret letters for Louisbourg, Quebec, France, etc.

Have you seen Mr. Mauger? He is, perhaps, invisible as far as I am concerned. It rests with you to give him my memoir. The most important, and also the most urgent matter is to force Mr. Rondell to acknowledge the amount he owes to M. Prevost, the Intendant of Louisbourg, and induce him to take the Acadian money I have in my possession, and to give me its equivalent. It will be easier for him to settle with M. Prevost because the Intendants of the French Colonies are compelled to accept such notes. There is no doubt that Rondell owes more than 2000 francs in French money, and all the great pile of paper which you have seen will amount to very little more than that. He has retained some mink and other common pelts for M. Prevost, which I shall need, especially the mink-skins, because I have some set aside to line a coat, but not enough. It may be necessary to exert some pressure to extract from Rondell a statement regarding the amount he owes. He might believe the circumstances warrant him in avoiding payment. It is certain that he is in debt and that for no small amount. I should be very hopeful if Mr. Mauger were to unite his efforts to yours in this matter. Try to remove the anxiety in which I now am or shall be, if, on my arrival in London, I should be forced to have recourse to the bank. Mr. Prevost owes me three years' salary of 1600 francs for each year. I sacrificed that willingly, and many other things. That is my justification for changing sides.

(in the margin)—If you cannot come, send me a line in reply. Does M. de Vaudreuil embark the day after tomorrow?

I am, Sir, very constantly, and very sincerely,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

T. TYRELL.

What is happening in the roadstead? No one at my lodging can inform me; some people appear to be in danger, for there are loud screams. A fire has been made for me, etc.

III

TWO PICHON LETTERS

from the Loudoun Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, through whose courtesy they are here printed.

No. 1

Pichon's letter, written in March, 1756, relating to two French officers in Canada, whom he hoped to persuade to change their allegiance to Great Britain. (Library No. LO 2471).

Sir,

Here are the names of the two persons about whom I spoke to you. The first calls himself Dumas, and may be 40 years old. He comes from the vicinity of Montauban and is a Protestant. He was a captain in the Free Companies during the late war, in which he distinguished himself, and, after the Peace, he obtained the same rank in the Canadian troops. He has fine recommendations and the sort of ability which has inspired envy in the dreary places to which he has more than once had occasion to regret having gone. I know he is very much disgusted and cares little for it. He may be at Fort St. Frederick, which you call Crown Point, and it is possible that he may be in command there. He has rather a delicate constitution.

Jacau Fiedmont, Artillery Lieutenant and acting Engineer, is the other person. He spent three years in Acadia at the Fort now called Cumberland. Upon the capitulation of this Fort (Beauséjour), the French officers, to justify their sorry defence, tried to ruin him by making a report, setting forth the defects of the fort, of which he had merely completed the worst of beginnings. I refuted this Report and justified Jacau. He admitted to me that if he had known the English and if he had been offered the same rank which he had, with some prospect of advancement, he would retire to a country, the merit and generosity of which he was aware. He is descended from a Melanson, said to have been English, and an Acadian woman. He belongs to the troops in Canada, to which he should have returned, unless Franquet, the chief Engineer, has detained him at Louisbourg.

Did you know, Sir, how the two Acadians about whom I spoke to you the day before yesterday happened to be here? If they were captured on a French vessel, would they have been free to come to London? Men of that type are very fond of making protests. I suspect them of being deputed by their wretched associates for this purpose. Pity would have given them permission.

No. 2

Letter from Pichon to Jacau de Fiedmont, Lieut. of Artillery in the troops of New France, formerly Acting Engineer at Fort Beauséjour. Dated, London, April 28, 1756. In it Pichon urges De Fiedmont to change his allegiance to Great Britain. (Library No. LO 1084).

Sir,

If, Sir and dear friend, you remember some of our intimate conversations during our sojourn at Fort Beauséjour, you will not be surprised by the decision I have come to, and I am convinced that it will not meet with your disapproval. You should not be surprised that I have decided to write to you. My attachment to you, my knowledge of your sentiments, so like my own, and the resentment you feel in serving with officers who are inspired by base interests rather than honour, to-day induce me to give you some advice concerning the position in which, I have no doubt, you find yourself.

Nothing should attach you to a nation as jealous of real ability as the one to which you belong. What have the officers with whom you are obliged to live not tried to do? They had vowed to ruin you, because you were a witness of their weakness and ignorance. They prepared a Report to justify the small amount of resistance they made when the Fort capitulated. They said it was so full of defects and conformed so little to the rules of the art (i.e., engineering standards) that it was not capable of any defence. They demanded that you should confirm this in writing. I opposed it, and although it was not your work, you should not have complied. You did not begin it and were forced to work on a plan which was as ill-considered as it was defective; but you could not agree with them. What do they know about it?

If you have continued in the same frame of mind in which I have known you to be, it depends on yourself whether you transfer your allegiance, under the most favourable circumstances, to the English Nation, from which, I know, you originally sprang. You will be well received, and it would not be long before you perceived that it recompenses ability; and its generosity is unlimited when it recognizes this. This preliminary letter cannot contain all the reasons which impel me to urge you to follow my example, but I can promise you a much more agreeable lot than among the French. I should be delighted to be a contributing factor in this, and to find ourselves re-united. You have in Great Britain a man who will not cease to love you and who will seek, on every occasion, to prove that he is, Sir and dear friend, etc., etc.

The amiable Dumas thinks as we do, and has ostracism to fear. He was born to a religion in which the Divinity is adored in spirit and in truth. He would find with us greater advantages than he can hope for if he remains among people, some of whom will always be his secret enemies. Of that I am certain. You may then transmit my letter and discuss the matter with him.

You know that I was unable to retain either your horses or mine, and that I lost everything that was most precious to me. We shall receive compensation, if you follow the advice which a most sincere friendship gives you.

IV

TWO PICHON DOCUMENTS

from the Duke of Cumberland Collection, Windsor Castle Library. These are printed from copies made by Prof. Pargellis, of Yale University.

No. 1

MEMOIR ON THE SOUNDINGS AT LOUISBOURG

Soundings of the part outside Louisbourg, that is to say, all that lies outside the entrance to that port in an easterly direction, as though one were seeking Port Nauve along the Anse à Gauthier and the two Lorembecs.

These soundings were taken by M. Dolobaratz, Captain of the port in 1753. He had, a year before, taken those from Battery Island, called the Little Island, as far as Gabarus Bay, on the south-west.

This Port-Captain recalls that all the latter section is very unfavourable for anchorage, because of the great number of rocks, which lie at the bottom. If forced by calm or the current to enter (the harbour) it is necessary to keep in 38 or 40 fathoms of water. That would be three-quarters of a league from shore. In shallower water, the bottom is everywhere extremely bad.

The entire coast, from the entrance to the harbour eastward is safe. It can be approached by the largest vessels to within range of a small pistol, without fear of foundering for almost to the edge of the land, there are 8 or 9 fathoms of water, with the exception, however, of the Cove at Grand Lorembec, where there are a few rocks, but only in the Cove. The only danger in following the shore in a straight line is the rock of the large Cape of Lorembec, where the *Nérei*, commanded by M. de Chaon foundered. This rock is directly south-east of the Cape, at a distance of about 30 fathoms. At low tide it is covered by a little less than three fathoms of water, that is to say, about 14 feet. It is not more than 60 fathoms in circumference. It is almost round and flat, except at the south-east end, where there is a slight elevation of about 15 inches. There are 12 and 15 fathoms of water between it and the large Cape, but the passage is too narrow.

The bottom all along this shore is good for anchorage, and the sand viscous. From the entrance to the harbour, east to south-east, 20 to 25 fathoms are to be found everywhere. The bad bottoms for anchorage, referred to by Sr. Dolobaratz, in his report on soundings made the preceding year, are be-



GEORGE MONTAGU DUNK

Second Earl of Halifax

**President of the Board of Trade, under whose direction Halifax,
N. S. was founded in 1749.**

Reproduced from a copy of the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

yond the south-east point of the Island, following the coast south-west to the mouth of Gabarus Bay, when the bottom changes, rises and becomes flat.

There is a flat rock, 4 or 5 degrees to the south of the Island, at a distance of 250 fathoms, but it is not in the least degree dangerous, because, at the lowest tide, it is 12 fathoms and more under water. It may sometimes cause breakers, however, especially in big storms. Dolobarats must subsequently have taken soundings of Gabarus Bay, the Straits of Menadou, the Bay of Miré, Spanish Bay and Port Dauphin.

Endorsed Aug. 1756.

No. 2

PICHON'S MEMOIR RELATING TO HIS SERVICES IN NOVA SCOTIA

Written undoubtedly to Lord Halifax, President of the Board of Trade, who sent it to the Duke.

Sir,

The kindness you have shown to me impels me to write to you, and the noble sensibility to the troubles of others which distinguishes you (and which is inherent in all good men) persuades me that, moved by my predicament, you will be inclined to grant me the honour of your good offices. But as prudence requires some discernment in according favours and some effort on behalf of those who are unknown, I shall recall a few of the circumstances which have reduced me to my present condition.

At the conclusion of the last year, during which I performed various important functions, Count de Raymond invited me to accompany him to Isle Royale, of which he was Governor. I acted as his secretary. I made it of value to him and was of the greatest service to him. He, however, did not carry out any of the promises he had made to me in France. I refused to follow him, and he left me at Louisbourg feigning to be unconscious of that which a nobler justice demanded of him.

The Intendant of that Island sent me forthwith to Fort Beauséjour (now Fort Cumberland) to act as clerk and sub-deputy of the Intendance. Mr. Scott, whom I had met at Louisbourg, and who was in command at Fort Lawrence, close to the French fort, asked me to go to see him. In the course of our conversations about the respective interests of the two Crowns in North America, he gave me to understand that he could make my fortune, that he knew of means which were very safe, and that I should have no cause for regret if I accepted his proposal. The repeated assurances that he would place me in the most agreeable comfort, that nothing should be lacking to give me

satisfaction, and that his promises were made in the name of the Government induced me to surrender myself to everything he desired me to do.

We established a correspondence which was most active. He was warned successfully of every measure taken by the French priests to incite the Indians to attack the English,—which I always frustrated. He was, also, informed about everything that occurred concerning the Colony and those in command of that part of Acadia, etc. He had reports which were instructive as well as interesting on the actual condition of the French Forts, on the refugee settlers and on those who had remained in portions of Acadia, which were already under English domination. He knew how much confidence these good people had in me.

Before his departure, I gave him a very detailed report on the measures which might be taken in order to succeed in capturing the French Forts. I may state here that the greater part of the project which I suggested was followed. I should be considered as one of the instruments which effected this important conquest.

Captain Hussey, successor of Mr. Scott, and responsible for the same correspondence, likewise received a quantity of letters and reports with copies of everything which the Abbé Le Loutre sent to the French Government, and which he received from it.

Having secured, with no less trouble than expense, the names of the Indians scattered about Acadia, the census, name by name, of the French settlers and their families, I passed them on to the Captain.

Almost immediately after his arrival I sent him the plan I had made of the isthmus, the whole of Baye Verte, Beaubassin and their environs, the two French Forts which are situated on them and the exact distances between all places. I added a memoir and special observations. This work was very useful in the capture of the two forts.

I might refer to the evidence of Messrs. Boscawen, Lawrence, Scott and Hussey concerning these matters, if I did not know that you, Sir, were already informed about them and many other details which I have omitted. But they only knew a portion of what I risked in order to maintain the most difficult correspondence, and, I assure you, it required much effort to outface more than one jealous observer. I caused a reduction of activity on the projected defence works which were to have been added to Fort Beauséjour, as well as to Fort Gaspereau. The first, having been to some extent invested and the effect of the bombs having been felt, the settlers, numbering 500, who had been confined to the fort in order to aid in the defence, acting on my advice, forced Commandant Vergor to ask for a capitulation, which greatly shortened the siege. It was, also, on my advice that the Commandant of Fort Gaspereau surrendered upon receipt of a mere letter delivered to him by a settler,—one which I had helped to draft. A great number of the more warlike Acadians, whose families are most numerous, were planning to withdraw to the St. John River with the Abenaki Indians; this secret was revealed to me and means were found to detain them.

Since the capture of the two forts, Colonel Monckton and Mr. Scott have always been kept informed, with the greatest detail, about everything concerning the settlers, etc., which might be of interest to them. When there was talk of an expedition to the St. John River, where the French were about to build a new fort, I sent M. de Munkton (sic) the map which had recently been made for the French Government,—the original French Fort, the shores of the sea, the mouth of the river, its channel and its soundings.

To conceal the nature of the understanding between us, and that I might continue to make myself useful, it was arranged with Messrs. Munkton and Scott that I should be made a prisoner of war; I was transferred to Fort Lawrence and then to Peguikit (Piziquid, where Fort Edward stood). In these two places I received very many visits from a large number of Acadians, who asked my advice in regard to the course they should follow. I said that, as a prisoner, I was not able to give them any,—which threw them in a state of great uneasiness. I told them, however, that they should know better than I, where their real interests lay in regard to the future; they had families, whose deportation to other lands, even to France, could only be detrimental to them; that it was unfortunate they were not in a position to compare the two dominations,—the English and French—that the former was infinitely more kindly than the latter, in every respect, etc.

Transferred since to Halifax, and having found there a great many French prisoners, I continued to pass as a prisoner and gave the leaders to understand that, as a result of the capitulation of Beauséjour, I was to be sent back to Louisbourg as soon as certain papers had been examined, which it was believed had been given to me by the Abbé Le Loutre.

Under this impression, several of these Frenchmen intrusted to me letters, reports, etc., for transmission to Louisbourg and France. The famous soap-ball, which contained the plan of Halifax and a project for surprising that post,—the work of M. Hocquart and three French engineers—was, also, given to me. The revelation of this plot of M. Hocquart, the engineers, etc., to seize or destroy Halifax, to burn the vessels in the harbour, etc., was considered so important that a day of thanksgiving was proclaimed at Halifax.

I have, often, been complimented on the satisfaction which, I was assured, all my exertions had given; am I not to show my desire for the fulfilment of the promises to provide me with a permanent and advantageous position? May I not flatter myself with the thought that I have earned it? The conquest, so to speak, of all Nova Scotia, the importance to all the other colonies of this section of America—as well as to Great Britain,—the consequences which will ensue, and the advantages which will be derived from it immediately and in the future,—does not all this justify me in asking for a proportionate recompense?

I had a position in France, where I still own property. I was to have been sub-deputy of the Intendance in several Colonies of North America—appointments which would certainly have proved advantageous. I abandoned them; I am doing the same in regard to what belongs to me in France, to which

I can no longer think of returning. Moreover, I suffered considerable losses at and because of the capture of Beauséjour, etc.

This, Sir, is the matter which I have not feared to entrust to your discretion. I am aware of your prudent and judicious methods of thought. I am convinced that these details, which I should have liked to abridge, will impel you to continue to take an interest in me.

I wish I might continue to be of some use. It was with this in mind that Mr. Boscawen, who knows my zeal in this respect, had me come to London. I shall, therefore, place much reliance on your efforts, if you will have the kindness to make them for me. You will be doing a favour to a man who is grateful, and who will seek all the rest of his life to give you proof of his attachment.

I have, Sir, the honour to be,

Very respectfully,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

T. T.

June 27, 1756

V

SELECTED LETTERS

from the Pichon Collection in the Bibliothèque de Vire, Calvados.

No. 1

(Madame de Beaumont to Pichon)

(Early in Feb., 1757)

Why am I not one of those people who believe readily what they wish to believe? Nothing would then disturb the satisfaction which the avowal of your sentiments gave me. But, when I recall that, despite the light which my vital interest shed on the subject, I could discover no evidence of these sentiments, and it is difficult for me to persuade myself that they have pre-occupied you for a long time. I remember a thousand circumstances which prove the contrary.

I saw an ardent emotion in your eyes, but I had not aroused it. Do you remember the day we dined with a young woman who was destined to the theatre? I reproached you automatically because of the tender interest you took in her future, and what did you reply? "Is it a sin to love what is loveable? If, at that time, you had been impressed by me, if you were then conscious of a feeling for me, would you have given me such an answer? Do not take this as a reproach. I should not reproach you even if you changed completely toward me. I should forgive you everything, except deception.

I do not accuse you of having done so, but perhaps you have deceived yourself. You have a good heart and the gratitude of such a heart frequently takes the form of love. The former sentiment, however feeble, would suffice for my happiness, or, rather, for my comfort, but it should be offered to me as such, for it would give me too much pain, if I were, later, forced to renounce something more complimentary. I, therefore, demand an honest avowal of your state of mind, past and present. If you have made a mistake, do not hesitate to admit it frankly; my feelings for you will be no less strong; they are not subject to increase or diminution.

I often remember the expression "he desires to be loved but does not himself love". Such an attitude would not offend me. One can dispose of one's esteem and one's friendship, but not one's heart. Did mine ask permission to give itself to you, and that at a moment when everything seemed to say that you had preserved yours?

I am writing to you after supper, while digesting my dinner, and I am suffocating. I am overwhelmed by emotions, sternly repressed during the past five days. I confess that the sensation is not painful, but it is terrifying. For eleven years I have enjoyed a tranquility upon which I was counting for the remainder of my life. My heart was so supine that it gave no sign of its existence; such a condition has its charms. You have robbed me of it; I should hate you for it.

I am afraid of the future, even presuming that you have spoken to me in good faith. What value would you place on a heart which offered itself to you without payment, and cost you no suffering, nor even a sigh?

Men desire to be held artfully, and are wearied by a tenderness which is always even, without caprice; you saw to-day what you will always see. Moreover, whatever you found diverting in my conversation will vanish. I can be amusing to every one except the object of my affections. Him I can only love, tell him so, repeat it for the thousandth time with as much pleasure as the first. Will you be equally pleased to hear it, especially as your delight will be limited to this repetition? Ah, if you love me truly! Could you desire more? Men usually say that they ask for favours only to make sure of the heart of those they love; you have not this excuse with me. You knew of my love before I did. I did not even put you to the trouble of obtaining my confession, and, far from regretting that, I spared you. I congratulate myself that I have this advantage over you. Certain of being loved, adored,—delicious sentiments which suffice for my happiness would not be enough for yours. You, under such circumstances, would love very little. But I am not thinking of the length of this letter. Entirely absorbed by you, since the moment my heart was laid bare before my eyes, the joy which this pre-occupation affords one is less great than that which I feel in describing it to you. I shall only permit myself this space; it would be too cruel not to make this an exception to the sacrifices which I am resolved to make. Remember, I demand an answer. I shall be less easy to deceive, if I do not see you.

No. 2

(Madame de Beaumont to Pichon)

(Written in 1757, probably in February, before they lived together.)

I begged you to examine my reasoning. You have done so, and it is proper that I should thank you. Not that I could obey the request to "love me less", which you made yesterday! I swear to you that is no longer in my power,—but this is what I can do, viz., restrain my love. In short, I have resolved to love you like the tenderest of mistresses, and to live with you like

the best of friends. Do not think that resentment or vexation has inspired this determination; I dismiss such impulses when I love. I am compelled to do so by a sense of justice. I shall explain.

I begin by swearing, upon all I hold most sacred, that with you I have enjoyed the *ne plus ultra* of the joys of love. It is, perhaps, a defeat in me; but, when I see you and have kissed the tips of your fingers, my heart is replete and asks nothing more. If I could imagine the more intense pleasures of which I have often heard, but have never experienced, if I deserved them without knowing them, I should admit it with the same candour as I do this. But nature has not given you the same disposition. She exhausted herself in making my heart,—but, more liberal toward you, she shared her gifts, and, in addition to the pleasures of loving, you have known and desire and hope for those of another kind.

You have assured me that you love me, and it would be so painful to doubt your sincerity that I have not made any attempt to see beyond the surface. But, in presuming on the sincerity of your sentiments, I am well aware that my innocent caresses drive you frantic,—that is to say, I torment a person for whose happiness I would give my life. Justice, even love, compels me to deprive myself of pleasures which trouble you, and I certainly love you enough to sacrifice for your sake even the external tokens of my affection.

You will say to me, "Why are you determined to torment me?" I have, assuredly many reasons, and I desire you to judge them. Your esteem is more precious to me than your heart, and, according to ordinary standards, I should already have forfeited it. I made no attempt to hide from you the violence of my love, and you are well aware of its violence, since you advise me to moderate it. If by actions, inspired by my emotions, I were to give you further cause to say to me, "Love me less", what would be the outcome? Possession is the tomb of love and esteem, and I shall be careful not to expose myself to such losses. There is another reason, even dearer to my heart,—duty—which alone restrains me on the verge of the abyss.

I shall not hide from you that I have more than once deserved to provide you with those pleasures, which, I am sure, I shall never know myself, but which, apparently, mean so much to you,—and if it were compatible with my duty, my wish to make you happy might overcome the fear of losing you. It is this desire which has made me reconsider carefully, since I have loved you, all the decisions which have a bearing on my engagement. Weigh them and decide! If I am not to be permitted to join my destiny to yours, it would be even less possible for me to be yours, without belonging to you completely. Nevertheless, your answer should not be dictated by the fear of giving me pain. I shall never be unhappy so long as you regard me as your friend, for I know that so long as you are not asked for love, you will endure being loved, and that is enough for me. I repeat this word (enough) a second time; it is impressed upon me.

When the question of annulling my marriage arose twelve years ago, I was in a position similar to yours. I suffered from being loved, but I, myself,

did not love. I argued the reasons for and against very carefully, with a secret wish to find the latter stronger.

The most famous advocates of Nancy, who acted for me without recompense, pronounced that there were three technical flaws in my marriage, any one of which was sufficient to secure annulment:—

1. The failure to publish the banns in our parishes;
2. The clergyman, who pronounced the benediction, was not our pastor, and having no permit, was disqualified.
3. Far from having the consent of my father, he was described in the register as being dead.

I was not satisfied with these causes, for human judgments only weigh with me when they are in accordance with the dictates of conscience. I, therefore, consulted a Jesuit professor of Theology at Pontamousson, and he assured me that I could conscientiously proceed with my application for an annulment, and that I should be quite free afterwards, because the decree would not annul my marriage, but declared that it had never taken place, these things being required to make it valid, viz., the consent of those concerned, and a clergyman qualified to solemnize it. You may imagine that this decision made me press my suit,—not at all—and this was my process of reasoning:—The lawyers assured me that my marriage was void, a famous casuist told me that I could rely on this verdict; the judges might pronounce that there had been no marriage, but this would not alter the nature of the situation. If no marriage had taken place, what was the use of spending a vast sum of money to have it proclaimed publicly? Moreover, if it did exist, their declaration would be worth nothing. I had no desire to re-marry, and I tightened my purse-strings, excused myself to M. de Beaumont, on the grounds that the affair would ruin the curé of Luneville, who had so grossly disregarded the regulations.

After his recovery, M. de Beaumont again pestered me to seek advice, and this is what the English casuists stated:—The marriage was illegal but binding,—that is to say, I should have to re-marry my husband in order to live with him,—and what would be the use of that? These decisions, which then had no effect on me, have impressed me deeply during the past fortnight, and I add to these various sentiments a careful analysis of the dictates of reason in this connection.

I promised in good faith, and I meant to pledge myself, but should I have done so, if I had known to what I was pledging myself? A marriage is dissolved for impotency, epilepsy, and ozoena, if an attempt has been made to conceal these defects, or, at least, the two latter,—but my husband was in a state worse than impotency, since he could only produce victims destined to the most loathsome infirmities. Could you regard my divorce as a crime? Could he exact the fulfilment of an obligation which was worse than death? Human justice, modeled upon his, would, if consulted, declare that I was free. I think so anyway, and here is another reason why I should do so.

A year had not elapsed since I had left the convent in which I had taken a vow of chastity for two years. My time had not expired and was I not, therefore, in the position of a nun who gets married? Would her marriage be valid? This is what my reason, and, perhaps, my desire to be yours keeps repeating to me every minute. You must decide! If you consider me free to dispose of my hand, if you think this union capable of making you happy, you are free to accept it, providing eternal secrecy conceals it from my family, who would, inspired by base considerations, disguise their resentment under the pretence of religious scruples.

But, remember, the union which I desire will be my torment, unless it bring you happiness, undisturbed by anything except the dread that it might end. If you do not consider my arguments valid, tell me so without hesitation, and do not have any fear of causing me vexation, for, once again. I am incapable of feeling it in connection with you.

No. 3

(Pichon to Madame Beaumont

Written in London in February, 1757, before they finally came together)

Madam,

Your esteem is precious to me; the nobility of your character, the radiance of your fine qualities, prompted me long since to make it the object of my ambition, and the kindness with which you have honoured me constantly inspires me with a new desire to receive from you the expressions of goodwill which have given such encouragement to my respectful gratitude, and the complete loss of which would be too cruel a torment to my sensibility. It means to be in honourable possession of your kind favours, means too much, Madame, for me to neglect any means which might bring about a happy renewal of them.

I shall unfold before your eyes the whole of your conduct; to candour and severity I entrust the guidance of my pen. Truth has acquired such an ascendancy over your enlightened mind, that my apology, dictated by her and by her hands, will make upon you only an impression favourable to my interests. May the simple colours of the picture, showing the principal events of my life, induce you to grant me a blessing without which everything else will seem insipid to me.

My family is of English origin, for my grandfather went to France in his youth and established himself there; it gives me pleasure, Madam, to emphasize this circumstance, for though it reminds me of what my destination should have been, I find in it a motive of justification which purges my conduct

of all reproach and leaves me with a right to blame fortune, whose caprice made a foreign land my birthplace, without first extirpating from my heart the germ of attachment which has always made me turn toward my original homeland,—that of my forebears. I may have made a few mistakes, but digressions due to such a costly miscalculation are certainly pardonable.

My people destined me to the Bar: after having spent several years with honour in the profession, M. de Breteuil, Minister of War in 1741, appointed me the representative of His Very Christian Majesty to the hospitals on the Danube and in Bohemia. Such a position, as a rule, leads rapidly to a fortune, and all of those who have held it are, at the present time, displaying their pomp and opulence in Paris. I was not disposed to better my fortunes by such base means; to have done so, it would have been necessary to contest with the contractors of this section of the army to rob the unfortunate soldiers of their subsistence.

I took an entirely opposite course, thereby endearing myself to the troops; the praise of the Minister was my reward; five special gratuities were proof of his satisfaction; but, also, I had made for myself mortal enemies of all those whose pillaging I had prevented.

On my return to Paris, the hospital contractors presented to me for signature some documents setting forth the losses they claimed to have suffered in various parts of Germany, which, according to their computation, amounted to several millions. They were counting on my endorsement, which had become necessary to them, and offered me a considerable sum of money. Their proposition and my refusal became known to the Government, but in giving it further grounds for confidence in me, I had the sorrow to see the number and the bitterness of my enemies increase, without any improvement in my fortunes.

I waited to receive the reward of my labour and my fidelity during more than nine years of service, but I lacked the only possible means of obtaining access to the dispenser of favours (Madame de Pompadour). My lack of self-interest was detrimental to me; I had, moreover, lost the little which honourable means had permitted me to acquire, and had, therefore, nothing with which to purchase my recompense. My enemies, on the other hand, despite my precautions, had made for themselves positions sufficiently brilliant to command the means to close every entrance to the Temple of Fortune to me, and I was forced to abandon myself to an abandonment of my claims.

Their animosity was, however, not yet satisfied. I know about the thefts they had projected; they meant to bring about the death of an inconvenient witness, or, at least, force him to expatriate himself. In order to do this, they posted an individual, who having nothing to lose, insulted me publicly, and I was obliged to chastise him. They were able to cause the disappearance of this wretched man, and then they had me accused of fighting a duel, which had never taken place; I was constrained to flee from unjust pursuit, and powerful friends secured for me a safe refuge in the centre of Paris.

Count Raymond, whom I had known very well in the army, and to

whom I had rendered material service, had found an argument to persuade d'Argenson, who was his kinsman; the Minister, in procuring the Governorship of Isle Royale for him, had had him made *maréchal de camp*. He was determined not to go to America until he had, by the most magnificent promises, induced me to accompany him. Through his influence, I was to fill the most distinguished positions in the country. I venture to say that, while in America, he merely signed his name to all the important business to which I attended on behalf of the Government, and which it was his duty to perform; this is the truth, known even to the English in those lands.

Great obligations are too heavy a burden for a wicked heart. Count de Raymond, feeling that he could not do enough for me, determined to ruin me, and, when he dictated letters, in which he exaggerated my services to the Government, he was careful to withhold them and dispatch others, in which he discredited me unworthily. This black manoeuvre was discovered, and obtained for me the protection of the Intendants of the Colonies, through whom I learned of a mine Count de Raymond was preparing for me. When he was ready to return to France, he gave me to understand that he had adjusted the affair which had occasioned my departure from the realm, and that I could return with perfect safety. I was much too well informed to be caught in that trap. The Intendant who revealed it to me, seeing that I was without a position in the New World, sent me to Beauséjour as Commissary and purchasing agent, believing that he could obtain the Government's sanction for this appointment. For two years he waited in vain for my commission; Count de Raymond always opposed everything which might have been done for me.

I made use of this time to inform myself in regard to the abuses which it was my duty to reform, and they were not few in number. All the officers seemed to be in accord to rob the King.

During the intervals of my occupations I went frequently to Fort Lawrence, in command of M. Scott, whom I had known at Louisbourg. He appreciated my character, and, often, made me offers of employment. He pointed out the ingratitude which had repaid my services to France, adding that, since I was of English origin, he could not understand why I failed to look toward a Government which knew so well how to recognize and recompense talent and loyalty, as did that of Great Britain. I listened to such talk gratefully, without feeling any temptation to profit by his advice, until the most unfortunate event forced me to do so.

The Marquis de Breze had been a witness of my conduct during the late war; he was fully aware of the eagerness with which I had sacrificed the seductive appeals of dishonourable fortune to the honourable fulfillment of my duties. Informed concerning the manoeuvres against me in which Count de Raymond was engaged, he spoke to M. Rouillé, Minister of Marine, and expressed his surprise that so little consideration had been shown for my past services.

The Minister agreed that I deserved a position, and promised that I

should be provided in a manner most advantageous to myself. This promise was a thunderbolt for Count de Raymond, and to prevent its fulfillment, he passed the word to officers in the Colonies that, if I were appointed, as I assuredly would be, there would be no further opportunities for them to enrich themselves, because I was a man who could not be influenced, as had been proved in Germany, where all the schemes of the contractors had been frustrated by my vigilance.

The Colonies swarmed with people who had been forced by their crimes or their misconduct to expatriate themselves, and who lent themselves readily to the basest actions; among them was a man named Langi (although born in Canada). He it was whom the officers of Beauséjour, his comrades, had placed at the head of a conspiracy to cause my death. Mr. Hussey, successor to Mr. Scott (at Fort Lawrence), informed as to these projects, warned me to be on my guard, and that saved my life.

Having, on several occasions, upset the plans of my assassins, with whom I was obliged to live, they realized that I was seeking evidence to prove their plots; Langi, fearing that I might succeed in doing so, decided to make a final attempt with two of his accomplices. I determined to sell my life dearly, and two of my assailants were frightened by my resolution, when Langi succumbed. I immediately laid a complaint before Commandant Vergor, to whom I had already reported the warning I had received. Whatever his partiality for my enemies, their intention was too well known for him to have hope of condemning me with any shadow of justice; he, therefore, feigned to sympathize with me and to desire to adjust the affair, and, in the meantime, he took steps to ruin me. To insure success, he spread the rumour that the Government was at length prepared to recognize the services I had rendered it, and that the Intendant at Quebec, having received orders to give me an advantageous appointment, was only awaiting my arrival to carry them out. I might, possibly, have fallen into this trap had not the Intendant at Louisbourg, indignant over the betrayal which was being prepared for me, warned me by special messenger not to go to Quebec, where the Langi family proposed to bring suit against me. This Intendant had received orders to arrest me, but was too upright a man to lend himself to such injustice; he loudly denounced its authors and advised me to fly. France was still at peace with England, and it was, therefore, easy for me to go to Fort Lawrence, whose Commandant generously accorded me a refuge; he repeated all that Mr. Scott had said about my antecedents and about the small obligations I was under to France.

These conversations made such a strong impression on me at that time that I was resolved to attach myself to my liberators. A circumstance delayed the carrying out of my intentions; I saw that the English were getting ready to attack Fort Beauséjour; the moment did not seem very propitious for taking the step; from my point of view it would have been cowardly to abandon the fort in a time of danger. I returned to Beauséjour, where I had left my personal effects, some of which had already been dispersed.

We were besieged a few days later, and I venture to say that, in spite of my inclination toward the English, I opposed them in every way that my immediate duty required. Nevertheless, I did not fail to render a very important service to the troops of His Britannic Majesty on this occasion, but it was compatible with my original obligation. The place we were defending was not capable of holding out; there was not an inch which was not exposed to shells, and, as we numbered only 130 fighting men, our resistance could not last long. Our officers believed that they could supplement the regulars by arming the settlers, numbering 500, and keeping them in the fort. Our priests, to the disgrace of Christianity, released them from the Oath of Allegiance which they had taken to England on three separate occasions since the Peace of Utrecht. This resolution only tended to make the siege more deadly; for, when hostilities began the unfortunate settlers were informed that they could expect no mercy from the English, and that they would all be hanged. This was to induce them to fight desperately until their last breath.

This determination made me shudder; the wretched Acadians, whose defender I had been, having consulted me, I believed that honour as well as humanity obliged me to justify their confidence; I showed them the trap which had been prepared for them and depicted the fate which they could not escape if they were caught bearing arms. To the desire of avoiding bloodshed, which would be useless in the interests of France, and the obligation of guaranteeing those who trusted me from inevitable danger, was added a conscientious scruple. Could they, by any means, be released from their oath, above all, to bring about their deaths? The misuse of power, and the project itself both aroused in me a justifiable horror. These considerations, which seemed as potent to them as to me, led them to demand surrender of Commandant Vergor. The latter, passing from presumption to a panic of terror, which was quite as ill-founded, was prepared to yield at discretion. I sent him the model of an honourable capitulation, which would have been accepted, but he would not make use of it, for the sole reason that it came from my hand.

When this officer and the garrison were on the point of departure, I addressed him in the presence of all my associates, reminding him in a few words of all the services I had rendered France, the ingratitude with which they had been repaid, and the indignities to which I had been subjected since I had been in their midst, chiefly because I had protected the unfortunates whom they had treated as slaves; the attempt at assassination made upon me, of which I had proof, the false dispositions against me sent to Quebec, though they were convinced that I had killed Langi in self-defence,—and I ended by declaring that I renounced France and was determined to enter forthwith the service of England, whose wise Government would protect me from oppression. I added that, having always been loyally attached to the interests of France, by whom I had been treated with such crying injustice. It would be much more satisfactory to devote my ability and zeal to Great Britain, from which I could expect only fair treatment; this I have done, from this very period, with a

fidelity and constancy which have won for me the earnest and sincere approbation of the English Minister.

This, Madam, is the simple and succinct analysis of the chief events of my life, which I undertook to pass in review before your eyes. In acting as I did, I believed that neither my conscience nor my honour would suffer. I may have been mistaken in my reflections, since it is common for ordinary mortals to labour under delusions about their own motives; you, Madam, who are so completely impartial, judge me in these revelations. Your decision shall be for me a judgment from which I shall not appeal; but, before pronouncing, in mercy suffer me to submit the following observations for your guidance.

We are born men before we are English or French. As such, nature commands us imperiously to look after our own safety and preservation. Self-defence is an inalienable right and superior to all others; he who acts upon it without violating subsequent claims is unquestionably shielded from blame and even from the reproach of the actual law. Such is my case. To save myself from illegal proscription I merely transferred my services to a nation which might justly lay claim to them, since I sprang from its bosom in the first place; and this without injury to one which, far from recognizing all I had done for it in exposing myself a thousand times, did not hesitate to use the hatred and jealousy of my enemies to destroy me. What did I do? I foresaw the moment of absolute ruin. Death matters little; I could not endure the hideous glance of ignominy with which the rage of my enemies threatened me,—as the reward of a life full of honourable and virtuous actions.

I attempted no reprisals against France; my delicacy of feeling did not permit it; I preferred moderation to the consolation vengeance would have offered to hearts of a different type from mine. Had I avenged myself my conduct would have then won me as many admirers as Coriolanus had twenty centuries ago. How many enlightened people are this Roman's apologists! Yet comparison is all to my advantage. He was actually the subject of Rome by birth and ancestry, while I was of English descent. He only suffered a trifling injury from his country; France,—which is not even mine—did everything to ruin and dishonour me. He left Rome,—I quitted France; but he, after abandoning his fatherland, returned torch in hand at the head of the enemy's army, bringing death and desolation into its heart, while I was content with the refuge offered to me by my aboriginal country from the unprecedented persecution of a nation for which I had done too much. I confined myself to serving my hosts and liberators with all my strength, without ever taking up arms against the authors of my misfortunes. These are the circumstances; one more consideration may add more weight to my justification,—it is that the Very Christian King never entrusted me with any employment in America, and I did not, therefore, betray my ministry in the measures I took in England's favour.

These observations, Madame, will no doubt acquire additional force in your eyes, if you will deign to cast them upon the copy of the certificate Lord

Halifax, who was then Secretary of State, hastened to give me in order to confirm my justification. I have the honour to enclose it herewith. You will see that this Lord who knows how to appreciate things at their proper value, is far from regarding me as guilty; his testimony is not to be challenged.

Finally, Madam, the fear of over-burdening you keeps back all that might be added in my favour; I beg you to forgive me if you are robbed of precious moments by reading this. The desire to recover your esteem has carried me away. I shall submit to your decision; my resignation is proof of the importance to me of your favour. Restore me to it, Madam, and you will be convinced by the use I make of it that it is a blessing which I place above all others.

VI

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

BIBLIOTHEQUE DE VIRE (CALVADOS)

(Manuscript written by Pichon)

1. Note sur la Floride (en Anglais)—1 feuillet.
2. Remarques et Observations pour la Navigation de France à Québec—41 ff & bl.
3. Table du routier des Indes. 2 ff.
4. Distances des differens lieux de l'Acadie. 2 ff.
5. Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Cap Breton (par Thomas Pichon Imprimé à la Haye en 1760)—préface. 2 ff.
6. Notes botaniques sur le Canada. 2 ff, dont 1 blanc.
7. Observations scientifiques. 1754—Ensemble 9 ff.
8. Denombrement des familles, tant des réfugiées que non réfugiées dependantes du commandant de Beauséjour village par village—(inachevé)—1 f et gr. in-fo.
9. Denombrement des familles réfugiées que non réfugiées dependantes de Beauséjour dans l'Acadie françoise village par village—1 ffet gr. in-fo.
10. Denombrement des habitans des trois rivières dépendants du commandement de Beauséjour dans l'Acadie françoise village par village.—1 f et gr in fo.
11. Denombrement des habitans de Gasparaux, La Baieverte et le Portage Ste Marguerite. 2 ff.
12. Denombrement des paroisses de La Coupe, La Butte, pt à Buot? 2 ff.
13. Memoire sur l'établissement de Beauséjour frontière de l'Acadie. 3 ff & 1 bl.
14. Reflexions sur le Mémoire concernant l'établissement de Beauséjour. 4 ff.
15. Tarif des prix anxquels seront vendus les vires, munitions et marchandises que le Roy envoie à la Pointe a Beauséjour. 1751—copie 6 ff. & 1 liste de vivres avec prix au dos de laquelle est une liste de 22 personnes avec qui Thomas Pichon aurait correspondu; notes de dépenses 1753 et un tableau: "Réduction des deux septièmes, difference du prix de l' argent dans l'Acadie, avec le prix de France:—Ensemble 9 ff.
16. Notes historiques—1750—1 f et & 1 bl.—

17. Notes historiques—2 ff.
18. Etat dans lequel se trouvoit le 9 7bre 1751 la colonie Angloise de Chibouctou.—3 ff & 1 nl.
19. Mémoire qui regarde les affaires presente de l'Acadie—1 f et.
20. Projet d'un établissement dans la Brador, proposé par Mr. Rousseau de Villejouin, commandant actuellement au Port Thoulouze. Juillet 1751. 2 ff. in fo.
21. Isle Royale—Duplicata—1751—Motifs des Sauvages Mikmaques et Marichites de continuer la guerre contre les Anglois depuis la dernière paix. 5 ff. & 1 bl.
22. Memoire concernant l'établissement françois fait sur les frontières de l'Acadie à la fin de l'année 1749.—4 ff.
23. Description de la ville d'Halifax, de son port, de ses environs, de ses troupes et habitans etc.—2 ff.
24. Representation des habitants de l'Acadie (40 ans après le traité d'Utrech, soit 1753)—4 ff.
25. Colonie de la partie méridonale de la Nouvelle France au Canada, 1753. Tableau de l'état actuel des missions tant françoises que sauvages dans la partie meridionale de la Nouvelle France. 8 ff. & 2 bl.
26. Memoire sur un projet des plus interessants (ravitaillement de Quebec ou Louisbourg). 1 f et.
27. Relation de ce qui s'est passé à la prise de l'Alcide par l'Escadre Angloise commandée par M. L'Amiral Boscawen portant pavillon bleu mat de mizaine le 8e juin 1755 par 5 ff. & 1 bl.
28. Liste des navires marchands françois conduits a Halifax par L'Escadre de l'Amiral Bouscaven. 2 ff.
29. Capitulation pour les troupes françoises qui se trouvent dans le fort de Beauséjour. 2 ff. 2 bl.
30. Rencontre, combat et prise des Vaisseaux du Roy l'Alcide commandé par M. Hocquard et le Lis par M. de Laugerie—2 ff.

VII

GLOSSARY OF PLACE-NAMES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

- Baye des Chaleurs* Also, *Baye de Chaleurs*, *Baie Chaleur*, &c. Cartier named it *la baye de Chaleur*. Now, officially, *Baie de Chaleur*. In English, usually, *Bay Chaleur*. It is between New Brunswick and Quebec.
- Baye Verte* Also, *Baie Verte*. A village at the head of the Bay of this name, which lies between Cumberland County and the projecting part of Westmorland which ends at Cape Tormentine. The village had a French church.
- Beaubassin* The name given by the French to the upper head-water of the Bay of Fundy (now known as Cumberland Basin). When the first settlers from Port Royal settled on a ridge east of the mouth of the Missaguash River in 1671, their collection of houses became known as Beaubassin. This grew to be a large village, which was destroyed by fire by orders of the priests Le Loutre and Germain in 1750, in order that the inhabitants might be forced to the country west of the Missaguash, which the French claimed as their territory.
- Beauséjour* This name was first given to the ridge which rises gradually from the marsh north of Beaubassin Bay, about a mile and a quarter from Beaubassin ridge, which it parallels. It was first occupied by one Laurent Chatillon, sieur de Beauséjour, and as he lived near the southermost end, the name *Pointe à Beauséjour* or *Pointe Beauséjour* was given to the area.
- Butte à Charles* About 400 yards north of Beauséjour, the ridge rises and extends north as higher ground. A French farmer known as Père Charles, lived on it; hence the name.
- Butte à Mirande* The elevated area overlooking the Missaguash marsh, about two miles and an eighth from Fort Beauséjour. It was named after a Portuguese settler Mirande who had married a French woman and had a farm there. During the siege of 1755, the British established their main encampment there. The modern name is Mt. Whatley.

- Butte à Roger* A small hill about three-quarters of a mile north-east of Fort Beauséjour. It overlooked the Missaguash and guarded the approach from Fort Lawrence. On it the French built a redoubt, in which soldiers were stationed.
- Canceau* Also, *Canseaux*, *Campseaux*, &c. Now Canso. At the east end of Nova Scotia south of the strait of the same name (formerly "passage de Fronsac", of the French days).
- Cape Chignitou* The extreme western tip of Cumberland County, N. S., projecting into the Bay of Fundy. The modern name is Cape Chignecto.
- Cape Maringouin* The extreme southern tip of Westmorland County, N. B., projecting into Chignecto Bay.
- Cape Sable* At the south-west tip of Nova Scotia. Charles de la Tour was known as "Lord of Cape Sable" as well as "Lieut. of the King in Acadia".
- Chedaik* There are many variations in spelling; the modern name is Shediac, on the coast of Westmorland County, N. B.
- Chibouktou* Also spelled *Chibuctou*, *Chebucto*, &c. The name is derived from the Micmac word *Chebookt*, meaning "chief harbour". Here, in 1749, the Hon. Edward Cornwallis founded the new capital of Nova Scotia, ever since known as Halifax.
- Chignitou* The name given to the country north of Beaubassin; it is derived from a Micmac word meaning "the great marsh district". In recent times the name Chignecto has come to refer to the isthmus between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.
- Chipaudi* Also, *Chipoudi*, *Chepodi* *Chigpoudy*, &c. Now Shepody. An early settlement of the Acadians along the shore of Shepody Bay, and having nearby, Shepody Mountain.
- Cobequid* Different spellings of this name are found in the text, e.g., *Cobeguid*, *Cobequikt*, *Cobeguit*, *Cobeguiste*, *Cobequik*. It was applied to the entire region around the head of the most easterly extension of Minas Basin, known as Cobequid Bay. There was no distinct village of this name, the houses being scattered generally, though here and there grouped together. Some other spellings are found but need not be men-

tioned. The name is derived from a Micmac word *Wakobetgithk*, meaning "end of the flowing water". While the first grant of land was given to Mathieu Martin in 1689, French settlement was not marked until during the first half of the 18th century. There was a well-established route between Chignecto and Cobequid by way of the Macan river to the north shore of Minas Basin and thence eastward.

Fort Lawrence

This fort was built by the British under Charles Lawrence (later, Governor of Nova Scotia) in the autumn of 1750, on Beaubassin ridge at the site of the destroyed French village of this name. After the British established themselves in Fort Beauséjour, following its capture in 1755 (re-naming it Fort Cumberland), Fort Lawrence became useless and was destroyed in 1756. Now, only a portion of its fosse can be traced. The ridge on which it stood is now known as Fort Lawrence ridge. Pichon frequently refers to the Fort as Mejugouech.

French Bay

La Baye Francaise, so named by De Monts in 1604. In 1612, Father Biard called it *Baie de Fundy*. In the 16th century, *Rio Fondo*, probably designating only the eastern end, was found on various maps. After the middle of the 18th century, the French name disappeared and the modern *Bay of Fundy* came into use.

Gaspereau

Also, *Gasparot*, *Gaspereau*, *Gaspereaux*. The name of a river opening into Baie Verte on its north shore a short distance east of Baie Verte village. Near the mouth of the river the French built a fortified post named Fort Gaspereau. A road was built from it to Baie Verte village along the shore and across the marsh, the latter part being on piles.

Grand Pré

Settled by the French in the latter part of the 17th century. The name refers to the great marsh on the shore of the Basin of Minas, which was reclaimed for cultivation. The village was frequently the scene of disturbances between the British and French. The main deportation of the Acadians in 1755 took place there.

Isle aux Meules

Also, *I. aux Meulles*, and *I. des Meules*. An island in Chignecto Bay, near Cape Maringouin. Now known as Grindstone Island.

Isle de la Vallière

An elevated upland area in the marsh between Beauséjour, and Beaubassin ridges, slightly south of a line between the French and British forts. When

the first French settlers arrived, the elevation appeared as an island when the marshes were flooded. The name is derived from the owner of the great seigniory of Chignitou (or Beaubassin, which was 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 Acadia as Commander and Acting Governor under Count Frontenac, 1678-84. After the building of Fort Lawrence by the British, a guard of soldiers was kept on the island. Since the British conquest, it has been known as Tonge's Island, after the engineer who was stationed at Fort Lawrence, who acquired the property.

Ile Royale

Now Cape Breton Island.

Ile St. Jean

Now Prince Edward Island.

Kennebec

Spelled *Kinibeki* in the text. There are other variations e. g., *Kinibequi*, *Kenibiqui*, *Quinibequi*, &c. The territory in the region of the river of this name was an important center of the Abenaki Indians, and was important in the frequent disturbances between French and British in the latter part of the 17th and early part of the 18th centuries.

La belle rivière

Ohio River. The fight near it is mentioned several times. In the spring of 1754, an advance party of Colonial troops, part of a force commanded by George Washington, began to build a fort at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers (they formed the Ohio). On April 17, a great fleet of canoes, carrying about 500 French, descended the Alleghany from Canada, attacked the Americans and drove them away. The French then continued building the fort, and completed it, naming it Fort DuQuesne, in honour of the Governor of Canada. On its site stands modern Pittsburg.

Le Lac

A village at the head of the Rivière du Lac (now the Aulac), which opens into Cumberland Basin, near the mouth of the Tantramar. There was a lake of considerable size near the village, but under modern building of aboiteaux and drainage, this has completely disappeared.

Louisbourg

Until 1713 this place was known as *Havre à l'Anglois*, Cape Breton Island (English Harbour). Then it was named in honour of Louis XIV. A new town and fortress was commenced and became the chief stronghold of France in America. It was cap-

tured by the British in 1745, given back to France in 1748, and again taken by the British in 1758. The fortifications were then destroyed.

Maskoudagainé

The Micmac name of the river which opens into Cumberland Basin east of Beaubassin ridge. Variations in spelling occur. The French used the name *La Planche*, which is still retained.

Meductic

In the text *Medoctok*. Also, elsewhere, spelled *Medoctec*, *Medogtek*, *Medocktack*, *Medoctet*. Its origin is Maliseet, though its meaning is not definitely known, except that *med* means fall or rapid.

This Maliseet village was on the west bank of the River St. John, eight miles below the site of modern Woodstock. It was an important Indian center, because of its position in relation to the main travel-route of the Indians between Acadia and the territories now forming the New England States.

Mejagouech

Also, *Mesagoueche*, *Meragoueche* &c. The name was applied to the river which runs between the Beauséjour and Beaubassin ridges. The modern name is Missaguash (sometimes, Misseguash). The river was named by the French *Rivière du Portage*, because at its upper end the portage route to Baie Verte started. It was, also, for a time known as the *Ste. Marguerite*.

After Fort Lawrence was built in 1750, the French frequently referred to it as *Mejagouech*.

Memeramkouk

Also, found as *Memerancouk*. The name was first applied to the river, which runs in Westmorland County and opens into Shepody Bay just east of the mouth of the Petitcodiac. It was settled by the Acadians, especially during the first half of the 18th century.

Minas

The modern spelling of *Les Mines* or *Mines*, the name given by Champlain because he thought it to be the district in which one Prevert had reported finding a copper mine. It was first used to designate what is now known as Advocate Harbour; later, it was applied to the great body of water, ever since named the Basin of Minas. It was, also, used as synonymous with the region of Grand Pré.

Miramichi

This is, also, the modern spelling, and is applied to a large river on the east coast of New Brunswick, having two main branches.

Mirligouech

One of several spellings for the modern district of Lunenburg, on the south shore of Nova Scotia.

- Neranchowak* One of several spellings for the place now known as Norridgewock, situated near the mouth of the branch of the river, now named Sandy River, a few miles above Skowhegan in Maine. Father Rasle wrote his Abenaki Dictionary there early in the 18th century.
- Oueskachice* Also, *Veschekakchis*, *Veskakchis*. A village on the Bay some distance south of Veskak. Now known as "Little Westcock".
- Oueskak* Also, *Veskak*, *Veskok*, *Vechekak*. &c. The modern name is Westcock. This was a French village near a creek on the west shore of Beaubassin Bay, south of the mouth of the Tantamare River. The deep water of the Bay was near its shore and was a favourite anchorage. The name is Micmac, meaning a marsh-bordered creek, and was used at other places.
- Pekoudiak* Also *Petkoudiac*, &c. Now Petitcodiac. A Micmac word meaning "the river runs round in a bow". It runs between Albert and Westmorland Counties, and makes a sharp bend at the City of Moncton.
- Pektou* Modern Pictou, N. S. According to Rand, the Micmac scholar, derived from the Micmac *Pictook* meaning "an explosion of gas".
- Pentagoet* There are many variations in spelling, the name being derived from an Indian word, meaning "broader river place". The English gave to it the name "Penobscot", which has survived, the older designations used by the French having been lost. The modern town Castine is on the site of the French fort built in 1613.
- Peskadamokkauti* More frequently spelled by the French *Pesmouquadis*, *Pesmokadis*, *Pesmonquadis*, &c. The Indian original means "place where pollock are". The modern name is Passamaquoddy, the large bay thus designated being on the border between New Brunswick and Maine.
- Piziquid* Spelled in various ways, e. g., *Pigiguith*, *Pisiquid*, *Pigiquit*, &c. Settled first by the French. In 1750, Governor Cornwallis ordered a block-house to be erected. Later, other buildings were built and the name of "Fort Edward" was given to the works. At present only the block-house remains. Near the hill on which it stands is the modern town of Windsor.
- Pont à Buot* Also, *Pont à Buhot*, so named because of the owner of a farm there. There were other houses in the neighbourhood in 1755. The land was considerable

elevated above the Missaguash marsh, and there was a bridge across the river. This was the first point of attack made by the British in 1755. They marched from Fort Lawrence, crossed the river and captured a redoubt which the French had built on an elevation west of the bridge. From the bridge a path led to Fort Lawrence, which was much used before 1755, when friendly relations existed between the two forts. The inhabitants sold supplies and traded at Fort Lawrence.

Port la Joye

Also, Port Lajoie. Established by the French in 1721 near the entrance to a large harbour on the south coast of Ile St. Jean. It was captured by the British after the fall of Louisbourg in 1758. The modern Charlottetown is built on this harbour.

Près des Bourgs

Près des Bourques is another rendering. A small village on the upland, on which stands the modern town of Sackville, N. B.

Richibouktou

There are various spellings. The modern form is Richibucto, and is used for a town and river.

Remickik

Also, *Remchique*, *Ramshack*, *Ramshag*, &c. The modern name is Wallace, Cumberland County, N. S.

Rivière aux pommes

Now Apple River. It is at the western end of Cumberland County, N. S. north of Cape Chignecto and opens into Chignecto Bay.

Scatari

An island on the east coast of Cape Breton. Once called "Little Cape Breton". Also, sometimes "Ponchartrain" by the French.

St. Pierre

Named by Nicolas Denys, Governor of the East Coast of Acadia in 1655, who used it as a trading and fishing center. In 1713 it was re-named Fort Toulouse by the French. The modern name is St. Peter's.

Tantamarre

Tintamare, *Tantemar*, &c. The name was applied to a river running through a great marsh opening into Beaubassin, near Veskok. Near its upper reaches the name was, also, given to a straggling village (modern "Four Corners"). It had a French church which was destroyed in 1755. The modern name is Tantramar.

Tatemigouche

Also, *Tahamigouche*, *Tatamagouche*; the latter is the modern designation. There was a French settlement there previous to 1738. It is on the east coast of Cumberland County, N. S.

VIII

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF PERSONAGES MENTIONED IN
THE TEXT

BEAUSOLEIL

Joseph Brossard or Broussard, dit Beausoleil was born at Port Royal, 1702. In 1725, he married Agnes Thibodeau, and in 1727, settled at Shepody, but, later, moved further up the Petitcodiac river. He was brave and resourceful and was the hero of several daring exploits.

BELLEISLE. M. DE.

A descendant of Charles La Tour (probably Alexander Le Borgne) who lived on the River St. John.

BIGOT, FRANCOIS

Born at Bordeaux, 1703. Through strong influences at Court he entered the Department of Marine. In 1731, M. de Maurepas appointed him Commissary at Rochefort. In 1739, sent to Louisbourg as First Commissary, Head of the Supreme Council and sub-delegate of the Intendant of Canada. He did much to improve economic conditions on the island, though he took care to make money for himself by irregular methods. After the fall of Louisbourg in 1745, he returned to France, where he was tried for embezzling public funds; he was exonerated through high influence exerted in his favour. In 1748, he became Intendant of New France. In this position, he accumulated money through graft and corruption. When he returned to France after the conquest, he was arrested, thrown into the Bastille and tried, being condemned to give up most of his wealth and to be executed. However, the sentence was changed and he was exiled instead of losing his head. He died in 1777.

M. BILLY

Clerk at Fort Beauséjour, formerly an officer. Killed in a casemate, with Ensign Hay and two others, by the explosion of a British shell.

BOISHEBERT, CHARLES DES CHAMPS DE

Born in Quebec, 1727. Entered military service in 1742. 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. 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 there. 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 harbour of St. John. The next year, on being 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.

BOSCAWEN, EDWARD

Born, 1711. Son of Lord Falmouth. Entered navy, 1726. Lieutenant, 1732. First command, 1741. Had much sea service and was in many fights. In 1747-8, sent to East Indies as Commander-in-chief of sea and land forces. In 1755, made Vice-Admiral and sent to North America in command of a squadron, which was following a French squadron. They met in a fog near Newfoundland and the Alcide and Lys were captured. In 1758, made Admiral of the Blue and commanded fleet at siege of Louisbourg. In 1759, he defeated a French fleet in the Mediterranean. As a commander, he was noted for his interest in the welfare of his officers and crew, who were devoted to him. He died of typhoid in 1761.

CHAUVREULX, CLAUDE-JEAN-BAPTISTE

Born at Orleans, 1706. Entered priesthood and went to Canada, 1728. Ordained, 1730. Sulpician. He served in Nova Scotia for many years. At Piziquid, 1732-6; Pubnico, 1736-9; Cape Sable, la Hève and Shubenacadie, 1739-46; Grand Pré and Rivière-aux Canards, 1746-55. He was on the side of the British authorities, and urged his people to take the oath of allegiance, refusing to follow Le Loutre in inciting them against the Government or to encourage them to move west of the Missaguash. In 1755, he was taken to Halifax and sent to France, where he died in 1760.

COPP, CAPTAIN

Pichon's rendering of Capt. Cobb. Sylvanus Cobb, of Boston, was hired by Governor Cornwallis to enter His Majesty's service with his sloop York, in 1750. He was employed in Nova Scotia during several years, and proved himself to be a very competent sailor.

DE COURVILLE, LOUIS

On May 25, 1754, he was commissioned by Intendant Bigot as Royal Notary in Acadia, his head-quarters being Fort Beauséjour. After the fall of Beauséjour, he returned to Quebec, and 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. He, also, practised as a notary in several places.

Under British rule, he was commissioned to practise in three parishes. Later, he settled in Montreal. In 1768, he was admitted to practise as an ad-

vocate. In 1770, his property was sold by the sheriff to satisfy a judgment against him. De Courville then left Montreal, and practised as a notary at L'Assomption. He wrote his memoirs, of which three versions exist. One of these was published by the direction of the Literary and Historical Society in 1838, under the title *Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760*.

DAUDIN, ABBE HENRI

Born in Blois. Studied at the Seminary of St. Esprit in Paris, having Le Loutre as a fellow-student. Ordained priest about 1737. In 1752-3, he was induced by Le Loutre to take up missionary work in Nova Scotia. Went first to Piziquid to take place of Abbé Le Maire for a short time. In spring of 1754, he succeeded Des Enclaves at Annapolis Royal, and was destined to be the last French curé there. After a few months Governor Hopson became suspicious of him and he was carefully watched. His correspondence with Le Loutre was copied by Pichon at Beauséjour, and sent to the British. His arrest followed, and he was taken to Halifax and threatened with deportation. However, on the petition of his parishioners, he was released (to the disgust of Pichon, who refers to the affair in his letter to Scott, of Nov. 18, 1754). Daudin returned to Annapolis Royal and resumed his correspondence with Le Loutre; in August, 1755, he was arrested, along with the priests Le Maire of Rivière-aux-Canards and Chauvreulx, of Minas. After several months' detention in Halifax, they were sent to France. Daudin died, 1756.

DES ENCLAVES, JEAN-BAPTISTE GAY

Born near Limoges, 1702. Ordained priest, 1726. In 1728, went to Sulpician Seminary, Montreal. In 1736-42 he served in Nova Scotia, at Cobequid, Grand Pré, Rivière-aux-Canards. In 1742-54, he was in charge of the parish of Annapolis Royal, where he was always on good terms with the British. He steadfastly refused to stir up the French or to encourage them to leave their homes and cross the Missaguash. In consequence, he aroused the strong antagonism of the priests Le Loutre and Daudin, who always urged these policies. He was removed from Annapolis Royal and went to Pubnico, being succeeded by Abbé Daudin. In 1758, Des Enclaves was arrested by Gorham's Rangers and taken to Halifax. Thence, he was sent to France, where he died in 1772.

DRUCOURT, AUGUSTIN, CHEVALIER DE

Born, 1700. Entered navy, 1719. Captain, 1751. Had much sea service. Made Governor of l'Île Royale, 1754. On assuming office, he found conditions bad at Louisbourg, fortifications defective and much neglected, morale poor, and economic conditions unsatisfactory. He began energetically to reform and improve, but was hampered by the lack of support on the part of Prevost, the Intendant-Commissary. In 1758, he was attacked by combined British naval and military forces under Boscawen and Amherst, and was forced to capitulate. On returning to France, he rejoined the navy, but died in 1762.

DU QUESNE, ANGE DE MENNEVILLE, MARQUIS DE

Born in Toulon, 1702. After a distinguished career in the navy, he was sent to New France as Governor in 1752, and made a marquis. He fol-

lowed the policies of his predecessors, and strengthened the military forces of France, particularly from the great lakes down to the Mississippi, knowing that a clash with the British was inevitable. The fort built on the site of modern Pittsburg was named after him; near it Coulon de Villiers won a victory over the British in 1754. Du Quesne was, also, a reformer in civil affairs. He returned to France in 1755 to re-enter the navy.

M. FERNAND

An interpreter. Killed in a casemate of Fort Beauséjour during the siege, with Ensign Hay and others, by the explosion of a British shell.

FIEDMONT, LOUIS THOMAS JACAU DE

He was probably born at Placentia in 1712, whither the family migrated after the capture of 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. When the garrison of Placentia was moved to Louisbourg on the founding of the latter, the family went also. 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. 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. 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 1760, at Versailles the King gave to de Fiedmont, then termed a brigadier of infantry, the commission of Adjutant-General. He probably emigrated at the time of the Revolution, but the date of his death is not known. He was a second cousin of Vergor du Chambon.

FRANQUET, COLONEL LOUIS

Officer of Engineers. Sent by the King in 1750 to superintend the new fortifications of Louisbourg. 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 a Buot and Fort Gaspereau, 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.

GERMAIN, FATHER

A Jesuit Priest who was sent as a missionary to the Indians on the River St. John, in 1745. He frequently visited Beaubassin to confer with the Abbé Le Loutre on measures to be taken against the British. For several years he was an important agent of the Quebec Government. He assisted De Ramezay in planning the attack on Col. Noble's force in Grand Pré, in the winter of 1747. After the fall of Quebec, he induced many French and Indians to submit to the British. In 1761, he was granted a pension for his services by the Government.

GOROM, JOSEPH

This is Pichon's spelling of Joseph Gorham (Goreham). He was an officer in the Rangers, a body of troops commanded by his brother John. He was a native of Massachusetts. In 1760, he became a Major in the American Rangers. In 1766, he was made a member of Council in Halifax. Lieut.-Col. in 1771. In 1776, he was sent to command Fort Cumberland, where he withstood an attack by rebels under Jonathan Eddy.

LE GUERNE, ABBE FRANCOIS

(Also found as Guerne and De Guerne; his letters are signed "Le Guerne")

Born in Brittany, 1725. Entered priesthood and was sent to Canada in 1750. Ordained, 1751. In 1753, went as missionary to the Petitcodiac region of Acadia. He was devoted to his people, and, after the ravaging of the French settlements, he was the only priest in Acadia who remained among the dispossessed people. His records are found in the church books of Petitcodiac (probably the one at the site of the modern Moncton), as late as the summer of 1757. His people fled north along the shore, and the Abbé went to Quebec to try to get assistance for them. In 1758, he was made curé of St.-François on the Ile d'Orleans, where some of the Acadians found a home. He was professor of Rhetoric in the Little Seminary of Quebec, 1768-71. He died in 1789.

HALIFAX, EARL OF

George Montagu Dunk, second Earl, was born in 1716. Son of George Montagu. He married Anne Richards, who had a large fortune, inherited from Sir Thomas Dunk, a great clothier, in 1741. He assumed her name and joined a trading company in London, as the lady could only marry one engaged in commercial life. After holding various minor appointments he was placed at the head of the Board of Trade, John Pownall being secretary and adviser. Richard Cumberland was his confidential private secretary. While not regarded as having unusual talent, he did good work and promoted

the business interests of his country, especially in America, being often termed the "Father of the Colonies." In 1749, the new capital of Nova Scotia was named after him. In 1757, he was given cabinet rank, still being in charge of the Board of Trade. In 1761, he became Lord Lieut. of Ireland. Later, he held other cabinet positions, and had a chequered career until his death in 1771.

HAY, ENSIGN

Of the 40th regiment, a prisoner in Fort Beauséjour during the siege, killed by the explosion of a bomb in a casemate.

HINCHELWOOD, ARCHIBALD

One of the first settlers in Halifax, 1749. He was one of the Governor's clerks. Acting Secretary in 1753, and served in the Secretary's office many years. Elected to the House of Assembly for Lunenburg in 1759, but was unseated. Elected again in 1765. Recommended by Governor Lord Wm. Campbell to a seat in the Council, but he died before taking it. When Pichon (under the name of Tyrrell) was removed to Halifax after the fall of Beauséjour, he was placed in Hinchelwood's care.

M. HOCQUART

Chevalier de St. Louis

Captain in the French Navy, he was one of the French officers, with whom Pichon associated, while in Halifax, after the fall of Fort Beauséjour. He had been taken prisoner in the engagement near Newfoundland on June 8. His ship was the Alcide and belonged to the squadron under M. du Bois de la Mothe, which had sailed from France and had been becalmed in a fog several days. A British squadron, under Admiral Boscawen had been following them, and came upon them unexpectedly in the fog. Captain the Hon. Richard Howe in the Dunkirk and Captain Andrews in the Defiance attacked the Alcide and the Lys, captured them and took them to Halifax. This affair occurred when the British and France were at peace. It is considered to have been one of the factors which led to the opening of the Seven Years' War, in 1756.

LANGI

Levraux de Langy was an Ensign of Foot and had served at Louisbourg before being sent to Beauséjour.

LAWRENCE, CHARLES

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 1752, 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; 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; it was never found.

LE LOUTRE, JEAN-LOUIS, ABBE

Born at Morlaix, Brittany, September 26, 1709. 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 dispatches 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 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 Missaguash 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. 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 had become 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 labour, but at the Capitulation the work was not finished. 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 a prisoner to England. After being held several weeks, he was sent to the Island of Jersey and kept 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, while on the point of starting for that Island in 1772, 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.

L'ISLE DIEU, ABBE DE, PIERRE DE LA RUE

Born in 1688. Entered priesthood. In 1722, became 36th Abbé of L'Isle Dieu, an old foundation of 1187, near Rouen.

In 1734, he was made Vicar-General of the diocese of Quebec and filled this office until 1777, but did not visit the Colony. When the Bishop of Quebec died in 1739, the Abbé administered the diocese until 1741. He had

the title of Almoner-General of the Colonies of New France, including Louisiana, and, thus, had much to do with placing missionaries in different parts. As well, his relations with the Ministers in charge of the Colonies were very close. He died in 1779.

LE MAIRE, ABBE

He was sent as a young priest to Piziquid in 1751. Abbé Daudin replaced him in 1753 and he went to Baie Verte. In 1754-5, he was at Rivière-aux-Canards, but, in the latter year, was deported to France.

MAILLARD, FATHER

Abbé Maillard was sent to Cape Breton by the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris, in 1735. He lived with the Micmac Indians in various places, learned their language and had great influence among them. After the fall of Louisbourg in 1745, he moved to Nova Scotia and worked among the French and Indians. The last two years of his life work were spent in Halifax, where he was pensioned by the Government, his influence being exerted in urging his people and the Indians to submit to British rule. He died in 1762, and was given a public funeral, because of the great respect in which he had been held. He constructed a grammar and dictionary of the Micmac language and devised many hieroglyphics, with which the Indians learned to read and write.

MAUGER, JOSHUA

Son of a London Jewish merchant, engaged in trading in the French West Indies; later, also, at Louisbourg. Came to Halifax after its foundation and established a station on Cornwallis Island at entrance of harbour. He engaged in the liquor traffic and smuggling. In 1751, became Agent-Victualler for Navy. Made rum in the city. After accumulating a large fortune, he went to London, and was made Agent for Nova Scotia in London. He, also, entered Parliament. His only daughter married the Duc de Bouillon, who squandered her fortune; both were guillotined in the Revolution.

MAURICE, JACOB

A member of an old Acadian family which had moved from Port Royal to Chignecto in 1720. His father was Maurice Vignau. Jacques, better known as Jacques Maurice (or Morice) lived at Baie Verte in 1754. In 1755, he was deported to Georgia.

MONCKTON, HON. ROBERT

Second son of Viscount Galway. Born 1726. Entered army and had considerable service in Flanders and Germany, becoming a Lieut.-Col. in 1751. Sent to Nova Scotia in 1752 and became Commandant at Fort Lawrence for a time. In 1753, he quelled an insurrection of Germans in Lunenburg, N. S. Early in 1755, sent to Boston to command troops raised by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, destined to attack Fort Beauséjour. Besieged and captured the fort in June, 1755. Remained there until November, re-

naming it Fort Cumberland. In December of the same year, made Lieut.-Gov. of Nova Scotia, under Governor Charles Lawrence. In 1758, he remained in Halifax while Lawrence took part in the siege and capture of Louisbourg. In 1759, he was senior Brigadier-General under Wolfe, and was badly wounded in the Battle of the Plains. Later he went to the American colonies and became Governor of New York in 1761. In the autumn he commanded a successful expedition against Martinique and other islands in the West Indies. In 1763, he returned to England, and died in 1782.

MURRAY, ALEXANDER

Born in Peebleshire, about 1730. Entered army. Captain, 1743. Sent to Nova Scotia in 1749. Stationed at Fort Piziquid (now Windsor), 1754-5, taking an active part, under Col. Monckton in the expulsion of the Acadians. Major in 45th Foot, 1755. At siege of Louisbourg, 1758, with local rank of Lieut.-Col., he commanded the Louisbourg Grenadiers, formed of Grenadier companies of the 22nd., 40th., and 45th. regts. In Louisbourg, during winter following siege, his wife, while in garrison, had a son, James Wolfe Murray, named after the General, who was god-father. The family have ever since kept the name "Wolfe" being known as "Wolfe Murray." In 1759, Murray commanded the Louisbourg Grenadiers at Quebec. In 1762, he fought under Monckton at Martinique, but died during the campaign.

PONTBRIAND, HENRY-MARIE DU BREUIL DE

Born, 1709. Consecrated Bishop of Quebec, 1741, sixth and last during the French régime. He died in Quebec in 1760. He was a devoted prelate and deeply respected.

PREVOST, JACQUES

Born at Brest. Entered Dep't of Marine. Rose rapidly, and, in 1735 was Chief Clerk at Rochefort. Soon after, Asst. Commissary at Louisbourg, under Le Normant de Mézy. In 1739, in charge of stores of King, troops, and artillery, with a seat on Superior Council. Wounded in siege of Louisbourg, made prisoner and returned to France. In 1746, sent with Duc D'Anville's fleet to Nova Scotia, but was wrecked on Sable Island. In 1747, was in La Jonquière's fleet, which was defeated by the British off Finisterre; taken prisoner to England. Regained liberty and was sent to Louisbourg again, in 1749, as Commissaire-Ordonnateur and President of Council. His administration has been generally condemned, and he has been compared to Bigot for his raiding of the Government's funds. Moreover, he was overbearing and vindictive. Returned to France in 1758 and received a high appointment. In 1763, arrested and tried for peculation, but was found not guilty.

M. RAIMBAULT

Officer of *Ile Royale*. Killed in a casemate of Fort Beauséjour during the siege, with Ensign Hay and others, by the explosion of a British shell.

RAYMOND, JEAN-LOUIS, COMTE DE

Signior of Oyes in Marne, France. Entered army and rose to be a Lieut.-Col. in the Vexin reg't, and King's Lieutenant in Angoulême. Made Governor of l'Ile Royale, 1751. He worked hard to improve the condition of the colony, improving roads, harbours, and agriculture. He took with him Thomas Pichon as secretary, and M. Surlaville, Col. of Grenadiers, who was Major of troops. He loved pomp, and overdrew his account, failing to induce the French Government to pay his claims. He estranged both civil and military high officials, especially Surlaville and Prevost, the Commissaire-Ordonnateur. He dismissed Pichon for irregularities, and sent him to Beauséjour. He tried to establish a large seignior for himself, but this was cancelled by the Government. In 1753, he resigned and returned to France.

ROUILLE, ANTOINE-LOUIS, COMTE DE JOUY

Born in Paris, 1689. Councillor of State, 1744; then, Minister of Marine, succeeding Maurepas. He did much to build up the navy, and, in 1754, gave up this post to M. Machault, becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs. He died in 1761.

SALABERRY, MICHEL D'IRUMBERRY DE

Born in Gascony. Entered merchant marine and become captain in 1735. In same year, he married Catherine Rouay de Villeray at Quebec. In 1745, he was sent with supplies to Quebec, afterwards patrolling the lower St. Lawrence. Then he was given a commission in the navy, and, in 1752, he commanded a flute charged with carrying official dispatches to and from l'Ile Royale. In 1757, he was advanced in rank and commanded *la Fidele* at Louisbourg. He retired to France in 1760. In 1766, he was given the Cross of St. Louis and, later, a pension. He died in La Rochelle in 1768. There is no explanation of why he was in Halifax in 1755. His Canadian home was at Beauport. He was grandfather of Col. de Salaberry of Chateauguay fame in 1813.

SCOTT, GEORGE

In 1750 he was Capt.-Lieut. in the 40th Foot. He was able, and held in high esteem by his superiors. In 1753, he succeeded Col. Monckton as Commandant at Fort Lawrence. In 1755, he was next in command to John Winslow, in Monckton's army, which captured Fort Beauséjour. As a Major he fought at Louisbourg in 1758, and commanded the Light Infantry and Rangers with marked distinction. In September of the same year, he accompanied Monckton on his expedition to the lower St. John River. Immediately afterwards, he was sent with troops to ravage the French settlements on the Petitcodiac River. His Report of this undertaking is signed "Geo. Scott, Commander of L. I. & Rangers." In 1759, he commanded the Rangers at Quebec, and was so successful that Wolfe appointed him to command a battalion of Grenadiers from the Louisbourg regiments.

SHIRLEY, WILLIAM

Born December 2, 1694, in Preston, Sussex, England, the son of a London merchant. He became a lawyer, in 1731, went to Boston and prac-

tised. Made Surveyor of the King's woods, and thus gained a wide knowledge of the country. In 1740, he was very active in raising troops to serve in the Cartagena expedition. Governor of Massachusetts, 1741; 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 it was not put 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 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, advocating war on the French. He worked out a plan of campaign, with Crown Point, Niagara and Fort Duquesne as objectives. After Braddock's death in 1755, he was Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in America, but, after a year, 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 1761, he was made Governor of the Bahamas, but, in 1789, his son took this post and Shirley returned to Roxbury, Mass. He died in 1771.

SURLAVILLE, MICHEL LE COURTOIS, SIEUR DE

Born at Bayeux, 1714. Entered the army and had much active service. Captain in 1745, and awarded the Cross of St. Louis for bravery at Fontenoy. In 1749, appointed to newly formed corps of Grenadiers of France. In 1751, went to l'Île Royale with Count de Raymond as Colonel, in command of all troops, instructed to report on military requirements of the whole island. Went to Halifax to announce his arrival to Cornwallis; this enabled him to make a report of conditions. He did much to improve living conditions of officers and men. In his reports, he was very critical of other officials, especially the Governor. Recalled in 1754. Fought with distinction in Seven Years' War. Lieut.-Gen. 1781. Died, 1796.

VALLIERE, CAPTAIN DE LA

Grandson of the original Seigneur of Chignecto. He was born at Placentia, Nfld, in 1713. The family moved to Louisbourg. He was Captain of troops there, and served in Chignecto during the years preceding the attack of 1755. His Journal, from Sept. 15, 1750 to July 28, 1751, is an interesting record of events in Chignecto at that period.

VAUDREUIL, FRANCOIS-PIERRE DE RIGAUD, COMTE ET MARQUIS DE

Brother of the Governor of New France. Followed a military career. In 1741, made Major of Trois-Rivières; in 1749, Governor of this place. In

1754, he visited France, and, the next year, while returning in the *Alcide*, this vessel and the *Lys* were captured near Newfoundland by Boscawen's fleet, and Vaudreuil was kept prisoner in Halifax before being sent to England. When he was made free, he returned to Canada and fought against the British in 1757-60. Afterwards, he went to France, where he died in 1779.

VERGOR, LOUIS DU PONT DU CHAMBON, SIEUR DE

Eldest son of Louis Du Pont du Chambon and Jeanne Mius d'Entremont. He was born at Placentia, 1712. He entered the regiment de la Marine, and, in 1737, was a junior Ensign in l'Ile Royale. In 1750, he was made Captain and transferred to Canada, where he received the Cross of St. Louis.

In 1754, he was sent to Fort Beauséjour as Commandant, through the influence of Bigot, Intendant, whose creature he was. Their intimacy had begun at Louisbourg when Bigot was chief Commissary. De Vergor's family were very poor and they valued the assistance which Bigot could give to the young officer. So, when De Vergor went to Beauséjour, Bigot arranged that he should not only be in command, but should have charge of the supplies and finances. This brought him into intimate relationship with Bigot, and he profited accordingly. Indeed, prior to De Vergor's departure, Bigot had written to him, saying "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."

At Beauséjour, he neglected to strengthen the defences, being too much occupied with his schemes for making money. However, it is certain that he was unfit for the command, being incapable in all respects. His secretary De Courville recorded that he lacked ability and education, and was excessively avaricious. It is not surprising that he made such a poor appearance when the fort was besieged by Monckton's force in June, 1755, his defence being very short. When he surrendered, on the 16th, it was evident that his concern for his own safety and well-being was a paramount consideration. (It is interesting to note that his father Duchambon, was in command at Louisbourg, when it was besieged by Pepperrell and Warren in 1745, and was forced to capitulate).

In 1757, De Vergor was tried by Court-Martial at Quebec, but was acquitted. In 1759, he was again serving in the army. When Wolfe's attack threatened, De Vergor was in command of 100 men at a post overlooking the Anse au Foulon. When the British climbed the heights in the early morning of Sept. 13th, only about thirty men were in position, De Vergor having allowed the rest of his troops to go to their homes. The post was easily captured and the Plains were open to the enemy. De Vergor has been accused of a base betrayal of his country by his performance on this occasion, but this has not been definitely established. He remained at Quebec until 1761, and sailed to France in the latter part of the year. He retired from the army in 1764, receiving a pension. The date of his death is not known.

VILLERAY, BENJAMIN ROUER, DE

Born in 1701. 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 1751, Captain. In 1753, he was sent to Fort Gaspereau at Baie Verte as Com-

mandant, and was there when Monckton's army besieged Beauséjour. After the fall of the latter, De Villera y gave up Fort Gaspereau when Monckton sent a summons from Beauséjour. For this he was criticised. Drucour, who commanded at Louisbourg, and was his superior officer, wrote, on July 8, to the Minister recommending that De Villera y should be removed from his company and that it should be given to M. de Saint-Aigne. De Villera y evidently heard of this for he wrote to Drucour on September 20, 1755, justifying his action, and blaming the Acadians, whom he termed cowardly, preferring to work for the English at Fort Lawrence rather than to carry out his orders. 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 readily 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 September, 1757. Both were acquitted. De Villera y 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.

VILLEJOUI, ROUSSEAU DE

Ensign in 1723; Captain in 1741; chevalier de Saint-Louis, 1748. Commandant in Ile St. Jean, 1754. After the fall of Beauséjour, many refugees fled to the Island, and Villejoui displayed great energy in providing for their needs. In 1758, he joined Boishébert with 200 men, in the latter's attempt to relieve Louisbourg, which was besieged by the British. He did not return to Ile Saint Jean, because a British force, under Lord Rollo, took possession of the Island after the fall of Louisbourg. In 1763 he became Governor of La Désirade.

WINSLOW, JOHN

Born in 1702, son of Hon. Isaac Winslow of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and great-grandson of Edward Winslow, a 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, both of whom were loyal to the Crown.

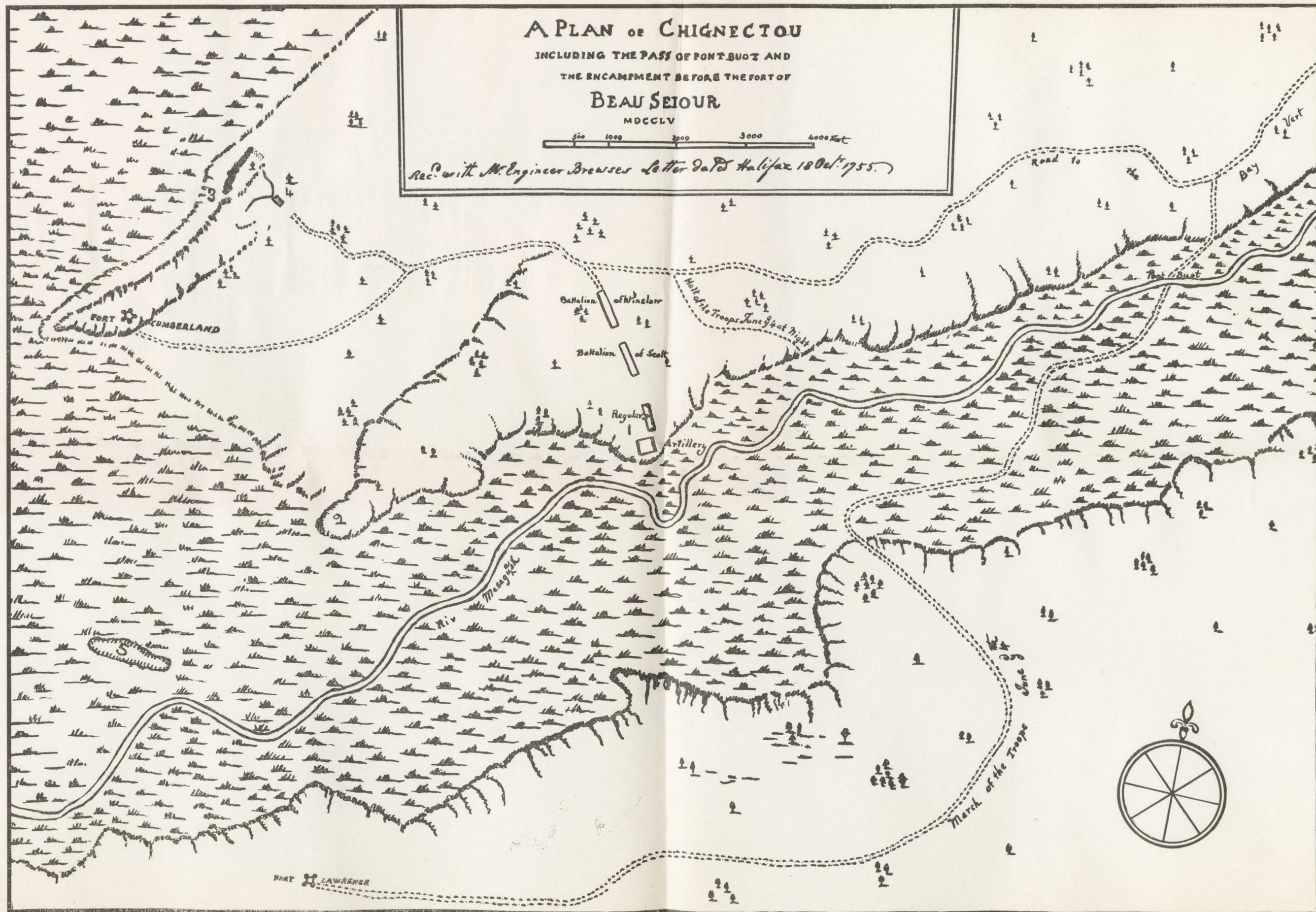
WINSLOW, JOSHUA

Born in Boston, 1727. Son of Col. Edward Winslow, being third in descent from John Winslow, brother of Edward, Governor of the Plymouth Colony. He started a business career with his brother Isaac, in Boston and became a ship-owner of some importance. He fought in the Louisbourg campaign of 1745, afterwards being Chief Commissary officer to British troops in Nova Scotia. In 1755, he had the rank of Captain and was chief Commissary at Fort Lawrence, 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 harbour 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.

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1. Headquarters of Monckton's force at Butte à Mirande. 2. Butte à Roger. 3. Butte à Charles. 4. Monckton's trenches and battery.

5. Ile de la Vallière.

