

V.—*Sir William Alexander and the Scottish Attempt to colonize Acadia.*

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Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, was born about the year 1567¹ at Menstrie, situated about five miles to the east of Stirling, at the base of the Ochils, in Clackmannanshire, Scotland. It was afterward the birthplace of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and is now distinguished for the manufacture of Scotch blankets, but was then noted as the seat of a good family, who traced their descent from Somerled, the Lord of the Isles, through his younger son Alexander, who married the Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert II., King of Scotland. His father having died in February, 1581, he was brought up by a granduncle, a burghess of Stirling. It seems certain that he obtained his early education at the grammar school of that town, then under the charge of Thomas Buchanan, nephew of the celebrated George. He appears afterward to have studied at one of the universities of Scotland, and is asserted also to have attended the University of Leyden. Having gained a reputation as a scholar, he accompanied the young Duke of Argyle in his travels on the continent.

On his return, through the influence of that nobleman, he was introduced at court, and became tutor to Prince Henry. His poetical writings had by this time begun to attract attention, and, together with his general learning, brought him into favour with the King, James VI. of Scotland, a position which he continued to hold amid all the changing humours of that pedantic monarch. Accordingly, when in 1603 James succeeded to the throne of England, Alexander followed in his train. He was soon afterward enrolled one of the thirty-two gentlemen extraordinary of Prince Henry's private bedchamber, and, after the death of the latter, held a similar position in the suite of Prince Charles.

Prior to his going to England, even as early as while travelling on the continent, he had commenced to woo the muses, and, soon after his return to Scotland, some of his poetical works were published, the first being "The Tragedie of Darius" in 1603. These productions are somewhat numerous and various, embracing tragedies, elegies, sonnets, sacred poems, etc. They are described as too often characterized by a wearying wordiness, but at times much elegance of expression. His "Domesday" is said to contain some

¹ It is commonly said in 1580, but Mr. Rogers has shown that this is an error. See Memorials of the Earl of Stirling, I. p. 32. To this work I am indebted for the information regarding his early years, for which the author refers to the Hawthorne MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. See also Slafter's Life, published by Prince Society.

grand things, while, in others of his writings, the student reader meets with "full many a gem of purest ray serene."¹

Perhaps, however, the matter of deepest interest connected with his literary life was his metrical version of the Psalms of David. King James, ambitious of literary fame, had set himself to compose a version which should supersede those in use in the churches both of England and Scotland; but at the time of his death his work had extended over only thirty-one psalms. Sir William, who had previously been consulted by the King, now resolved to complete the translation and assign it to his deceased sovereign. He also revised those already prepared, probably had a hand in their authorship. At all events, at the close of the year 1627, the work was completed, and, by arrangement with King Charles, it was issued under the name of his royal father. The influence of the King was also vigorously exerted to have it adopted in the public services of the churches of the three kingdoms, but without success. In particular, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland issued "Reasons" for rejecting it, mentioning among them that it contained expressions more adapted for secular than sacred verse, as where the moon was styled "pale lady of the night," and the sun was apostrophized as "the lord of light." It may be mentioned, however, that when that body afterwards appointed a committee to prepare a revised version, Sir William's was one of the versions they were instructed to use. The result of their labours appears in the version still in use in the Scottish Presbyterian churches, but how far Sir William's renderings are to be found in it does not appear. Dr. Beattie, writing of it as the production of the King, says: "The work does honour to the learned monarch. It is not free from the northern idiom, but the style seems to me to be superior to every other Scotch writer of the age, Drummond excepted. There are in it many good stanzas, most of which have been adopted by the compilers of the version now authorized in Scotland. Nay, those compilers have not always equalled the royal versifier where they intended, no doubt, to excel him." He gives as an example the third verse of the fiftieth psalm, which stands in the Assembly's version thus:

"Our God shall come, and shall no more
Keep silence, but speak out.
Before him fire shall waste;
Great storms shall compass him about."

Alexander's, he considers as having the advantage both in the arrangement of the words and harmony, as follows:

"Our God shall come, and shall not then
Keep silence any more,
A fire before him shall consume;
Great storms about him roar."

At the same time, however, that he was engaged in literary work, his attention was taken up with public affairs. As early as 1609 he was knighted. In 1626 he was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. In 1630 he was created a peer as Lord Alexander of Tullibody and Viscount Stirling. At the same time he was appointed

¹ His writings were generally recommended by Addison, who was consulted about them by A. Johnson, who in 1720 began to edit a collected edition of them, which he did not complete. The whole were collected and published in 1870-2 in three volumes, by Messrs. Ogle, of Glasgow.

Master of Requests. In 1631 he was made an Extraordinary Judge in the Court of Session. In 1633 he was advanced a step in the peerage, being appointed Earl of Stirling and Viscount Canada, to which titles was added in 1639 that of Earl of Dovan. He died in London in 1640.

The chief point of interest for us in his life, however, is the grant which he obtained of land in America, and his attempt at colonization there. To appreciate properly this movement we must keep in view the fact, which our colonial historians have largely overlooked, that the movement was entirely a Scottish one. Though the crowns of England and Scotland were upon one head, the kingdoms and peoples were still separate, their governments distinct, and their interests different and sometimes regarded as antagonistic. In this case the whole proceedings were conducted by Scottish men, under the authority of their King as ruler of Scotland. In this connection we must also notice the circumstances of the country at the time. For a length of time Scotsmen had found their country too narrow for them; and, repelled by its stubborn soil, its severe climate and the hard conditions of life there, had already become a by-word for seeking fame and fortune in more genial regions to the south.¹

Several pursuits presented openings for their ambition. Prominent among them was the profession of Arms. To daring souls military employment on the continent presented powerful attractions. Strong hands and stout hearts were wanted there, and vast numbers of brave and adventurous men, sometimes singly or in small groups, at other times in whole regiments or brigades, levied by their chieftains, left Scotland in pursuit of honour or gain, and took service under the banners of the princes, who were warring for supremacy on the continent. Another field was letters, and the choice of the Scottish youth thronged the continental universities, in which sometimes their countrymen held distinguished positions as teachers.

At this time, however, with the progress of civilization, the Scot found largely increased attractions in commerce, for which he was even then regarded as having a natural aptitude. From a very early period Scotland had had considerable traffic with foreign countries. At the time of the union of the English and Scottish crowns it had a profitable trade with France, Holland, Germany and Scandinavia. Even countries so distant as Poland, Russia and other territories to the west, whose inhabitants were yet unskilled in art, had become the field of Scottish enterprise.² All this was stimulated by

¹ In a work called "The Golden Fleece," by Dr. Vaughan, the author gives the following of what in our day would be called an interview with Sir William :

"The native and genuine salt of the earth, which fructified our Cornfields with so many infinite ploughings of our Ancestors and ours, is spent; nor will Lime or Marie ever recover them to their pristine and antient vigour and fertility. English Cloth, which heretofore was dignified with the title of the Golden Fleece, grows out of request—yea (and with inward grief I speak it), in contempt also among the owners and Inhabitants themselves. Our Tin, Lead and Coal Mines begin to fail. Our Woods, which Nature produced, and our Fathers left us for firing, for reparations of decayed Houses, Ploughs and Shipping, are lately wasted by the Covetousness of a few Ironmasters. What then remains in the famous Isle? except we relieve our wants by Navigation, and these must be by Fishing by hook or by crook, by Letters of Mart, by way of reprisals or revenge, or else by Traffick and Commerce with other Nations besides Spaniards."

² Sir William, in his memorial to the King applying for a grant of land in America, says that "a great number of Scotch families had lately emigrated to Poland, Sweden and Russia, and that it would be equally beneficial to the interests of the kingdom, and to the individuals themselves, if they were permitted to settle this valuable and fertile portion of His Majesty's dominions."

the union with England. It is also to be noted that at that time Scotland had on some parts of her coast a hardy and adventurous seafaring population, who extended their voyages to the Spanish main, and traded to the north for fur and fish.

But as the civilized world was at this time ringing with tidings of lands of fabled wealth beyond the western wave, and men's minds were excited by visions of riches to be gained by colonization in America, it was not to be expected that the people of Scotland should remain unmoved by these occurrences. Apart from any more sordid influences, it was natural that the patriotism of her sons should be fired with the idea of the glory of Scotland being extended by the planting of a new Scotland on the shores of America. On the 3rd of November, 1620, Sir Frederick Gorges, Governor of New Plymouth, received from King James a patent by which forty English subjects, incorporated as "the council for planting, ruling and governing New England," were granted a territory extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and from the Atlantic ocean to the Pacific. The colonists found on their northern frontier some French settlers, and Sir Frederick, on behalf of his people, entreated the English Government to dislodge them. King James consulted his "philosophical poet," who by intercourse with the projectors of the scheme, and probably by other causes, had become interested—as he says, "exceedingly inflamed,"—in regard to American colonization. But, instead of joining with them to build up a New England, he resolved, by the favour of the King, to engage his countrymen in extending the glory of their native land by founding a New Scotland beyond the ocean. Writing some time after, he thus speaks regarding his first connection with the scheme: "Being much encouraged hereunto by Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and some utheris of the undertakers for New England, I shew them that my countrymen would never adventure in such an enterprise, unless it were as there was a New France, a New Spain and a New England, that they might likewise have a New Scotland."

The King entered fully into the proposal, and the company of New England having surrendered part of their territory, the King agreed to give him the vast region from the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence. On the 5th of August, 1621, he communicated his royal purpose to that effect to the Scottish Privy Council. "Having," he says, "euer beene ready to embrace anie good occasion whereby the honor or proffete of our kingdome might be advanced; and, considering that no kynd of conquest can be more easie and innocent than that which doth proceede from Plantationes, especially in a country commodious for men to live in, yet remayneing altogither desert, or, at least, onely inhabited by Infidells, the conversion of whom to the Christian faith (intended by this meanes) might tend much to the glory of God since sundry other Kingdomes, as likewise this our kingdome of late, vertuously aduentring into this kind, haue renued their names¹ considering (prayse to God) how populous that our kingdome is at this present, and what necessity there is of some good means whereby ydle people might be employed, preventing worse courses, Wee think there are manie that might be spared who may be fitt for such a forraine Plantatioun, being of mynds as resolute and bodyes as able to overcome the difficulties that such adventurers must at first encounter with as anie other Nation whatsoeuer." For these reasons he "had more willingly harkened

¹ *i.e.* the Kingdom of England in New England.

to a motion made by Sir William Alexander, Knight," and that it was his pleasure that the council, if they should see it for the good of the kingdom, should give him a grant of the lands lying between New England and Newfoundland, "to be holden of vs from our Kingdome of Scotland as a part thereof," etc.

The Privy Council, having acceded to the royal request, a warrant for a charter was granted at Windsor Castle on the 10th of September, 1621, and on the 29th of the same month the charter passed under the Great Seal, appointing Sir William Alexander hereditary lieutenant of the new colony. The face of the patent indicated the importance of the transaction. The initial letter contained portraits of the King and his lieutenant, the former seated on his throne and in the act of handing the charter to the latter. The border of the instrument was decorated with embellishments illustrating the customs and productions of the colony.

The document is very voluminous. It commences by setting forth the reasons already given, and goes on to say that from "his sovereign anxiety to propagare the Christian faith, and to secure the wealth, prosperity and peace of the native subjects of our Kingdom of Scotland," the King grants him the country described as follows: "All and single the lands of the continent and islands situated and lying in America, within the head or promontory commonly called Cape of Sable, lying near the forty-third degree of North Latitude or thereabouts; from this cape, stretching along the shores of the sea westward to the roadstead of St. Mary, commonly called St. Mary's Bay, and thence northward by a straight line crossing the entrance or mouth of the great roadstead which runs toward the eastern part of the land between the countries of the Suriqui and Etechemini, commonly called Suriquois and Etechemines, to the river commonly known by the name of St. Croix, and to the remotest springs or source from the western side of the same, which enter into the first-mentioned river; thence by an imaginary straight line which is conceived to extend through the land, or run northward to the nearest bay, river or stream emptying into the great river of Canada; and going from that eastward along the low shores of the same river of Canada to the river, port or shore commonly known and called by the name of Gathepe, or Gaspie, and thence south-southeast to the isles called Bacalaos, or Cape Breton, leaving the said isles on the right, and the mouth of the said river of Canada, or Large Bay, and the territory of Newfoundland, with the islands belonging to the same lands on the left; thence to the headland or point of Cape Breton, aforesaid, lying near latitude 45° or thereabouts; and from the said point of Cape Breton toward the south and west to the above-mentioned Cape Sable, where the boundary began"—including the islands off the coast, Sable Island among the rest.

It will be seen that this territory included all Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, part of the State of Maine, and that portion of the Province of Quebec south of the St. Lawrence, comprising altogether an area 54,000 square miles. It was in all future time to have the name of New Scotland or, as it appears in the courtly Latin of the original, Nova Scotia, the first time the name appears, and now, we may say, the only permanent memorial of the undertaking.

This charter gave almost unlimited privileges and powers. It granted all mines (with the exception of a tenth part of the gold and silver), pearls, precious stones, quarries, forests, fisheries (in both salt and fresh water), hunting, hawking, and anything that may be sold or inherited; the gift and right of patronages of churches, chapels and benefices;

the power of setting up states, free towns, free ports, etc.; of establishing markets and fairs; of holding courts of justice and admiralty; of levying all tolls, customs, anchor dues, and other revenues of the said towns, etc., with all other prerogatives, &c., which, the King himself could give or grant, and in as ample form as any of his ancestors granted any charters to any subjects of whatever rank and character.

It also constitutes Sir William and his heirs hereditary Lieutenants-General for representing His Majesty both by sea and land, authorizing them to govern, rule and punish all his subjects, to pardon the same; to establish such laws, etc., as to them shall seem fit, and to change and alter the same; in case of rebellion, to use martial law; in case of noblemen joining the expedition, to confer favours, privileges, gifts and honours on those who deserve them, to convey any part of said land, etc.; also, to erect machines, introduce arts and sciences, or practise the same; to make and appoint such captains, officers, bailiffs, governors, etc., for the execution of justice, as shall seem necessary to them or to remove the same from office.

It goes on to say: "As it is very important that all our beloved subjects who inhabit the said Province of New Scotland or its borders may live in the fear of Almighty God, and at the same time in His true worship, and may have an earnest purpose to establish the Christian religion therein, and also to cultivate peace and quiet with the native inhabitants and savage aborigines of these lands, so that they, and any others trading there, may safely, pleasantly and quietly hold what they have got with great labour and peril. We . . . give and grant to the said Sir William Alexander and foresaids . . . free and absolute power of arranging and securing peace, alliance, friendship, mutual conferences, assistance, intercourse, etc." It also granted the power of attacking suddenly, invading, expelling, and by arms driving away . . . all and singly those who without their special license should attempt to occupy these lands, or trade in the said Province of New Scotland. They were also authorized to construct "forts, fortresses, castles, etc., with posts and naval stations, and also ships of war;" to "establish garrisons of soldiers, and generally to do all things for the acquisition, increase, and introduction of people and persons to preserve and govern New Scotland . . . as the King might do if present in person." There was even granted the right of regulating and coining money. These and many other privileges were given on the sole condition of paying annually "one penny of Scottish money, if so much be demanded." Less, we think, could scarcely be asked.

Soon after obtaining his patent, Sir William made an arrangement for the transfer of his rights in the island of Cape Breton, originally included in the Province of New Scotland, to his friend Sir Robert Gordon, of Lochinvar. To this, styled the barony of New Galloway, the latter, with his son Robert, obtained a royal charter, dated 8th November, 1621.

Sir William lost no time in adopting measures for settling his territory. In March, 1622, he provided a ship at London, which he sent round the coast to Kirkecubright, where he hoped, through the influence of Sir Robert Gordon, whose lands lay in that direction, to obtain a body of emigrants. The inducements offered, however, were too meagre to attract persons possessing the ordinary comforts of life at home. Only purchasers of land were to have any rights in the soil. Farmers might obtain leases; but, after a specified time, all were to pay one-thirteenth part of the land revenue to the Lieutenant-General. Artizans might receive holdings, but only for their lives. We

need not wonder, therefore, that we hear of only one artizan, a blacksmith, connected with the expedition, the other emigrants being generally agricultural labourers of the lowest class. Probably, however, in none of the early attempts at settlement in America were the terms offered more favourable, and the material engaged in them was no better. The prevalent idea seemed to be to establish in America a state of society similar to that of medieval Europe, with the soil in the possession of certain lords paramount, under whom the masses should hold their lands in a condition approaching more or less that of serfs. Had Sir William offered lands in fee he would have gathered a different class of emigrants—men who could have provided the means of subsistence, men who would have become attached to the soil and who would have built up a free and prosperous society. Such an idea, however, was far ahead of the time and opposed to the social ideas of the age. It must be added that with the religious spirit of the period, and with the avowed design of the undertaking to propagate true religion, the services of a Presbyterian minister were secured for the spiritual interests of the new colonists.

Besides the difficulty of obtaining suitable settlers, Sir William met with another obstacle. Provisions had lately trebled in price, and were scarce at that rate, and he seems to have been pressed for means of procuring them. The vessel, however, sailed in the end of June, proceeding first to the Isle of Man. The voyage was resumed early in August, and about the middle of September the emigrants sighted St. Peter's Island off the coast of Newfoundland. Continuing their course westward, they reached the coast of Cape Breton, but met a storm which drove them back to Newfoundland. Here they took refuge in the harbour of St. Johns, and resolved to pass the winter there, despatching the vessel back to Britain for further supplies, while those who remained sought to eke out a precarious existence by fishing. It is easy to see how injudicious their arrangements were—in sailing so late in the season, and in not having sent a party in advance, under some qualified leader, to select a site for commencing settlement, and to make arrangements for the reception of the settlers on arrival,—but such unwisdom was common at the time and long after.

Sir William was not discouraged, and in the end of March, 1623, despatched a vessel named "The St. Luke," from London, with additional colonists and supplies. By contrary winds she was detained at Plymouth till the 28th of April, and it was the 5th of June before she arrived at St. Johns, about eight months after the landing there of the former band. During that time, amid other casualties, "their minister and smith—both, for spiritual and temporal respects, the two most necessary members—had both died." The rest had scattered, and were earning a scanty subsistence as fishermen.

"Seeing no hope to plant themselves in any good fashion that yeere, ten of the principall persons concluded to go alongst with the ship to New Scotland to discover the cuntry, and to make choice of a fit place for a habitation against the next yeere considering very well that they could not doe so much good by staying there with so few a number as they might do at their return by reporting the truth to their friends of that which they had seen, whereby a new Colonie might be encouraged to set forth well-furnished and instructed according to that might be learned by their experience."

"The three and twentieth of June they loosed from Saint Iohn's Harbour and sayled towards New Scotland, where for the space of fourteen days they were, by foggs and contrary winds, kept back from spying land till the eighth of Iuly, that they saw the

West part of Cape Bretton, and till the 13th day they sayled alongst the coast till they ranne the length of Port de Mutton, where they discovered three very pleasant Harbours, and went ashore in one of them, which, after the shippe's name, they called Luke's Bay, where they found a great way up a very pleasant river, being three fathom deep at a low water, at the entry thereof; and on every side of the same they did see very delectate Meadowes, having roses white and red growing thereon, with a kinde of wild Lilly, which had a daintie smel. The next day they resolued (coasting along the land) to discover the next Harbour, which was but two leagues distant from the other, where they found a more pleasant river than the first, being four fathome deep at a low water, with Meadowes on both sides thereof, having Roses and Lillies growing thereon, as the other had. They found within this River a fit place for a plantation, both in regard that it was naturally apt to be fortified, and that all the ground between the two Rivers was without wood, and very good, fat earth, having several sorts of berries growing thereon, as gooseberries, Strawberries, Hindberries, Rasberries, and a kind of Wineberie; as also some sorts of graine, as pease, some Eares of Wheate, Barly and Rie growing there wilde; the Pease grow in abundance alongst the coast, very bigge and good to eate, but did taste of the fitch. This river is called Port Jolly, from whence they coasted along to Port Negro, being twelve leagues distant, where all the way, as they sayled alongst, they spyed a very pleasant cuntry, having growing everywhere such things as were observed in the two harbours where they had beene before. They found likewise in every River abundance of lobsters, cockles, and all other shel-fishes; and also, not only in the rivers, but all the coasts alongst, numbers of several sorts of wild fowle, as wild-goose, black-Ducke, Woodcock, Crane, Heron, Pidgeon, and many other sorts of Foule, which they knew not. They did kill, as they sayled alongst the Coast, great store of Cod, with severall other sorts of great fishes. The cuntry is full of woods, not very thicke, and the most part Oake; the rest Firre, Spruce, Birch and some Sicamores and Ashes, and many other sorts of Wood, which they had not seene before. Hauing discovered this part of the Cuntry, in regard of the voyage their ship was to make to the Straits with fishes, they resolued to coast alongst from Luke's Bay to Port de Mutton, beeing foure leagues to the East, thereof, where they encountered with a Frenchman, that in a very short time had made a great Voyage, for though he had furnished one ship away with a great number of fishes, there were neere so many ready as to loade himself and others. After they had taken a view of this Port, which, to their ingement, they found no waise inferior to the rest they had seene before, they resolued to retire backe to Newfoundland, where their ship was to receive her loading of fishes. The 20ni of Iuly they loosed from thence, and on the seven and twentieth thereof they arrived at Saint Iohns Harbour, and from thence sayled alongst the Bay of Conception, where they left their ship and despatched themselves home in severall ships that belonged to the West part of England." ¹

¹We have given the above in full from Sir William's "Encouragement to Colonies" to be noticed immediately, as it is the only narrative of any part of these expeditions that we possess. The names and distances do not agree with the position of the harbours bearing the same names now. Thus, what these explorers called Luke's Bay, they place four leagues west of Port de Mutton, and Port Jolly two leagues further west still; but the present Port Joli is the next harbour west of Port Mouton. Ferland reports that they returned, baffled in their attempt to form a settlement by the French occupying the ground so strongly. There is no evidence of this. On the contrary, it will be seen that this was only a party of explorers, and that their report led to the vigorous prosecution of the plan of settlement.

These two expeditions involved Sir William in serious losses. The amount was estimated at £6,000 sterling, and for its repayment a royal warrant was directed to the exchequer. The failure did not seem to damp his ardour. In the following year he issued a small work entitled "An Encouragement to Colonies," accompanied with a map of New Scotland. On this names are given, showing the determination to reproduce the peculiarities of Scotland, even in minor matters. Thus the St. Croix river is named the Twede, while from near its head another is represented as flowing into the St. Lawrence, called the Solway. A river, probably intended for the St John, is called the Clyde, while an inlet of the sea on the coast of New Brunswick is marked as the Forth.

In this work he traced the history of colonization from the days of the sons of Noah, through the Phenicians, Greeks and Romans, to modern times. The discovery of America, he maintained, was a call of Providence to Britain to extend her boundaries by occupying the new country. He commended Spanish enterprise as manifested in trans-Atlantic colonization. He celebrated King James's energy in suppressing rebellion and restoring tranquillity in Ireland, and expressed the hope that the dignity of his throne would be further maintained by the plantation of New Scotland. He urged the glory of colonists carrying into unexplored regions the civilizing influences of British culture and the elevating doctrines of the Christian faith. He expatiated in glowing terms on the success which had attended the founding of colonies in New England and Virginia. He depicts New Scotland as having "very delectate meadowes," "with roses white and red," and "very good, fat earth," as the voyagers in the "St. Luke" had seen it along the coast, and rich grains, abundance of fowls and fishes, all inviting early occupation. He refers to Scotland as like a bee-hive, yearly sending forth swarms of her people, who had heretofore expended their energies in foreign war. But now Scotsmen were invited to settle in a new country, where the merchant might prosecute successful commerce, the sportsman enjoy abundant recreation, and the Christian have ample scope for missionary enterprise.

"Where," he argues, "was euer Ambition baited with greater hopes than here, or where euer had Vertue so large a field to reape the fruits of Glory, since any man who doth goe thither of good qualitie, able at first to transport a hundred persons with him, furnished with things necessary, shall have as much Bounds as may serve for a great Man, whereupon he may build a Towne of his owne, giving it what forme or name he will, and being the first Founder of a new estate, which a pleasing industry may quickly bring to a perfection, may leaue a faire inheritance to his posteritie, who shall claime unto him as the author of their Nobilitie there, rather than to any of his Ancestours that had preceded him, though neuer so nobly borne elsewhere?"

Notwithstanding the glowing prospects held out in this work, it failed to excite any enthusiasm on behalf of the undertaking. The English treasury refused to compensate the author for losses in a matter in which it had no concern. To relieve his embarrassments and carry on the undertaking, therefore, a new method was suggested to him. Since his accession to the English throne James had systematically replenished his royal revenues by the sale of titles. In particular, to promote the colonization of Ulster, he had shortly before established an order of knights baronets, membership in which was conferred on English land-owners on their paying into the exchequer the sum of £1,100. In this way, between 1611 and 1622, 205 persons had obtained the new dignity with a profit to the

treasury of £225,000. And it now occurred to Sir William that the expenses of his colony might be provided for by establishing a new order—the baronets of New Scotland,—in which the Scottish land-owners and the sons of the Scottish nobility might be induced to become members on terms less costly. Accordingly, on his recommendation, a royal letter was issued, informing the Privy Council of Scotland that the King had resolved to make the colonization of New Scotland a work of his own, and in connection therewith to establish a new order of baronets, and inviting them to assist in carrying out the royal intention.

Under the influence of Sir William the council approved the royal order, and on the 23rd of November, 1624, addressed a letter to the King, in which they indicate a scheme for carrying out His Majesty's intentions: "We are given to understand that the country of New Scotland, being dividit into twa Provinces and eache Province into several Dioceises or Bishoprikis, and each Diocese in thrie Counteyis, and eache Countey into ten Baroneyis, every baronie being three myle long vpon the coast and ten myle up into the countrie, dividit into sax paroches, and eache paroch containing sax thousand aikars of land; and that every Baronett is to be ane Barone of some one or other of the saidis Barroneis, and is to haif therein ten thousand aikars of propertie, besidis his sax thousand aikars belonging to his bur^t (burgh) of baronie, to be holden free blanshe, and in a free baronie of His Majesty as the baronies of the kingdome." The only conditions required were "the setting furth of six men towardis His Maiestie's Royall Colonie, armed, apparelld and victualled for two yeares, and every baronet paying Sir William ane thousand markis Scottis money only toward his past charges and endeavouris."

Accordingly, on the 30th was issued a proclamation intimating His Majesty's pleasure to create one hundred baronets of the kingdom of Scotland, "who, and their airis maill, sall haif plaice and precedencie nixt and immediatlie after the youngest sones of the Vicountes and Lordis Barronis of Parliament, and the addition of the word Sir to be prefixed to their propper name, and the style and title of Baronett subjoined to the surname of everie ane of thame, and their airis maill, Together with the appellation of Ladie, Madame and Dame to their Wyffis in all time coming, with precedencie befor all otheris knights als weil of the Bath as Knights Bachelouris and Bannarettis."

The two documents from which we have quoted were doubtless drawn up by Sir William. They depict in glowing terms the importance of the undertaking, and the honours and advantages to be derived by those who should engage in it. But the parties addressed were slow to respond. The payment to be made Sir William for his past expenses was not encouraging, while the failure of the late expedition proved quite a discouragement, and it was feared that the undertaking would collapse. This would have been an overwhelming disaster to Sir William, and on the 23rd of March, 1624-5, he renewed his appeal, on this occasion in the form of a royal mandate. In this document he informs all candidates for baronetcies that they could negotiate with him personally; or, in his absence, with his deputy, Sir John Scott, Knight. The proposal that each undertaker should pay a thousand merks to meet his past losses was omitted, and the sum of two thousand merks, spoken of as commutation for the services of Sir William was to be applied strictly to the purposes of the colony. And, for the satisfaction of the applicants, it was promised that the baronets, or undertakers, might appoint certain of their number to superintend the expenditure of their money. Four days after King James died, and the project was again interrupted.

On the 28th of May proceedings were resumed by the appointment, under Sir William's direction, of three persons as undertakers, who were at the same time baronets. These were Sir Robert Gordon, son of the Earl of Sutherland, William (Earl) Marischal, and Alexander Strachan. On the following day five others were added to the roll, viz., Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenurquhie; Robert Innes, of Innes; Sir John Wemyss, of Wemyss; David Livingston, of Dunipace; and Sir Robert Douglas, of Glenberrie. According to the new arrangements, the lands included in the baronies of New Scotland were surrendered by Sir William to the King, who was to regrant them to the knights baronets, so that they were to hold them direct from the sovereign.

The patent constituting Sir William Lieutenant of New Scotland, though approved by the Scottish Privy Council, had not been ratified by Parliament, the Estates not having assembled between the date of its issue and the death of King James. On the 12th of July, 1625, therefore, the King (Charles I.) granted under the Great Seal a charter of Norodamus, in which is recited the previous charter, and all the privileges previously conferred are renewed, with a promise that the former grant should be confirmed by Parliament as soon as it should meet. It contained additional clauses recognizing the creation of the Order of Knights Baronets of New Scotland, whose number was now limited to 150. On the 19th of the same month the King informed the Privy Council that certain baronets of New Scotland had been created, to each of whom he had granted territory in that country six miles in length by three in breadth. His Majesty also authorized the council to confer baronetcies on intending undertakers, without their proceeding to London, so that a colony might be despatched to Nova Scotia in the following spring.¹ Accordingly, on the 31st of August, the council issued a public proclamation in terms of the King's letter. (Reg. of Letters.)

But now the project met with unexpected opposition. At the Convention of Estates, held at Edinburgh in November of the same year, the barons presented a memorial complaining that the precedence granted to the new order of baronets interfered with their hereditary dignities and was otherwise unjustifiable. By a majority the Estates approved of the sentiments of the memorialists, and adopted a resolution to that effect for transmission to the King. This, with the memorial, was embodied in their records and duly forwarded to His Majesty. In this they deny Sir William's allegation of the necessity of such precedency to the success of the undertaking, and offer that, if the plantation of the colony be found expedient, to carry it out without charge. (Acta. Parl. Scot., vol. 5, pp. 185-188).

This last undertaking they must have known they could not accomplish, and, indeed, had no idea of attempting. The fact is that a party were jealous of Sir William's powers and influence. Their leader was Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Melrose, a favourite of the late King, who now held office as principal secretary. The result, however, was his prompt dismissal from office and the appointment of Sir William in his place. By this the latter reached the highest pitch of greatness, not only being virtually monarch of all New Scotland, but holding the highest position to be held by a subject of the old kingdom. Nor was he disposed to allow his power to remain dormant. He was determined to carry

¹ Sir Daniel Wilson also informs me that part of Edinburgh Castle was set apart as part of New Scotland, to which the baronets might repair to receive infeftment of their lands.

out the scheme in which he was engaged. Accordingly he obtained a royal letter, in which was administered a sharp rebuke to the author of the petition as interfering with the royal prerogative, and the convention were warned not to do anything against the rights of the said baronets. Orders were also issued to some of the malcontents that they accept the honour.

In the summer of 1626 Sir William began to make arrangements for sending out an expedition in the following spring. In January he intimated to the King that he had prepared two ships, one of which was at Dumbarton, with ordnance, provisions and other supplies necessary for the undertaking.

To meet the expenses of the new expedition money was urgently needed. No part of the £6,000, for which Sir William had received a royal warrant, had ever been paid, and the King issued a new warrant to the Scottish Treasurer of Marine causes, instructing him to pay the amount "out of the first readiest moneyes that you haue or shall receaue for our part of the prises taken," while in subsequent letters to the Privy Council, he urges the completion of the number of knights baronets, with the view of reimbursing Sir William for the extra expenses he had incurred.

On the 10th of March it is mentioned that the ship "Eagle," of 120 tons, was lying in the Thames "loaded with powder, ordnance, and other provisions, for the use of a plantation" in New Scotland, and also for the supply of another vessel of 300 tons, which was at Dumbarton for the same destination, and orders were given to allow her to pass "without paying customs or any other duties."

Delays occurred in the sailing of the expedition, and now dangers arose from another source. In the year 1603 the King of France had granted to Sieur de Monts, a territory in America under the name of La Cadie, covering nearly the same ground as granted by James to Sir William Alexander, under the name of New Scotland, or, as we may call it from this time, Nova Scotia. In the following year he brought out a band of settlers, who entered the beautiful sheet of water then called Port Royal, known now as Annapolis Basin. Continuing their exploration, they spent the winter on an island at the River St. Croix; but in the following summer they returned and commenced settlement at Port Royal. The visitor to this place is readily told that the site of the present town of Annapolis, situated on a point of land at the head of the basin, marks the spot where was thus founded the first European settlement in Northern America. The inhabitants would probably consider you as attempting to rob them of their birthright, were you to question the accuracy of the statement. Even our historians, as Haliburton and Murdoch, have made the same assertion. Yet, a mere glance at the map of Champlain, one of the party and a comparison of the account given by Lescarbot, the historian of the expedition, will show that the real site of their operations was about five miles further down on the north side of the basin, on what is now the Granville shore, opposite the present Goat Island.

Two years after the settlement was abandoned; but a little later M. de Poutrincourt obtained from the King of France a confirmation of the grant which he had received from De Monts of the land around Port Royal, and in the spring of 1610 proceeded thither to resume settlement. He returned to France in the following year, leaving the infant colony in charge of his son Biencourt. In the meantime the English had established a colony in Virginia. In the year 1614 the Governor despatched an armed expedition under

Captain Argall to destroy all the French establishments in Acadia, as encroaching upon the territories of the English. That commander executed his commission, and at Port Royal destroyed the fort and all monuments and marks of French power. He even caused the names of De Monts and other captains and the *fleur de lys* to be defaced with pick and chisel from a massive stone on which they had been engraved. Refusing all compromise with Biencourt, the latter fled to the forest, and, with others of the French, lived a semi-savage life with the Indians.

By these proceedings, which took place in a time of peace between the two countries, and which do not seem to have been resented by the French Government, the English not only asserted their claim to that region, but deemed themselves to have secured peaceable possession of it. Accordingly, all the arrangements were made by Sir William with the English King on the supposition that their occupancy would be undisturbed; but now, when measures were nearly completed for sending out a colony, the projectors learned that the French Government, inspired by Cardinal Richelieu, had determined to reassert their title to Acadia. In 1627, the year as we have seen in which Sir William Alexander was preparing to send out his second colony, there was formed, under the auspices of the Cardinal, a new and powerful association, called the Company of New France, usually known as the Hundred Associates. They were to send out and settle two or three hundred men of all trades during the following year and one thousand every year during the fifteen years following. Quebec and all New France (in which Acadia was comprehended), Florida, Newfoundland, etc.—in fact, it was said all America, from Florida to the North Pole, was given them, on the condition of homage merely. Probably the zeal now manifested by Sir William for the settlement of Nova Scotia had stimulated the French to this measure. Of course, this threatened collision might prove fatal to his undertaking; but the emergency was faced boldly. The intelligence was brought by Captain David Kirk.¹ His origin has been disputed. He has generally been represented as a French Huguenot, but again as a native of Dieppe, the son of a Scotch father and French mother; but, from papers now in the archives of Canada, it is asserted that he belonged to an English family still existing in Derbyshire. At all events, he undertook, if placed in command of Sir William's fleet, to oppose the Cardinal and his intended settlement. He recommended that Sir William should be appointed Admiral as well as Lieutenant of Nova Scotia. The Royal Commission to that effect was readily granted, and in that capacity he was authorized to "seize vessels belonging to the King of Spain, the Infanta Isabella, or others, the King's enemies." No special authority was given to commit any hostility against the French, for the two countries were then at peace, though war broke out the same year; yet, it was really against them that the effort was directed.

Captain Kirk was named Deputy-Admiral and invested with all the powers of his chief. Nor did he allow them to remain dormant. Strenuous efforts were put forth to equip a fleet sufficiently powerful to meet their rivals. With this he captured the next season eighteen French ships under the command of M. de Rocquemont, in which were found 135 pieces of ordnance intended for the fortification of Quebec and Port Royal. At this time interest in the undertaking seems to have revived, as we find that between the

¹ Variouslly spelled Kertk, Kertch, etc.

18th of October, 1627, and the February following, fourteen patents of baronetcy were issued and recorded. The proceeds were applied to chartering vessels; and further to indicate his earnestness in the undertaking, Sir Willian announced that his son would go out in charge of the expedition. Accordingly, William Alexander, the younger, was introduced at court and honoured with knighthood. He was also appointed Knight-Admiral of Nova Scotia, and a seal for his special use prepared by authority of the Scottish Privy Council.

In command of a fleet of four vessels he set out for Nova Scotia in the month of March, 1628. Proceeding by Scotland, while moored off the coast, he had to complain that a number of men, after engaging and receiving pay, had deserted; and we find a commission issued on the 20th of April to the sheriff and other officers to apprehend and bring to punishment those who after engaging had abandoned the service. At length, however, in May the fleet left Scotland, carrying upwards of seventy colonists, who were safely landed at Port Royal. They immediately occupied the site of the old French fort, which, as we have seen, was on the north side of Annapolis Basin, about five miles from the present town. Here a fort was built or the old one repaired, though the site has been known as the Scots' fort down to our day. It is said in some accounts that Kirk captured Port Royal at this time, but there was really no capture needed. The fort had never been rebuilt since it had been destroyed by Argall, and the French Government had during the interval maintained no establishment of any kind there, or exercised any authority or any care over the few scattered residents who remained. Not only were no acts of hostility necessary to obtain possession—these parties, deeming themselves forsaken by their king, made submission to the new-comers. In a statement of a convention of Scottish Estates, drawn up by Sir William, His Majesty's commissioner to it, we have the following statement of subsequent proceedings:

“The remainder of this French collony (after Argall's raid), not having occasion to be transported to France, stayed in the contrie. Yet, they were neglected by the State not owning them any more, and hardly supplied in that which was necessary for them by voluntary aduenturers, who came to trade, in hopes of their commodities, in exchange of what they bought.

“After that the Scottish Colonie was planted at Port Royall, they and the French who dwelt there hauing met with the Commanders of the nation, called by them Sagamoes, did make choice of one of the cheefe of them, called Sagamo Segipt, to come, in the name of the rest, to his Ma'tie's subjects, crauing only to be protected by his Ma'tie, who did promise to protect them, as he reported to the rest at his return.

“Monsr La Tour, who was chief commandr of the few French then in that countrie, being neglected (as is sayd) by his own councitriemen, and finding his Ma'ties title not so much as questioned, after their beeing expelled from Port Royall, and the coming in of the Scottish necessary for his security, did along with the same Sagamo, come offring and demanding the like in the name of the French who liue here: so that his Ma'tie hath a good right to Nova Scotia by discouery, by possession of his Ma'ties subjects, by removing of the French, who had seated themselves at Port Royall, and by Monsr La Tour, commandr of them there his turning Tenant, and by the voluntarie hauing tenents of the rest to his Matie, and that no obstacle might remain, the very sauages, by their commissioner, willingly offring their obedience vnto his Matie; so that his Matie now is bound

in honor to maintaine them, both in regard of his subjects that have planted there vpon his warrant and of the promises that he made to the Commissioner of the natives that came to him from them."

It is probable that Kirk's fleet accompanied the colonists to Port Royal. If so his visit must have been a very hurried one, for we find that he had navigated the St. Lawrence, captured a French fleet under M. de Rocquemont, taken Miscou and Tadousac, plundered Cape Tourmente, and summoned Quebec, all before the middle of July.

The statement above regarding La Tour, if the reference is to Claude the father, gives a different view of his first connection with the British interest from that commonly received. The statement of most historians is that he had gone to France the year previous, with a petition from his son, Charles Amador, to be made governor of Acadia, and that on his return he was captured by Kirk in the St. Lawrence, on board one of the fleet which had been sent out by the new company for the strengthening of the French colony. As Alexander was at the time of writing well acquainted with the elder La Tour, having had him associated with him in his undertaking, it is natural to suppose that it is to him he refers as "Mons'r Latour." He is said to have come to Port Royal with Poutrincourt in 1610, his son being then a boy. And it seems strange that while the father was still in the prime of life, and the son yet quite a young man, the latter should be exercising such authority as could be exercised over the few French then scattered in the neighbourhood of Port Royal, and the father voyaging to France to obtain for him the government of Acadia.

But on the other hand French authorities agree in stating that Biencourt after the return of his father Poutrincourt to France, exercised at least the leadership among the residents at Port Royal after the death of the latter in 1615, till his own death in 1623, that he was the intimate companion of the younger La Tour, and in dying bequeathed to him all his rights in Port Royal, at the same time naming him as his successor in office. But while we are writing we notice in a published catalogue of MS. for sale by M. Dufosse of Paris, the following :

"BIENCOURT DE POUTRINCOURT (Charles) né en 1583, mort vers 1638, fils du sieur de Poutrincourt, gouverneur en Acadie pour M. Des Monts.—*Piece sur velin signée*, in 4 oblong (64)."

"Reçu par le sieur Charles Biencourt de Poutrincourt d'une somme de trois mille livres pour sa charge de directeur de l'Académie du roi, décembre 1621."

And another with exactly the same title, but marked "*Piece signée* 2 pp. in fol. (66)" and with the addition, "Pouvoir donné au sr. François de Vaux d'administrer certaines propriétés. Paris, 17 avril 1638."

We have not been able to get access to these documents, but these statements are sufficient to show that Biencourt had returned to France some time before this time, probably at the same time as his father, and that he lived there till his death some years after. The more we examine the case the more satisfied we are of the correctness of Sir William Alexander's account. He could not be misinformed as to the facts which he has here recorded in a grave official document, and we may therefore regard it as certain, that what French still remained in that part of the country with La Tour at their head quietly submitted to the new-comers. It is probable that it was then that Charles

La Tour leaving Port Royal established himself at Fort Louis, afterward Fort La Tour, where we find him soon after.

In consequence of the success of Kirk several English adventurers were led to seek a share in the profits of the trade of the new colony. In a letter from Mr. William Maxwell of Edinburgh dated 23rd November, 1628, we have a reference to this, with some particulars of the expedition.

“It is for certaintie that Sir William Alexander is come againe from Nova Scotia, and heath left behind him 70 men and tua weemen, with provisoun to serve tham be the space of ane yeir, being placet in a part of the countrie quhilk is a naturall strenthe, to githir withe some cannoun, muskett, poulder, and bullet, in caice of some suddent invasioun, together withe all thing is necessar for their present use; and is to goe hither againe in the spring with a new plantatioun. Bot since he came home the Englische men ar suiten (petitioning) of his Majestie to plant and possesse quhatsumover lands thairoff quhilk they please, and there to be halden of the Crowne of England.” (The Maxwells of Pollok, edited by William, Vol. 11, p. 200.)¹

Sir William the elder immediately applied to the Scottish Privy Council entreating their support in the maintenance of his privileges against English rivals. That body in consequence addressed a memorial to the king, setting forth that parties in Scotland had “adventured soums of money for setting furth of a colonie to plant there, and that they understood that by reasoun of a voyage made by ane Captain Kercht, thither this last summer, there are some making sute for a new patent to be hold of the Crown of England,” they represent this as derogatory to their ancient kingdom, and discouraging to the undertakers, who had already spent their money, and pray that the original grant to Sir William be maintained.

The representation was successful, and a royal patent was granted to Sir William, the younger, and others, incorporating them as “sole traders” in the Gulf and River of Canada. They were farther empowered to settle a plantation “within all parts of the gulf and river above those parts which are over against Kebeck (Quebec), on the south side, or above twelve leagues below Todowsack, on the north side,” while all others were prohibited from making any voyage into the said gulf or river upon “payne of confiscation.” They were also authorized to make “prise of all French or Spanish ships and goods at sea or land, and to displant the French.” The patent was accompanied with a special commission to Sir William and others, dated 4th of February, 1629, by which they were empowered “to make a voyage into the Gulf and River of Canada, and the parts adjacent, for the sole trade of beaver wools, beaver skins, furs, hides and skins of wild beasts.” (Colonial papers, p. 96.)

In the meantime we hear little of the settlers left on the shores of Annapolis Basin. We may conclude that during the summer (1628) all would pass pleasantly—the beauties of the scene must have arrested the attention of the most prosaic, and besides erecting the fort they would probably have made their first attempts at cultivation of the soil. But summer passed all too quickly, and they were soon called to face a Nova Scotian winter, of whose severity amid the delights of summer and autumn, they could have formed no

¹ We also find in a petition to the King from certain lords, dated 18th November, 1628, the following: “We ar verie hopefull that as the said Sir William Alexander has sent forth his sonne with a colonie to plant there this last year, so it will be secounded,” etc.

conception, and for which therefore they were unprepared. They, therefore, suffered severely so that when young Sir William returned the next season he found that thirty of the colonists had died. Otherwise the prospects of the colony were not unsatisfactory. French accounts say that they were subjected to the hostility of the Indians. Ferland says that they all perished from this cause or from scurvy except one family. If these things happened it must have been at a later date, for we shall find evidence that they held their position for four winters. Undoubtedly, too, the Indians were now friendly, though we may doubt whether they really understood the relations in which they entered with the new-comers, as involving such subjection to the King of England as the other party meant. At all events they must have been on terms of entire confidence when, as indicated by the paper of Sir William Alexander already quoted, they consented to send to England their leading chief and his family.

We know little more of the visit of this chief to England, but we learn that he was accompanied by his wife and son, and that they were dignified with the titles of king, queen and prince of New Scotland. In December (1629) a royal letter was directed to Sir James Bagg, Governor of Plymouth, to conduct to court "one of the commanders (or chiefs) of Canada, attended by some others of that countrie." (Royal Letters, etc., p. 52.) And the Rev. Joseph Mead, in a letter dated Christ College, 12th February, 1630, says:—

"There came last week to London the king, queen, and young prince of New Scotland. This king comes to be of our king's religion, and to submit his kingdom to him, and to become (?) his homage for the same, that he may be protected against the French in Canada. Those savages arrived at Plymouth, were a while entertained at my Lord Poulet's in Somersetshire, much made of, especially my lady of the savage queen. She came with her to the coach, when they were to come to London, put a chain about her neck with a diamond valued by some at near £20. The savages took all in good part, but for thanks or acknowledgment made no sign or expression at all." (Birch's Court and Times of Charles I., vol. 12, p. 60.)

We have no further accounts of the proceedings of these dusky denizens of the forest, but it appears somewhat ludicrous to read of their being treated as king and queen and prince of New Scotland. By the statement, however, from which we have quoted, it appears that he submitted himself to the king (whether he understood what he was doing or not), obtained assurance of His Majesty's protection and returned to tell his dusky compatriots of the great things he had seen, and perhaps the fine promises he had received, doubtless then to return to his old forest life.

During the summer of 1629 we hear nothing of the settlers on the shores of Annapolis Basin. But it was a time of activity on the part of these associated in the enterprise. Early in the season Kirk again proceeded to the St. Lawrence, and this time Quebec surrendered to his arms. Sir William, now deeming the success of the enterprise assured, resolved to establish a shipping port on the west coast of Scotland. The king accordingly "considering the great and manifold services rendered to his father and himself by his well beloved counsellor, Sir William Alexander," more especially "his care, toils and endeavours for establishing and founding his colony of America called Nova Scotia," granted to him the lands and muir of Largs at the mouth of the Clyde, which was also erected into a free barony. In this charter Sir William was empowered to build a free port and haven at Largs for "advancing trade and commerce" between Scotland and Nova

Scotia. (Reg. Mag. Sig. lii, 223.) For some time several Ayrshire landowners had sought to improve their shattered fortunes by acquiring lands in Ulster, and had been engaged in forming plantations there. Now it occurred to Sir William that his intended port might be rendered profitable in shipping men and goods to that province as well as to Nova Scotia. In this scheme he had been much encouraged by James Stewart, fifth Lord Ochiltree, who had taken an active part in the colonization of Ulster. In the hope of retrieving his shattered fortunes, he now consented to join Sir William Alexander, the younger, in his expedition. In May, 1629, Charles I. authorized £500 sterling to be borrowed for his Lordship's use, "in his present expedition to Cape Bretton for planting of a colony there." (Reg. of Letters.) In June he sailed with three vessels, carrying a band of settlers. He arrived in safety and entered the small harbour Baleine, some six miles to the east of Louisburg, where he erected a fort and two of his vessels were sent forward to Port Royal. They commenced fishing and regarding the island as belonging to the British, treated foreigners as intruders, and attempted to collect tribute from them, when Captain Daniel, of Dieppe, with two vessels armed with siege material, swooped down upon the new colony, claiming the country in the name of the Company of New France. He destroyed their fort, captured their vessel and took the whole band prisoners. Soon after he sailed for home, taking with him the whole band of Scottish settlers, whom to use the quaint language of Lord Ochiltree, "he enclosed in the hold of the schippe in so little bound, that they were forced to ly upon other as they haden been so many fisses lying in their awin fillthe, and fed upon bread and water." About forty of them were allowed to land at Falmouth, but Lord Ochiltree himself and seventeen others were taken as prisoners to France, where they were subjected to harsh treatment till the January following, when they were released through the interposition of the English ambassador. Lord Ochiltree reckoned his losses at £20,000, for which he received no compensation.

To carry out farther the colonization of Nova Scotia, it appears by a letter from the king, dated the 17th November, 1629, that Sir William had "agreet with some of the heads of the Cheef Clannes of the Highlands of that our kingdome, and with some other persones for transporting themselves into New Scotland," in regard to which proposal His Majesty says, "we doe very much approve of that course for advancing the said plantatione, and for debordening that our kingdome of that race of people, which in former times hade bred soe many troubles ther," and "since that purpose may very much import the publick good and quiet thareof," he urges a voluntary contribution for the object. How little could he have imagined the part that the people whom he was thus so willing to transport beyond seas as a nuisance, would afterward act in the support of himself and family. Nothing, however, came of the proposal.

During this time the calls for money were incessant. Sir William had received more than one office of emolument, yet still was becoming involved. More than once a royal letter was issued for the payment of the £6,000 allowed him for expenses, but it still remained unpaid. All the influence of the king was employed to promote the object. Much reliance was placed on the baronetcies. They were pressed upon the attention of parties likely to accept them. In 1629 six were created, and thirteen in the two following years. To induce persons of wealth to seek the honour, the commissioners were empowered to fill up the dates of patents at their discretion, so that those unwilling to occupy a lower place on the rolls might be reckoned amongst the earliest creations. All

was done to render the honour attractive. In a missive of the 17th of November, 1629, the king authorizes "everie one of them and thare heires male to weare and carry about their neckis, in all time coming, ane orange tauney ribbane, whairon shall hing pendant on a skutthion *argent*, a saltoire *azur* thereon, ane inscutcheune of the armes of Scotland, with ane imperiall crowne above the scutchone, and incircled with this motto: "FAX MENTIS HONESTAE GLORIA." This was to be proclaimed publicly at the market cross of Edinburgh. And in the same paper there was a threat of fine and imprisonment to any person who should, "out of neglect or contempt, presume to tak place or precedence of the said baronettes, thare wifes or childring, or to weare thare cognoissance."

On the 17th of November, 1629, the king, through Alexander as Chief Secretary for Scotland, urged "contractors for baronets" to proceed with their work diligently, "so that the next supplie for Nova Scotia may go out in time." We presume that the supply was sent out in the following spring.

That season La Tour was in England, whether brought there as a prisoner by Kirk or otherwise, and now, if not before, connected himself with the English cause. He was introduced at court, and, according to Charlevoix, married a maid of honour of the queen. He was a Huguenot, and, probably on that account, more readily fell in with the schemes of his English co-religionists. At all events, he joined with Alexander in his plan for settling Nova Scotia, and on the 30th of November he received his patent as a knight-baronet of Nova Scotia.

On the 30th of April, 1630, he received from Alexander a grant to himself and his son Charles, who was at the same time created a knight baronet of Nova Scotia, of "all the country, coasts, islands from the cape and river of Ingogon (Chegoggin), near unto the cloven cape (Cape Forchu), in the said New Scotland, called the coast and country of Accadye, following the coast and islands of the said countrey towards the east, unto the Port de la Tour, formerly named L'Omeroy (Lomeron), and further beyond the said port, following along the said coast unto Mirliguesche (Lunenburg)," a district embracing about half the present county of Yarmouth, the counties of Shelburne and Queen's, and about half the county of Lunenburg. This was to be divided into two baronies, to be held by the father and son on their "promise to be good and faithful vassals of the sovereign lord the King of Scotland, and to give unto him all obedience and assistance to the reducing of the people of the country." The father had already made this submission for himself and promised the same for his son, whom he had left in Nova Scotia. On arrival, however, he found his son in possession of a fort at what has since been called Fort La Tour. He appealed to him to join the English, but met with a stern and resolute refusal. The father was accompanied with two armed vessels, with which he made an attack upon the fort for two days, which was unsuccessful. There are different accounts of what followed. According to Charlevoix, he made application to his son for permission to reside in Acadia; that the young man replied that he did not wish to expose his father to lose his head by going back to England—that he would willingly give him an asylum, but that he could not allow either him or his wife to come to the fort, but that he would not suffer him to want—that the father had no alternative but to accept these terms—that, with the leave of the English commander, he with his wife disembarked with all their effects, and the men of war returned to England—that the

younger La Tour then caused a suitable dwelling-house to be erected for them at some distance from the fort, where he provided for their maintenance.

The story carries much of the aspect of romance. That La Tour should fear to lose his head by returning to England is absurd. Scarcely less so is the statement of his asking his son's permission to reside in Acadie when the English were in possession of Port Royal, where the Scotch colony had been for two years, and, according to Charlevoix himself, every other post in Acadia, except Fort La Tour. The two men-of-war spoken of could only have been private armed vessels of Alexander's company, and it is incredible that they should have returned to England without visiting the settlers at Port Royal. Besides, the story of his residing near his son is contradicted by what we learn of him shortly after. The other story given by Ferland is that he joined the colony in Port Royal with one hundred Scottish emigrants that he had brought out. There can be little doubt of the truth of this, as we soon after find him there, though we may doubt his bringing such a number of settlers in addition to those previously on the ground.

We have scarcely any notice of the infant colony this year (1630). In a royal letter, dated 13th May, 1630, the king thanks Sir William, the younger, for his "careful and provident proceeding for planting of a colonie at Port Royall," and desires him to continue as he had begun, that the work might be brought to perfection. He further charges him to appoint a deputy during his absence. (Reg. of Letters.) On the 3rd of July the Governor was further informed of the king's desire to maintain the patents granted by himself and his father, while, in reference to French claims, he desires a statement of the right of his own subjects, and of the grounds on which he is called to maintain the patents granted by his father and himself.

A notice from a French source, however, shows that the colony not only existed, but was in considerable force. Champlain mentions that this year the directors of the Company of New France despatched two vessels under the command of Captain Marot to make a settlement in Acadie. They encountered adverse weather, and the voyage was three months long. They at length reached Cape Sable, where they found young La Tour with some French volunteers under him. The captain delivered him a letter from M. Tufet, by whom the vessels had been fitted out, which urged him to remain steadfast in the King's service, and not to adhere to the English or submit to their wishes, as many worthless Frenchmen had done. This confirms the statement of Sir William Alexander, that the scattered French around Port Royal had submitted to the English or Scotch authorities there. Charles La Tour and Captain Marot, on consultation, deemed it advisable that La Tour (the father) should be informed of what had occurred, and urged to leave the English and come back, so that they might learn the condition of the English (Scotch) and act accordingly. One Lestan was sent with a letter from La Tour to his father, on reading which he set out to go to his son, having lost reputation with the English, and having in consequence little hope of advancement or wealth from them. Arrived at Cape Sable, he informed his son that it was the intention of the English to take their fort. He also reported that of seventy Scotch who had wintered at Port Royal thirty had died.¹ At all events, they were still so strong that the French made no attempt

¹ This seems to be the same story as we have given regarding the winter previous. It is much more likely to have happened on that which was their first winter. Besides, we know that seventy was the number in the first band; but, if one hundred came the next spring with La Tour, the number must have been considerably greater.

to dislodge them, but were apprehensive of being dislodged by them, and accordingly leaving them in quiet possession of Port Royal, they resolved to establish themselves on the St. John River.

Ferland says that the Scotch settlers had been protected by the presence of La Tour from the enmity of the Indians, and that when he left, they were so beleaguered in their fort by them, that they all fell victims to their enmity or the scurvy with the exception of one family. He does not give his authority for this statement and the facts seem to contradict it. At the time La Tour left, they were so strong, that they could threaten to dislodge the French from Fort La Tour. And after he was gone we find them the next season able to maintain their position. In February, 1631, King Louis XIII. granted a commission to the younger La Tour to act as his lieutenant-general in Acadie, and in April, the Company of New France sent a vessel with supplies for him. The vessel carried back the Sieur de Krainguille, the lieutenant of La Tour, who reported that the Scotch were unwilling to leave Port Royal and had brought families and cattle there. (2 Champlain, 366.) In the autumn previous, Sir William the younger had returned to Britain, leaving the colony in charge of Sir George Home. Still now after three winters they not only held their position against any French power then on the field, but were making all arrangements for permanent settlement.

But the whole project was doomed to sudden overthrow, and the blow was to come from a source the least expected. Treachery at home was to accomplish what foreign force had failed to do, and men were to receive another lesson in regard to putting their trust in princes. On the 29th April, 1631, the Scottish Privy Council were assured by royal letter that the plantation of New Scotland was still an object of solicitude, and they were invited to nominate members of their body to assist in the enterprise. On the 5th May followed another missive intimating that the king was prepared to grant baronetcies to those aiding the new colony, special commissioners being appointed to receive from Lord Stirling resignations of land for that purpose. But about two months later came the following letter from His Majesty to Sir William, now Earl Stirling.

“ CHARLES R. Whereas ther is a finall agreement made betweixt ws and our good brother, the French king, and that amongst other particulariteis for perfecting heirof, we have condescended that Port Royall shal be putt in the estate it was befor the beginning of the late warre, that no pairtie may have any advantage ther dureing the continuance of the same & without derogation to any preceeding right or title be vertew of any thing done, ather then, or to be done, by the doeing of that which we command at this tyme: It is our will and pleasur, yow ordour to Sir George Home, Knycht, or any vther haveing charge from yow ther, to demolisch the Fort, which was builded by your Sone ther, and to remove all the people, goods, ordnance, munition, cattel and vther things belonging vnto that Colonie, leaveing the bounds altogidder waist and unpeopled as it was at the tyme when your said Sone landed first to plant ther, by vertew of our commission, and this yow fail not to doe, as yow wilbe answerable vnto ws.

Greenwich 10 July, 1631 ”

In the year 1627, the year as we have seen in which Alexander's preparations for sending out his colony were completed, and the year in which the French company of a hundred associates was formed, a war was precipitated upon France through the influence of Buckingham, the English prime minister, mainly to gratify a personal pique, but

ostensibly for the relief of Rochelle. In this it failed and except perhaps in the efforts of Kirk hostilities had been carried on languidly, and on the 23rd April, 1629, a treaty of peace was concluded in which it was provided that whatever prizes were taken on either side within two months after the signing of the treaty, should be restored. This could have been intended to refer only to vessels taken under letters of marque. Charles understood it so. But supposing it to refer to conquests on land, it would include Quebec, which had been taken after the treaty had been signed, but it could not refer to Port Royal, which had been in possession of the Scotch settlers since the year previous. Moreover, it had not been captured at all. As Sir Williams puts it; "This business of Port Royall cannot be made lyable to the Articles of the Peace, seeing there was no act of hostilitie comitted thereby; a Collony onely being planted vpon his Ma'ties owne ground, according to a Patent granted by his Ma'ties late deare father and Ma'ties selfe hauing as good a right thereto, as to any part of that continent: and both the patent and the possession taken thereupon was in the time of his Ma'ties late deare Father. But neither by that possession nor by the subsequent plantatioun, hath anything been taken from the French, where of they had any right at all, or yet any possession for the time; and that what might have been done, either before the warre or since the warre without a breach of peace, cannot justly bee complained vpon for beeing done at that time."—(Colonial papers, p. 119.)

Nevertheless, the French Government demanded the removal of Capt. Kirk, Sir William Alexander, and other British subjects, and the surrender of Quebec, Port Royal and the Cape Breton coast. Charles asserted his rights and to his subjects proclaimed his determination to maintain them, but at the same time temporized with the French monarch. He asserts his right to hold these places, but at the very time that he had expressed to the Scottish Privy Council his solicitude to maintain the colony of Port Royal, he had actually agreed to transfer both it and Quebec to France. Writing to the English Ambassador on the 12th June, 1631, he says: "We have formerly consented & still continue our purpose and resolution that the one, that is, Quebec shall be restored, & from the other (viz., Port Royal) such of our subjects as are there planted shall retyre, leaving those parts in the same state they were before the peace; which wee do not out of ignorance as yf we did not understand how little wee are hereunto obliged by the last treaty (the 7th article whereof, which is that of restitution, regards only shippes which were then abroad with letters of mart), but out of an affection & desire to complye with our good brother, the French King, in all things that may friendly & reasonably, though not rightly & duly, be demanded of vs."

Even if this benevolence were real, the propriety of it might be questioned, considering how the interests of his subjects were involved, but in fact the transaction was a sordid one throughout. By the letter just quoted it appears that Charles sold the concessions proposed for hard cash or its equivalent. One-half the dowry of his queen, Henrietta Maria, had never been paid by the French Government, though as stated in this letter they had promised more than once, and were bound by treaty to do so, but now on consideration of "receaving the remainder of the porçon money due unto vs eyther in present payment or good and valuable assignaçon," he agrees to "the rendering of Quebec and retyring from Port Royal."¹

¹ The letter will be found in full in the Report on Canadian Archives for 1884, lxi.

But to his subjects he held quite different language. On the 12th July, two days after the issue of his letter to Sir William, stating his agreement with the King of France, and commanding him to evacuate Port Royal, he wrote to the Scottish Privy Council, saying that he understood from reports that came from New Scotland how well the work of plantation had begun; that Sir William had fully performed what was expected from him, and "being very desyreous, that he should not suffer therein, bot that both he & others may be encouraged to prosecute the good beginning that is made," he, therefore, directs them "seriouslie to consider how that work may be brought to perfection for," he adds "*we ar so far from quytlting our tittle to New Scotland and Canada, that we wilbe verie carefull to manteane all our good subjects who doe p'lant themselffis there.*" He further authorized them to issue a proclamation to that effect. This was accordingly done on the 28th July. But on the same day, from his palace at Greenwich, he sent a despatch to the King of France under the great seal of Scotland, in which he says: "We offering the guarantee of our royal word and promise in this matter against reasons or objections to be brought forward or urged against it whatever, by these presents do declare, and on the faith of our royal word, promise that *we will undertake, cause and effect, that by our subjects dwelling in the said fortalice or castle and settlement of the Royal Haven commonly called Port Royal, whether they reside or dwell there as soldiers of the garrison or colonists or inhabitants, the said fortalice or castle and settlement of Port Royal shall be forthwith abandoned and relinquished, and also all their weapons, machines, provisions, cattle, goods and chattels therefrom transported, immediately and as soon as letters declaring this our will and decree shall be shown and read to them,*" (Reg. of Letters.) Yet on that same 28th of July, and from his same palace at Greenwich, he wrote to the Scottish Privy Council informing them that the Earl of Haddington and twelve others were appointed commissioners "for the better furtherance and advancement of the plantation of New Scotland." (Reg. of Letters.)

Various matters connected with the peace remained unsettled, but these were finally adjusted by the treaty of St. Germain-en-laye, signed on the 29th March, 1632, when the king finally agreed "*to give up and restore,*" to the King of France, "*all the places occupied in New France, Acadia and Canada by subjects of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain; and to cause all such to withdraw from the said places.*" At the same time in consequence of his further losses by the surrender of the colony, Lord Stirling received a warrant on the exchequer for £10,000 sterling, in place of £6,000 formerly granted. This was accompanied by a letter to the Privy Council, in which the king says, "least any mistaking should ensue ther vpon, we have thought it good to declare vnto you that *it is no ways for quytlting the tittle, ryght or possession of New Scotland, or of any part thereof.*" In these assurances he persisted for some time. On the 14th June, 1632, he wrote to the Scottish Privy Council as follows:—

CHARLES R.

"Trustie, etc. Wheras upon the late Treatie betwixt ws and the French King, we wer pleased to condescend, that the Colonie which was latelie planted at Port Royall, in New Scotland, should be for the present removed from thence; and have accordinglie gevin ordour to our right, etc., the Viscount of Stirling, our principall Secretarie for Scotland, altho' by all our several ordours and directions concerneing that business, *we have ever expressed that we have no intention to quyt our right or tittle to anie of these boundis;* yet, in regard our meaneing perchance will not be sufficientlie vnderstude by these our loveing

subjects, who heirefter shall intend the advancement of that work ; ffor their further satisfaction heirin, we doe heirby requyr you to draw vp a sufficient warrant for our hand to pas vnder our great Seall, to our said Right, etc., the Viscount of Stirling, *to goe on in the said work*, whensoever he shall think fitting, wherby, for the incouragement of such as shall interest themselfis with him in it, he may have full assurance from vs *in verbo principis, as we have never meened to relinquish our title to any part of these cuntreyis, which he hath by patents from us*, so we shall ever heirufter be readie, by our gracious favour, *to protect him, and all such as have or shall heirufter at aney tyme concurrre with him, for the advancement of the plantatiouns in these boundis foirsaidis* ; And if at aney tyme heirefter, by ordour from ws, they shalbe forced to remove from the said boundis, or aney part therof wher they shall happin to be planted, we shall fullie satisfie them for all loss they shall susteane by aney such act or ordour from ws. And for your soe doinge, etc. Greenwich, 14 Junij 1632."

Other missives of similar purport followed. There was even an attempt further to raise money on the scheme. On the 24th April, 1632, the king published a royal letter, offering baronetcies to His Majesty's loyal subjects of England and Ireland, on the same terms on which they had been previously offered to those of Scotland. At the same time he declared that, notwithstanding his arrangement with the French king, he had not abandoned his right to New Scotland, *but would certainly carry on the plantation* "by compleiting of the intendit number of Knight Baronetts or otherwayes." (Reg. of Letters.) But "surely in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird," and after what had transpired none were caught by this contrivance.

It is difficult to account for the conduct of Charles throughout these proceedings. It seems to manifest stupidity or duplicity altogether inexplicable, or as we are inclined to believe a large mixture of both. How could he suppose that he could afterward maintain his claim to the possession of Nova Scotia, when he was now surrendering to France all that his subjects held there, and that in answer to her claiming it as her right? How was it possible for his subjects to carry on the work of planting a colony there after by the order of their own king, every man of them with all their possessions had been removed from the bounds and their forts and other buildings razed to the ground? And what reliance henceforward could be placed on "the word of a prince" to be "carefull to mainteane all his good subjects who doe plant themselfis there." The extraordinary thing is that the very day he held out such pledges to his subjects, he in fulfilment of his bargain with the French king sent to him a despatch under the Great Seal of Scotland engaging to cause and effect the removal of all his subjects from Port Royal. It may be admitted that giving up the places occupied by his subjects was not quitting his title to Acadie, but it was almost equivalent. It was at least giving the French the benefit of occupation which could only be wrested from them by the sword.

In the meantime what had become of the settlers on the shore of Annapolis Basin? By the terms of the treaty of St. Germain's signed in March, 1632, we infer that they were still there. If so that would have been the fourth winter of their residence. There are indications that the progress made had been regarded as satisfactory. Writing in July, 1631, the king says, "we understand both by the reports that came from thence, and by the sensible consideration & notice taken thereof by our nyghbour cuntreyis, how well that work is begun." But on the 10th May Isaac de Razilly received a commission from

the French king authorizing him to effect the removal of all subjects of Great Britain from Quebec, Port Royal and Cape Breton. He was also furnished with letters patent from King Charles under the great seal of Scotland for the surrender of Port Royal, and a letter from him to his subjects there commanding the demolition of the fort and the abandonment of the place. He also carried a letter to the same effect from Sir William Alexander to Captain Andros Fonesteo in command of his colony there. On his arrival the place was surrendered to him, the fort having been previously destroyed. Razilly had brought out colonists, but he preferred Lahave as the site for a settlement and removed thither. The old site was now abandoned, and the Port Royal of De Monts and Champlain, of Lescarbot and Poutrincourt, of Membertou and Biencourt, of La Tour and Alexander became a waste. When Haliburton wrote, about the year 1828, he says that "the remains of the fort could be traced with great ease. The old parade, the embankment and ditch had not been disturbed." But since that time the ground has been so frequently ploughed over that the site is barely recognizable. Afterward when the French settled here, they chose the present Annapolis as the site of their town and fort, being probably attracted by the rich meadows there, which still constitute so much of the wealth of the inhabitants.¹ What became of the settlers we are not informed. When the king's orders were carried out for the destruction of the fort and other buildings, they probably removed some to New England and some to the old land. Lamothe Cadillac mentions that in 1635, he found two of them there who had married French women and turned Catholics, while their mother was still living in Boston at the age of 90. As we have seen that in the first band there were seventy men and only two women, it was not surprising that some of the men should have taken up with French women, and remained with them.

And so ended the attempt to found a new Scotland on the western shores of the Atlantic. A pretext of continuing the project was still kept up. On the 11th May, 1633, Sir William (Qu., the younger) obtained a royal patent "for the sole trade in all and singular the regions, countreys, dominions, and all places whatsoever adjacent to the river and gulf of Canada, and the sole traffick from thence and the places adjoining, for beaver skins and wool, and all other skins of wild beasts for 31 yeares." (Colonial Papers, p. 165.) And on the 28th June, the Scottish Parliament passed an act, ratifying the grants made by James and Charles of New Scotland to Sir William Alexander, with all the privileges therein conferred, and also the act by which the order of knights baronets was created, and all the grants made under it. But as the country had been given up to the French such proceedings were little better than a sham.

As to the final disposal of his rights a cotemporary² asserts that he sold them to the King of France for five or six thousand pounds sterling. But this is the *obiter dictum* of a hostile critic who is not deemed of any authority, and it is contradicted by the facts of the subsequent history.

Again, it is asserted that he transferred his rights in Acadia to La Tour. This is

¹ At what time the first fort was built on the site of the present one is uncertain. Some years ago a stone was dug up near what Haliburton calls "the eastern parapet" of the old Scots fort with the inscription "LEBEL, 1643," which would seem to indicate that till that date it was still occupied by the French.

² Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty.

represented as having taken place in the years 1629 and 1630, when, as we have seen, the Scotch colony still held its own. Though this representation is given in the Canadian Archives (1883, 121 and 1886 clv), and by more than one of our historians, it is not only without evidence, but is entirely contrary to the facts of the case. On the 14th of September, 1633, three years after the alleged sale to La Tour, a commission was granted, under the Great Seal, to the High Chancellor of Scotland and seven other distinguished officials and gentlemen, for the passing of enfeoffment of lands in New Scotland, and on the 15th February, 1634, they accepted the commission with all the requisite forms. It was the duty of this commission to convey to the knights baronets the lands surrendered by Sir William Alexander to the Crown for that purpose. Accordingly, we find him making such surrenders up till within two years of his death, in 1640. Moreover, in a deed of assignment for the benefit of his creditors, signed a few days before his death, the lands granted in New Scotland under his patent are recognized as still held by him.

These facts show conclusively that Alexander had not made over his rights to La Tour. It is easy to see, however, how the report arose. At the time mentioned Sir William did grant to the La Tours (father and son) land in Acadia. The situation and boundaries we have already given. It extended from Yarmouth to Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia, but this was only a small corner of the New Scotland of Sir William's grant, sufficient to form two baronies. On the 24th of August, 1659, the La Tour family registered this grant in the Records of the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts, (the county in which Boston is situated). The reason for this step at that date was that a detachment of Cromwell's army had captured Nova Scotia, and his government were likely to hold it permanently. In these circumstances the La Tours thought it important to establish an English title to their lands. From this fact, and parties not examining the bounds stated in this grant, arose the report of Alexander having granted his rights in Acadia to La Tour. Had the latter any more extensive grant than this it would undoubtedly have been produced. This action shows that they claimed no more than the two baronies granted in 1630.¹

But new troubles began to accumulate upon the head of our hero. His second son, Sir Anthony, died on the 17th of September, 1637, and his eldest, Lord Alexander, on the 18th of May following. On the latter occasion Robert Baillie, the learned Presbyterian divine, wrote: "With the President came word of my L. Alexander's death. I have into itt a losse of a near coosin and familiar friend. The King did profess his losse of a servant of great hopes. Ye know, beside the galantries of his person, he was both wise, learned and verie well spoken. The countrey makes not much doole for him, for they took him for ane advancer of the episcopall causes to his power. It feares me his death will undo that rysing House. Their debts are great."

His pecuniary difficulties increased. The £10,000 granted to pay his expenses connected with his Nova Scotia colony, was not paid, and he received nothing for his rights there. Notwithstanding the losses he sustained in this undertaking, he might from the emoluments of his offices have maintained himself free of debt. But on obtaining one

¹ The whole subject is treated exhaustively in Rev. E. F. Slafter's "Sir William Alexander and American Colonization," published by the Prince Society.

degree after another in the peerage, he launched out into expenditure beyond his means, which ultimately brought him to a state of bankruptcy. Two measures brought him into disrepute with his countrymen. The one was the attempt persisted in for some time to force his version of the Psalms in connection with Laud's service upon the Scottish church. This connected him with all the measures of the king to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland. The other was his copper coinage. He had obtained authority from the king to issue coin of small denominations. The result was that the land was overstocked with copper coin of inferior value, which was afterward cried down to half its original nominal value, to the great loss of many, particularly of the common people. He died at his residence, Covent Garden, on the 12th February, 1640, and notwithstanding his embarrassments, he was awarded a funeral befitting his rank. His remains were deposited in the family vault at Stirling.

Rogers thus sums up his character: "The personal character of Lord Stirling presents a two-fold aspect. As a poet and private gentleman, he was admired and loved. Sir Robert Aytoun has celebrated him in an approving sonnet. In Latin verse he is lauded by the poets, John Dunbar, Arthur Johnston and Andrew Ramsay. Daniel in his 'Philotas;' Davies, of Hereford, in his 'Scourge of Folly;' Hayman, in his 'Quodlibets;' Habington, in his 'Castara,' and Lithgow, in his 'Pilgrim's Farewell,' have severally commended him. Drayton names him with affection, and Drummond, of Hawthornden, esteemed and honoured him. As a politician he might have acquired great distinction, but he sacrificed his fame by striving to maintain a rank, which he was unwise to covet, and which two successive kings were sufficiently weak to bestow. That his intentions respecting the colonization of Nova Scotia were sincere and upright may not be questioned; but losses in connection with the undertakings involved him in difficulties, to escape from which he had recourse to expedients, which if not wholly unwarranted, cannot be approved." By his ingenious contemporary Sir Thomas Urquhart, of Cromarty, his public character has been thus pungently, but not unfaithfully portrayed:

"The purity of this gentleman's vein was quite spoiled by the corruptness of his courtiership; and so much the greater pity, for by all appearance if he had been contented with that mediocrity of fortune he was born unto, and not aspired to those grandeurs of the court, which could not without pride be prosecuted, nor maintained without covetousness, he might have made a far better account of himself. It did not satisfy his ambition to have a laurel from the muses, and be esteemed a king among poets, but he must be king of some new-found-land; and like another Alexander, indeed, searching after new worlds, have the sovereignty of Nova Scotia. He was born a poet, and aimed to be a king; therefore, would he have his royal title from King James, who was born a king and aimed to be a poet. Had he stopped there it had been well; but the flame of his honour must have some oil wherewith to nourish it. Like another King Arthur he must have his kinglets though nothing limited to so small a number; for how many soever that could have looked out but for one day like gentlemen, and given him but one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, (without any need of a key for opening the gate to enter through the temple of virtue, which in former times was the only way to honour) they had a scale from him whereby to ascend unto the platforms of virtue, which they treading under foot, did slight the ordinary passages, and, to take the more sudden possession of the temple of honour, went upon obscure by paths of their own towards some

secret angiports and dark postern-doors which were so narrow that few of them could get in till they had left all their gallantry behind them. . . . After this manner, my Lord Stirling for a while was very noble; and according to the rate of sterling money, was as twelve other lords in the matter of that frankness of disposition, which not permitting him to dodge it upon inches and ells, better and worse, made him not stand to give to each of his champions territories of the best and the most; and although there should have happened a thousand acres more to be put in the charter or writing of disposition than was agreed upon at first, he cared not; half a piece to the clerk was able to make him dispense with that."

These are to be regarded as the words of a satirical cotemporary, after the scheme had failed, and its author was, therefore, fair game for the wittlings of his day. That his intentions were pure we deem unquestionable. We may even give him credit for that desire to promote the interests of religion, which he professes in advocating his project. "The greatest encouragement of all," he says, "for any true Christian is this: That here is a large way for advancing the glory of Jesus Christ, to whom churches may be builded where his name was never known, and if the saints in heaven rejoice at the conversion of a sinner, what exceeding joy would it be to them to see many thousands of savage people who do now live like brute beasts, converted unto God? And I wish (leaving those dreams of Honour and Profit which do intoxicate the brain and empoison the mind with transitory pleasure) that this might be our chief end, to begin a new life, serving God more sincerely than before, to whom we may draw more nere by retiring ourselves further from thence." To say that in his measures personal ambition mingled with other motives is only to say that he was not above the infirmities of humanity.

It is easy now to point out want of wisdom in his measures. We can see that before sending out colonists means should have been adopted to obtain fuller information regarding the country to which they were going, its soil and adaptation to agriculture or other industries, and the character of its aborigines, and, besides that, proper preparations should have been made for their reception on arrival. We who live in the nineteenth century see so much farther than those who lived in the seventeenth, that we can readily point out such mistakes; but they were the mistakes of all who engaged in such attempts in that age; and when we find it noticed that the settlers on landing were supplied with provisions to last twelve months, we are inclined to believe that the managers showed a foresight such as was not manifested in similar undertakings, even at a later period. The plan of founding baronies may in the present day excite our contempt, or even appear laughable, but we must remember that it was quite in accordance with the sentiments of the times, and when we consider his financial position, pressed for money and without government aid, we can understand how such a plan of enlisting the interest of one hundred and fifty families of the landed gentry of Scotland in the project should appear a stroke of wise policy.

One thing, we think, must be conceded, and that is the extraordinary energy and perseverance with which he prosecuted his undertaking in defiance of every obstacle. To us there appears something of the morally sublime in the manner in which he held to his purpose in spite of straitened circumstances, the jealousy of rivals, the indifference of the public, the hostility of the French and the faithlessness of his king. We must say,

too, that the scheme promised well. The few notices we have of the colony during the four years of its existence indicate that its progress was encouraging and its condition hopeful, and we believe that nothing but the extraordinary conduct of the king caused its failure ; but it was one of those failures which prove the necessary preparation for subsequent success. Still, having failed from whatever cause, it is, of course, doomed to hopeless condemnation. Will the time ever come when those who attempt great things for their race will be judged by the motives from which they conceived them and the energy with which they prosecuted them ?

NOTE.—Not expecting that this paper would be published in this form, I was not particular in noting the authorities for my statements. Beside the different colonial histories of the time, I would refer specially to the following for information on the subject : Sir William Alexander and American Colonization, edited by Rev. Edm. F. Slafter, Boston, 1873 ; Sir William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling ; Registers of Royall Letters relative to affairs of Nova Scotia, 1615-1635, Edinburgh, 1885 ; and Memorials of the Earl of Stirling and the House of Alexander, by Rev. Charles Rogers, Edinburgh, 1867.

ERRATA.

Page 103, 6th line, for "Captain Andros Fonesteo," read "Captain Andros *Forrester*."



MAP OF PART OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

SHEWING THE HABITAT OF THE WESTERN DÉNÉ TRIBES, TOGETHER WITH PORTIONS OF THE TERRITORY OF SURROUNDING RACES.

To illustrate Rev. A. G. Morice's Paper.