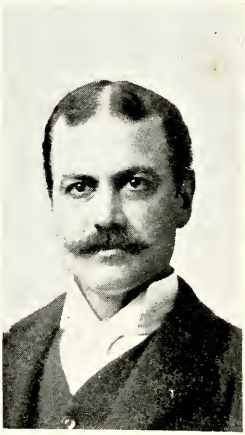

JOHN FREDERIC HERBIN

THE HISTORY OF
GRAND-PRÉ

(FOURTH EDITION)

THE HOME OF LONGFELLOW'S "EVANGELINE"

BY

THE ONLY DESCENDANT OF THE EXILED PEOPLE NOW LIVING IN THE GRAND-PRÉ OF THE ACADIANS,

JOHN FREDERIC HERBIN,

WOLFVILLE, NOVA SCOTIA

BARNES & CO., LIMITED

ST. JOHN, N. B.

Dedicated to

My Mother's People

The Acadians

THE RETURNED ACADIAN.

Along my father's dykes I roam again,
Among the willows by the river-side.
These miles of green I know from hill to tide,
And every creek and river's ruddy stain.
Neglected long and shunned our dead have lain,
Here where a people's dearest hope had died.
Alone of all their children scattered wide,
I scan the sad memorials that remain.
The dykes wave with the grass, but not for me.
The oxen stir not while this stranger calls.
From these new homes upon the green hill-side,
Where speech is strange and this new people free,
No voice cries out in welcome; for these halls
Give food and shelter where I may not bide.

—*J. F. Herbin.*

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GRAND-PRÉ.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction — Description.

Grand-Pré, Acadia, Minas, and Evangeline, are names which, in their broadest significance, represent many interesting facts in the history of Nova Scotia, yet the thought suggested is the banishment of a race of people from the country they had inhabited for nearly one hundred and fifty years. A poet, on the one hand, has woven into undying verse the story of that closing scene. A soldier, on the other hand, has put on record in a journal the facts and details that make up the last days of the Acadian occupation of Grand-Pré. One is a poetic creation based upon these facts of history. The other is the journal of a commander who had an unpleasant duty to perform. But it is left to the imagination to complete the picture, without the aid of poet or historian, of the grief and misery which became the lot of this banished and wandering people. In this volume are gathered together those facts and fragments of history which relate to the Acadian people of Grand-Pré.

Longfellow's beautiful poem, the story of Evangeline in the constancy of her love, created out of the

larger chapter of a people's history, has made hallowed ground of Grand-Pré. Yet, apart from the beauty of the poem, and the romantic glamour it throws over the land of Evangeline, the pages of Acadian story make unique and strange facts of history. Many of its chapters are both thrilling and picturesque, and not a few will be found deeply pathetic. The struggle for supremacy between the greatest of the Latin and the Teutonic races, whose national rivalry and antipathy so often made Europe a battlefield, also caused England and France to continue their strife and perpetuate their hatred in the forests of the New World. This forms the background of the picture. Against this we may trace the growth of Acadia from its first settlement in 1605 through one hundred and fifty years to the deportation in 1755, when occurred the closing scene at Grand-Pré, when the Acadians were taken from their homes, their lands left desolate, and their habitations and buildings burned to make it impossible for them to return. The mighty tides of Fundy completed the work of man's destruction by breaking down the neglected dykes and letting in the waters to flow over the fields where their last labors had been to harvest their grain and to store the fruitage of their whole summer's toil.

The poem "Evangeline" is a remarkably correct page of history. Since its appearance in 1847, because the odium of the act of the expulsion seemed to rest with the English Government, a great deal has been written in attempt to show that the Acadians were, in themselves, largely to blame for the fate that

befell them, and that their removal from the country was a political necessity. Had all the facts been known, much of it would not have been written. Haliburton, in 1829, only seventy-four years after the French were taken away, wrote a history of Nova Scotia. At that time men were alive who had lived through the scenes of the expulsion. Richard, in 1895, published "Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History," with the aid of everything that could throw light on the subject. To-day Acadian history is practically reconstructed; and only within a few years has it been possible to give all the facts in regard to that much-mooted question, The Expulsion of the Acadians. Records were lost or destroyed; facts favorable to the people were made to appear against them; and that evidence was sought which would condemn the people forever. Between Haliburton and Richard is a host of writers whose efforts have tended to perpetuate the error that has so darkened the memory of an unfortunate people.

The portion of Acadia about Grand-Pré first occupied by the Acadians, known in earlier history as Mines or Minas, is noted both for the richness of its soil and the loveliness of its farms and orchards. It is also remarkable for its geological formation, having been visited by eminent geologists, while specimens of its curious mineral crystalizations enrich the collections of many colleges and museums. Longfellow's glowing description of its features of varying beauty does not usually disappoint the stranger who comes to Grand-Pré with the lines of the poem still fresh in his memory. Wolfville, only

three miles away, is the centre about which cluster the points of beauty, and from which radiate the lines of road which communicate with them. Directly in front lies the blue stretch of Minas Basin. The distant purple hills of Cumberland are cut off and relieved on the west by the bold and clearly defined shape of Cape Blomidon. Numerous large and beautiful streams empty their waters into the Basin, which in turn flows into the Bay of Fundy. Cape Blomidon terminates the range of mountains which lies on the north side of the Annapolis Valley. The eastern extremity of this valley is the Canard and Habitant of the Acadians, now named Cornwallis, and the broad fields of the Grand-Pré. These are seen to best advantage from Look-Off, a point on the North Mountain about five hundred feet above the level of the plain. This overlooks a varied and extended scene of great beauty. Look-Off is about twelve miles from Wolfville, and the road thither lies through the finest of the orchard country, and over marshes of wonderful fertility and richness.

When the traveller reaches Wolfville his feet are on Acadian ground. The town is set in the midst of scenic and historic richness of varying aspect; and combining with meadow, marsh, forest, green slope, orchard and mountain are the phenomenal tides of the famous Fundy. It occupies the site of an Acadian village, and has become the most important town in that part of Minas, overlooking the waters of the Basin, re-named Horton after the deportation. In its old cemetery may be read the names of some of the early settlers from New England, one stone

dating 1774. Many graves antedate this. On many stones may be read the early life of this region in the names they bear of those first families whose fortunes were cast here and who died in the land of their adoption.

The memory of the Acadians is kept only by scattered willows and apple trees, cellar excavations that have gaped under the sky for a century and a half, and disused dykes which the forces of nature have not as yet laid level with the earth from whence they were taken. Not a letter in the whole of Minas tells the name of an Acadian.

Beyond the ridge south of Wolfville lies the famous valley of the Gaspereau. The river flowing through it empties into the Basin east of Grand-Pré. The salt tides make their way up this river for several miles. Half a mile from the broad outlet is the historic landing place where the Acadians were taken into boats and borne to the transports anchored in the channel.

West and east from the river lie the wonderful marshlands, those salt plains which drew the Acadians to the shores of Minas Basin, and which they reclaimed from the sea through years of arduous toil. Following all the rivers where the marshes lay they built their homes on the adjoining uplands, and became a numerous people. It was at Grand-Pré they were finally compelled to gather for removal, that other people might be induced to make their homes on the Acadian lands and enjoy the fruits of their toil and industry. From the Gaspereau the transports went out with the tide, and Grand-Pré ceased to know the Acadians as a united people.

A commemorative structure of a permanent character will before long be erected at Grand-Pré. In the history of this part of Acadia it was the most clearly marked and important place in Minas. Winslow and his soldiers were encamped there in 1755. It was the last to be destroyed when the Acadians were removed. Grand-Pré is the home of Longfellow's "Evangeline," and a stone memorial there would be fitting to perpetuate the name of the poet, as well as to mark the spot he has made famous, and to stand among the few landmarks of the departed people which have come down to us from their day. The row of willows they set out alongside the church road must in time fall into decay. The depression in the earth which was once a cellar will be filled up. The well may cease to exist. The site of the Acadian church is less plainly discernible every year. Not a trace remains of the cemetery. Time is obliterating the Acadian roads. Imperishable marble should now mark the place, and tell its history to the many persons who come every year to look upon what remains of the once populous Grand-Pré of the Acadians. A fund is now being raised for the purpose of making of this ground an Acadian and Longfellow Memorial Park.

WELL AND WILLOWS.

CHAPTER II.

Acadia — Minas — The Micmac Indians.

1504-1911.

As early as the year 1504 the coast waters of Nova Scotia became known to French fishermen and traders of Bretagne and Normandy. During that century several attempts were made to colonize the country, but not for a hundred years was a permanent settlement established in Acadia.

The first mention of the word "Acadie" occurs in a document written in 1603; but it must be inferred that through a century of intercourse with the native Indians, the Micmacs, and because of the increasing importance of the fur trade and the fisheries, the peninsula of Nova Scotia must have had that name to designate it many years before this date. The frequent use of the word "Cadie" or Acadie, by the Indians led to the adoption of that name for the country inhabited by them. It forms the terminal of several geographical names still in use in the province. Thus we have Shuben*acadie*, Tra*cadie*, Chicaben*acadie*, Chibben*acadie*, Shun*acadie*, Ponom*acadie*, Ben*acadie*, Sun*acadie*, Kat*acadie*, Segoonum*acadie*, Moul*acadie*, Choul*acadie*, etc. The Malicites of New Brunswick pronounced the word "Quoddy," and it occurs in that form in some of the place-names of that province, Passama*quoddy*, Noodi*quoddy*, etc.

Kaddy or Cadie is the equivalent of region, field, ground, land, or place, the place of, and when joined to an adjective or to a noun with the force of an adjective, it denotes that the place referred to is the appropriate or special place of the object expressed by the noun or noun-adjective. In the Micmac language, adjectives of this kind are formed by suffixing "a" or "wa" to the noun. Thus, Segubbun is a ground-nut; Segubbuna, of or relating to ground-nuts; and Segubbuna-Kaddy is the place or region of ground-nuts, or the place in which these are to be found in abundance, Shubenacadie. Segubbuna-Kaddy (Shubenacadie), place of ground nuts; Soona-Kaddy (Sunacadie), place of cranberries; Kata-Kaddy, eel-ground, etc.

Acadia, or Acadie, as it was known in its earlier history, formed a part of the French dominion in America called New France. Acadia embraced Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and a large part of the State of Maine.

Minas, Manis, Menis, as it has been variously called, was named by the French *Les Mines*, and referred to the south shore of Minas Basin, from which the name was derived. Mines, later Minas, owes its name to the fact that veins of pure copper had been found at Cape D'Or, called also *Cap des Mines*. Hence the adoption of the names Minas Basin; Minas, the region; Minas, the French settlement south of Minas River (the Cornwallis River). In general terms, Minas may be said to include all the shores or land bordering on the Gaspereau, Cornwallis, Canard, Habitant and Pereau rivers. This includes the present territory of

Avonport, Hortonville, Grand-Pré, Gaspereau, Wolfville, Port Williams, New Minas, Kentville, Starr's Point, Upper and Lower Canard, Cornwallis and Pereau. The French settlement at Piziquid(Windsor) was for a time included in Minas.

Various points in Acadia had been settled by the French before these beautiful lands sloping to the waters of Minas Basin became the scene of colonization. Yet report of its wonderful richness, its seclusion and beauty, had made Minas known a century before it received a permanent settlement. The Grand-Pré—the great prairie— and the broad sheet of basin receiving into its bosom a hundred streams, fine stretches of forest, the vast acres of marshlands, bold bluffs and undulating hills lay like a garden, the favorite haunt of Micmac Indians and the retreat of an occasional pirate or corsair, until the beginning of its history about 1675.

The aborigines of Acadia were called by the French, Souriquois, and in the 18th and 19th centuries they were known as Micmacs. When the French first came they numbered about 3,000. The Micmacs came originally from the south-west and took possession of Acadia, driving the Kwedecks, or Iroquois, towards the St. Lawrence, and established the Restigouche as the northern boundary of the Micmac territory. They permitted the Malicites, who were once a portion of the Abenaki nation, to secure the St. John without opposition, reserving a village site at the mouth of the river. The Micmacs were of the Algonquin family of Indians.

When the French came to Acadia they found that the Indians had a name for every sea, basin, lake,

river, brook, headland and hill in the country. It was the home of the Micmacs and they were familiar with every part of it. Their language is beautiful and poetic. The oldest names we have are theirs. We know nothing of the origin of the word "Micmac." In time the French gave beautiful and suggestive names to many parts of the country. Many of these have been changed to English names.

In Micmac tradition, Glooscap is the Great Spirit. He once lived in Nova Scotia, but they do not know where he now is. He was like other men in his way of living; but he never died, never was sick, and never grew old. He lived in a large wigwam. Blomidon bears his name, in Micmac, *Glooscap-week* (Glooscap's home). Minas Basin was his beaver pond. The dam was at Cape Split, the extremity of North Mountain. This he cut open, leaving a passage way for the tides. Spencer's Island was his kettle, made of a stone. Two rocks near by were his dogs. All these places have Indian names expressive of their connection with the legend. When the white man came, Glooscap was displeased with their treachery, and turning his kettle over, and changing his dogs to stone, he departed from the country. He is expected to return some day.

There is evidence to show that there were Micmac villages, or at least summer homes, in Minas in early times. Game and fish were abundant, and the extensive shores uncovered by the retreating tides supplied great quantities of shell-fish. In several places on the west side of the Basin, at Starr's Point, Canard, Wolfville, Gaspereau, and Long Island, their remains have been found, showing where they had

their camping-grounds, landing-places, and trails. Through the use of these places by successive generations of tribes, large tracts were cleared of wood, and were ready for the Acadians when they sailed up the Basin on the lookout for suitable places for their homes. At Starr's Point, a few years ago, Indian skeletons were found, seeming to point to the existence of an Indian burying-ground there. Various stone implements and arrow-heads have been found in the same locality. Near that place a *Kitchen-Midden*, with its heap of large clam-shells, bones of various animals and pieces of copper, hand implements of stone, axes, adzes, and arrow-heads of stone, chipped into shape from material obtained at Blomidon, rude pottery in fragments, showing crude attempts at ornamentation — all these have been found buried under several inches of soil.

These remains show to what degree of civilization the aborigines of this country had attained when the French missionaries began their work among them. The Micmacs were an honest and intelligent race, and always maintained their friendship for the French. Much of our history was influenced by these natives. Harsh and aggressive treatment never secured their friendship.

Occasional visits of the French to Minas for trade made known the richness of the country; and later, when Port Royal had grown too large to furnish the youth with land, these virgin fields became settled.

Here the rivers were unobstructed by dyke or ford. The red tides rose and fell, flooding the marshes and mixing with the crystal waters of the many mountain

streams. Only the coarse salt grass moved in the flow of the sea where now stretch out the broad hay meadows of the Basin of Minas. No horses or cattle grazed on the slopes. No sheep fed in pasture or clearing. No smoke but of Micmac camp or bark wigwam rose in the air. No church spire pointed to heaven and told of the Son of God. Over the whole extent of the waters no ship spoke of man's industry and of a people's commerce. Here waited a rich heritage ready to reward toil and peace, a very haven of refuge. But through what a fire of persecution and woe was it to be brought about! By what tyranny and injustice! Through what pools of blood, over what devastation of homes is the foundation of a nation's greatness laid!

The Micmac language has been preserved in a dictionary of more than forty thousand words, and a large amount of valuable linguistic material and Micmac mythological lore has been preserved by the late Silas Tertius Rand, who labored among the Micmacs for more than forty years. The Indians of to-day are fast losing their hold upon their ancient customs and manners. They number in all something over three thousand in the provinces at the present time.

MICMAC NAMES OF PLACES.

Acadie F.: *Acadia E.*
Annapolis River: *Tawopskik*, flowing out between rocks.
Antigonish: *Nalegelkooneech*, where branches are torn off by bears getting beechnuts.
Avon River: *Pesegitk*, *Tooenueook*, flowing square into the sea.
Aylesford Bog: *Kobetek*, the Beaver.

Benacadie: *Bunna-kaddy*, place of bringing forth (moose resort in calving season).
Blomidon: *Glooscap-week*, Glooscap's home, *Owbogegeschk*, Dogwood grove.
Boot Island: *Caydy-bunny-gek*, clam diggings.
Canard: *Apcheechkumoochwaakade*, duckland.
Canso: *Cansoke*, facing the frowning cliff.
Cape Breton: *Oonamaagik*.
Cape Split: *Plekteok*, huge handspikes for breaking open a beaver dam.
Cascumpec: *Cascumpec*, flowing through sand.
Charlottetown Harbor: *Brooksake*.
Chedabucto: *Sedabiooktook*, running far back.
Chignecto: *Sigunikt*, a foot cloth.
Chiverie: *Woboek*, white water.
Cobequid: *Maycobegilk*, end of the flowing water, the bore.
Cornwallis River: *Chijikwtook*, narrow river.
Cumberland: *Cwes-o'mally-geek*, hardwood ridge.
Economy: *Kenomee*, sandy point.
Gaspereau Lake: *Pasedoock*, small islands with shrubbery.
Gaspereau River: *Magepskegichk*, tumbling over large rocks.
Gaspereau, or Alewife River: *Segoonumakaddy*.
Halifax: *Chebookt*, chief harbor.
Hantsport: *Kagagwek*, place of dead fish.
Herring Point: *Wospooijiktook*, to be among the seals.
Herring Cove: *Moolipchugich*, a gorge.
Isle of Haut: *Maskoositkik*, an Indian potato.
Katakaddy, eel-ground.
Kentville: *Penooek*.
La Have River: *Pijenooiskak*, having long points.
Long Island: *Mesadik*, extending far out.
Memramcook: *Amlamkook*, variegated.
Micmac: *Migamack*.
Minudie: *Menoody*, a bay.
Mud Bridge (Wolfville): *Mtaban*, mud-catfish ground.
Newfoundland: *Uptumcook*, the mainland.
Nictau: *Nictahk*, forks.
Noodiquoddy, place of seals, or place of seal-hunting.
Noosaboon: *Noosabon*, the river.

Nova Scotia: *Megumaage*, Micmac land.
Oak Point: *Upkwaweegan*, a house covered with spruce bark.
Parrsboro': *Owwokun*, a crossing-over place.
Partridge Island: *Pulowecha*, *Munegoo.*
Passamaquoddy: *Pestumooquoddy*, pollock-ground.
Pereau: *Wogeechk*, "white waters" a white signal far off.
Petitcodiac: *Pelkoothweak*, bends in a bow.
Penobscot: *Banoopskep*, opening out through the rocks.
Pictou: *Piktook.*
Place of Eagles: *Kitpooakaddy.*
Pockwock Lake: *Paakwaak*, stop here, you cannot go farther.
Ponhook Lake: *Bahnook*, first lake in the chain.
Prince Edward Island: *Eppayguit*, anchored on the wave.
Quebec: *Kebec*, the narrows.
Quaco: *Gulwahgahgek*, the home of the sea cow.
River John: *Cajbooginek*, winding through the wilderness.
Minas Channel: *Pleegun*, opening in a beaver dam.
Shubenacadie: *Segubunakadie*, place where the Segubun or Micmac potato grows.
St. John: *Menagwes*, where they collect dead seals.
St. John River: *Olastook*, beautiful river.
St. Mary's Bay: *Wagweiik*, the end.
Starr's Point: *Nesoogwitk*, lying on the water between two other points.
Sunacadie: *Soonakaddy*, place of cranberries.
Tangier River: *Ahmagopskegeek*, tumbling over rocks.
Tracadie: *Tulukaddy*, probably place of residence.
White Waters: *Wajeechk*, a signal.
Windsor: *Setun.*
Yarmouth: *Keepoogwitk*, land's end.

CHAPTER III.

Port Royal — Minas Visited.

1604-1710.

In 1604 Pierre de Guast, Sieur de Monts, a native of Saintonge, a nobleman of the court of Henry IV. of France, came to Acadia to found a colony. He was given the monopoly of the fur trade to reward him for this work. With De Monts were Champlain, Poutrincourt and Pontgrave, names well known in connection with the history of New France.

In 1604 De Monts sailed up *la Baie Francoise* (Bay of Fundy) on an exploring expedition. He visited the mines of pure copper at Cape D'Or (Golden Cape), also called Cap des Mines. These mines were undoubtedly known to the Indians, for among their remains found on the shores of the Basin, pieces of copper are sometimes met with.

De Monts sailed into the Basin to Partridge Island, where the captain of one of the ships found a large specimen of amethyst. The stone was broken in two pieces, and De Monts received one of them. On their return to France the specimens were cut and mounted in beautiful settings, and presented to the king and queen. This stone is rarely met with now on the island touched by these hardy explorers, and only in small and poorly colored specimens. The writer

has obtained fine pieces at Blomidon, which when cut and polished compare well with the best stone obtainable.

On the lookout for a suitable place for settlement, De Monts was not favorably impressed with the stern appearance of the rocky cliffs of Blomidon and the north shores. He missed the rich lands but a few miles farther south. He then continued his passage along the north shore of the Bay of Fundy, at that time called Baie Francaise.*

With the establishment of Port Royal began the friendly relations that continued so long between the native Indians and the French. A profitable trade in beaver and other furs sprung up.

In the year 1606, Poutrincourt and Champlain while coasting in a small boat on the north side of the Basin of Minas, found a cross, very old, and entirely covered with moss, and thoroughly rotten. This discovery was evidence to prove that the Basin had been visited by Christian people, and also leads to the conclusion that traders must have visited Minas before the settlement of the country.

The history of La Cadie, or L'Acadia, began with the founding of Port Royal, now Annapolis, in 1605, a grant of that portion of it having been made to Poutrincourt by De Monts. With the French *noblesse* were Catholic and Protestant clergymen, laborers and artisans. The company spent the winter on an island in the mouth of the River St. Croix

*The word Fundy is derived from "fond," the end, or top, of the bay.

FAED'S EVANGELINE

which De Monts chose for his headquarters. After a dreary winter, in which nearly half the party died of scurvy, the survivors returned to Port Royal, and the settlement was established there. In 1607, the monopoly of the fur trade was taken from De Monts, and the colonists abandoned Acadia. In 1610, another party came out under the leadership of Poutrincourt. Jamestown in Virginia, settled in 1607, was growing rapidly. Samuel Argall, from that place, destroyed Port Royal in 1612, but a few of the French colonists remained in the country among the Indians.

From this period for ten years there is little mention of Acadia. The fur trade was still carried on, and the fishing industry increased. The French continued in the country, and forts were built on St. John River and at Cape Sable.

In 1621, James I. gave Acadia to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, and the country received the name it was ultimately to retain, Nova Scotia.* To aid the enterprise of an annual fishing

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*Origin of the First Coat of Arms of Nova Scotia.—The Order of Baronets of Nova Scotia was established on the principle that they should assist the plantation of the province at their own charges. Charles I., in 1625, conferred on each knight a space of land three miles wide and six miles long in New Scotland. The complete number of knights was to be 150. The insignia of the Order to be the arms of Nova Scotia, Argent, "the ancient arms of our said ancient kingdom of Scotland," on a blue cross, commonly called a saltier azure, to be supported by the unicorn on the right side, and a savage on the left; and for the crest, a laurel branch and a thistle proceeding out of an armed hand, and a naked (sword?) conjoined, with the motto: *Munit haec et altera vincit.*

expedition the Order of Nova Scotia Baronets was established.

Melanson is the only name traceable to this Scotch period of rule, forming to-day a numerous family.

The peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, gave Nova Scotia to France, when effort was made with success to establish colonies in the country. A company was formed having for its commander Isaac de Razilly, his kinsman, d'Aulnay de Charnisay, and Nicholas Denys de la Ronde. At this time 300 persons were brought to Acadia. Charnisay, between 1639 and 1649, brought out others; and under Charles Etienne de la Tour, in 1651, others were settled. From these the Acadians of the Maritime Provinces of Canada are descended, numbering over 150,000. La Tour is probably the only name dating from the arrival in 1605 of De Monts and Poutrincourt. Of the 300 who came in 1632, there were perhaps twenty families. Others married young women who were brought from France later.

With de Razilly came three Capuchin friars, who took charge of the Acadian missions. Records of marriages, births and deaths were always kept by these spiritual directors, but many have been lost, so that it is not known from what parishes in France the first Acadian families came. The Canadian Archives Department is gathering all historical material in France and England relating to the country and the people, and new facts are frequently coming to light.

In 1636, dykes began to be used to keep the salt tides of the ocean from flooding the marshes. Agriculture

rose in importance as the Acadians brought more and more of this rich land into cultivation, and became skilful in the care of the dyke-protected meadows. In all parts of New France, seigneuries, large tracts of land, had been granted to members and friends of the governing body of the country, the Hundred Associates. Their engagement was simply to settle the country, to protect the settlers, and to support the missions.

The rivalry of two seigneurs in Acadia, La Tour and d'Aulnay-Charnisay, the one living at the mouth of the St. John River, the other at his fortified trading-post on the Penobscot, resulted in open war, which continued to 1645, when, during the absence of LaTour, d'Aulnay captured Fort La Tour. The defence was bravely conducted by Lady La Tour, but without avail, against a superior force; and the lady was compelled to witness the execution of her courageous followers. It is said she died of grief because of this cruel act. D'Aulnay died in 1650, and La Tour became governor, and lieutenant for the king in Acadia, and besides, he married the widow of his late rival.

In 1654, a force from Boston, under Major Sedgewick, took Port Royal and Fort La Tour, while the question of the boundary between Acadia and New England was in dispute. La Tour at once transferred his allegiance to England. Acadia was restored to France in 1667, but it was 1670 before the representative of France took possession. This country now became a part of New France, a province of the mother country, and was governed directly from Paris. After

all the sacrifice of time and money, the population of Acadia was at this date about 400. Port Royal had the most of these.

It was from this place, about the year 1675 that the few first Acadians removed to Minas, and gave date to the beginning of history at Grand-Pré. It was but a few decades when this section of the country became the most flourishing in Acadia.

After the coming of Grandfontaine, the population of the country doubled in sixteen years, and during that time there was a great advance in agriculture. Considerable trade was carried on illegally about the coast by New Englanders.

In 1689, France and England began a war which was carried on with little intermission till 1713. Acadia was again captured, the fort at Annapolis being unable to withstand attack. In America both sides made use of the Indians, as far as they were able, and their savage nature was aroused to its highest pitch. Acadia was retaken in 1690. In 1710, a garrison of less than three hundred men at Port Royal capitulated to a New England force, and Acadia passed out of the hands of the French for the last time. The place was named Annapolis, in honor of the British queen.

CHAPTER IV.

MINAS SETTLED — DYKE-BUILDING — CHURCHES AT MINAS — CHURCH'S RAID.

1675-1705.

The chief founder of Minas was a rich inhabitant of Port Royal, Pierre Terriau, who probably settled on Habitant River about 1675. Associated with him were Claude and Antoine Landry, and René Le Blanc. Terriau had wealth and much wheat, which he had raised at Port Royal, and he distributed it among the others without interest.

Here was the hoped-for retreat. Those at Port Royal were under the eye of the Fort, the prey of every evil chance. Minas was without protection, save that of isolation, yet it grew rapidly after the pretensions of La Valliere, in command of Acadia, who claimed Minas, were laid aside three years later. His policy had tended to obstruct settlement. Minas under the Seigneur Le Borgne received no assistance from him. Annapolis had at this time a population of 361. The Acadians were mostly descendants of colonists brought out to Nova Scotia between 1632 and 1651. They came from Rochelle, Saintonge, and Poitau, a limited area on the west of France—a country of marshes, in what is known to-day as the department of Vendée and Charante Inferiéure.

The census of 1671 gives us the following names:

Bourgeois, Gaudet, Kessy, de Foret, Hébert, Babin, Daigle, Blanchard, Aucoin, Dupeux, Terriau, Sarvoie, Corporon, Martin, Pellerin, Morin, Brun, Gauterot, Trahan, Cyr, Thibaudeau, Petitpas, Bourg, Boudreau, Guilbaut, Granger, Landry, Doucet, Girouard, Vincent, Breau, Le Blanc, Poirier, Comeau, Pitre, Belliveau, Cormier, Rimbaut, Dugas, Richard, Melanson, Robichau, Lanoue, d'Entremont, de la Tour, Bertrand, de Bellisle, Boudrot, Martin, Commeaux.

In 1671, the agricultural population confined itself more and more to the land. Every immigrant, every disbanded soldier, became a farmer. Thus land became necessary and the best was occupied, and as the boys grew up many had to look elsewhere for homes. Sometimes whole families migrated. From this time settlements increased rapidly in different parts of Acadia, on the best available land.

From 1671 to 1686, the population of Acadia had more than doubled. Minas had now 57 souls, 10 families, 83 acres tilled, 90 horned cattle, 21 sheep, 67 swine, 20 guns. Among the settlers was Pierre Melanson, called La Verdure, aged 54, born in 1632, and Marie Muis D'Entremont, his second wife, aged 36, born in 1650. Their nine children were from one to twenty years old. Pierre Melanson came from Port Royal. His name was affixed to the marriage settlement of La Tour and Madame D'Aulnay in 1653. In 1654 Melanson was Captain Commandant of the king at Port Royal, and tutor, as well, to the children of the then dead D'Aulnay, proprietor of the country.

As will be seen later, the surnames of the nine families at Minas increased rapidly. They were

Aucoin, De la Boue, La Roche, Pinet, Terriau, Rivet, Boudrot, Hebert, Landry. Aucoin, Terriau, Boudrot, Hebert and Landry became the most numerous of the names we find on the list of the Acadians at Minas in 1755. These settled near the head of the tide on the Canard and Habitant Rivers. LeBlanc was not on the census of 1686, but the name became numerous later on the south side of Minas River (the Cornwallis). The Melansons also were located there, and a village on the Gaspereau had this name.

In 1686 we find thirty-six new names on the census of that year:

Le Prince, Brassard, Douaron, Levron, Lort, Arsenaut, Bergeron, Bellefontaine, Tourangeau, Barillot, Godin dit Chatillon, Benoit, Préjeau, Bastarache, Fardel, Henry, Gareau, Laperrière, Michel, Gourdeau, La Bauve, La Pierre dit Laroche, Pinet, Rivet, Mirande, La Barre, Aubin, Mignault, Cochu, Collard, Mercier, Lavallée, Lagosse, Blou, Desorcis, Martel, Dubreuil.

From 1686 to 1710, seventy-seven new names were added to the Acadians:

La Basque, Moyse, Ollivier, Parisien, Dubois, Bernard, Thibeau, Rosette, La Breton, Lounais, Lafont, Allard, La Marquis, Emmanuel, Dupuis, Denis, Barnabe, Beaumont, La Maistre, Allain, Cadet, Lessoile, Raymond, Donat, Maillard, Vilatte, Surette, Savary, Dumont, Lavergne, Lalande, Simon Babineau, Paris, Crosse, Saint-Scene, l'Esperance, Manceau, Pothier, Dambone, Laliberté, Laurier, Yvon, Samson, Blondin, Bideau, Gentil, Gousille, Langlois, Vigneau, dit Maurice, Champagne, Clémenceau, La Montagne, Mouton, Jasmin, Voyer, Toussaint, Boutin, Roy Chauvert, Boucher, Darois, de Saulniers, Boisseau, Herpin, Guérin, Lonquépée, Haché, Lambert, Chiasson, Maisonnat, Carre De Vaux, Ondy, Nuirat Veco, Leger.

Acadia's history gives an account of disputes and attacks everywhere else, but for some years Minas is seldom mentioned. It grew quietly in retreat. Though history is silent regarding it, we may infer the ambitions that actuated the *habitants*. The great results disclosed later, when base motive was not lacking to treat them as enemies, can be ascribed to those quiet days of thrift and industry that made the small nation of Acadian peasantry a prosperous and contented people. From 1670 to 1710 Port Royal was besieged five times. Minas was visited and made to suffer but once. Reports of the rich extent of the marshes attracted many to its borders. Thousands of acres awaited the building of dykes to make their owners rich.

At various times pirates and privateers had appeared near the coast of Acadia, and Villebon, in 1699, governor at Port Royal, urged the necessity of maintaining a fortress at that place, with a garrison of 300 to 400 men, as a protection against the English and pirates. This would be a means of protecting Minas as well, where corn and cattle were raised. At that time Villebon sent four men to a cliff of copper in Minas, where they worked for ten or twelve days, but produced little. A few specimens were sent to France. The cost of the work was 47 livres.

It was Villebon who sent a detachment of his garrison to Minas when he heard that the people of that place had said that they would join the English when they should appear among them. This had effect upon the Acadians, for they sent a working party to assist in building the fort. La Verdure was chief man

at Minas to transmit all orders from the governors, and to have them executed. He was continued in the office.

It must be understood that the first attempts made by the Acadians at dyke-building were commensurate with their small numbers. Dykes were thrown up to enclose small areas of marsh, alongside the upland, often from point to point of land. As the population grew larger these small dykes increased, until the people were of sufficient number to run a dyke *across* the river from shore to shore. This required united effort and great skill, especially in putting down a sluice in the bed of the river channel, to let out the fresh water from within, and to keep out the salt water of the rapid tides.

That part of the dyke with a sluice is called an *arboiteau*; *aboiteau*, *abateau*. In fact, there are more than twenty words, with slight difference in spelling, to represent it. A not infrequent pronunciation of the word is "bato." A great deal has been written, and many opinions given, more or less different, to explain the origin of the word. The word is doubtless of French origin:

Une boite d'eau, a water box, *aboteau*.

Aboyer, to keep at bay, *aboideau*.

Abot, a branch of a tree fastened to a horse's foot. Aboter, a hoppled animal, hence *aboiteau*, a water-clog.

Abat, a barrier, or defence, *abateau*.

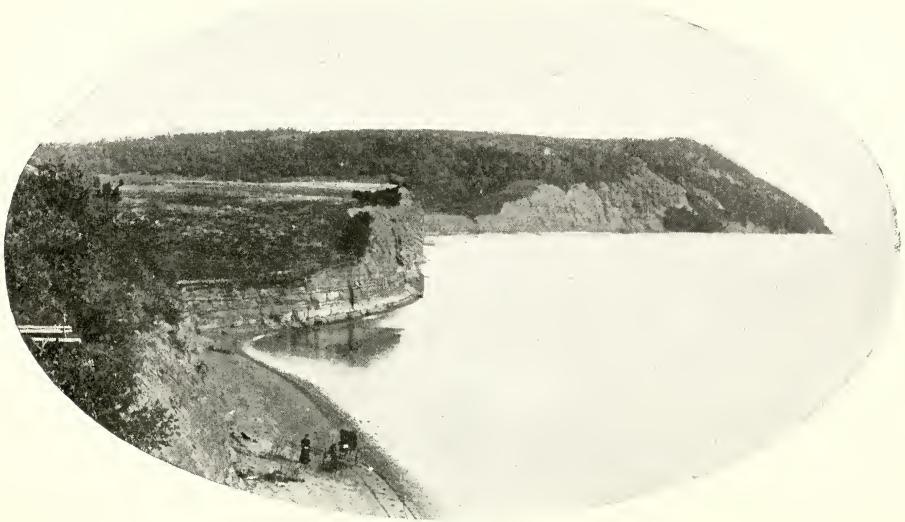
Abattre, to beat off, or back, *abateau*.

Aboideau, "l'abbé d'eau," seems to be the correct word, and the best form of it; abbée, a French word, meaning *a dam*, d'eau, water.

The first account we have of a dyke and sluice is in "Voyage du Sieur de Dierville en Acadie, ou Nouvelle France," in the year 1699, published in 1708. The reference is as follows:

"It is necessary, in order to raise grains, to drain the marshes, which the sea at high tide overflows with its waters; and which they (the Acadians) call the lowlands. Those lands are good enough; but what labor does it require to put them in condition for cultivation? It is not easy to stay the course of the sea; the Acadians, nevertheless, accomplish the task by means of strong dykes, which they call *aboteaux;* and this is how they make them: They set up five or six rows of large trees, quite entire, at the places by which the sea enters the marshes, and between the rows they lay other trees lengthwise, one upon another, and they fill all the empty spaces so well with soft clay, well packed, that the water can no longer pass through. They fit in the middle of these works a flood-gate (un esseau) in such a manner that it allows, at low tide, the marsh-water to flow out by its own pressure, and prevents the water of the sea from entering."

The Acadians performed a great work in building the dykes. Year after year they added to the acreage of reclaimed marsh and ceaseless vigilance was necessary to keep the tides out. On the Canard River and at Grand-Pré are many traces of their labor. Dykes stretched across the Grand-Pré meadows to Long Island. The greater number of these protecting walls of earth required also the construction of



CAPE BLOMIDON.

aboiteaux in the bottom of river channels. On the Gaspereau about all the marsh was dyked in. Wolfville, Port Williams, New Minas and Kentville had dykes in early times. A very interesting work may be seen on the road to Look-Off. The bridge crossing the former channel of Canard River rests on the broken ends of the old French dyke, over where the aboiteau lay. After the expulsion the dyke was broken by a high tide, and the English built another only a few yards west, till the great work of constructing the Wellington dyke was done, nearer to the Basin.

The District of Minas included the parish of St. Joseph, of Canard River, and that of St. Charles, of Grand-Pré. The churches were of wood, with towers from which, thrice a day, came the sound of l'Angelus. We have an interesting account of a visit to Grand-Pré, or Minas, as it was called, in 1686, by Bishop Valliers, of Quebec. We learn from him that the inhabitants were young men, well built, and hard working. They had left Port Royal to settle there. They were draining the marshes and building dykes. They were without spiritual guidance, and the Bishop stopped a day to minister to them, giving them instruction, hearing confession and giving communion in the morning; and in the afternoon he baptized some children, and settled some differences between them. They had been without religious instruction for some time, and they pleaded for a priest to be given them, promising not only to support him, but to build a church and a parochial house. Where now stand the French willows and the

old well so much visited every year, was then known as an *island*, being surrounded by water at high tides. This strip of land was offered by the owner as a site for the church and house, either the whole or a part of it. Here, eventually, the church and priest's house were built. The burying ground was also near by. The location of these may be seen to-day. This spot was in 1755 used by Colonel Winslow for himself and his regiment when the Acadians were being deported,

The first missionary at Grand-Pré was le pere Claude Mireau, Récollet, who wrote the first acts in the registers, June 25th, 1694. As only part of the parish register remains, there is no complete list of the priests of Minas. The list of missionaries, or *curés*, of whom we know, is:

M. de St. Cosme, 1697.
Bonaventure Masson, Récollet, 1707-1710.
Abbe Gaulin, 1711-1717.
Felix Pain and Justinian Durand, 1717-1738.
L'Abbe de la Goudalie, 1739-1748.
L'Abbe Chavreulx, Grand-Pré, and Abbe Daudin, Canard River, removed in 1755.

From 1690 to 1710 hostilities scarcely ceased between the New Englanders and the French. Pillage, surprises, and ambushes were the order of the day. All the cruel nature of the Indians was incited to barbarous deeds. The hatred of the two peoples grew to its highest, and no act seemed too bloody or cruel.

The Acadians, meanwhile, were being bound by closer ties, as the newer arrivals at Minas married the

daughters of the older settlers. Relationship, religion, and a common nationality bound the whole people in one great family.

In 1693, Minas promised to become the most populous and flourishing settlement in Acadia. Its people numbered 297, with 360 acres of land under cultivation, 461 horned cattle, 390 sheep, 314 swine. Port Royal had lost in population and wealth. In 1701, there were 490 souls; in 1714, 878, in Minas.

In 1701, the Governor of Acadia passed through the country. He visited Minas and found the people very comfortable and independent, possessed of a great number of cattle, and able to export 700 or 800 hogsheads of wheat yearly, beyond their own consumption. They lived like republicans, acknowledging no royal or judicial authority. The Governor afterward had to send Bonaventure, naval commander of the coast, to bring them to terms. They engaged to make a road through the woods to Port Royal, a distance of sixty miles as soon as the harvest was over. Only a trail existed at this time between the two centres. Many Indian trails ran over the peninsula, but the waterways served as the principal means of passing from one part of Acadia to another. Minas Basin received the waters of many long rivers, navigable for small craft.

We learn that for the purpose of defence, both from the English and from pirates and privateers, there was a company of militia at Minas. La Verdure, whom we have mentioned, was captain. He was the chief man at Minas; honest, poor, a debtor to the extent of 1,400 livres. All governmental addresses were sent

to him for execution. The *curé* had a salary of about $150.

In 1704, about the end of May, an expedition left Boston to ravage the coast against the French and Indians. About 550 men, including some Indians, embarked in two gunboats, 14 transports, 36 whaleboats and a shallop. The expedition was under the command of COLONEL BENJAMIN CHURCH, a celebrated partizan, who had in 1696 burned and pillaged settlements of the French and killed their cattle. He passed up the coast, killing and making prisoners as he went. At Fundy, Church, with the smaller vessels, went to Minas, to attend to the lighter and more congenial work of robbery, leaving the remainder to attack the fort at Port Royal, which, by the way, was not attempted. At Minas, Church caused the dykes to be cut, thus flooding the marshlands and destroying the crops. Ruin and desolation followed his route. Having met with some resistance, he destroyed three populous villages, plundered the inhabitants and killed their cattle. His instructions from Governor Dudley were to burn houses and make what spoils he could. A French writer affirms that but few houses at the heads of the rivers were spared. A better agent could not have been chosen. He had been sent in a spirit of retaliation, because the Indians had been attacking the English settlements, instigated, it is said, by the French of Canada. One writer describes Church as being energetic, impetuous, and bull-headed. He was so fat that when pushing through the woods he kept a stout sergeant by him to hoist him over the fallen trees. He was now

sixty-five years old, and must have outgrown the valor that had made him a noted Indian fighter; for on his visit to Minas he had treated the innocent people there in a despicable manner. Public opinion in Massachusetts branded him as a coward, though he received the thanks of the Government.

In 1705, Bonaventure, the Governor, sent four soldiers to Minas to bring back the king's bark, *La Gaillarde*, loaded with wheat. He presented to the church there, as a royal gift, an ostensorium, a pyx, a chalice, and complete ornaments for the Eucharist. This was probably to replace what had been taken off by Church in the previous year. It is apparent that only one church had been pillaged.

CHAPTER V.

Loss of Port Royal by the French — Treaty of Utrecht — Names of Inhabitants of Minas, 1714 — Description of Grand Pre, 1720 — Governors Vetch, Nicholson, Caulfield, Doucette, Philipps, Armstrong, Philipps (1710-1730).

1710-1730.

On October 10th, 1710, Port Royal surrendered to the English force under Nicholson, after a gallant fight of nineteen days. It has never been out of the possession of Great Britain since that time. The terms of capitulation referred to Port Royal and the territory within three miles of the fort. The people within that radius were allowed two years to pass out of the *banlieue* into what was yet claimed as French territory, binding themselves to allegiance for that time if they remained.

The French of Canada never lost hope of regaining Acadia, and the Acadians were more or less in sympathy with this ambition, until they learned from bitter experience that their own countrymen failed in every way to better their condition. Yet the struggle was continued till 1760, when France lost all the possessions she ever owned in New France. During that time of futile effort to win back what she had lost, the representatives of French rule attempted to maintain their subjects in due obedience.

In 1710, Col. Vetch* was in command at Port Royal as English Governor, supported by 450 soldiers. Minas in a friendly spirit sent deputies to Annapolis to learn what they might expect under the new government. No answer was then given, but Mascarene, an officer of French extraction, who could speak the language of the Acadians, was sent to Grand-Pré to deal directly with the people. This officer was senior in command, and was afterwards acting governor of the province.

On November 12th, 1710, Mascarene arrived before Grand-Pré in the brigantine *Betty*. On board this vessel were fifty-nine soldiers, a lieutenant and a surgeon. A French vessel was also brought along, captured on the passage up the Bay of Fundy. She had furs on board as a present to the governor.

An Acadian passenger from Minas was at once sent from the ship with an order from Mascarene, which ran:

". . . . Make known by these to all the inhabitants of Minas . . . . and other places . . . . that they may as soon as possible assemble at the place which they shall judge most convenient for me to land at, that I shall impart the instructions I have concerning them from His Excellency our Governor. I let them know that they need not take umbrage at my landing with some forces, since they are only designed for my guard and security, and not to commit any act of hostility against the inhabitants as long as they shall do their duty."

On the 13th, about noon, Mascarene landed at Grand-Pré in a flat-bottomed boat with forty-two

*In New England, in 1706, Vetch with others was fined £200 for carrying on unlawful trade with the French. This Act was set aside by the Queen in Council. There was no queen to grant pardon to the Acadians when they traded with those of their own language.

men and officers. The order addressed to the people had reassured them as to the peaceful intentions of the soldiers. The tact of the commanding officer caused about 150 of the inhabitants to assemble on the shore to meet him, and he was received with demonstrations of joy.

Vetch's instructions were that they were to be declared prisoners of war, and their persons and property were at the disposal of the government. Mascarene simply told them that his guard would not commit any act of hostility if the Acadians did their duty.

After landing, the whole party marched to the house selected and given up by the people for the officers' quarters, and the men were lodged in four houses around that occupied by them. A guard was formed with a sergeant and twelve men, and the whole party remained on shore instead of going back every night to the vessel, which had to lie about nine miles off in deep water. The creek they had entered by had the tide only an hour and a half.

Mascarene refreshed himself, then communicated his instructions to those present. As his order had not reached those persons living at a distance, those present asked that certain ones among them should be chosen to represent the whole people. Mascarene consented to this, and the Acadians selected Peter Melanson and four men formerly captains of their militia, and another man, six in all. To these the instructions were given, as he had received them from Vetch. They were told that their property and persons were at the disposal of the government, and

that while those under the capitulation had lost almost all they possessed, the people of Minas had been out of pity protected from the army. This seemed a fitting introduction for the demand that was now to be made. They were requested to pay six thousand livres,* either in money or in peltry, with a further contribution of twenty pistoles† every month from the date of the surrender of Port Royal towards maintaining the governor's table. The payment of this amount gave them the free right to trade with Annapolis, but with no other place, and to pass between the two districts. They were to trade with only those who came to them with an order.

These instructions gave the deputies much concern, and they told Mascarene of the miserable condition of many of the people of Minas because of the action of the previous French Governor. They stated it would be impossible to collect more then half the amount demanded of them, as a third of their people were very poor. They pleaded that a little time might be given them to obtain half of what was demanded of the people, and to petition the governor to remit the other half; and to prevent the tax from falling upon a few of the richer and more public-spirited persons, they asked for power to compel those to pay their share who might otherwise refuse the demand.

A list of the inhabitants was drawn up, and the amount each person was taxed for.

Jean Landry, one of the deputies, and the captain of the vessel, took charge of the furs, amounting to

* $1,200.

† $80.

sixty pistoles, to carry them to Annapolis. The whole proceedings were quietly carried out, no complaint having been made of the treatment of the soldiers.

On the 4th, Mascarene marched three miles to the boats waiting for the party. The Acadians were paid sixteen livres for the lodging of his soldiers, himself and the two officers.

Form of the authority vested in the deputies:

"I establish Messrs. Peter Melanson, Alexander Bourg, Anthony Le Blanc, John and Peter Landry, Cra. to be receivers of the contributions agreed, on the part of the eight representatives for the share of the inhabitants of Manis, designed for a present to our Governor, to wit, the sum of
as also for that part of their share towards the twenty pistoles, viz., the sum and grant to them the power of making the inhabitants of Manis contribute proportionably according to eachs capacity under penalty of the sd. if they refuse of Military execution. The said are to gather the sums in peltry, money or other effects, and to transmit them to Annapolis Royal.

"Done at Manis the 16th of Nov., 1710, O. S.

"Translation.

"P. MASCARENE."

Vetch was determined to secure as much tax from the Minas Acadians as lay in his power; but in six months sickness and death had reduced his garrison to one hundred men, and left him powerless to impose his severe demands upon the people. Those at Annapolis stated that he treated them like negroes, and that they were under great obligations to him for not receiving worse treatment.

During the next year the fort was in a weak condition and in danger of attack. Minas remained in

French territory until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. But meanwhile the fort was blockaded by the French. Abbe Gaulin, parish priest at Minas, tried to organize an expedition to aid the French, and succeeded in getting together two hundred men, and entrusted them to Saint Castin, who had been named Lieutenant of the King in Acadia. The enterprise was not carried out.

Port Royal was now Annapolis; and Acadia, Nova Scotia. The province had a population of about six thousand souls.

THE TREATY OF UTRECHT gave Acadia, excepting Louisburg, to England. The Acadians had liberty to remove themselves and all their movable effects to any place within a year. Those who were willing to remain might do so as subjects of Great Britain, and should enjoy the free exercise of their religion as far as the laws of that country allowed. They had also the privilege of selling their lands and estates in the country if they wished to remove.

The Acadians determined to leave the country rather than take the oath of allegiance, which might at any time compel them to take up arms against their own countrymen. In 1713 they had sent a deputation to Louisburg, but found the soil of Cape Breton of inferior quality, wooded, and without natural meadows. Yet they had determined on leaving. Lands in l'Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island) had been offered them. Colonel Vetch, who was in command at Annapolis, would not permit them to go, on the pretext that he was only Lieutenant-Governor, and they must wait for the arrival of Governor

Nicholson. His coming dates after the year stipulated by the treaty had expired.

The following letter from Felix Pain, missionary, Récollet, to the Governor of Cape Breton, is to the point:

"MINAS, 23rd September, 1713.

"A summary of what the inhabitants have answered me:

"'It would be to expose us manifestly to die of hunger, burthened as we are with large families, to quit the dwelling places and clearances from which we derive our usual subsistence, without any other resource, to take rough new lands, from which the standing wood must be removed, without any advance or resistance. One-fourth of our population consists of aged persons, unfit for the labor of breaking up new lands, and who, with great exertion, are able to cultivate the cleared land, which supplies subsistence for them and their families. Finally, we shall answer for ourselves and the absent, that we will never take the oath of fidelity to the Queen of Great Britain, to the prejudice of what we owe to our king, to our country and to our religion; and that if any attempt were made against one or the other of these two articles of fidelity, that is to say, to our king and to our law, that in that case we are ready to quit all, rather than to violate, in the least thing, one of those articles. Besides, we do not yet know in what manner the English will use us. If they burthen us in respect to our religion, or cut up our settlements to divide the land with people of their nations, we will abandon them absolutely. We know further, from the exact visit we have made, that there are no lands on the whole Island of Cape Breton which would be suitable for the maintenance of our families, since there are not meadows sufficient to nourish our cattle, from which we draw our principle subsistence.'"

Felix Pain gives us definite information as to the POPULATION OF MINAS in a census dated October 5th, 1714. There was a total of 1,290 souls. The families give us fifty-four surnames, viz.:

Aucoin,	Breau,	Grangé,	Pinet,
Babin,	Chauvert,	Hebert,	Rembaud,
Baguette,	Commeau,	Jasmin,	Richard,
Barillot,	Corperon,	Landry,	Rivet,
Benoit,	Daigre,	Laroche,	Roy,
Blanchard,	Darios,	LeBlanc,	Saunier,
Bodart,	Douaron,	Lejeune,	Sire,
Boutin,	Doucet,	Leprince,	Teriau,
Boucher,	Dugas,	Martin,	Thibodeau,
Boisseau,	Dupuis,	Melanson,	Toussaint,
Bourg,	Forest,	Michel,	Trahan,
Bourq,	Gautereau,	Mouton,	Vicennt,
Boudrot,	Girouard,	Perrine,	Voyer.
Brasseaux,	Godet,		

The following letter will show why Vetch did not let the Acadians depart. It was written to the Lords of Trade, England:

"LONDON, Nov. 24th, 1714.

"MY LORD,—

"In answer to Your Lordship's Queries, delivered to me by Mr. Secretary Popple, upon the 23rd of this instant, my most humble opinion is as follows:

"As to the number of the familys of French Inhabitants in the countrys of L'Accady and Nova Scotia, by the best account I could get during the space of three years and more I had the honor to command there, they were computed to be about five hundred family's, at the rate of five persons to a family, which makes two thousand five hundred souls.

"As to the next, How many of them it is supposed will remove? By the last advices from thence, they had obliged themselves under their hands all to remove save two family's, viz., one Mr. Allen and one Mr. Gourday, both of which had lived in New England formerly.

"As to the 3rd Querie, How many family's may be upon Cape Breton? That I cannot pretend to be so exact in. But according

to the best advices, I could learn they are said to be now about five hundred familys, besides the garrison, which I consider consists of 7 companys already. The French King, to encourage them to settle the place, gives them eighteen months' provisions, and assists them with ships and salt, to carry on the Fishery.

"As to the 4th, What may be the consequence of the French moving from Nova Scotia to Cape Breton? They are evidently these: First, their leaving that country entirely destitute of inhabitants. There being none but French and Indians (excepting the Garrison) settled in those parts; and as they have intermarried with the Indians, by which, and their being of one Religion, they have a mighty influence upon them; so it is not to be doubted but they will carry along with them to Cape Breton both the Indians and their trade, which is very considerable. And as the accession of such a number of inhabitants to Cape Breton will make it at once a very populous colony (in which the strength of all the Country consists), so it is to be considered that one hundred of the French, who were born upon that continent and are perfectly known in the woods, can march upon snoe-shoes and understand the use of Birch Canoes, are of more value and service than five times their number of raw men, newly come from Europe. So their skill in the fishery, as well as the cultivating of the soil, must inevitably make the island, by such an accession of people, and French, at once the most powerful colony the French have in America, and of the greatest danger and damage to all the British Colony's, as well as the universal trade of Great Britain. . . .

"As to the next question, which relates to the time of the French's removing from Nova Scotia with their effects; I am informed several of them, who have no very great substance, are already removed thither this summer, and *that the rest design to do so next summer*, as soon as their harvest is over and the grain got in. As to the number of the cattle they may carry away (if permitted) and what will be the consequences of the same, I have been informed when upon the place, that there may be about five thousand Black Cattle, besides a great number of Sheep and Hoggs, in all that country, the greater part of which, no doubt, they will carry off, if permitted.

"The consequences are evidently these: First, it will Intirely strip that Colony of the above cattle of all sorts, and reduce it to its primitive state. To replenish which at the same rate (it now is from New England the nearest Colony to it, which is one hundred and ten leagues) at a moderate computation of freight only for the transportation of such a number of Black Cattle and a proportionate number of Sheep and Hoggs, will cost above forty thousand pounds, besides the long time it will require to stock that country. . . .

"As to the last Querie that comes under my cognizance, viz., the consequence of allowing the French to sell their lands in those parts: First, as it would entirely disappoint the settlement of that valuable country; because it is never to be supposed that any person will go to buy land in a new country, when in all His Majesty's plantations abroad there is such encouragements, of land gratis, to such as will come and settle in them.

"Secondly. It would be a breach of the Public faith, contained in Her Majesty's Royal instructions, when the reduction of the place was undertaken, by which the lands are promised away to the Captors, for their encouragement to reduce the same. Nor is there any article in the treaty of peace that entitles the French to any such privileges. Nay, moreover, I am of the opinion that by the treaty the French inhabitants are either allowed to remove, if they designed it, or at least to make a demand of the same, in a year's time after the ratification of the treaty, neither of which was done. Nor would the inhabitants have offered to go, had they not been not only importuned but threatened by the French officers, in the French king's name, to be treated as rebels if they did not remove, which, how far that is consistent with the Treaty, is, with the foregoing particulars, most humbly submitted to Your Lordships' consummate wisdom by,

"May it please Your Lordships,

"Your Lordships' most humbly devoted Servant,

"SAMUEL VETCH."

NICHOLSON arrived in Port Royal in July, 1714, and the matter of the departure of the Acadians came

up before him. They were waiting, ready to depart on his permission. He was made to realize very soon what a loss the Province would sustain if the Acadians were permitted to go; and to save time he referred the question again to the Queen, although she had stated that they had the privilege of leaving the country if they so wished. Unfortunately, the Queen died in August of the same year, and the matter was never settled. Delay after delay followed, with pretext and subterfuge, fraud and deception. The people of Minas did not sow their lands in 1715, having enough grain to live on for two years, and so sure were they of departing. They were refused transportation in English vessels. French vessels were forbidden to enter Acadian ports. When they built their own vessels they were refused permission to buy rigging at Louisburg or Boston; and finally their vessels were seized. Later they were threatened that if they left the country all their property would be taken from them, and they would be left but a little provision. It is too plainly apparent that the Acadians were not to leave the country with the consent of the governors. From 1713 to 1730 every effort was made to *compel* the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance. The events of these few years are the key of the whole Acadian question, over which there has been so much dispute, and about which so much has been written. The facts have come to light only within a few years; nor has any attempt been made to refute the charges made against the Governors of those periods.

It is painful to read of the events which follow. In view of all the circumstances, the Acadians were

remarkably faithful to the government under which they lived. They were kept in the country that they might serve *their masters*. If, at times, they were wrongly influenced by their own countrymen, it was a natural and spontaneous movement on the part of these harassed people, and had everything to excuse it. Their industry and skill made them a part of the country. Their patience was almost beyond belief, in toleration of the harshness, tyranny and fraud practised upon them. Their nature was calm and peaceful. Who will blame them because they looked fondly to the flag of their country and to the home of their religion, since they were always looked upon with suspicion, and treated as slaves and enemies by their petty rulers?

CAULFIELD became Governor in 1715. He sent two officers, Peter Capoon and Thomas Button, to Minas, to proclaim King George, and to tender the oath to the Acadians. We have their reply to these officers:

"We have the honor to signify to you that no one can be more thankful than we are for the kindness of King George, whom we recognize as the lawful sovereign of Great Britain, so graciously shows us, under whose rule it will be for us a real joy to remain, as he is such a good prince, if we had not since last summer made engagements to return under the rule of the King of France, having even given our signatures to the officer sent in his name, contrary to which we cannot act until their two Majesties of France and England have disposed of us otherwise. However, we bind ourselves with pleasure and gratefulness,

while we remain here in Acadia, to do or undertake nothing against His Britannic Majesty King George, of whose proclamation to the Crown we are witnesses, which was made by you, sirs, in presence of the inhabitants of the said places, at Minas, this 12th of March, 1715, we, the undersigned, acting and being authorized by all the inhabitants to act, according to the power of attorney which they have given us.—Jacques Le Blanc, Antoine Le Blanc, Charles Babin, Jessemin Philippe Melanson, Claude Landry, Peirre Terriau, René Le Blanc, Pierre Richard, Jacques Le Blanc, Francois Rimbaut, Germain Terriau, Jean Le Blanc, Martin Aucoin," etc., etc.

This shows the determination of the Acadians to depart, though reluctant to do so, as soon as it was possible to go with the consent of the Crown. This was their desire the next year.

At this time Minas was the only grain plantation, and was supplying the garrison at Annapolis, which was almost destitute and without credit.

The condition of affairs was changed under the next Governor, DOUCETTE, in 1717. While the French were ready to leave the country, the Indians were friendly; but when it appeared that the Acadians, tired of the delay in the settlement of affairs regarding their leaving, or remaining in, the country, were disposed to remain on terms of peace with the English Government, the Indians began to threaten them. Doucette demanded of them the oath, which they had refused up to this time because it tied them to the country. They claimed the right to depart with their property. If they were to remain it would be

on condition that they were to be protected from the Indians, and their oath was not to compel them to bear arms against their own countrymen. This was the difficulty in the way of a peaceful settlement of the matter. The governors expected the Acadians to take an unqualified oath of allegiance, and the people never did so.

The eight deputies appointed every year to represent the two sections of Minas, one on the north, Canard, and the other so often called Minas, were invested with no judicial authority or judiciary power, though often acting as arbitrators in small cases. Appeals were made to the governor and council. These deputies acted in behalf of the people, published the orders of the governor, and represented the people in petitions and requests.

On May 9th, 1720, those of the people who became British subjects were offered the free exercise of their religion, and their estates ensured to them and posterity, and all their civil rights. In case they could not decide upon their representatives the governor appointed Alexander Bourg, James Le Blanc, Paul Melanson and Peter Brows.

Official letters and notices were translated into French and given to the people in that language. This was the practice from 1720 to 1755. The alternative offered them was to leave the country without taking any of their goods or cattle, which would be forfeited. The governor, shortly after, in a letter speaks of the many proofs of his kindness, and the lenity of his government.

They said in reply that they feared the savages if they took the oath of allegiance, but that they promise

to be faithful and to do no hostile act against the right of His Majesty while they remain in his dominion. They also explain that they could not leave the country in the year allowed them in the articles of peace, because the privilege granted them to sell their estates was useless, as there was no one to buy them. It can be seen that it was not desired that they should leave the country, and that every effort was made to compel them to bind themselves with the full power of an oath that in its whole meaning they could not take. The French governors tried to get the people to remove to those places occupied by them, but the inducements were not sufficient for them to leave the rich lands they were now occupying. Nor did the English governors wish to lose their chief source of supplies. They felt more or less independent of all restraint, and the Minas people were more difficult to control than those near the fort at Annapolis. "All orders sent to them, if not suiting to their humors, are scoffed and laughed at, and they put themselves upon the footing of obeying no government."

We have the following account and description of Minas, written in 1720:

"Minas, called by the French Les Mines, has its name from the copper mines which are said to be about it, especially at one of the capes, which divides the Bay of Fundy, and is called Cap Des Mines, or Cape Doré. This town* lies thirty leagues by sea and about twenty-two by land east-north-east from Annapolis Royal, on the same side of the Bay of Fundy. The harbor there, or rather the road, is very wild and insecure. The

*Grand-Pré.

vessels trading there, which seldom exceed forty or fifty tons in burthen, take the opportunity of the tide, which commonly rises nine or ten fathoms, and run up the creek (Dead Dyke) to the town (Grand-Pré), where when the tide leaves them, they lie on a bank of mud, which stretches five or six miles before it reaches low-water mark. This place might be made the granary, not only of this province, but also of the neighboring governments. There is a flat of meadow (Grand-Pré Dyke) which stretches along for near four leagues, part of which is dammed in from the tide, and produces very good wheat and peas.

"The rest of the meadows might be with some labor dammed in also, and if peopled with industrious inhabitants, might be of very great advantage, not only in regard to this Province, but as is mentioned above, for the supply of the neighboring Governments.

"The houses, which compose a kind of scattering Town, lie on a rising ground along two Cricks, which run betwixt it and the meadow, and make of this last a kind of Peninsula. This place has great store of Cattle and other conveniences of life, and in the road they catch white porpoises — a kind of fish, the blubber of which turned into oil yields a good profit.

"The Inhabitants of this place and round about it are more numerous than those of the British River (Annapolis River), besides the number of Indians which often resort here, and as they have never had any force near them to bridle them, are less tractable and subject to command. All the orders sent to them, if not suiting to their humors, are scoffed and laughed at, and they put themselves upon the footing of obeying no government. It will not be an easy matter to oblige these Inhabitants to submit to any terms which do not entirely square to their humors unless a good force be landed there, and a Fort or redoubt of earth be thrown up, well ditched, friezed and pallisaded, till a more durable be built. This redoubt must have four pieces of cannon (sakers) and command the meadow, which is their treasure. The force sent for that purpose must be three or four hundred men, the reason of which will appear when it is considered when the wildness of the harbor will not make it safe for any Ship of force to remain there to give countenance

to such an undertaking, and even if she could anchor safely it must be at the distance of twelve miles from the place where the said redoubt is to be built, and that any other vessels which must be employed to carry the troops and workmen must lie ashore dry sixteen hours, at least, of the twenty-four, and may be liable to be burned, and thereby cut off the retreat of those employed in this work, unless they are able to defend themselves and to make head against the inhabitants and Indians, who will never suffer it to go on if not kept in awe by a sufficient force. The redoubt should be capable to receiving a hundred and fifty men, which will be enough to curb the Inhabitants till they grow more loyal, or better be put in their stead."

In 1720, General Phillips took the reins of power at Annapolis. He at once issued a proclamation to the Acadians declaring they must take the oath without reserve, or leave the country within three months. At the same time he prohibited them from selling, disposing of, or taking away any of their effects. He believed that this order would bring about the desired result, that of binding the Acadians to the country by means of the oath. They refused to comply, however, as they had always done, stating that the Indians were threatening them with revenge if they were omitted from the reservation. They were willing to retire from the country, and asked that they might wait till the seed they had put in should mature, as they now had very little to sustain their families. They asked permission to carry it away with them in vehicles they had or they would make. Philipps interpreted the clause of the treaty that gave them the right to carry away their moveable effects, cattle, etc., to mean simply to sell or dispose of them. They faced the difficulty, and set about preparing to depart by the only way left, without sacrificing everything, and that was by land.

To do this a road was necessary; so they began to make one from Minas to Annapolis. Very soon the Governor issued the following proclamation:

"I do further forbid any person to quit their inhabitations clandestinely and without my leave."

A special order was sent to Minas —

"Not to cut any such road without having His Excellency's leave in writing."

The reason assigned for this further obstruction of the Acadians was that they had design to molest Annapoiis, or to drive off their cattle and effects to settle at Beaubassin, now a fortified position and in possession of the French, to stand in defiance of the Government. Their real purpose was divined, but it was not the intention of the Governor to allow them to leave the country. Philipps speaks of the Acadians as being ungovernable, headstrong, and directed by bigoted priests. He says further:

"We cannot let them go just now; their departure would render our neighbors too powerful; we *need them to erect our fortifications, and to provision our forts* till the English are powerful enough of themselves to go on, and they must not withdraw before a considerable number of British subjects be settled in their stead. If they withdraw in spite of us a great many fine possessions will become vacant. I believe it will not be difficult to draw as many people almost from New England as would supply their room, if it were not robbing a neighboring colony, without gaining much by the exchange; therefore, I hope there are schemes forming at home to settle the country with British subjects in the spring, before which time these inhabitants do not think of moving, having the benefit of enlargement of time I granted. What is to be apprehended in the resettling of these farms is disturbance from Indians, who do not like the Acadians going off, and will not want prompting mischief."

Doucette was again Governor from 1722 to 1725, when he was succeeded by ARMSTRONG, a man of harsh temper and violent action. The records show that this man was at variance with everybody within his reach, at one time or other, inhabitants, officers, soldiers or priests. His arrival caused the departure of some of the French families, and the others were resolved to depart. This demanded a change of demeanor, as, with the other governors, he felt how important it was to keep people in the country. By affirming that the laws of Great Britain did not permit a Roman Catholic to serve in the Army, he succeeded in getting the Acadians of Annapolis to take the oath of allegiance. The rest of the Province, about three-fourths of the population, were yet to be brought to terms. Two officers whom he sent to Minas failed to make them British subjects. Subsequently Armstrong sent a young officer named Wroth, with ample powers, to deal with the people as the case demanded.

Copy of the oath, as obtained by Wroth:

"I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Second, so help me God."

Articles granted to the inhabitants of Minas:

"I, Robert Wroth, etc., etc., promise and grant in the name of the King, etc., etc., to the inhabitants of Minas, etc., the articles here below that they have requested of me, namely:

"1. That they shall be exempt from taking up arms against anyone, so long as they shall be under the rule of the King of England.

"2. That they shall be free to withdraw whithersoever they will think fit, and that they shall be discharged from this signed agreement as soon as they shall be outside the dominions of the King of England.

"3. That they shall have full and entire liberty to practise their religion and to have Catholic, Apostolic and Roman priests."

The Governor accused Wroth of making too free use of his power, and when the matter came up before the Council, the oath was declared null and void, but the inhabitants were held as being British subjects.

We have come now to an important chapter in the account of the Acadians. The Lords of Trade in England were not pleased with the result of Armstrong's dealing with the question of the oath. Philipps was called upon again to act as Governor. Knowing now the people he had to deal with, he was well prepared to treat with them. He was well received in the Province, and a short time after he arrived at Annapolis, in December of 1729, the people of that place took the oath of allegiance. It was too late in the season to go over the country to visit the other French centres, but by April of the following year the inhabitants of Minas also had become British subjects. Philipps allowed the restrictive clause by a verbal agreement, which exempted the Acadians from bearing arms and fighting against the French and Indians. Philipps realized the impossibility of compelling the people to fight against their own countrymen; and to compromise in the difficulty, the qualifying clause was not embodied in the copy of the oath. No threats or attempts to compel the people were used. Although they had increased greatly in population, they showed themselves ready to yield to proper treatment, so long as their confidence was gained and no harsh measures were used. The people drew up a certificate, attested to by their priest, Charles de la Goudalie, and the king's receiver, their notary, Alexander

Bourg, called *Bellehumeur*. This document was addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris as a record of the Act.

Philipps was active in the administration of the affairs of Government. He ordered that all quit-rents, homages, and other services formerly paid by the people to their respective seigneurs should be paid to the English representatives. Bourg, from the time of his appointment in December 10th, 1730, was to receive these dues, and to report twice a year. He received 3*s*. per pistole (about $2.00) collected.

The road between Minas and Port Royal was ordered to be cleared, and every inhabitant was expected to do his share of the work. The people were prohibited from exporting beasts, cattle or any provisions, except from Annapolis, under a penalty of $100. This was to prevent scarcity of provisions, as they depended upon the supplies of the Acadians.

Some of the people were at this time summoned to Annapolis to answer the charge of having aided the escape of a John Turno from his master at Boston. They were from Grand-Pré. Amand Bujeau, Jean Landry, Jean Le Blanc, Peter Allen, as being more directly responsible, were compelled to give security for the return of Turno.

When Philipps was recalled to England he said of his successor, Armstrong, that he "is turning up every stone, and raking into every kennel, to find some dirt to bespatter me with, in hopes that some may stick." It was such men as these who often made history against the Acadians. They ruled them, made their laws, accused them and condemned them, all too easily, and made the record by which they are judged by the opinion of to-day.

CHAPTER VI.

French Neutrals — Armstrong — Mascarene.

1730-1747.

From this date, 1730, the Acadians were known as French Neutrals. This was the first real step taken by the people that would have led up to their full allegiance to the British Crown, had the proper methods been followed later in dealing with the people. They were slowly realizing that their only hope of safety lay with England, and in being united with the English colonies, although there was so poor a representation of power in the Province until the founding of Halifax. The show of power, dignity and often of arrogance, on the part of the Government did not always inspire confidence, when backed only by a half-starved and weak garrison manning a tumble-down fort. The French of Canada, on the other hand, always claimed them; but on several occasions they refused to obey the French, even when strong influence and harsh threats were brought to bear upon them.

The Acadians were not more illiterate than many isolated sections of New England. They were hard-working and skilful in their special labors. They knew the value of money and learned where their trade interests were best. A high moral standard was

always characteristic of the people as a whole. The strength of their religious, national and domestic attachment cannot be denied. To be left unmolested was the great desire of these simple and honest peasants. Social equality ruled them, and their domestic morals cannot be questioned.

Now that the vexatious question of the oath was settled, the people of Minas were left in comparative quiet and increased rapidly in numbers and wealth. For twenty years they enjoyed a certain measure of comfort and happiness in their increasing prosperity.

Armstrong became Governor again in 1731, and remained at the head of affairs for nine years. He committed suicide in 1739. Armstrong was of an irritable and jealous disposition, and was seldom at peace even with his own officers and people. Fortunately Minas was some distance away from him, and in direct communication with Annapolis only about half the year, the Government being represented by the notary, Alexander Bourg, who was receiver of the rents and revenues of the Crown. In 1732 Armstrong wished to establish a fort at Minas, but was prevented by the Indians.* At another time he wished to force

*In May, 1732, Armstrong entered into a contract with René Le Blanc for the erection of a granary or magazine, which he intended as a barracks for troops. This aroused the Indians in opposition to the measure, and it was finally dropped. The council had been kept in ignorance of the purpose of the Governor. The order to Le Blanc was: "I hereby order and empower you, René Le Blanc, of Menis, to prepare and have in readiness, timber fit for building a granary or magazine for His Majesty's service, of 26 feet, French measure, of width within, and 60 feet in length, and to have them all in readiness to be erected upon my arrival at Menis, or otherways as I shall think proper to direct, and all other necessaries for building the same; as also

upon the people a priest, Father Isidore, who had been interdicted for some offence by the ecclesiastical authorities. He effected his purpose, with the result that the people refused to attend church. Then, to punish them, Armstrong refused them a priest altogether.

It will be interesting to note the CONDITION OF THE ACADIANS with regard to their land at the beginning of Mascarene's administration as Lieutenant-Governor. No new grants of land had been made under Philipps or Armstrong, as unappropriated land was granted to Protestants only. Acadian families had grown up, and the population had increased to a great extent. At Minas nearly all the available marsh land had been dyked in. All the farms had been divided and redivided, as became necessary. Some had been compelled to remove to other parts of the the province. This state of affairs led more or less to litigations on account of unsettled boundaries, as land became more necessary, and retarded them in

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a thousand pieces of other timbers, of 14-foot long about and about eight or nine inches diameter, with a sufficient quantity of binders proper for the same, and in so doing this shall be your warrant. Given, etc. . . . . "L. ARMSTRONG."

As a result of this order René Le Blanc was insulted and threatened by three Indians from Piziquid, and the inhabitants generally were blamed for this interference.

In 1735 Armstrong visited Minas to renew the treaty with the Indians, and to tender the oath to those who had not taken it. Committees of the council were held thereon the 17th, 19th, 24th, 26th, 28th of April. The most of the grants had been brought in and examined, and questions of boundaries had been settled. Orders were given for the repair of fences and dykes, and for the repair of the road between Minas and Piziquid. The proceedings continued till the 9th of May. M. de la Goudalie was priest at this time.

the progress they would otherwise have made. It gives us also an idea of the patience with which they tolerated the rigorous rule of their governors. This difficulty was never removed. Mascarene did much to gain the respect of the French. He was the son of a French Protestant, and had won his way by his own merit to the high position he now held. He possessed qualifications which fitted him well for the trying position he was called upon to fill—courteous, humane, dignified, firm, and of strong and noble character.

France and England were at war in 1744. France was very desirous of regaining Acadia; and to this end it was believed by the authorities in Canada that the Acadians would at once lend their aid. A new and later generation had sprung up, and, as subsequent events proved, the English had little to fear from the Acadians, with all the influence and threats they were subjected to. Mascarene was not without doubt as to which way the people might turn. Acadia was invaded four times by the French, and every effort was made to secure the assistance of the *habitants*, but without avail. This was the order issued by the commander of the first expedition:

"We order you to deliver up your arms, ammunition . . . and those who contravene these orders shall be punished and delivered into the hands of the Indians, as we cannot refuse the demands these savages make for all those who will not submit themselves."

The reply to this was:

"We, the inhabitants of Mines, Grand-Pré, River Canard, Piziquid and the surrounding rivers, beg that

you will be pleased to consider that while there would be no difficulty, by virtue of the strong force you command, in supplying yourself with the quantity of grain and meat you have ordered, it would be quite impossible for us to furnish the quantity you demand, or even a smaller, without placing ourselves in great peril.

"We hope, gentlemen, that you will not plunge both ourselves and families into a state of total loss; and that this consideration will cause you to withdraw your savages and troops from our districts.

"We live under a mild and tranquil government, and we have all reason to be faithful to it. We hope, therefore, that you will not separate us from it, and that you will grant us the favor not to plunge us into utter misery. This we hope from your goodness, assuring you that we are, with very much respect,

"Your very humble and obedient servants,

"Acting for the communities above mentioned,

"JACQUES LE BLANC,
"PIERRE LE BLANC,
"FRANCOIS LE BLANC,
"RENE (X) GRANGER, his mark,
"CLAUDE LE BLANC,
"JACQUES TERRIAU,
"ANTOINE LANDRY,
"JOSEPH (X) GRANGER, his mark,
"PIERRE RICHARD,
"RENÉ LE BLANC."

The expedition being unsuccessful at Annapolis, it was proposed to winter the soldiers at Minas, but the people objected so strongly they were obliged to withdraw.

CHAPTER VII.

NOBLE AT GRAND-PRE — MARCH OF COULON — ATTACK AT GRAND-PRE — CAPITULATION OF THE ENGLISH — RETAKING OF GRAND-PRE.

1747-1748.

FRANCE was particularly unfortunate in her attempt to retake Acadia. She had lost Louisburg, the greatest fortress in America, and in 1747 she sent a large fleet to recover it, and get possession of Acadia. As was natural, great excitement was caused by the report of these proceedings. In Canada it was believed that the Acadians would assist the undertaking and rise against English rule. There were but two hundred and twenty soldiers at Annapolis, but New England took active measures to protect the territory, and companies of militia were soon drafted and sent to the Province. A detachment of troops was sent from Quebec to co-operate with the French fleet, under the command of Chevalier de Ramesay. He arrived at Chebucto, now Halifax, early in the spring of 1747. The ships not having arrived, he proceeded to Annapolis. Hearing no tidings of the French, he began the long journey back to Quebec by way of Minas, Beaubassin, St. John. Meanwhile part of the fleet arrived at Chebucto, and orders were sent to Ramesay to return, which he did, making the tedious march back to Annapolis in September. Here he waited in vain for the fleet to appear

till, losing hope, he for the second time began the toilsome march to Quebec. Storm and plague had destroyed the largest fleet France had ever sent across the waters. Mascarene at Annapolis had sent to Massachusetts for aid. In response to this appeal Shirley, Governor of that colony, sent 500 volunteers under the command of COLONEL ARTHUR NOBLE.* This officer had already seen service as Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment at the seige of Louisburg, in 1745, and had shown conspicuous bravery in leading an attack. He had been home but a few months when he was called again to go to Nova Scotia. New England felt that it would be a serious menace to its interests to lose the Province. Farming and trading had made a fortune for Colonel Noble. On a considerable area of land on the Kennebec he had a palisaded fort to protect his estate from the savages.

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*Arthur Noble and his brothers James and Francis came to Boston in 1720, in one of Captain Robert Temple's vessels. They seem to have formed a part of a Scotch settlement in Ireland, and halied from Enniskillen, County Fermanagh. James Noble settled in Boston, was successful in business, married Jane, sister of Colonel Wm. Vaughan, lived on Friend Street, and is buried in the grounds of King's Chapel.

Arthur Noble went to Maine, and in 1735 was living at Pleasant Cove, Georgetown, at the mouth of the Kennebec River, on the land laid out by the Penobscot Company, purchased from Stephen Minot, and adjoining land of Adam Winthrop. He was early a man of local prominence; traded exclusively in furs and hides with his brothers in Boston; owned a large tannery; was a Presbyterian and active in church matters; sold land, and gave right of way to Rev. Wm. McClenachan for a church, and was early known as Lieut. Noble.

He received a commission in the Second Massachusetts Regiment from Governor Shirley. General Samuel Waldo was brigadier. He served with distinction at Louisburg, his regiment occupying the abandoned Royal or Grand Battery.

Arriving at Annapolis in the autumn of 1747, the first detachment of men was sent to Minas by water. Severe weather turned them back, however, and in November about one hundred men marched overland, the ground being frozen. These were quartered on the inhabitants at Grand-Pré. The remainder sailed for the same place in ships with their cannon and munitions of war, and the frame of a blockhouse. Storms, drifting ice, and the strong tides of the Bay of Fundy, made their passage so dangerous and difficult that Noble resolved to finish the journey by land. On the 4th of December the force disembarked at French Cross, or Morden, about forty miles from their destination. Snow covered the ground, and the whole country was a forest. Without paths and without guides, the party crossed the North Mountain and pushed their way across the country towards the road from Annapolis which led them to the French settlements farthest up the Corn-

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and he was specially designated by General Waldo to lead with picked men one of the perilous night assaults upon the famous Island Battery at the entrance of the harbor.

In 1746, Shirley planned for another expedition to Canada. Noble raised a company of 100 men, but the expedition was abandoned. On the urgent call of Lieut.-Governor Mascarene at Annapolis for troops, Noble was placed at the head of a regiment of 470 men, and despatched for the Bay of Fundy. The Rhode Island contingent was wrecked; the New Hampshire men got astray and returned; Captain Neddick, with his company from Cape Neddick, was wrecked on the island of Mount Desert.

Colonel Arthur Noble married Sarah Mecklin. There were two children: Sarah, reputed very beautiful, who married Colonel Wm. Lithgow, of Fort Halifax, and Arthur, junior, who married Mary Goffe. Their numerous children married into the Capon, Devons, and Harrison families.

GRAND-PRÉ VILLAGE.

wallis. Their course lay through the populous villages of the Habitant and Canard Rivers, across Minas River and along the south bank between Greenwich and Grand-Pré. Eight days and nights they toiled along the broken country, each man carrying provision for fourteen days. Noble found the village ready to receive him. The ships arrived safe, having gone forward with the stores. Grand-Pré was the principal village of Minas, only one mile from the landing place within the mouth of the Gaspereau and in a commanding position. It overlooked the surrounding country, and was on the road running between Annapolis and Piziquid (Windsor).

Twenty-four houses had been selected along the highway in which to quarter the soldiers. The ground was too much frozen to attempt to put up the block-house, and it was stored in outbuildings of the place. The vessels, together with their stores, ammunition, five small cannon and the supply of snowshoes, were left at the landing-place for the winter.

The village and surrounding country was under military rule, with Noble in command. He did not realize the danger of his position, although he kept scouting parties out over the country. The rest of the men were taking their ease, living on the provisions of the villages, and on friendly terms with the inhabitants. The British flag had been hoisted on the church steeple, much to the horror of the Acadians.

Winter had now set in, and the ships were held fast in the ice. Huge masses of brown-colored ice covered all the flats and river banks, and floated up and down

with the changing of the tide. Navigation was stopped for the winter by an impassible barrier of ice along the shore, and there was nothing to be done till spring. The nearest of the enemy were at Beaubassin, at the head of Chignecto Bay, on a neck of land connecting Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. Ramesay controlled the isthmus, having built a fort there. It was Noble's intention, as soon as it was practicable, to march upon this point and drive off the French, There was no road by land, and a passage there was impossible by water. The snow lay deep over the country. Two hundred miles of dense forest lay between Noble and Ramesay. Several ice-blocked rivers guarded the way between Grand-Pré and Beaubassin. Noble thought himself absolutely safe from attack, for the difficulties he saw that made his moving on Beaubassin impracticable would also protect him from attack. Yet his scouts were ever on the alert, and guards were made to do duty. Near the centre of the village was a stone building in which Noble had placed the cannon, and to which he attached the main guard previously doing duty at his own quarters.

Meanwhile word had reached Ramesay of the arrival of the troops at Grand-Pré, and he learned that it was Noble's intention to march against him in the spring. But he was misinformed as to the number of soldiers under Noble. He was told there were two hundred and twenty, which was less than half. Ramesay had already made two arduous but fruitless marches to Annapolis. On the return from the last of these he had severely hurt his knee, and

was unable to march. Calling a council of his officers, he proposed a bold enterprise, to which they gave eager assent. The proposal was to attack the enemy by a rapid march and night attack on Grand-Pré. As Ramesay was unable to lead the party, the command fell to the gallant Captain Coulon De Villiers. Immediate preparations were made for the march. Provisions were collected, snowshoes and sledges prepared, and in a short time the party was ready for the start. There was but one way to reach Grand-Pré and that was by making the distance through the woods and across the rivers near their head. The snow was over three feet deep, and the long march would afford but little shelter to these hardy warriors. In four days all arrangements were complete. Coulon had under his command two hundred and forty Canadians and twenty Indians. Here was the flower of the warlike Canadian *noblesse* — Coulon De Villiers, who, seven years later, defeated Washington; Beaujeu, the hero of future fights — a bold and determined warrior, without the appearance of it; the Chevalier de la Corne, Saint Pierre, Lanaudiere, Saint-Ours, Desligneris, Courtemanche, Repentigny, Boishebert, Gaspe, Colombiere, Marin, Lusignan.

On the 21st of January the company started on its long march. Mile after mile they dragged their snow-sledges along, each with its provisions. There could be no wavering now. Their long winding track was as the trail of a serpent whose instinct led it to its prey. Over hills and through valleys and swamps they moved, till night overtook and compelled them to rest, and slumber came to their weary bodies.

Through storms of snow and wind, or in the sharp frost of the Acadian forests they marched in the daytime. At night they were often glad to rest in holes scooped out of the soft snow, in such shelter as the forest offered. Many a meal they ate, thawing the frozen food in their mouths. Over the mountains and gorges of the Cobequids they tramped. At the head of the Bay they were met by messengers who brought them intelligence as to the exact number of the English at Grand-Pré and what had been done there. This was startling news, but it did not deter them. They were able to procure provisions at villages they were now passing through, and recruits were added to their ranks. On reaching the River Shubenacadie, near the head of the Basin of Minas, they found it impassable from floating ice. Coulon resolved that the river must be crossed by a small party at this point to guard the road to Grand-Pré, so that intelligence might not be carried to the English of their approach. They were in territory now where the French were more favorable to the English. Boishebert, with ten Canadians, crossed the river in a canoe through the drifting ice, and was in great danger at times. The main body continued up the river for three days before they could cross. Making their way through what is now Hants County, they were joined in a few days by Boishebert; and at last, on the 9th, they reached Piziquid, a large Acadian settlement.

The greatest caution was now observed, as they were but fifteen miles from Grand-Pré. Having traversed the distance from Beaubassin in safety,

there must be no blunder now. Everything was in their hands; and to prevent failure, Coulon placed guards on every road leading to Minas. They rested till noon of the tenth, when they began their march again through a storm of snow. They moved slowly until they reached the Gaspereau River, almost south of the present village of Grand-Pré. They were divided into ten parties to attack as many houses, which should be selected for the purpose. They were now but a mile and a half from their destination. Half frozen in the storm, they had to wait an hour for nightfall before they went any farther. When it grew dark they approached the village of Melanson, on the bank of the Gaspereau. Each of the parties took possession of one of the houses, and in a short time the shivering men were enjoying the warmth of fires made in the great fire-places of the Acadian peasants. Where Coulon, the leader, found shelter a wedding feast was going on. The arrival of these armed men, and the prospect of bloodshed, was a violent interruption to the happy proceedings. Coulon soon obtained all the information he desired as to the location of the English, and in what houses they were lodging. He learned that Noble had divided his men into twenty-four parties, each in its own house. These houses were along the main road centering on Grand-Pré, and scattered over a distance of a mile and a half.

Calling his officers together, Coulon arranged the details of the attack. The French were not strong enough to attack all the houses; hence it was determined to divide the party into ten bands for simul-

taneous attack on the principal lodgments of the English. The French now numbered three hundred and forty-six men. The principal party, under Coulon himself, consisted of about fifty men, and included Beaujeau, Desligneris, Mercier, Lery and Lusignan, as his officers. This party was to attack a stone house where the main guard was placed, in a central position in the village. This building was larger than the rest, and more strongly defended. The next house to this was occupied by Colonel Noble, his brother, Ensign Noble, and several other officers. This was to be attacked by a smaller division of men commanded by La Corne, with Rigauville, Lagney and Villemont. The remaining parties were to attack the other houses selected. To make sure of the houses guides were pressed into service, but in several cases they did not reach the right houses, and eventually they had to depend on the knowledge they gained of their positions before the attack.

About two o'clock in the morning the whole body was drawn up on the road leading over the hill to Grand-Pré. Everything was ready for the march. It was snowing steadily, as it had done for thirty hours. All the roads were impassable, except on snowshoes. The largest party, under Coulon, was to attack the stone house, but in the darkness of the night, made still more obscure by the thick-falling snow, they went astray, and about three in the morning they found themselves near a small house, where a guard was posted. The snow deadened every sound, and they were able to approach within a short distance of the

building without being observed. The men were dashing forward to the attack, and the alarm was given before Coulon discovered that it was not the stone building. It was too late, however, to retreat, for the English were aroused from their sleep by the sentinel's alarm and the shot that killed him a moment later. Immediately from the house came the report and flash of muskets, and Coulon fell, severely wounded. The young cadet, Lusignan, was also hit, but he pushed on till a second ball shattered his thigh. This did not stop their advance, and in a short time they had captured the house, all but three of the defenders falling in the engagement. The wounded officers were taken back to Melanson village, where the surgeon had been left.

La Corne, who was second in command, had attacked the house where Noble was lodged. Here were Ensign Noble, Captain Howe, Lieutenants Pickering and Lechmere, who were ill, and Jones. They were aroused from their beds by the firing, and the French were on them before they could dress. The guard was small, as the main guard had been removed to the stone house, where Noble had intended to take up his quarters, Noble received two musket balls in his body, but continued firing his pistols. The French called to him to surrender, promising quarter; but he refused, and on the next discharge he was struck in the forehead by a bullet and instantly killed. His brother was also shot, with the two lieutenants, while Captain Howe was wounded and made a prisoner.

There was sound of firing far and near till daylight. The French had taken several houses, including the

buildings in which was the frame of the blockhouse. All the English not made prisoners had crowded into the stone house, which La Corne was blockading. Beaujeau and his party had been called to his assistance, and found him firing on the enemy from the house in which Noble had been killed. The English were now commanded by Captain Goldthwait. Some of his men made a sally, but could do nothing in the deep snow. Howe, who was bleeding to death, begged permission of La Corne to send for an English surgeon. Early in the afternoon a French officer with a flag of truce was sent to the English with a note from Howe, and remained as a hostage while the surgeon dressed the wounds of the Englishman. On the return of the men the truce was prolonged till the next morning.

The courtesy of the French in the treatment of Howe led up to the surrender of the English. The stone house was crowded to suffocation by three hundred and fifty men. They had five small cannon, but no ammunition except what each carried with him, and that was much reduced by the hours of firing. All their supplies were now in the hands of the French. They had, moreover, but one day's provisions, and little prospect of improving their condition. At the expiration of the truce the English commander and one of his officers, with a white flag, came to the French to propose terms of capitulation. Howe acted as an interpreter, and the terms were soon arranged. The French were victorious in one of the most gallant exploits in French-Canadian history. The English were to march for Annapolis with the honors of war within forty-eight hours.

The Indians were to keep the plunder they had taken. The prisoners of the French should remain in their hands. The English sick and wounded should be left at the Canard River till they recovered, protected by a French guard. None of the English should bear arms during the next six months within the districts of Minas or Chignecto.

The English loss was one hundred killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and fifty captured. The French loss was seven killed and fifteen wounded. The assailing force numbered three hundred and fifty men, while the English had about five hundred and twenty-five men. Eleven of the twelve houses attacked were taken.

Howe soon recovered from his wound, and was exchanged for five Canadians some time later. He finally fell a victim to Indian treachery at Beaubassin. Coulon left Minas by the 12th of February. He caused the blockhouse to be destroyed and the cannon made useless. At the foot of the bank alongside the present road leading to the French well and willows, a grave was dug and all the dead buried, except Colonel Noble and his brother. These officers were interred on the east of the road, farther up the hill, on the Laird property, between two large apple trees. To-day nothing marks the spot where these brave men were buried.

Colonel Noble was defeated through a false idea of the security of his position. He had been warned by the Acadians at Minas that the French would attack him. He did not believe that the French could reach him, and made but little preparation for defence.

The French were now in possession of Minas, a part of Acadia, and DeRamesay at once proclaimed that the Acadians owed submission to France. This left them in a state of perplexity and doubt, so they wrote to Mascarene at Annapolis. Ramesay had written to the government of Quebec and the Bishop of Quebec for confirmation of his proclamation. Then he issued a new proclamation in the name of the King of France, ordering them to take up arms against the English. All this did not materially affect the condition of affairs at Minas. Capt. Rous, sent by Shirley of Massachusetts, came with a 24-gun brig, two armed schooners and three hundred men. One hundred and fifty men were landed, and a flag hoisted at the stone house. The force remained four days and then retired.

In 1748, Captain Charles Morris, of one of the six independent companies raised in Massachusetts for service in Nova Scotia, was in command of a detachment sent to Minas on board a schooner acting as a convoy to a sloop carrying goods which were to be paid the Acadians for the losses sustained by them during Colonel Noble's stay in Grand-Pré. Lieut.-Colonel Gorham was in charge of another detachment of Rangers who went on board of two schooners. They also acted as a convoy. The Acadians had furnished provisions and other necessaries, and had houses burned and fences destroyed for firewood. They had also given labor. The goods taken to Minas amounted in value to ten thousand pounds, New England currency. Among the deputies who had an important share in the distribution of the

goods were René Le Blanc and Joseph Dugas. Morris made at this time a chart of Minas Basin, and the villages about it, and prepared a list of the inhabitants.

In one way and another the Minas Acadians had met with misfortune and loss. They had been deprived of their boats and vessels so that they might not be used by the French of Canada to transport themselves and ammunition when moving against the English. This gave them great difficulty and hardship in bringing their supplies of salt, clothing and other necessaries from Annapolis. They often had to go to that place for a bushel of salt or other common stock, and convey it the sixty miles between the two places over the extremely bad ways. At one time Captain Donnel, of New England, had permission from Mascarene to go to Minas, convoyed by a vessel furnished by the governor, to exchange their grain for goods they much needed. The people owed him considerable debts on account of former purchases. The goods were molasses, salt, sugar, linen, striped calico, cloth, scythes and wood axes. There is a full account of the settlement of the transaction, and receipts. These last were signed by the *ancients* of Minas, René Le Blanc, Jac. Terriau, Fras. Le Blanc, Jos. Dugas, and by the deputies of Minas, Bern. Daigre, Fras. Boudrot, Mich'l Le Blanc, Paul Oquine; and by the deputies of River Canard, Jean Terriau, Oliver Deglass, Jean Granger, Michael Richard. Canard at this time included all the territory north of the Cornwallis River. Piziquid was included in the transactions.

CHAPTER VIII.

HALIFAX FOUNDED — CORNWALLIS — HOPSON — LAWRENCE.

1749-1755.

IN 1749 there were probably 10,000 Acadians in the Province, living in Annapolis, at Minas, Piziquid, at Cobequid, and at Beaubassin. To anticipate the deportation, it may be stated here that there were about 6,000 persons removed in 1755, two-thirds of these from Minas and Piziquid. Of the 1,000 who escaped into the woods, many were afterwards taken and sent out of the Peninsula. About 3,000 had made their way into the country to the north.

During the few years preceding the expulsion, since the Acadians had increased so rapidly in numbers, there was frequent mention of them in government documents. The English Government on numerous occasions urged the necessity of just treatment of the people, recommending such acts as should eventually make the people wholly in sympathy with the local rulers. They were to be assured that no effort would be put forth to remove them from the Province. They were to be left in quiet possession of their property, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. During the war the people had been deeply agitated over the report that Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, proposed to take some of their land

and to intersperse Protestants among them, granting certain privileges to the French who would come over to Protestantism. He had written to England describing a scheme whereby the French Catholics might be made Protestants. As may be supposed, this report left them very uneasy.

In 1749, HALIFAX WAS FOUNDED and became the seat of Government, with EDWARD CORNWALLIS as Governor. Between Halifax and Minas there was only a trail, but in a few days Jean Melanson from Canard, and Claude Le Blanc from Grand-Pré, presented the respects of their people to Cornwallis. They then learned that a proclamation to the Acadians had been drawn up, and they were ordered to make it public in their districts. By this document they were called upon to take the oath without restriction, and to despatch deputies to Halifax within fifteen days with their resolution. At the time appointed, deputies from all the French districts, representing about 10,000 people, appeared before Cornwallis. In all their behavior they were respectful, yet determined to the point of obstinacy in their requests. Cornwallis informed them that no exemption would be allowed in taking the oath, and that all the people would have to swear allegiance by the 26th of October, or forfeit all their rights and possessions in the Province. The deputies again departed to make this known to the people, and returned with the reply in a few weeks. They brought a paper to the Governor, signed by a thousand inhabitants. This referred to the oath they had already taken, and of the privileges they had enjoyed under other Governors, and of the

reliance they had placed in His Majesty, having rendered service without a wish or attempt to violate the oath. It spoke of the danger they were in from the Indians. They would take the old oath as taken under Philipps. If this were refused them they were resolved to leave the country.

Cornwallis was in error in his estimate of the Acadians. Finding that they could not be moved as he desired, he became haughty and harsh, and indulged in threats which he did not carry out. "It is only out of pity to your inexperience that we condescend to reason with you, otherwise the question would not be reasoning, but commanding and being obeyed." He then wrote to the Lords of Trade, stated what had transpired, and his purpose to make the Acadians as useful as possible while they stayed. At the same time he placed every obstacle in the way of their leaving the Province.

The French at this time were building a fort at Beausejour, and every effort was made through Abbe le Loutre, Micmac missionary, to get the Acadians over to the territory that was claimed by the French. The Acadian centres were in a state of agitation and excitement. The people were in serious doubt as to what would be the next move taken by Cornwallis. His arbitrary action and harshness were not conciliating them to English rule. As Cornwallis was too much taken up with affairs at Halifax to move against Beausejour, the efforts of the French led a number of the Acadians to act against the English, with the Indians. It was now late in the year for a general departure, yet some families joined their countrymen.

To check any unexpected move, an English force was sent to Minas under Captain Handfield. As it was too late in the season to build barracks they enclosed three houses in a triangular picketing, with half bastions. The situation was low and flat, commanded by a hill, and was so exposed that in the deep snow of winter it was often possible to walk over the palisades. A blockhouse had been taken from Annapolis and erected within the enclosure. This fort became known as VIEUX LOGIS. Handfield had under his command three subalterns and a hundred men. The people assisted the soldiers, and supplied provisions. They also aided the poorer settlers in building their houses in Halifax, and cleared a road to that place from Minas, eighteen feet wide.

Minas was now under military guard, to which it submitted quietly. I cannot do better than quote from an article by a Canadian writer:

"For forty years after the Treaty of Utrecht they increased and prospered, and had England treated them from the commencement with fairness, and kept in the Province sufficient force to show them she was not to be trifled with, and there was no prospect of France regaining her old dominions by the sea, they might have been gradually won from their fidelity to the land of their origin, and taught to pay willing allegiance to their new masters, who, under all circumstances, had treated them with great consideration and at the same time with obvious weakness. Had they been allowed to remain in the country, under the checks of a sufficient military force and populous English settlements, the ten thousand Acadian French that occupied the fertile districts of the Province in the middle of the last century would eventually have increased to a very large number, and exercised a most important influence on the social, religious and political conditions of Nova Scotia, even while remaining loyal to England. In other words, Nova Scotia might have been another French Canada."

In October of this year, three hundred Micmac and St. John Indians, instigated by the French, blockaded the fort at Minas, for the purpose of giving the Acadians an opportunity to leave the country, and take off their cattle and property. Finding the people fixed in their resolve to wait till they should learn from the Governor what was to be done with them, the Indians departed. They had surprised a detachment under Captain Hamilton, consisting of eighteen men, and with these prisoners, and the notary Le Blanc, they left the country. No one had been killed by the engagement, although the firing had been kept up for several days. The prisoners were released some time later.

In 1750, the English had firm control of the French centres of the Province. Another fort had been built at Piziquid, which, with the garrison at Minas and at Annapolis, protected the Acadians and kept them in touch with Halifax. Cornwallis was still demanding of the Acadians to take the oath, and they never ceased to plead for permission to leave the country with their property. It is needless to dwell on the particulars of the administration of Cornwallis. Cause after cause was assigned why the Acadians should not leave the Province.

When HOPSON succeeded Cornwallis the Acadians were raising great crops, much more than they required for their own use. The fort, Vieux Logis, had fallen into decay, and it was not deemed advisable to repair it. In consequence of this, the garrison was sent to Fort Edward, at Piziquid. Hopson, more humane than Cornwallis, saw how difficult it would

be to force the people to take the oath, which had been the cause of so much trouble. He knew how valuable the people were to the country. He was able in a short time to make a treaty with the Indians of the east coast, and would have done much to soften the condition of the Acadians, if ill-health had not compelled him to retire from the position fifteen months after he became Governor. The Acadians had passed through the period of excitement and agitation caused by the founding of a large English town in the Province. The following order from the Governor gives us a good idea of the condition of affairs at this time. For a time, at least, they were not to be treated like slaves:

"You are to look upon the Acadians in the same light with the rest of His Majesty's subjects, as to the protection of the laws and government, for which reason nothing is to be taken from them by force, or any price set upon their goods but what they themselves agree to; and, if at any time they should obstinately refuse to comply with what His Majesty's service may require of them, you are not to redress yourself by military force, or in any unlawful manner, but to lay the case before the Governor and wait his orders thereon. You are to cause the following orders to be stuck up in the most public part of the fort, both in English and French:

"1st. The provisions or any other commodities that the Acadians shall bring to the fort to sell, are not to be taken from them at any fixed price, but to be paid for according to a free agreement made between them and the purchasers.

"2. No officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier shall presume to insult or otherwise abuse any of the Acadians, who are upon all occasions to be treated as His Majesty's subjects, and to whom the laws of the country are open, to protect as well as to punish.

"At the season of laying in fuel for the fort. . . ."

It is refreshing to read this after the heartless and haughty manner of the earlier governors. What might not a few years of firm and kindly government have done with these unfortunate people? It was not to be. Hopson sailed for England after his short rule.

The last, the most famous, the most infamous, of all the governors of Nova Scotia is now before us, who is to introduce the last act in the Acadian drama. This is CHARLES LAWRENCE, the man who will ever be remembered for his connection with the deportation of the Acadians. He was a soldier, bold and active, keen and intelligent, but ambitious and unscrupulous to the highest degree. His antecedents were humble, but being endowed with more than ordinary ability, without the restraints of a refined or noble nature, he gave way, when opportunity offered for high purpose and manly action, to the baser and more sordid impulses which seem to have ruled his life. He was, moreover, haughty and disdainful in manner. Without real friends, his acts received support from his agents and from those who were unable to resist him. Of low cunning, a consummate flatterer of the higher, an oppressor of the weak, ever ready to play false, his purpose was always to further his own personal ends at any cost. Lawrence has the unenviable distinction of having caused the expatriation of the Acadians, and of having done it with great cruelty. These facts have come to light only within a few years, through the researches of French writers. Many State documents relating to the administration of Lawrence have been lost, or, as it is now believed, intentionally destroyed.

The Acadians had been threatened with various forms of punishment by almost all the governors, and had learned the lesson of humility and patience, all to no purpose — or perhaps to great purpose, when the bitterness of their days was on them in their homeless wanderings. In the light of later facts thrown upon their condition, it is almost beyond belief that a people should be so patient and quietly persevering in their effort to remain upon their lands under all the imposition practised upon them. If individuals acted against the peace of the country, a most cruel persecution of the whole people followed, thinly disguised under various pretexts. The treatment accorded the people had become a matter of practice long established. Unfortunately for them, they were found too submissive. Their homes were their all, and they bore insult and indignity for forty years in a vain hope that a time would come when they would be finally secure on the lands their fathers had taken from the sea, and made beautiful and rich beyond any other in America. Every act of obedience to governmental order and demand seemed to leave them more at the mercy of men who, from national prejudice or lack of human feeling, preyed upon their weakness, and for many years left them in the power of whim and circumstance. Every argument has been made in our own day to influence opinion against these people, and to excuse or palliate the brutalities of men because of their connection with the British Government.

Lawrence had only been provisional Governor till 1745. The scheme of the deportation of the Acadians

had been maturing in his mind; but now, with fuller power, his purpose took more definite shape. Many documents and reports show a fixed resolve on his part to get rid of the Acadians. Complaints were frequent, and every possible reason assigned to show that it was necessary to remove the people. The acts of individuals were charged to the whole people. What was done at Beaubassin was punished at Minas, as well as at other Acadian centres. It must be here understood that when finally the people were taken from their homes, *it was done without the sanction of the English Government*, and was so carried out because of the length of time required to carry messages across the water between England and the Province; and *that orders forbidding this action were received too late to prevent it.*

Hopson's humane orders were revoked. "If they should fail to comply, you will assure them that the next courier will bring an order for military execution."

"No excuse will be taken for not fetching fire-wood, and if they do not do it in proper time the soldiers shall take their houses for fuel." Such were the brutal orders of Lawrence.

The English were now in position to control the Acadian centres of Nova Scotia. The French fort at Beausejour had fallen. A few hundred Acadians who had, through persuasions and threats, assisted the French with their presence when fighting began, refused to assist their countrymen. There were over 10,000 in the Province who had refused to leave their homes, under all the pressure of every influence that

could be brought to bear upon them, and in the face of every provocation arising out of the attitude and behavior of Lawrence. The failure of the Acadians to assist the French was assigned as the cause of their defeat. There was now no ground for fear.

On the 6th of June, one hundred men from Fort Edward, Windsor, and fifty from the garrison at Halifax, came to Minas. The party reached Grand-Pré in the evening and distributed themselves two in a house. At midnight they SEIZED ALL THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION they could find. This was accomplished without resistance. The soldiers met at Grand-Pré in the morning and placed the arms on board a boat which had been sent for the purpose, and they were carried to Fort Edward. The real purpose had not been made known until the outrage was committed, not because of fear of the Acadians, but that as many of their arms as possible should be secured. Yet only about one-fifth of the whole number was found. Shortly after this an order was issued demanding of the Acadians the surrender of all their arms, under penalty of being treated as rebels. The result was that about 2,900 were given up. The people then addressed a petition to Lawrence, couched in respectful terms, and showing in all fairness in what position they stood:

"We, the inhabitants of Minas, Piziquid, and the River Canard, take the liberty of approaching Your Excellency for the purpose of testifying our sense of the care which the Government exercises over us.

"It appears, sir, that Your Excellency doubts the sincerity with which we have promised to be faithful to His Britannic Majesty.

"We most humbly beg Your Excellency to consider our past conduct. You will see that, very far from violating the oath we have taken, we have maintained it in its entirety, in spite of the solicitations and the dreadful threats of another power. We will entertain, sir, the same pure and sincere dispositions to prove, under any circumstances, our unshaken fidelity to His Majesty, provided that His Majesty shall allow us the same liberty that he has granted us. We earnestly beg Your Excellency to have the goodness to inform us of His Majesty's intentions on this subject, and to give us assurances on his part.

"Permit us, if you please, sir, to make known the annoying circumstances in which we are placed, to the prejudice of the tranquility we ought to enjoy. Under pretext that we are transporting our corn or other provisions to Beausejour and the River St. John, we are no longer permitted to carry the least quantity of corn by water from one place to another. We beg Your Excellency to be assured that we have never transported provisions to Beausejour or to River St. John. If some refugee inhabitants from Beausejour have been seized with cattle, we are not on that account by any means guilty, inasmuch as the cattle belonged to them as private individuals, and they were driving them to their respective habitations. As to ourselves, sir, we have never offended in that respect; consequently, we ought not, in our opinion, to be punished; on the contrary, we hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to restore to us the same liberty that we enjoyed formerly, in giving us the use of our canoes, either to transport our provisions from one river to another, or for the purpose of fishing; thereby providing for our livelihood. This permission has never been taken from us except at the present time. We hope, sir, that you will be pleased to restore it, specially in consideration of the number of poor inhabitants who would be very glad to support their families with the fish that they would be able to catch. Moreover, our guns, which we regard as our own personal property, have been taken from us, notwithstanding the fact that they are absolutely necessary to us, to defend our cattle which are attacked by the wild beasts, or for the protection of our children and ourselves. Any inhabitant who may have his oxen in the woods, and who may need them for purposes of labor, would not dare expose

himself in going for them without being prepared to defend himself. It is certain, sir, that since the Indians have ceased frequenting our parts, the wild beasts have greatly increased, and that our cattle are devoured by them almost every day. Besides, the arms that have been taken from us are but a feeble guarantee of our fidelity. It is not the gun which an inhabitant possesses that will induce him to revolt, nor deprivation of the same gun that will make him more faithful; but his conscience alone must induce him to maintain his oath. An order has appeared in Your Excellency's name, given at Fort Edward, June 4th, 1755, by which we are commanded to carry guns, pistols, etc., etc., to Fort Edward. It appears to us, sir, that it would be dangerous for us to execute that order before representing to you the danger to which this order exposes us. The Indians may come and threaten and plunder us, reproaching us for having furnished arms to kill them. We hope, sir, that you will be pleased, on the contrary, to order that those taken from us be restored to us. By so doing you will afford us the means of preserving both ourselves and our cattle.

"In the last place we are grieved, sir, at seeing ourselves declared guilty without being aware of having disobeyed. One of our inhabitants of the River Canard, named Pierre Melanson, was seized and arrested in charge of his boat, before having heard any order forbidding that sort of transport. We beg Your Excellency, on this subject, to have the goodness to make known to us your good pleasure before confiscating our property and considering us in fault. This is the favor we expect from Your Excellency's kindness, and we hope you will do us the justice to believe that very far from violating our promises, we will maintain them, assuring you that we are, very respectfully,

"Sir, your very humble and obedient servants."

Hearing that the Governor looked upon the petition as impertinent, they drew up another on June 24th, 1755, disclaiming any intention of being without proper respect for the Government, and that they all shared the same intentions and feelings in the matter. They acknowledged being embarrassed in his presence

and begged to be excused for their timidity, and if anything seemed hard in their petition, they asked permission to explain their intention. This was signed by forty-four inhabitants in the name of Minas, Canard and Piziquid.

As might be expected, the answer given shows the Governor's intention to find offence in everything the Acadians represented to him. "The memorial of the 10th of June is highly arrogant and insidious, and deserves the highest resentment."

In view of the charges that have been made against them, let us review the situation a moment. The people had been accused of aiding the Indians, when, in point of fact, the Micmacs had left the Province and were in New Brunswick. The Indians had been for some time a menace and danger to them, and they were glad to be separated from them. At the building of Vieux Logis, at Grand-Pré, the Acadians had been harassed by them because of their seeming sympathy with the English, and because they had not endeavored to prevent it. The Acadians had repeatedly, moreover, given valuable intelligence to the British. They had warned Noble previous to the attack of Grand-Pré. But few of the Minas people had gone over to the French; and these, with the Acadians of other parts of the province who had taken up arms, were compelled to do so against their own wishes, under penalty of death. For forty years they had been refused titles to their land, and the privilege of taking up new land, or of extending their own. They had always been thrifty and industrious, performing great labor in dyke-building, and

in setting out orchards which, after one hundred and fifty years, are yet bearing fruit. Their lands in most cases had been divided and subdivided among the children. Yet they produced more than was needed for the whole Province. They had two beautiful churches and abundance of goods.

We now return to the delegates who were in Halifax. Lawrence requested them to take the oath. They begged to be allowed to consult with their people again. Lawrence refused this, giving them twenty-four hours to decide. Their answer, given next day, was that they could not do so without meeting with their own people to determine for or against the oath. This refusal caused them to be treated as prisoners.

Instructions were at once sent to Murray, at Piziquid, to demand of the Acadians of Minas new delegates, and if the oath were not taken, the Government would set about to remove them from the Province. It appears certain that Lawrence projected the deportation early in 1755, and had carefully worked out the details of the scheme. All the arms of the Acadians were in the hands of the Government, without which they could make but little resistance. Their priests and archives were carried off. He had concealed his purpose from the English Government till too late for their intervention. Boscawen, in command of the fleet which had supported the movement against the French at Beausejour, had been induced to favor the scheme, as well as the Council at Halifax. In intimating to the Lords of Trade that he purposed demanding of the Acadians an

unqualified oath of allegiance, and if they refused it, stating he intended to send them *out of the country to France*, he was plainly deceiving that body. Meanwhile three months would be necessary to receive an answer from England.

On July 5th one hundred delegates appeared before Lawrence, in obedience to his demand, and delivered their petition. Those of Grand-Pré and vicinity in their petition, signed by two hundred and three, referred to the oath taken by them in Philipps' time, and of their intention not to take any other. "Charity for our detained inhabitants, and their innocence, oblige us to beg Your Excellency to be touched by our miseries, and to restore to them their liberty, with all possible submission and the most profound respect."

The deputies were imprisoned, with those already confined, and kept so till late in the year, when the whole people were deported. The following statement of events by Abbe Daudin will be read with interest:

"For a long time the English never spoke to the Acadians except to announce their ruin in the near future. They were told that they would be mere slaves, that they would be dispersed by the Irish; in short, everything foreboded the destruction of their nation; there was talk of nothing else but burning the houses and laying waste the fields. However, the inhabitants were not discouraged, as is proved by the most abundant harvest that was ever seen in the country. Prayer was the only weapon they used against the English. After the taking of Beausejour they made a show of commanding the inhabitants on holidays to go to the fort and sharpen all their instruments of war, telling them these weapons were to destroy them after they had cut to pieces their brethren who were refugees with the French.

"When the Grand-Pré delegates had started for Halifax, there came to Annapolis an order, etc., etc.

"When the delegates from all parts had arrived to the number of about one hundred, they were called before the Council, when they were immediately told that no propositions or explanations would be received from them. . . . He put the following very plain question to them: 'Will you or will you not swear to the King of Great Britain that you will take up arms against the King of France, his enemy?' The answer was not less laconic than the question. 'Since,' they said, 'we are asked only for a yes or no, we will answer unanimously, No;' adding, however, that what was required of them tended to despoil them of their religion and everything else.

"Inmediately the Governor gave orders to transport them on a small island, distant as far as a cannon-ball would carry from Halifax, whither they were conducted like criminals, and where they remained until the end of October, fed on a little bread, deprived of receiving any assistance as well as of speaking to any one.

"The Governor imagined that this harshness would soften their courage; he found them as firm as ever. He took the resolution of betaking himself to the aforesaid island with a numerous retinue, accompanied by all the instruments of torture, in order to try to soften their courage at the sight of this spectacle. In the midst of this display befitting a tyrant, he asked them if they persisted in their answers. One of them replied, 'Yes, and more than ever; we have God for us, and that is enough.' The Governor drew his sword and said: 'Insolent fellow; you deserve that I should run my sword through your body!' The peasant presented his breast to him, and, drawing nearer, said: 'Strike, sir, if you dare; I shall be the first martyr of the band; you can kill my body, but you shall not kill my soul.' The Governor, in a sort of frenzy, asked the others if they shared the feelings of that insolent fellow who had just spoken. All with one voice exclaimed: 'Yes, sir! Yes, sir!' . . .

"After carrying off the priests, the English raised their flag above the churches and made the latter into barracks when their troops passed there. . . . The missionaries reached Halifax with this fine accompaniment, drums beating. They were led out on the parade, where they were exposed for three-quarters of an hour to mockery, contempt and insults."

It was evidently the desire of Lawrence that the Acadians should not take the oath. He acted promptly. Everything was ripe for the undertaking. It was decided on July 28, 1755, by Governor Lawrence and his council to deport the Acadians. New England troops were in the country, having assisted in the capture of Beausejour. In a letter to the commandant, Moncton, he informed him that the French of that place were to be removed at once, as soon as transports, which had been ordered, should come up the Bay. Very full particulars were given as to the removal of the people and the seizure of property and cattle. Not the slightest trace of pity or compunction is apparent in the orders he issued to the officers in command at the different centres. If the people had been animals or wild beasts, and likely to escape in spite of his vigilance, he could not have been more merciless in working out the soulless scheme of the deportation. He gave positive orders again and again to secure the cattle of the people. In herding the people together to prevent any from escaping, the utmost effort was to be made.

Colonel Winslow, who was at Beausejour, received orders to embark with his regiment, consisting of three hundred men, and sail for Grand-Pre. He arrived at Minas on August 15th, whence he proceeded to Windsor to consult with Murray, in command at Fort Edward, as to the details of the work they were about to perform.

Winslow in his journal has given us a full account of his stay at Grand-Pré. Let us make a brief review of the Acadians on the eve of departing from their homes, to which they were never to return. All too thoroughly was the work carried out at Minas, as we shall see.

CHAPTER IX.

Minas Before the Deportation.

1755.

In 1755, the population of the Acadian section of Minas was about 4,500. From Blomidon on the north, along the shores of Minas Basin, and up all the rivers emptying into it, to the Gaspereau on the south; and from Avonport on the east to New Minas on the west, the country of Minas lay with village after village nestling near the meadows the people had reclaimed from the sea. The church at Grand-Pré and at Canard made two centres around which clustered the happy homes of a peaceful people — homes that had been theirs and their forefathers for eighty years. Doubtless some of the ancients remembered when the chief founders had come to Habitant and Canard, and later to Grand-Pré. The people were as a rule long-lived. During the years of their occupation of Minas many rows of willows had grown up. Scattered over the country orchards marked the places of their thrift and labor. Miles of dyke made rich meadows, on which at this time their harvests were ripening; and prosperity, which seemed to smile upon them, made the parting all the more cruel when they had to leave so lovely a land. Many families were in grief because of the absence of those

who were prisoners at Halifax, but no thought of the miserable fate that was to be their own came to them. No words can paint the sorrow that was to follow.

In the summer the men of Minas were employed in husbandry, having their dykes and farms to attend to. In winter they cut timber, fuel and fencing. Fish and game were abundant. The Acadians were honest, sober and frugal; the women virtuous and industrious, and engaged chiefly in carding, spinning, and weaving wool, flax and hemp, which they produced in abundance. They had, besides, the fur of numerous animals, such as bear, beaver, otter, fox, marten, moose and caribou. This made them handsome clothing, or was traded with the English and French for such articles as they needed. Their dyes were ordinarily black and green. Scarlet they obtained by carding and spinning the English duffel, which they wove in stripes to decorate the women's garments. They had long ago learned the necessity of adapting themselves to the natural conditions of their surroundings, so that their habits and customs were characteristic of the country. Many of them had been born to the life they were now living, and, so to speak, they had become part of the soil.

On their uplands they had their orchards of pears, plums, cherries, and apples. Without the benefit of the years of cultivation as at present, the soil produced turnips, cabbages, onions, and other garden produce. The dyke lands were their chief support. On these natural meadows, which they learned to protect from the sea by means of dykes, they raised wheat, rye, oats, peas, flax — more than they required for their own

consumption. Moreover, they were able to raise hay in large quantities, and the undyked marshes produced salt grass, which they were able to use for their cattle

Many of the Minas people were well-to-do. For instance, we find the following inhabitants were possessed of that kind of wealth and in quantities which many of our farmers to-day, in fairly good circumstances, do not surpass:

	Bullocks.	Cows.	Young Cattle.	Sheep.	Hogs.	Horses.
Jean Baptiste Daigre....	6	14	22	98	34	2
Pierre Landry.....	6	8	7	20	16	.
Baptiste Sapin.....	6	7	15	40	25	4
Janis Terriau.....	4	4	6	40	15	3
Charles Granger.....	6	12	16	74	20	2
Jean Baptiste Le Blanc..	4	7	9	30	11	2
Norez Michel Boudrot...	4	5	2	19	70	1
Renez Aucoine.....	6	9	12	90	22	3
Claude Trahan.....	4	5	7	20	20	4
Charles Lebrun.....	4	14	31	50	22	1
Germain Richard.....	6	8	11	86	20	2

In the forests were moose, bear, wild cat, beaver, otter, marten, fox (red, gray and black), rabbit and partridge in great numbers, and wild geese, duck, teal, plover, and other marsh birds were numerous; and at certain seasons wild pigeons came in immense flocks.

The seas were full of codfish, and the rivers abounded in salmon, shad, bass, eel, smelt, and other varieties. The white porpoise came into the basin, sometimes seventeen feet in length, and yielded three barrels of oil.

The country of Minas was abundant in provision of all kinds which it produced. An ox could be bought

for five dollars, a sheep for one dollar, and wheat for thirty-five cents a bushel. When a young woman could weave a bolt of cloth, and a young man make a wheel, they might marry. If a couple were to be married, the whole village in which they lived lent a hand to build a house, clear some land, and supplied them with cattle, hogs and poultry. Large families are characteristic of the people even at the present time. Various amusements made the cold winter pleasant. Singing, dancing and open hospitality cheered their homes. They lived as one large family, bound by the ties of religion, race and kinship. The following hymns they sung on the last days of their stay in Nova Scotia:

I.

Faux plaisirs, vains honneurs, bien frivoles
Eçoutez aujourdhui nos adieux:
Trop long temps vous fûtes nos idoles:
Trop long temps vous charmiez nos yeux —
Loin de nous la fidêle esperance,
De trouver en vous notre bonheur,
Avec vous heureux en apparence,
Nous portons la chagrin dans la cœur.

II.

Tout passe —
Sous le firmament —
Tout n'est que changement —
Tout passe —
Ainsi que sur la glace —
Doit rimer avec passe
Le mond va roulant,
En dit en s'ecoulant —
Tout passe —
C'est la mèrite
Hormis l'èternité
Tout passe —

Faisons valoir la grace
Le temps est precieux
Ouvrez devant nos yeux
Tout passe —
Les champs, les rangs,
Le petits et les grands —
Tout passe —
D'autres *fréquerente* la place
Et se'n vont a leur tour
Dans la mortel séjour
Tout passe —

III.

Vive Jésus
Vive Jésus
Avec la croix son cher portage
Vive Jèsus
Dans le cœurs de tout les èlus —
Sa croix de son cœur — est le gage —
Fut-il au plus bel héritage
Vive Jésus
Portens la croise —
Sans choisè, sans ènnuie, sans murmure.
Portens la croix —
Quand nous en servons aux choix
Quoique très amère et très dure —
Maigré le sens et la nature.
Portens la croix —

Many French willows are standing to-day, living testimony of the Acadian occupation. All over Minas stand these immense trees, marking the site of roads or houses before 1755. No other memorials save the old dykes and an occasional apple tree, tell of the hapless race whose country this was, and whose only happiness was here. The willow is extremely

tenacious of life. A green limb broken from a tree and thrust into the earth will take root and grow. In this respect it is a fitting memorial of the people who set them out; a foreign growth that has become indigenous. The tree was brought from France at an early date.

The French road ran through the present village of Grand-Pré, north of the main highway, which it joined near Scott's Corner. Thence the road led to Johnson's Hollow, just below the Academy boarding-house, in Wolfville. Here it diverged and lay near the railroad to Kentville. From the village of Grand-Pré to the landing-place on the Gaspereau was a road. From the main village of Grand-Pré, the road to Windsor ran south over the hill to Walbrook, and crossed the river at that point by a sunken bridge, which could be used only at low tide. We have the names of all the villages, as they were known to the Acadians. We have also the names of a great many of the men and boys who were taken away. According to Winslow the list is:

Males, from ten years	446	
Deputies, prisoners at Halifax	37	
Women, married	337	
Sons	527	
Daughters	576	
		1,923
Old and infirm, not mentioned		820
		2,743

It is positively known that Winslow did not secure all the people at Minas, as the whole number was greater than here given.

Villages	Location.	No. of Inhabitants.
De Landry	North of Minas or Cornwallis River.	39
Claude Terriau	" " "	41
Des Landry	" " "	4
Granger	" " "	44
Jean Terriau	" " "	65
Comeau	" " "	74
Michel	" " "	27
Aucoine	" " "	77
Trahan	" " "	38
Poirier	" " "	20
Saulnier	" " "	32
Brun	" " "	64
Dupuis	" " "	65
Hebert	" " "	19
Francois	" " "	3
Pinons	" " "	7
Antoine	" " "	51
Claude	" " "	80
Herbert Co Ero (?)	" " "	74
Claud Landry	" " "	74
Navie	South of Minas River.	3
Jean Le Blanc	" "	30
Pierre Le Blanc	" "	60
Grand Le Blanc	" "	42
Richard	" "	49
Pinour	" "	2
Melanson	Gaspereau.	52
Michel	"	57
De Petit (Gotro)	About Grand-Pré.	94
Landry	(Omitted) Canard.	15
Comeau	Canard.	4
Granger	"	4
Pinue	"	3
Hebert	"	5
Jean Teriau	"	2
La Coste	"	2
Grand-Pré	Grand-Pré.	20
Gaspereua	Gaspereau.	41

All the names except those in italics are the names of individuals or families. They are given here as they are listed by Winslow.

The principal villages on the south side of Minas River, now the Cornwallis, sometimes called Minas or Grand-Pré, were Gotro, Pierre Le Blanc, Michel, Melanson, Grand Le Blanc, Gaspereau, Jean Le Blanc and Grand-Pré. On the north side of the same river, the villages of the Canard section, sometimes called Habitant and Canard, because the settlements were mainly on the Habitant and Canard Rivers, were named: Claude Landry, Antoine, Hebert, Dupuis, Brun, Trahan, Saulnier, Poirier and Hebert. The remaining villages had less than twenty inhabitants.

At Grand-Pré and Gaspereau, and along the south side of Minas, the common names of the Acadians in the order of their frequency were: Le Blanc, Melanson, Hebert, Richard. On the north side the common names were: Boudro, Comeau, Landry, Aucoine, Granger, Terriau, Dupuis.

The name Melanson, so common among the Acadians to-day, was no doubt of Scotch origin, and belonged to one of Sir William Alexander's colonists who came to Acadia about 1623. The larger number of the settlers who became the progenitors of the 150,000 of Acadians now living in the Maritime Provinces, came out from Rochelle, Saintonge and Poitou, on the west coast of France, between the years 1632 and 1649. These men became fishermen and farmers, and the needs of the time caused them to become adepts in boat-building, blacksmithing, and in the erection of their buildings. They became

famous in the difficult work of dyke-building. They raised large quantities of hay and grain, more than enough for their own needs. Sheep and cattle became their wealth.

In 1671, when the first census of Acadia was taken of which we have any record, there were seventy-five families, made up of 440 persons.

In 1686, Minas had been settled about ten years and had a population of fifty-seven persons. In 1714, the people numbered 878. In 1755 there were at least 10,000 Acadians in Nova Scotia.

Names at Minas at time of deportation:

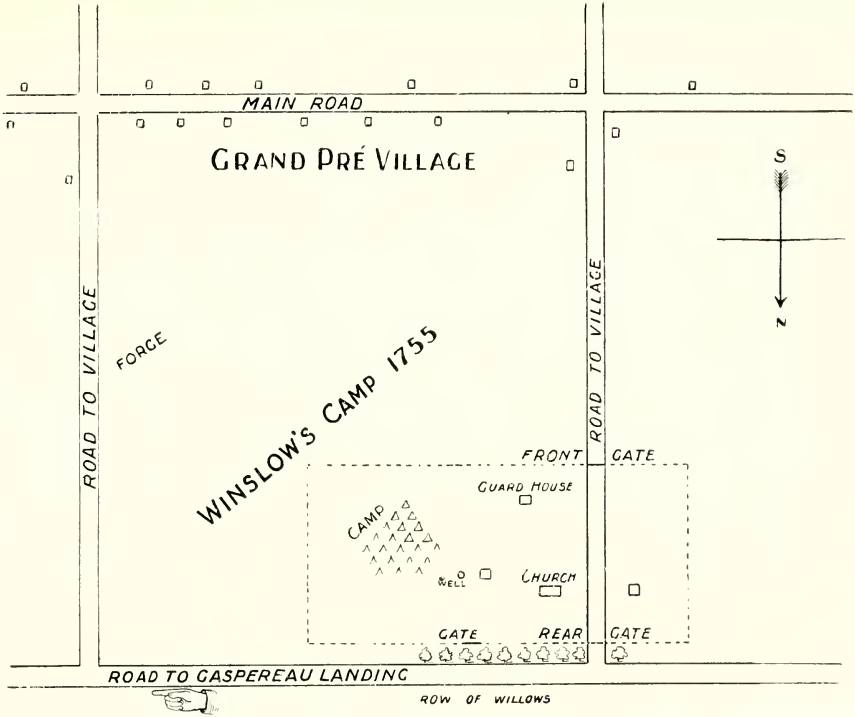
Alin,
Aucoine,
Apigne,
Boudro,
Blanchard,
Bourg,
Belmere,
Brun,
Babin,
Brassin,
Brane,
Bugeant,
Benios,
Bouns,
Belfontaine,
Bouer,
Braux,
Brasseaux,
Commeau,
Capierre,
Cotoe,
Caretter,
Cleland,
Cloarte,
Clemenson,
Celestin,
Celve,
Daigre,
Diron,
Dour,
Duzoy,
David,
Dins,
Dupuy,
Duon,
Dupiers,
Doulet,
Dusour,
Doucet,
Forest,
Gotro,
Granger,
Hebert,
Inferms,
Lapierre,
Leuron,
Le Blanc,
Le Clane,
Leblun,
Lebar,
Leprince,
Labous,
Lesour,
Landry,
Michel,
Massier,
Munier,
Mengean,
Melanson,
Noails,
Pitree,
Quette,
Robichaud,
Richard,
Rour,
Sosonier,
Sorere,
Sapin,
Sonier,
Semer,
Terriot,
Trauhase,
Tibodo,
Tunour,
Trahan,
Tilhard,
Vinson.

CHAPTER X.

WINSLOW AT GRAND-PRE — PROCLAMATION ISSUED — FIRST EMBARKATION — SECOND EMBARKATION — FINAL EMBARKATION.

1755.

WE now find WINSLOW AT GRAND-PRÉ. He had arrived on the 15th, and made his quarters on the plain where the church and the priest's house were. The tents of the soldiers were pitched about the churchyard, and Winslow occupied the priest's house which overlooked the encampment on the east. This had been vacant since August 4, when Abbé Chauvreulx had been made prisoner and taken to Fort Edward where Abbé Lemaire of Canard Church had been made prisoner on August 10th. The officers were lodged in a small house near by. The sacred things of the church had been removed by the elders of the village, on the order of the commander, and it became an arsenal and storehouse. Preparations were made at once to surround the camp with a palisade, to prevent surprise, and to protect the position against any possible attack. The place was well chosen. The church was large enough to hold several hundred people, and was in future to serve as a prison for four hundred men, besides a large guard of soldiers. The position, while commanded by the slope and hills on the south, the wealth of the people,



PLAN OF WINSLOW'S CAMP.

the rich meadows of Grand-Pré, lay to the north, east and west. Beyond Long Island stretched the broad Basin of Minas, and in the blue of the farther shore Blomidon loomed. The site of the camp was a piece of slightly rounded "upland" rising on the edge of the dykeland, containing about thirty acres. This stood northwest of the Village of Grand-Pré, with willow trees marking the roads which traversed it, and, while dominated by the slope of the village itself, lay isolated upon the green breast of the wide meadows, which stretched in unbroken level to the north, west and east.

This spot had been precious to the Acadians for many years, for the graveyard held the many relatives and friends, whose eyes were not to see this last desecration of their most sacred possessions. The comfort of their church was denied them. The spires of St. Charles bore the flag which represented justice and humanity, and was to be the guise under which the ends of cruelty and rapacity were to be served; worked out with the most exacting system, and concealed with the elaborate skill of intelligent minds. On the gentle slope rising to the southeast lay the village with its scattered houses. On the east and west a continuous line of dwellings marked the hillside. Willows and apple-trees, gardens and pastures, and the fruitful dyke-lands to the river banks filled the land with vistas of beauty and peace. Yet an armed host was in the midst of the people, who were without suspicion, and who went about their daily tasks unconscious of the impending fate that was to waste their lands, destroy the fruits of their

labors, their property and homes. But what was the utter loss of their worldly goods to the sorrow of being separated from the land that had been their home for so many years! The very tides and airs, and the forests and dyke-lands were there, and homes could be restored, if only they could return. But this was not to be. The land was for other peoples. The loss of all their wealth was as nothing beside this greatest loss of their lives, never to be made up.

Colonel John Winslow, in command at Grand-Pré, was sprung from the early governors of Plymouth colony, had seen considerable military service, and on several occasions had left his Marshfield farm to serve the country. He was now fifty-four years of age, with little education, though a thorough soldier. When it was decided to attack the position at Beausejour, held by the French, Winslow was commissioned by Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, to raise two thousand volunteers. He was able to do so in a short time, and was made lieutenant-colonel in command of one of the two battalions which composed it. Farmers, yeomen, fishermen, shopkeepers and various tradesmen from all over the country enlisted for the service.

Winslow found himself pleasantly situated at Grand-Pré. The people were not troublesome, and in a short time the soldiers off duty were given to wandering through the villages, though not on friendly terms with the inhabitants. Captains Osgood, Adams and Hobbs were with Winslow. Fifteen miles away, on the bank of the Piziquid, was Fort Edward, where Captain Murray was in command of a garrison of regulars.

When Lawrence learned that Winslow's camp was being fortified, he feared that the prople would be alarmed, and he urged him not to arouse their mistrust. Winslow replied that the Acadians were without fear, as they supposed the English would be with them all winter. The people made no trouble, and the friendly feeling was evinced in their behaviour. They were called upon at once to bring in supplies of bread, flour and fresh meat. Harsh means would have been used to compel obedience, had it been necessary, even with military execution. Minas had to supply Fort Edward as well, at one time sixty bullocks being demanded of the inhabitants of Canard and Habitant. No money was paid them for the supplies needed for the troops, as everything of that kind was claimed by the Government. The season had been a good one, and the harvest large. The wheat was ripe, and but for the wet weather the work of gathering the grain would have been well advanced. It was determined that all the grain should be gathered and stored in the granaries, barns and cellars before the Acadians should be told of their fate. When all the work was done and the people placed on board the transports, everything was to be burned and the country left desolate, so that all the Acadians should give themselves up, and that none should return to Minas. The transports were anchored outside, after having been unloaded of supplies, and more vessels were expected. Meanwhile Winslow was getting all the information possible in regard to the villages and the people. The camp was surrounded with a palisade, and regular guards and

patrols established. Card-playing was prohibited as leading to idleness in the camp. Quoit-playing was not permitted within the enclosure because of the damage done to the green sward. Masons and diggers were sinking wells, and every preparation was made for the stay at Grand-Pré. On the 31st of August, Winslow, with a party of fifty men, set out on a tour of inspection, which he reported as taking in two-thirds of Grand-Pré. This probably extended from Wolfville to Hortonville in continuous line. The day was Sunday, and the afternoon was spent in looking over the country. On the next day Captain Adams, with a party of seventy men, visited the villages of Habitant and Canard; and on the day following Captain Hobbs visited the village of Melanson, in the valley of the Gaspereau on the south side of the river. On the same day the country to the south was explored by Captain Osgood. By the reports thus obtained Winslow was able to get the location of the villages and the condition of the crops. At Canard was a beautiful church and a country full of inhabitants, with abundance of the world's goods. Reports equally favorable were made of other places visited. Everywhere the Acadians had plenty of provisions, and a good harvest was being gathered in. Winslow had been visited by Murray, and they had arranged a plan of operations. The only thing lacking was the transports, yet to arrive.

The commanders agreed that the male inhabitants should be summoned to meet at the church at Grand-Pré, *to hear the king's orders*. Thus the Acadians were to be entrapped in the king's name. The positive

orders from Lawrence were to secure the Acadians by stratagem or force, as circumstances demanded, and not the least attention was to be paid to any memorial or remonstrance from the people. No stronger power than the orders of the king could be used to bring the people together. They looked for a settlement of their affairs, which had long been promised them. Here at last was what they were looking for.

The arrangements were complete. The captains, Adams, Hobbs, and Osgood, were sworn to secrecy. When the vessels came, only the time for calling the people together remained to be fixed. On the first of September Winslow wrote Murray that he would meet with him on the next day, as three of the transports had arrived. The French were soon on board making inquiries, but as the captains had been warned not to let the Acadians know why they had come to Minas, their suspicions were not excited. Eleven more ships were to arrive in a few days. On Tuesday, the 2nd, Winslow set out in a whaleboat for Fort Edward, having with him "Doctor Whitworth and adjutant Kennedy, to consult with Captain Murray in this Critical Conjuncter." So runs his journal. They drafted the PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS, which was translated into French by Deschamps, a merchant of Piziquid. It was as follows:

"To the inhabitants of the district of Grand-Pré, Minas, River Canard and places adjacent, as well ancients as young men and lads.

"Whereas His Excellency the Governor has instructed us of his late resolution respecting the matter proposed to the inhabitants, and has ordered us to communicate the same in person,

His Excellency being desirous that each of them should be satisfied of His Majesty's intentions, which he has also ordered us to communicate to you, as they have been given to him: We, therefore, order and strictly, by these presents, all of the inhabitants as well of the above-named district as of all the other districts, both old and young men, as well as the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the church at Grand-Pré, on Friday, the 5th instant, at three in the afternoon, that we may impart to them what we are ordered to communicate to them, declaring that no excuse will be admitted on any pretense whatsoever, on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, in default of real estate.

"Given at Grand-Pré, 2nd September, 1755.

"JOHN WINSLOW."

We have in Winslow's own words:

"1755, September the 4th. This morning sent for Doctor Rodion (Dr. Whitworth) and delivered him a Citation to the Inhabitants with the Strict Charge to See It Executed, which he Promised Should be Faithfully Done.

"A Fine Day, and the Inhabitants very busy about their harvest," etc.

The orders had gone forth, and everything was in readiness for the morrow. The guards had been strengthened, and no one was to leave the line of pickets. Powder and ball were served to the men. Besides, the whole camp was under arms.

With less than twenty-four hours' notice the Acadians appeared at the Grand-Pré from all the villages of Minas. From the Canard, Pereau, and Habitant rivers, from the Gaspereau Valley, from Minas in the west to Avonport in the east, they came. FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN MEN ENTERED THE CHURCH, their own church, which was now their prison. No suspicion of danger had entered their

minds. There was no delay. When the people had entered, Winslow had a table placed in the centre the church, and accompanied by the officers who were off guard, and by a strong escort, he took his place to deliver *His Majesty's final resolution to the Acadians.*

Here he took his stand in his laced uniform. Near him were the New Englanders, "strong, sinewy figures, bearing, no doubt, more or less distinctly the peculiar stamp with which toil, trade and Puritanism had imprinted the features of New England. Their commander was not of the prevailing type. He was fifty-four years of age, with double chin, smooth forehead, arched eyebrows, close powdered wig, and round, rubicund brows, from which the weight of an odious duty had probably banished the smirk of self-satisfaction that dwelt there at other times."* Before him were the sons and fathers of Minas. Strong, sunburnt children of the soil, they waited anxiously for his words, their dark eyes and black hair in sharp contrast with the grey colors of their homespun. Doubtless many a prayer went up from that desecrated fane before the full horror of their fate darkened their lives. It is a sad picture—too sad to contemplate, without overpowering emotion.

Winslow then read to the Acadians the following, which is taken from his journal:

"Gentlemen,— I have received from his Excellency, Governor Lawrence, the King's Commission which I have in my hand, and by whose orders you are Conveyed together, to Manifest to you His Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this

*His portrait is in the room of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

his Province of Nova Scotia, who for almost half a Century have had more Indulgence Granted them than any of his Subjects in any part of his Dominions. What use you have made of them you yourself Best Know.

"The Part of Duty I am now upon is what thoh Necessary is Very Disagreeable to my natural make and Temper, as I Know it Must be Grievous to you who are of the Same Specia.

"But it is not my business to annimadvert, but to obey Such orders as I receive, and therefore without Hesitation Shall Deliver you his Majesty's orders and Instructions, Vist.:

"That your Lands & Tennements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sorts are Forfeited to the Crown with all other your Effects Saving your money and Household Goods, and you your Selves to be removed from this his Province.

"Thus it is Preremptorily his Majesty's orders That the whole French Inhabitants of these Districts be removed, and I am Throh his Majesty's Goodness Directed to allow you Liberty to Carry of your money and Household Goods as Many as you Can without Discommoding the Vessels you Go in. I Shall do Every thing in my Power that all Those Goods be Secured to you and that you are Not Molested in Carrying of them of, and also that whole Family Shall go in the Same Vessel, and make this remove, which I am Sensable must give you a great Deal of Trouble, as Easey as his Majesty's Service will admit, and hope that in what Ever part of the world you may Fall you may be Faithful Subjects, a Peasable & happy People.

"I Must also Inform you That it is his Majesty's Pleasure that you remain in Security under the Inspection & Direction of the Troops that I have the Honr. to Command."

He then declared them prisoners of the king, and all their horses, cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and poultry forfeited, and no one under his command was to hurt, kill or destroy anything of any kind, or to rob orchards or gardens. Winslow now returned to his quarters at the priest's house, where he was soon followed by a deputation of the older Acadians, who begged him to

consider the condition of many of their families now that they were not permitted to return to their homes, or to let them know in what condition they were in. After consultation with his officers, Winslow decided to permit twenty of the men to return to their homes, ten for each side of the Cornwallis River, to inform their relatives that the women and children would be safe from molestation. They were to bring those who had not come in, the remainder of the prisoners being held responsible for the return of the absent. The families and friends of those in the church were ordered to supply food for the prisoners. They were permitted to move about the inclosure, but not farther east then the officers' quarters.

"Thus Ended the Memorable fifth of September, a Day of Great Fatigue & Troble."

By the seventh of the month, there were only five transports in the Basin, not half the number required. The prisoners were increased to four hundred and twenty-four. The millers were at work, and the people were as comfortable as could be under their sad circumstances. A strong guard was always posted, and every precaution taken to prevent surprise.

On the 10th of September only one hundred of the prisoners had been able to return to their homes to spend one night with their families, twenty at a time being allowed the privilege. On this morning, Winslow had received a memorial from the people, imploring that they should be permitted to go to places where their own countrymen were, and that they should be given time to prepare for departure.

They had probably learned the fate of the other French centers. They agreed to pay all expenses incurred. To preserve their religion they were willing to sacrifice everything else. Of course, nothing was done in their favor. Winslow states that on this morning he observed unusual signs of commotion on the part of the Acadian prisoners. As there were five transports idle, he determined to place fifty of the young men on each of the vessels, and thus lessen the danger of his position at Grand-Pré. He called for Pére Landry, their chief leader, who spoke English, and told him, much to his grief and surprise, that he intended to embark two hundred and fifty of the young men. Landry was ordered to prepare the men at once, as the tide served in an hour and they must be taken away before that time. All the soldiers were under arms, and formed into line. The men who were to depart were drawn up in columns, six deep, on the left of the whole body of the Acadians. Thus they stood between the two gates, in the rear of Winslow's quarters. The scene that followed is indescribable. Here were all the married and unmarried young men, from ten years and upwards, who were about to be separated from their fathers and brothers. They had been drawn off from the main body and were guarded on all sides by the eighty soldiers under Captain Adams. Bayonets were fixed and it was dangerous to resist. Yet when the order was given to march there was no movement of the Acadians. Every evidence of grief and excitement became manifest—cries of anger, tears and pleading for mercy, stubborn refusal to march, calling of father

to son, and son to father, of brother to brother. Words cannot paint such scenes. When the boys said that they would not go without their fathers, Winslow writes that he did not understand the word, and that the king's commands were absolute. The order to march was again given, and the soldiers advanced with fixed bayonets to enforce the command. They were thus compelled to move, and went off praying, singing and crying. A great many of the people from the villages now lined the road to the landing-place on the Gaspereau, a distance of one and a half miles. Many fell on their knees and prayed as the melancholy procession passed, or followed with wailing and lamentation. Reaching the shore they were soon hurried on board boats, and carried to the ships, where they remained under strict guard until the fleet departed, some time later. On the return of the soldiers, another company of ninety married Acadians were escorted by Captain Osgood and eighty men. Two hundred and thirty of the French were now on board. The faithful wives and mothers brought provisions every day for the captives, the boats coming in at each tide from the vessels that anchored out in the bay. As many as could go in the boats were permitted to board the ships to see their relatives.

The ARMED FORCE AT GRAND-PRÉ consisted of three hundred and sixty-three men. There was evidently considerable hatred shown towards the French people, as Winslow had to make stringent regulations to prevent the soldiers distressing the inhabitants. An officer accompanied the soldiers who brought in

water for the camp, to prevent them maltreating the people. On one occasion two of the men were flogged for stealing fowls.

By the middle of September, Winslow had a list of the Acadians of the Minas district, and of their live stock of all kinds. Two thousand seven hundred and forty-three persons, with five thousand horned cattle, eight thousand six hundred sheep, four thousand hogs, five hundred horses, were the estimates according to his list. A fine harvest would have blessed the unfortunate Acadians had they been able to remain in the country. They were now gathering it in for their enemies, or it would be destroyed. It was difficult for the people to realize that they were to be removed. They did not fully believe it till their lingering hope died with the commencement of their long sad wandering in a strange country and among a strange and unsympathetic people—a wandering that was to leave them destitute, attacked by disease, worn out and heart-broken with the distress of their lives till many were relieved by death.

It was the eighth of October before the final EMBARKATION began. A few more transports had arrived, and as the season was colder, it became necessary to hasten the disagreeable work. Orders had been sent to the people to prepare themselves to go on board the ships. On the seventh, twenty-four Acadians escaped from two of the vessels. Suspecting one of the men, Francois Hebert, as the contriver or abettor of the escape, whether guilty or innocent, he was ordered ashore, having gone on board that day with his effects, and his house was

burned before his eyes. Notice was then given that if the men who had escaped did not return in two days, all their friends would be served in the same manner and all their household goods confiscated. Through the efforts of Pére Landry, who interceded for them, twenty-two of the men returned quietly to the vessels. Two of them were shot by a search party while trying to escape.

On the eighth, Winslow wrote: "Began to embark the inhabitants, who went off solentarily (*sic*) and unwillingly, the women in great distress carrying off their children in their arms; others carrying their decrepit parents in their carts, with all their goods, moving in great confusion, and appeared a scene of woe and distress." Grand-Pré and the Gaspereau valley were cleared of inhabitants in a short time. Vessels were at Boudro's Point, between Canard and Cornwallis rivers, to receive the people of that part of Minas, but there were not enough to accommodate them. They were crowded to suffocation, and much, if not all of their goods, were left on the shore, where they were brought in carts. When the English settlers came in 1760, the remains of carts, furniture and household goods were found where the Acadians were compelled to leave them. Affairs dragged along slowly and wearily until the twenty-seventh of October, when the fleet set sail, and conveyed from Minas as many as it was possible to crowd into the transports. There were fourteen vessels, two convoyed by frigates, in this fleet, an average of two hundred and seven to each vessel. Three were for Philadelphia, one for Boston, four for Maryland, and five for Virginia.

From Fort Edward, Winslow sent an account to Governor Lawrence, dated October 27th, of what was being done.

"We began to embark the inhabitants and shipped the whole of Grand-Pré and Gaspereau, and to expedite the affair sent Capt. Adams with half the party, to encamp between the rivers Canard and Habitant at a place called Boudro Point, where the inhabitants of those rivers, and all of Larure (?), Habitant and Pereau were ordered to be, and in compliance of those orders actually came with all their families and effects. . . . It was concluded to ship as many of the inhabitants as could be sent by the vessels we had, and forward them to the places to which your Excellency assigned them, which on the 21st was completed, and the transports fell down under the convoy. . . . . And although I put in more than two to a ton, and the people greatly crowded, yet remains upon my hands, for want of transports, the whole village of Antoine and Landry, and some of the Canard, amounting to ninety-eight families, and upward of six hundred souls, all of which I removed from Boudro Point to Grand-Pré, where I have at present set them down in houses nearest the camp, and permit them to be with their families upon their word of being at any call ready to embark and answering to their names upon the roll-call at sunset in the camp."

All the inhabitants being removed from the north and south side of Cornwallis River, Winslow ordered the HOUSES AND BARNS TO BE BURNED. This was done on the Gaspereau as well. Enough houses, probably less than a hundred, to accommodate six hundred and fifty people were left standing in the vicinity of Grand-Pré, and were not destroyed till December.

HOUSES BURNED BY WINSLOW.

	Houses.	Barns.	Outhouses.
Nov. 2, at Gaspereau	49	39	19
" 5, Canard, Habitant, Pereau	76	81	33
" 6, " "	85	100	75
" 7, " "	45	56	28
Total	255	276	155

Houses	255
Barns	276
Outhouses	155
Mills at the several places	11
Church	1
Total	698
Shipment by Winslow	1,510
" " Osgood	732
Total	2,242

On the fourteenth of November Winslow set out for Halifax with an officer and fifty men, ninety men having been despatched to Annapolis on the third. Captain Osgood was left in command at Grand-Pré, where six hundred and fifty Acadians were held till transports should arrive to bear them away. Two vessels sailed with three hundred and fifty of the French on the thirteenth of December, one for Boston and one for Connecticut; and on the twentieth the last of the unfortunate people were sailing away from the country that was never again to be their home, two hundred and thirty persons in two vessels, one for Boston and one for Virginia.

I shall not dwell on this closing scene of the Acadian occupation of Grand-Pré and Minas. Harsh words are useless. The chief designer, Lawrence, has been stigmatized as having brought about the deportation of the Acadians. Of the same blood and race, I have been a dweller of Minas for twenty-seven years. My home has been in sight of the dykes and marshes of the *Grand-Pré*, the Basin of Minas. I have visited a great part of the country of Minas once occupied by the Acadians. The willows set out by them mark many of their former villages. A few of their remaining orchards still bear fruit, and their cellar walls yet mark the places where they lived and died, many of them, and from which hundreds of them were driven to leave their bones in other lands. My ancestors found their way back to Nova Scotia, and settled on the shore of St. Mary's Bay, where their numerous descendants are to-day. By some strange chance I am here, the only Acadian of whom I know, living amid the same scenes that knew the people of Minas from 1675 to 1755.

From Historical and Genealogical Record of the first settlers of Colchester County, by Thomas Miller, as told by an Acadian woman who witnessed the events.

On the second day of September, 1755, the French inhabitants of Cobequid Village (now Masstown), lying on the north side of the bay, and upper part of the Township of Londonderry, were engaged in their fields at their work, it being harvest time. With the afternoon tide three vessels were seen coming up the Bay. Two of them prepared to anchor, one opposite the Village, and the other at Lower Cobequid, whilst the third ran further up the shore. Curiosity was rife. Who were they, and whither were they going? Their curiosity was still heightened by the appearance of a person in the garb of a curate, who informed

them that the following notice was posted on the door of the Church: "To the inhabitants of the Village of Cobequid, and the surrounding shores, as well ancient as young men and lads, ordering them all to repair to the Church the next day at three P. M. and hear what he had to say to them." Signed by John Winslow.

Meanwhile the sailors landed, and were freely supplied with milk, and anything they wanted, by the farmers. Small parties of Soldiers landed, chatted with the people, examined their farms, or strolled to the uplands in search of partridges, and in the afternoon of the third day of September they joined the people as they repaired to the Church. The moon rose, and the sisters strolled out and ran to the Church to ascertain the cause of their delay. When they arrived at the Church, to their great astonishment, they found it surrounded by soldiers, who answered their inquiries by pointing their bayonets, and ordering them to go home. They met many of the women from the houses nearest the Church, and all anxious and sad at the detention of their friends. At daybreak the following notice was read, which was stuck on the fence opposite the Church: "Cobequid, September 4, 1755. All officers, Soldiers, and Seamen employed in His Majesty's Service, as well as all His subjects, of what denomination soever, are hereby notified that all cattle, viz., horses, horned cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, and poultry of every kind that was supposed to be vested in the French inhabitants of this Province, have become forfeited to His Majesty, whose property they now are; and every person of what denomination soever, is to take care not to hurt, destroy, or kill any of the above named animals, nor to rob orchards or gardens, or to make waste of anything in these districts, without special order given at my camp, the day and place to be published throughout the Camp, and at the Village where the Vessels lie. Signed by John Winslow, Lieut.-Colonel Commanding."

When the people read this notice they were speechless with terror; death stared them in the face. In the meantime three hundred men and boys found themselves close prisoners in their own Church. Some of the boys screamed aloud, some attempted to force the door, but they were overawed by the muskets of their guards. Day dawned at length over the wretched prisoners;

they wished to be allowed to return to their families for food; this was refused, but their families were ordered to supply food to them. A few of these prisoners were sent out during the day to inform those who dwelt at a distance from the Church if they did not immediately surrender, their houses would be burnt and their nearest friends shot. One of these messengers attempted to escape; he was shot, and his house and barn set on fire. Thus the work of destruction was commenced. About 200 married women and upwards of 100 young women, besides children, were ordered to collect what they could of apparel, and prepare to embark. In vain the men entreated to know whither they were going, but no answer was given. By noon, the 5th of September, the beach was piled with boxes, baskets and bundles; behind them were crowds of weeping women and children; children crying for their mothers, and mothers looking for their children; sick men and bedridden women were carried by strong maidens, or tipped out of their carts which bore them to the spot. A little before highwater the prisoners in the Church were ordered to form six deep and march to the place of embarkation; they refused to obey the command. The troops were ordered to fix bayonets and advance on the prisoners. This act produced obedience, and they commenced to march. When they came to the beach, and saw their property, their mothers, wives, children, and sisters kneeling on each side of the road, one long, loud wail of anguish went up from them on account of being so suddenly torn away from their houses and homes, the place of their nativity, their flocks and fields, which were then covered with the crops of the season, with some of the wheat cut, and the remainder ready for cutting, and separated from their wives and families, leaving behind them their Church and the graves of their kindred, to be dispersed among strangers in a strange land,— among a people whose customs, laws, language, and religion were strongly opposed to their own. The women were ordered the same afternoon to embark in another ship. About midnight all were on board, except one or two women who had escaped to visit their forsaken houses the next morning, and witness the sad havoc that had been made the night before by some of the British soldiers who remained, by setting fire to a number of the houses of the village. Among these was the

Chapel, of 100 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth, which contained a large, heavy bell. This chapel stood in a field which is now owned by Alexander Vance, near the house of Mr. Lightbody, of Masstown. This place took its name from the fact that the French had their place of worship or Masshouse there. Mr. Vance informed the writer, that he had recently ploughed up some of the melted metal of the bell, and the spot upon which it stood was pointed out by Mr. Thomas Fletcher, who was one of the first settlers in this place after the French were driven out.

The transport ship with the men on board drifted down to the mouth of the Avon River, and there awaited the other vessel that had the women and children on board. At daybreak she was in sight, and they drifted down the Bay with the saddest freight on board that ever sailed out of Cobequid; and as the vessels stood out to pass Blomidon, the third vessel that had run further up the Bay joined them, freighted with the French inhabitants who were gathered from the places now called Onslow, Truro, Clifton, and Selma. With a favorable wind these miserable, houseless, homeless wanderers were borne out of sight of the place of their nativity; night hid from their view forever the blue mountains of Cobequid.

It may here be mentioned that while the French inhabitants of Truro were hunted by the British soldiers as the partridge on the mount, some of them fled for a hiding place, and encamped in the woods up the Salmon River, in the deep of the brook Mr. William Murray had his mills on recently, and from this the brook took its name as French Village Brook. One of the females who had escaped, or had been left behind on account of a boat being overloaded, returned that night to her former place of abode, and there remained during the night altogether unconscious. In the morning, when she returned to consciousness she was too weak to stand; it was some hours before she realized the full horrors of her situation. After a time she was able to crawl to the door, and there the scene which surrounded her was fearful. The first object she beheld was the Church, the beautiful Mass House, a blackened heap of ruins. She was recalled to a sense of her forlorn situation by her cow which came to her, asking by her lowing to be milked. She milked her cow and partook of some of the milk with a crust of bread, which revived

her so much that she set out to see if she could find any one remaining in the village; but there was no one to be found. Cattle had broken into the fields, and were eating the wheat; horses were running in droves through the fields. On the evening of that day, cows and goats came up to their accustomed milking-place, and lowed around the deserted dwellings; pigs yet fastened in the pens squealed with hunger; and the oxen, waiting in vain for the master's hand to free them from the yoke (for they were used in moving the goods to the vessels), were bellowing in agony of hunger; they hooked and fought with each other, running through the marsh, upsetting the carts or tumbling into ditches, until death put an end to their sufferings. The pigs were rooting up the gardens. She sat down on the doorstep beholding the desolation of the Village, when an Indian approached her, and told her to come with him. She inquired the fate of her people. "Gone," said he, "all gone," pointing down the Bay; "the people everywhere are prisoners; see the smoke rise, they will burn all here to-night." He pointed up the Bay; two or three blazing fires attested the Indian's story as too true. He assisted her in gathering some of the most valuable things that were left. The Indian then piloted her to his wigwam, near the edge of the forest; here she found about a dozen of her people, the remnant left of what was once the happy settlement of the village of Cobequid (now Masstown). They waited about the woods on the north side of the Bay for more than a month to see if any more stragglers could be found before they would start to go to Miramichi. At length they were joined by about twenty of the French inhabitants who had escaped from Annapolis. These persons informed them that the houses and crops in Annapolis were burnt by the soldiers who were sent up the river to bring them to the ships. Some fled to the woods; some, besides this party, crossed the Bay, intending to go to Miramichi through the woods. After another week's travel they met with a party that had escaped from Shepoudie (now called Shubenacadie). From these persons they learned that about two hundred and fifty buildings were burned along the sides of the river, and that while they were firing the Mass House there, the Indians and French rallied and attacked the British soldiers, and killed and wounded about thirty of them, and drove the remainder back to the ships.

CHAPTER XI.

The Acadians in Exile — The Return.

1755-1766.

We have shown how sad in its results was the deportation, both in depriving this country of a prosperous people, and in robbing that people of a home, and separating families and kindred in widely divided places in New England.* Lawrence and the chief agents in this shameful act received twenty thousand acres of the Acadian land. This was reduced to five thousand by the Lords of Trade. He himself

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*Extracts taken from a letter written in 1758, three years after the deportation, from citizens of Halifax to some distinguished person in England, concerning the state of the Province:

"The haughty and disdainful behaviour of Governor Lawrence . . . and it was publicly declared by his creatures in office here . . . that those who have behaved with integrity and honesty would soon be displaced. He has publicly called his Council a pack of scoundrels, the merchants a parcel of villains. . . . Is it possible, sir, that people can be easy under such a Governor? Our distresses have arisen from the malevolent disposition of Lawrence and his creatures. . . . Whatever specious crime may be alleged against Lord Charles Hay, his confinement was solely due to Governor Lawrence's insinuation to Lord Loudon, upon . . . and speaking too contemptibly of what had been done for the mighty sums expended in Nova Scotia. . . . It is with pleasure we hear that the accounts of Nova Scotia will be strictly enquired into, as we are very sure, if sifted to the bottom, it will be found that not less than 10,000 pounds of rum, molasses (of which there was not less than 30,000 gallons, which was worth £3,000), beef, pork, etc., etc., provisions and much merchandise for the supply

had the handling of the wealth in products and live stock which the Acadians left, and the lion's share of that wealth was his. The deportation was worked out in a most heartless manner, to prevent, if possible, the reunion of families, and their return to Acadia. A great many died in a few years, on account of the hardships and privations they had to bear. A small proportion of them found their way back to their former homes. Their descendants number one hundred and fifty thousand in the Maritime Provinces to-day, but the great purpose of the deportation was carried out: their land was offered to English settlers, and finally, six years after, was taken by them; and the wealth of the Acadians was devoted to others. In the course of years many documents that would throw light on the events of 1755 were lost or, as is now believed, destroyed. The recovery of papers in England and France led to the reconstruction of Acadian history, and is changing opinion in regard to many events of that time. A grudging justice is being done to the unfortunate people who had suffered so much at the hands of merciless men.

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of the Indians and French inhabitants which were taken at Fort Beausejour, neither distributed as a reward to the captors nor accounted for, except some small quantity of beef and pork sold to the Commissary, . . . and which was extremely bad and decayed, and certified by Governor Lawrence as provisions sent by Governor Shirley. That the cattle, etc., etc., of the Acadians were converted to private uses, of which we know 3,600 hogs and near 1,000 head of cattle were killed at Piziquid alone and sent by water to other places, and what at other forts is yet a secret, all unaccounted for to the amount of a very large sum; and he and his Commissary are under great perplexity, and contriving to cover this iniquitous fraud. . . . That £30,000 has been laid out on batteries not worth thirty pence for the defence of this place in the judgment of every person acquainted therewith."

The story of an exiled and wandering people cannot be written, save in fragmentary accounts of individuals separated from their own families and kindred, and in the general account of a few gathering bands who sought their way back to their country. It is a history of suffering and grief, of hardship and sickness and death. A story of children left without parents, and helpless among strangers; of families broken up and scattered in such a way and at such a time, would give us a thrilling and pathetic story, but the very conditions of their life prevent the recording of events. Here and there, in their wandering back to Acadia, we get a glimpse of them in the records of New England, but often only through the increase in those familiar Acadian names in various parts of the provinces do we know of the return of the exiles, and many of these do not know their own history, except as one of suffering.

We cannot long follow the ACADIANS IN EXILE. The story of Minas is ended. "Dispersed by the orders of Lawrence, decimated by malady, deprived of spiritual succor and human consolations, received with mistrust and contempt, placed in a desperate situation without any visible way out, crushed under the burden of an overwhelming woe, could they again become attached to life, set themselves once more to work and resume their former hopes?"

In other parts of the country the Acadians met the same fate as those at Minas. Between 1755 and 1763, it is believed that fourteen thousand out of the eighteen thousand Acadians of the maritime country

were removed. Of these at least eight thousand perished through grief, destituton, disease and other causes.

The only instance found where any arrangement had been made to receive the Acadians on their removal from Nova Scotia is in the Records of Connecticut; a resolution passed in October, 1755, to receive, take care and dispose of the people. The Governments of the other provinces complained that they had not been apprised of the intention of Lawrence to quarter on them the deported people.

On the arrival of several vessels in Boston harbor, a committee appointed to learn the condition of the Acadians, reported of two vessels that the people were sickly, one from being too crowded with forty on deck, and the other from very bad water. Another had forty lying on deck, and all the vessels too much crowded. They had too small an allowance of food to carry them to their destination. A few were permitted to land.

Only a small portion of the people were put ashore in the northern ports of New England, except at Boston, where two thousand were landed. New York and Connecticut received, respectively, two hundred and three hundred. The remainder were distributed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia. In Philadelphia they were at first forbidden to land, but after being over two months on the vessels, the three overcrowded ships gave up their unhappy freight. The last reference to these is in the city records of 1766, when a petition was tabled which asked for the payment for coffins provided for the

French Neutrals. Death had reduced them from four hundred and fifty to two hundred and seventeen.

South Carolina furnished the fifteen hundred Acadians who landed there, with vessels to return. After many hardships and misfortunes, they reached St. John River, on the Bay of Fundy, reduced to half their number.

Those who reached Georgia were again banished. They were permitted to make boats, and in these they made their way back as far as Massachusetts, when an order from Lawrence caused their boats to be seized and themselves to be made prisoners.

Others made their way to Louisiana and settled. Their numbers increased by the arrival of others till 1788, from San Domingo, Guiana, the ports of New England, and from France. Their descendants now number about fifty-five thousand.

Of those who landed in Massachusetts, Hutchinson, the historian, says: "It is too evident that this unfortunate people had much to suffer from poverty and bad treatment, even after they had been adopted by Massachusetts. The different petitions addressed to Governor Shirley about this time are heartrending." This condition gradually lessened till they were able to leave the state for Canada.

Virginia refused to accept the fifteen hundred who were to be landed there. They remained on the ships till at length they were taken to England.

Four of the twenty ships never reached their destination. One was lost, two were driven by storm

to San Domingo, and the fourth was taken by the Acadians themselves, and returned to Acadia.

In New York, in the counties of Westchester, Richmond, Suffolk, Kings and Queens, eighteen heads of families, numbering with their wives and children ninety-three persons, were distributed. This was in 1756 and 1757, in the time of Gov. Hardy and Lieut.-Gov. Delancy. The list of May 6, 1756, gives the names of the following persons, each with his wife and the number of their children:

Charles Savoit, 8.
Charles Lamolten, 1.
Ba Selena.
Francis Quela, 8.
Daniel Gavon, 8.
Francis Martin, 5.
Zakare Richard, 6.
John Martin, 2.
Jerema Gouder, 2.
Michael Richard, 6.
Alexander Etbert, 5.
Frances Commo, 7.
John Malie, 7.
Glode Daucet, 8.
Joseph Blanchard, 3.
Peter Lorne, 3.
Louis Giroid, 6.
Sera Etbert, 8.

A special act was passed on July 9, 1756, to empower the Justices of these counties to bind out "such of His *Majesties subjects* commonly called Neutral French as have removed from Nova Scotia to this colony."

"Whereas it has been judged necessary for his majesties service to remove his Subjects of Nova Scotia, commonly Called Neutral French, from to Some other of his Majesties Colony's and in Consequence thereof a certain number has been received into this Colony Poor, Naked and destitute of every convenience and Support of life to the End that they may not continue as they now really are useless to his Majesty themselves and a Burthen to this Colony.

"Be it Enacted by his excellency The Governor, the Council

and the General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same — That his Majesties Justices of the peace of the said several and respective County's, or any two of them the whereof to be of the Quorum, Shall be and hereby are empowered and required to bind with Reputable Families such of them as are not arrived to the age of Twnety-one Years for such a space of time as the said Justices shall Judge proper, not exceeding the time they shall respectively attain the age of Twenty-one Years. During which time they shall be Obliged faithfully and Industriously to discharge their Service as other indented persons within this Colony are.

"And be it Provided and Enacted that if any Such Person or Persons within the age of Twenty-one years are already become useful Subjects, and are able to maintain themselves by their labour without continuing a Burthen to the publick then the respective Justices Shall by this act have no power to bind out any Such Person or Persons, but are directed and Required to leave them to support themselves by their own Industry and Labour. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that the said Justices are hereby directed and required to treat the said people committed to their care with all the Justice in their power. Observing to make a most favorable contract for them both as to time of Service and the Consideration to be paid them when their time of service Shall be expired, whether it be in Impliments of Trade, Clothing or other Gratuity."

We find that under this act 110 young Acadians, fifty-eight girls and fifty-two boys who came in August, 1756, from Georgia with Acadian families, were put out to service. One young man and nine young women, contrary to the Act, being over age, were bound out to service. For a time a number of them were also detained on Governor's Island, New York Bay, and by August 26, 1756, they were distributed through the counties of Winchester and Orange.

The heads of families and their children:

Paul Divon,.....	wife, 2	children....	John Kase.
John Divon,.....	" 1	"	Peter Dusa.
John Badrow,.....	" 1	"	Jeremiah Juinah.
Michael Basua,.....	" 4	"	Francis Dusa.
John Bartel Urian,..	" 2	"	Joseph Belivo.
John Baptiste Urian,	" 2	"	John Bornau.
Peter Sur,.....	" 1	"	Paul Woodrow.
John Divan,.....	" 1	"	Joseph Juiah.
Peter Resha,.....	" 5	"	Joseph Guillan.
Peter Dusau,.....	" 5	"	Joseph Gilboa.
Michael Borua,.....	" 1	"	Frances Savoy.
Joseph Sur, ...	" 2	"	John Thosang.
Francis Bodrou,.....	" 2	"	Peter Bisbaur.

Michael Gooda.
Charles Gooda.
John Richard.
Joseph Dusah.
Louis Jiruah.
Peter Cassing.
John Baptist Bostrong.
Jaik Jiruah.
Julian Rula.

Official statistics show 332 Acadians, arrived in the colony of New York in May and August, 1756.

Westchester received.....	141	Suffolk received.....	44
Orange "	81	Queens "	44
Richmond "	13	Kings "	9

Over the county fifty-five minors were bound out.

From time to time parties of these people arrived at New York from Georgia. Sheriff Willet, on August 29th, 1756, charged the Government with the care of forty-four French Neutrals. Some of these were sent to New Castle, Bedford and other places, £14: 2s. Nine more of them distributed by Justice Underhill, October 16, 1756, at a cost of about six pounds.

In July of the year 1757, a party of Acadians who had been at or near Westchester, escaped from that place, and were again captured near Fort Edward on their way to Crown Point. In August, the New York Council directed the Sheriffs of the several counties to secure the French Neutrals in the jails of the several counties. This order was obeyed. Sheriff Hillyer of Richmond, Statten Island, on August 13, 1757, informed Archibald Kennedy, President of the Council, that he had confined in Richmond jail all Acadians except women and children. He demanded money for the support of the guards to watch the prisoners. This the county authorities refused, so he appealed to the Council.

Daniel Jauncey, a New York merchant, on December 19, 1757, petitioned the New York authorities on behalf of the Acadians. He offered to furnish at a small expense shipping from New York to any place the Government might wish to transport them. Nothing came of it, however.

In 1765, the Marquis de Fenelon offered to take 150 of the New York Acadians and settle them in the West Indies (French), of which he was the Governor. Governor Colden seems to have ignored the offer.

August 25, 1768.—Came on Sloop "Swallow" from Quebec, Benj. Bennoi, wife, two children, Michael Dugas, Edward Dugas, John Dugas, Peter Daufatt (Doucette).

April 28, 1756.—Captain Andrew Dunning, of a sloop, brought a number of French Neutrals from Cape Sables, but ordered not to land them.

August 6, 1756.—Jaques Morris, a French Neutral, came to town with two small vessels full of Acadians from Georgia, but last from Barnstable. He was warned not to land the people in the town—five men, sixty women and children. Fifty of above people were brought in sloop *Lemmon*, Barnabas Gibbs, master, from County of Barnstable, also warned not to land them.

Benjamin Smith took to his house at west part of town, Peter Landrie, a French Neutral from Mitlan. John Thibodeau, and wife Margaret, Paul and Joseph Tibbedeau their sons, Mary and Elizabeth Tibbideau their daughters, Mary Le Berthere granddaughter, came from the town of Reading, and had to be provided for. They were allowed per day for five persons three half pecks Indian meal, one peck rye, pork, beef and sauce, and two quarts of milk.

May 26, 1760.—The selectmen looking into the state of the Acadians sent to the town, wrote the following letter to the General Court, who are to dispose of them through the country:

Boston, May 27th, 1760.

"Gentlemen:—

"The subscribers, Selectmen of the Town of Boston, Agreeable to the request and desire of the Committee Appointed by the General Court to Apportion a Number of the French Inhabitants among the Several Towns in the County of Suffolk, have made Such Provision for Said Inhabitants as was Necessary for their Comfortable Support as they came into the Town. We expected to have had the Care of them but about two or three days, it is now three weeks. We take leave to Inform the Committee that we are so Engaged in the Town's business that we Cannot

possibly attend to this Affair for any Longer time than this week, the Committee therefore will be pleased after that time to make Such provision for the Inhabitants aforesaid as they in their wisdom shall think proper.

We with great respect remain
your most Obedient Servts.

The Selectmen.

To the Honble. Sam'l. Watts, Esqr., and others a Committee, &c."

February 18, 1761.—Francis Robishaw at the workhouse was taken down with smallpox, and was moved to Dr. Gardner's Hospital. He was able to be moved March 11, 1761.

March 17, 1761.—Joseph Brow, sr., referred to in letter from Hingham, was not voted an allowance for the charge of his support at Weymouth. The town then had Peter Daucet ordered to that town.

April 29, 1763.—Abijah Adams directed to provide a cart to move Joseph Laneau, family and furniture, to Dorchester. He was assigned to this town but was so ill he could not travel. His wife and two children were with him and the town was at considerable expense. The family were to be returned if they became a charge.

March 29, 1762.—John Benewoy was taken sick while on a visit to Boston and had to be supported.

September 22, 1760.—The town of Brookline charged by Boston for his care and supplies. Dorchester was also charged with care and supplies on account of Joseph Laune (Lanne) also taken sick while on a visit to Boston. £10 7s. 9d.

March 29, 1762.—Maria Theresa Lebeaux assigned to Newton was also taken sick. £3 7s.

April 28, 1763.—It was desired to send the wife and two children to the husband Joseph Leneau, assigned to Roxbury. They wished to be with him. Boston agreed to defray expenses if they became a charge or had to be returned.

April 27, 1763.—Margaret Benneway in a suffering condition. Medway ordered to pay expenses of her keep.

May 18, 1763.—Mr. Benjamin Fitch informs the Selectmen he has taken into his house as tenant, James Eber and family, last from town of Dartmouth.

Having through seven years deported these people to New England, the authorities of Nova Scotia still believed they had a just right to send others as they fell into their hands, or, as occasion seemed to show, when they could not make any further use of them. It is no wonder that the New England people began to think the imposition had been carried on long enough.

September 15, 1762.—The Selectmen of Boston learned that a number of transport vessels had arrived in the harbor from Halifax, seven years after the deportation, having on board a large number of Acadians, by order of the Government of the Province. Also that some of the people had been landed. The transport was visited to ascertain the name of the vessels and their commanders. The ship, *Lyon*, Lovel Pennel, commander; *Exchange*, Michael Pole, commander; *Charming Nancy*, Francis Haynes, commander: schooner *Charming Nancy*, John Malony, commander; sloop *Despatch*, Wm. Scott, commander; *Hopson*, Thomas Dood, commander. The captains were then written to as follows:

"Boston, September, 1762.

"Sir, being informed that you have a number of Acadians on board the vessel you Command, which you have brought from Halifax in Nova Scotia, in Company with a number of other Transports. For your government with respect to this matter we would inform you that by the laws of this Province you cannot suffer any one of your Passengers to land without first returning a list of them into the Import Office and giving a bond to prevent their being a Town or Province Charge, to prevent under the penalty of One Hundred Pounds Lawful Money, for every Passenger you so suffer to land, we therefore give you this notice that you may avoid the Penalty aforementioned, as you may depend that we shall exact the same unless you strictly adhere to the Law in this case made and provided.

"Your most hum. Servants."

The South Carolina *Gazette* of November 6, 1755, announced that the Baltimore *Snow* is hourly expected from the Bay of Fundy with some transport vessels, having a number of Neutral French on board who were being distributed among the British colonies. On the twentieth, more of the people arrived, and so on for several weeks the arrival of the Acadians was reported until one thousand and twenty of them had been brought into Charleston. The presence of the people seems to have created considerable uneasiness in the colony after some months. In February, 1756, two parties of them attempted to escape. On the twelfth they had been brought back with the exception of about thirty of them. A party of five or six had supplied themselves with firearms and clothes, and some money from a house on the plantation of Mr. John Williams, on the Santee, while he was absent, much to the terror of his wife. The people of the neighborhood raised the alarm, and

went after them, but they escaped to the river. The people had not been captured up to the nineteenth, but the people determined that there would not be a repetition of these escapes. The Acadians had intimated that they could easily make their way through the different colonies into Canada, and seemed determined not to stay in the country. Their stay of several months in Carolina, had not apparently satisfied them to stay, and efforts were being made for their escape.

On April first, a party of Acadians had arrived from Georgia, still with the heartfelt hope that they would be permitted to pass through the country as they had already done, until they reached Nova Scotia. Vain hope for many of them, in truth, for they did not realize the purpose of their removal from their homes.

On the fifteenth, eighty Acadians went off in seven canoes as far as Sullivan's Island, and put to sea next morning to proceed along the coast to the northwest, having obtained passports, and three hundred more were soon to follow. Such were the frantic efforts these poor people were making to reach their old homes.

Under Governor Lyttleton, the first act was to dispose of the Acadians in Charleston. The act recited that it was necessary to disperse the Acadian families into the different parts of the province, to prevent the danger of infectious diseases breaking out among them, because many of them were dwelling in close and inconvenient habitations in the hot season of the year. Also to prevent their doing any mis-

chief. It was provided that four-fifths of the Acadians should be sent out and dispersed through the other parishes at the public expense, to be defrayed by a general tax on the estates, real and personal, in the province. The churchwardens and vestry of the parishes were charged with providing for their support for three months unless they could dispose of them before. They were authorized to bind the Acadians for a term of years to such persons as would be willing to take them. The remaining fifth were to be provided for in the towns by the church wardens and vestry of St. Philips. The Acadians were prohibited from having firearms. The Acadians in one way or another ultimately left the province. But few remained. Among these are the family of Lanneau in Charleston.

Eleven persons were assigned to Worcester. They were supported by the province. They consisted of: an aged man and woman sixty-five or seventy years of age, past labor, the female very weak; a girl about seventeen years old, who employs her whole time in taking care of the old people. They have four sons who support themselves. In this family are Jean Hebert and M. Lebere. Justin White le Blanc, and his wife, aged about thirty, both very feeble, the man inclining to consumption, and unfit for labor; they have three small children, the eldest about five years old, all chargeable; one of the children has been born very lately, so that the whole number now is twelve.

These families, torn from their homes, reduced from comparative affluence to desolate poverty, thrown among strangers of different language and religion, excited pity for their misfortunes.

Their industry and frugal habits, and mild and simple manners attracted regard, and they were treated here with great tenderness. They cultivated a little tract of land, were permitted to hunt deer at all seasons, and aided in their own support by laboring as reapers and by manufacturing wooden implements. Although they tilled the soil, they kept no animals of labor. The young men drew fuel and material for fencing on the ground, with thongs of sinew, and turned the earth with a spade. So deep was the feeling of their sufferings in their violent removal, that any allusion to their native country drew from them a flood of tears. The aged persons died broken-hearted. In 1767, the remnant removed to Canada among their countrymen. The town then granted £7 to lay in stores and pay the passage of John Lebere to Quebec, and authorized the Selectmen to raise the same by loan.

Some of the exiles stopped in Baltimore, where they had been brought from Grand-Pré. They appear to have been received with a generous hospitality there. Private houses were thrown open to them. In the old deserted mansion known as the Reverdy Johnston house, which stood on the northwest corner of Calvert and Fayette streets, where the Court House is now situated, they were given the use of the habitable rooms. Here they established a little chapel, and it was not long before the industrious people were able to build comfortable homes of their own on South Charles street, near Lombard. This quarter was long known as "French Town." Prominent among these settlers were the names of Guttro, Le Blanc, Berbine, Gould and Dashield.

The simple altar they erected in the Johnston building, was followed by the commodious structure at St. Charles and Saratoga streets, called St. Peter's Church. In time this became too small for the needs of the growing congregation, and on July 7th, 1806, the corner-stone of the present cathedral was laid by Bishop Leonard Neale.

In Marshfield, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, are records of the Acadians after the deportation. They occupied one of the old Winslow houses, owned by Col. John Winslow, by whom the dispersion from Grand-Pré was effected. An amulet which evidently belonged to an Acadian was found in recent years in the ruins of the cellar of the old house, long demolished. In August of 1755, Winslow had written to Governor Lawrence:—"As to poor Father Le Blanc, I shall, with your Excellency's permission, send him to my place." This was written at Grand-Pré. This purpose was not carried out, however, and Rene Le Blanc was seized and confined, and his large family scattered through the different colonies. One of the families kept in Marshfield was named Michel. Only as late as 1761 is there any record concerning them. Each year, till 1778, appropriations were made at town meetings to those who supplied the needs of the people. These names were, Winslow, Thomas, Carver, Waterman, Ford, Whitelow, and Stockbridge. Here, as elsewhere, they did not adapt themselves to the life of New England. Their religion and characteristics, and the ban of their fate, worked against them for many years.

The Revolutionary period saw many of Marshfield's

citizens associated with the loyalist party, particularly the Winslows.

When peace was concluded between France and England, in 1763, a few thousand of the Acadians started for Canada, where they settled. Three years later, another band having gathered in Boston, about eight hundred persons, began the long march by land for their loved Acadia. Men, women and children, with but little food, toiled on through the forests of Maine, and up the Bay of Fundy to the isthmus of Shediac. Four months had been spent on the way, and they learned that their former homes were in the possession of others, and Grand-Pré was not for them. There the greater number of them remained, and their numerous descendants are dwelling there to-day. A small band of fifty or sixty continued round the shores, passing through Beausejour (now Cumberland), Piziquid, and Grand-Pré. Everything was changed. The English had been in the country for six years, and new houses stood where the undisturbed ashes of hundreds of their homes had lain till 1760.

"The children were frightened by them, the men and women were annoyed as by a threatening spectre from the grave, everybody was angry with them, and the poor wretches dragged themselves from village to village, worried and worn out by fatigue, hunger and cold, and a despair that grew at every halting-place," till they reached Annapolis. On the deserted shore of St. Mary's Bay they at last found themselves, having tramped a thousand miles, to be driven to a barren country. "Under pressure of necessity, these

unfortunate outcasts raised log huts; they took to fishing and hunting; they began to clear the land and soon out of the felled trees some roughly-built houses were put up." Such was the origin of the colony of the Acadians in Digby County. Here was the home of my maternal ancestors after 1755.

NOTE.— Seventy of the leading inhabitants of Grand-Pré and Piziquid had been sent to Halifax, on the demand of Lawrence for deputies to represent those places. Fifty of these were sent away on a vessel from Halifax and in this way separated from their families, and the result affected five or six hundred individuals composing them. The remainder were sent to Annapolis, in the vessel which was to take away more people from the place. We have this fact to show in what way the heads of families, the leaders of the people, were sent away and not permitted to go with their families.

In a petition to the king, the Acadian exiles at Philadelphia write: " . . . It is a matter of certainty that, in the year 1730, General Philipps, Governor of Nova Scotia, did confirm unto us and all the inhabitants of the whole extent of the Basin of Minas . . . the free and entire possession on those lands we were then possessed of; which by grants from the former French Government we held to us and our heirs forever, . . . and agreeable to the oath that was then administered to us. . . 'We sincerely promise and swear, by the faith of a Christian that we shall be entirely faithful, and will truly submit ourselves to His Majesty King George, whom we acknowledge as sovereign Lord of New Scotland, or Acadie, so God help us.' . . . . That they should have the true exercise of their religion and be exempted from bearing arms, and from being employed in war, either against the French or Indians. . . . Under this sanction . . . we had the greatest reason to conclude that Your Majesty did not disapprove of this above agreement. . . It was required that our deputies should, on behalf of all the people, renew the oath formerly taken, to General Philipps, which was done without any mention of bearing arms, and we can with truth say that we are not sensible of alteration in our

disposition and conduct since that time. . . . The French made frequent incursions into our country, in order to annoy that settlement, whereby we came exposed to many straits and hardships. . . . About the time of the settlement of Halifax, General Cornwallis did require that we should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption before allowed us of not bearing arms; but this we refused, as being an infringement of the principal condition upon which our forefathers agreed to settle under the British Government. . . . After the settlement of Halifax, we suffered many abuses and insults from Your Majesty's enemies. . . . our cattle were killed, our houses pillaged, and many of us personally abused and put in fear of our lives, and some even carried away prisoners to Canada, solely on account of our resolution steadily to maintain our oath of fidelity to the English Government; particularly René Le Blanc was taken prisoner by the Indians when actually travelling in Your Majesty's service, his house pillaged and himself carried to the French fort, and he did not recover his liberty but with great difficulty after four years' captivity. . . . Yet it cannot be expected but that amongst us, as well as amongst other people, there have been some weak and false-hearted persons, susceptible of being bribed by the enemy so as to break the oath of fidelity. . . . Not long before our being made prisoners the house in which we kept our contracts, records, deeds, etc., was invested with an armed force and all our papers violently carried away, none of which to this day have been returned us. . . . On sending a remonstrance to the Governor and Council, no answer was returned. . . . Eighty of our elders were summoned . . . to take the oath of allegiance without the exemption. . . . We refused. . . . We would gladly renew our oath of fidelity. . . We were immediately made prisoners. . . . Our estates both real and personal were forfeited. Those at home were summoned to appear before the commanders of the forts, which we showing some fear to comply with on account of the seizure of our papers, and the imprisonment of so many of our elders, we had the greatest assurance given us that there was no other design but to make us renew our former oath of fidelity; yet as soon as

we were within the fort the same judgment was passed on us as had been passed on our brethren at Halifax, and we were also made prisoners. . . .

. . . We were transported into the English Colonies, and this was done with so much haste and with so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that from the most social enjoyment and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessaries of life. Parents were separated from children, husbands from wives, some of whom have not to this day met again; and we were so crowded in the transport vessels that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us the proper necessaries, especially for the support and comfort of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their miseries with their lives. And even those amongst us who had suffered deeply from Your Majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to Your Majesty's Government were equally involved in the common calamity, of which René Le Blanc is a remarkable instance. He was seized, confined and brought away among the rest of the people, and his family, consisting of twenty children and about one hundred and fifty grandchildren were scattered in different colonies, so that he was put ashore at New York with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died without any more notice being taken of him than any of us, notwithstanding his many years' labor and deep suffering for Your Majesty's service.

. . In this great distress and misery we have, under God, none but Your Majesty to look to with hopes of relief and redress. . . ."

Strivings for reunion continued as late as 1786, thirty years after the great separation, and the number of families yet incomplete was considerable. Yet we must not forget what time and circumstances have wrought of change in the condition of the descendants of this people. A considerable and not

unimportant part of American and Canadian nationality to-day, they live their days, and fill all the walks of life. They know themselves as French with the same feelings that affect the descendants of any people. Yet they realize the changed conditions of their life and adapt themselves to them, as others have had to do.

It is remarkable that only twenty years after the deportation of the Acadians the New England colonies rose in revolt, and finally severed their connection with the mother country. Emissaries were sent into Canada to urge the Acadians who had removed there, and the large French population which was long established in the north, to cast their lot with New England in breaking the tie which held the colonies to England. Their mission was fruitless, however, and the French remained faithful to the British crown. Had Canada risen against the authority which had obtained in the country, there would probably have been no British America to-day.

France and England signed a treaty of peace in 1763; yet as late as 1765 there were Acadian prisoners at Fort Edward—at one time as many as four hundred. After that time they were permitted to take up land.

CHAPTER XII.

The English Settlers at Minas.

It is known that all the Acadians were not removed in 1775. Many of them remained in the country, hiding in the woods. As they formed into bands and gathered together in different parts of the Province they were often made prisoners and sent out of the country. In 1764, there were only 2,600 Acadians, mostly females and children, remaining. In 1768, Nova Scotia had only 1,068. When the English came in 1761, six years after the deportation, they met with Acadians who had not eaten bread for five years. For six years the land remained idle. Canard and Habitant became Cornwallis township,and was settled at the same time with Horton township, which included Grand-Pré and Gaspereau. In 1759 the Government made effort to secure settlers. The country had been surveyed and laid off in townships of one hundred thousand acres. The land had been viewed by agents for the people who were to come.

Lawrence in a proclamation issued on the twelfth day of October, 1758, inviting settlers from the old colonies, describes as "One hundred thousand acres, of which the country has produced wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, etc., without failure for the last century; and another hundred thousand acres are cleared and stocked with English grass, planted with

orchards and embellished with gardens, the whole so intermixed that every individual farmer might have a proportionate quantity of plowed land, grass land and wood land."

Agents were sent from New England to look over the country, and learn the conditions. As a result of these enquiries and the demand for a guarantee of civil and religious liberty, another proclamation was issued to satisfy all, and preparations were made to bring the people to the depopulated country.

On the fourth of June, 1760, twenty-two vessels arrived, convoyed by a brig of war. When they landed, sixty ox-carts and yokes were found, which had been left by the Acadians when they brought their goods to embark, five years previous. In many places the bones of sheep and horned cattle were seen, evidently those of animals that had died for want of food. Everywhere they found the ruins of houses near the little orchards or garden plots. The dykes, though neglected so long, did not let in the tides till a storm in 1759 broke them down, and the settlers were glad to get the assistance of the Acadians to repair them and build other new ones.

The others portions of Minas, including Grand-Pré and Gaspereau, and called Horton, comprised one hundred thousand acres. This township was also settled in 1760. Two hundred settlers from Connecticut were invited to take the lands. The grants were in fee simple, subject to quit-rents. A block-house, called Fort Montague, was built near the site of the old Vieux Logis, overlooking the meadows and the mouth of the Gaspereau. Here also the

dykes had been broken by a terrible storm which occurred in 1759. It was some years before the people could repair the dyke, and not until 1810 was the whole meadow shut in from the tide. The settlers brought cattle with them, and the Government bore the expense of transporting the people and their goods and animals. They at first suffered from the severity of the winter, and some of them were supplied with provisions by the Government.

The English Minas increased in population, and many names have come down to us from these early settlers. In 1771, Wm. Walsh and Labbeus Harris represented Horton in the Provincial Assembly, and Dr. Samuel Willoughby and Captain Stephen West were sent from Cornwallis. The latter was also justice of the peace for that township. In 1763 Horton and Cornwallis had:

	No. of Families.	Acres of Marshland.	Cleared up Acres.	Woodland.	Total Acres.
Horton.....	154	5,000	3,000	92,000	100,000
Cornwallis.....	128	3,000	2,000	95,000	100,000

Horton—Wheat, 991 bushels; rye, 172 bushels; Indian corn, 1,070 bushels; potatoes, 4,613 bushels; horses, 99; oxen, 159; cows, 302; young cattle, 402; sheep, 369; swine, 162.

Cornwallis—Families, 125; persons, 656; wheat, 1,759 bushels; rye, 368 bushels; oats, 2,900 bushels; potatoes, 12,569 bushels; horses, 123; oxen, 195; cows, 395; young cattle, 469; sheep, 495; swine, 395.

"*To His Excellency Montague Wilmot, Governor of Nova Scotia.*

"The memorial of the inhabitants of King's County humbly sheweth:

"That the French Acadians who have hitherto been stationed in this country have been of great use as laborers in assisting the carrying on of our business in agriculture and improvement in general, but particularly in the repairing and making dykes, a work which they are accustomed to, and experienced in, and we find that without their further assistance many of us cannot continue our improvement, nor plow or sow our lands, nor finish the dyking still required to secure our lands from the salt water: and being convinced from experience that unless those dyke-lands are enclosed we cannot with certainty raise bread for our subsistence.

"Your . . . will be pleased to take this matter into consideration to admit the Acadians to remain with us the ensuing summer as hitherto, which enables them to labor at much lower wages than if obliged to purchase provisions, especially at the high price which they now bear in country, and which will lead greatly to the encouragement and success of these infant settlements.

"And your . . .

"JOHN BURBIDGE,
SAMUEL WILLOUGHBY,
SAMUEL BECKWORTH,
WM. CANADY,
HANDLY CHIPMAN,
In behalf of the inhabitants of Cornwallis.

ELISHA LOTHROP,
SILAS CRANE,
NATHAN DE WOLF,
ROBERT DENNISON,
WM. WELSH."
In behalf of the inhabitants of Horton.

The French Neutrals who were at work for the inhabitants in Kings and Annapolis were ordered to Halifax. One hundred and thirty were removed in 1762.

Missionaries carried on their work in ways peculiar to their times. A letter written in 1791 gives us a picture of the day:

"As to the religious opinions and professions of the inhabitants I shall only observe in general that a few, and but very few, belong to the Established Church (Scotland); a few, but I believe more than the former, are Presbyterian dissenters. The Methodists bear the sway, most all of them Yorkshire. . . . Those of the original settlers from New England who remain have chiefly become New Lights; without prejudice it may be said of both sectaries, that being unenlightened by knowledge and united by delusion, animated by party-spirit and carried away by a religious-like zeal, they seem to vie with each other in the wildness and the absurdity of their opinions and practices, and they seem to breathe fire and vengeance against each other and against everybody else."

Such were the times.

The history of the Rev. George Gilmore, the second Presbyterian minister in Horton, will be read with interest. He was born in Antrim, studied in Edinburgh, married and had children in Ireland. Came to Philadelphia in 1769. Early in the Revolutionary war he had to flee for his life into Canada. In 1785 he was in Halifax making claims for losses resulting from the war, as he had espoused the Loyalist cause. He was granted a farm on a barren hill, and during one winter he and his family lived on potatoes and milk. In his distress he walked to Halifax to mortgage his farm for a barrel of flour, but failed to do so.

He continued to preach in Windsor, and finally, in 1791, he came to Horton, where he died in 1811. His grave is in the burying-ground near the old Covenanter Church at Grand-Pré. His gravestone is inscribed in Latin.

The old Scotch Church at Grand-Pré was begun in 1804, and completed about 1818. This relic is very interesting and is much visited every year. Old trees surround it and the graveyard adjoining, in which the "forefathers of the hamlet sleep." The stiff, high-backed pews remain, and overlooking the neglected interior yet stand the lofty pulpit and sounding-board.

With the growth of Wolfville is naturally associated the development of Acadia University and the increasing strength of the Baptist body in this part of the country. The first survey of the country provided for the building of towns at Starr's Point and at Hortonville, but natural conditions favored their growth elsewhere. A small cluster of houses formed near what was called "Mud Bridge," which has since become Wolfville. Before the railway passed through, vessels were loaded alongside the main street. The rich land and a beautiful situation, with other favoring conditions, the chief of which was the establishing of the college here, led to the development of the university town of Wolfville. Waterworks, electric lights, sewerage, and well laid-out streets and beautiful residences, with all the conditions of a clean town, and the promise of continued growth, makes this classic centre the rendezvous of tourists, who seek Grand-Pré.

Acadia College sprung into being from the needs of the Baptists for an educational institution at a time when its adherents were a small factor in Nova Scotia. In 1827 several educated young men having adopted Baptist principles and entered the ministry, their influence, with the demands of the older ministry, brought about the result which has been of so much benefit to Baptist teaching ever since. In March, 1829, the school known as the Horton Academy was opened. In 1836 the collegiate institution was commenced, supported by the Baptists of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The university and affiliated institutions at the present time include the College, the Ladies' Seminary and the Academy or Preparatory School, and the Manual Training School. The energy and faith of its supporters are manifest in the effort that has been successfully made for larger endowments to increase the efficiency of the schools.

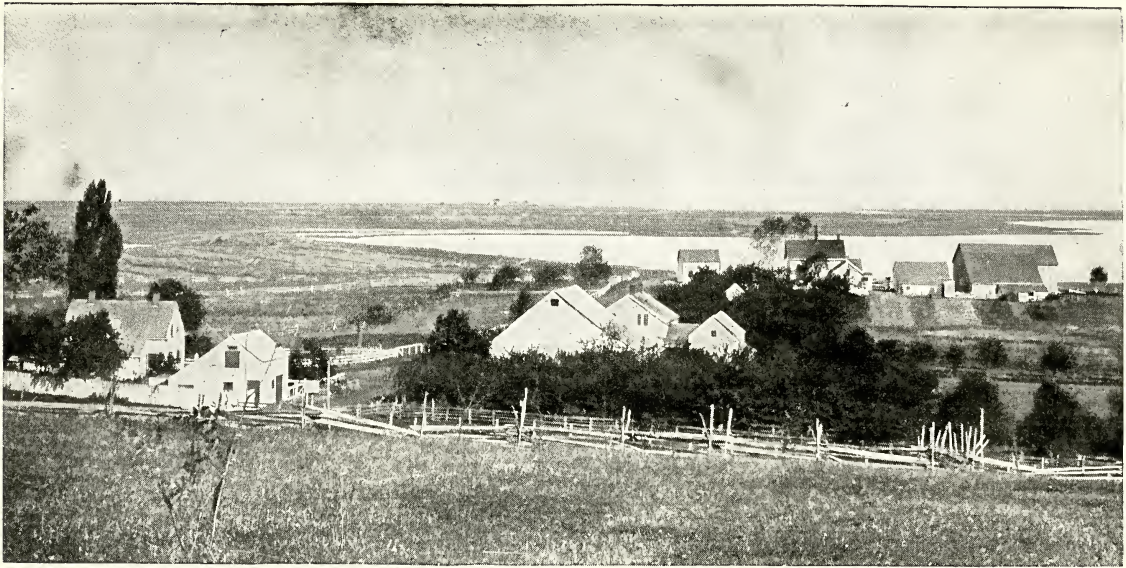
CHAPTER XIII.

The Origin of "Evangeline."

I have been asked many times how it was that Longfellow* came to write his poem "Evangeline." The following is a correct account of it:

In 1845 Hawthorne and a Rev. Father Conolly, of South Boston, dined one day with Longfellow. After dinner the priest said he had been trying to persuade Hawthorne to write a story based upon a legend of Acadia, told to him by Mrs. Haliburton, a member of his congregation,—the story of a young girl taken from Grand-Pré with all her people. In exile she was separated from her lover, and they sought each other in vain until the girl became a Sister of Charity, when, advanced in years, she was one day called to nurse a patient who had been brought low with sickness. In him she recognized the lover of her youth. Longfellow wondered that this legend did not strike the fancy of Hawthorne, and said to him: "If you have really made up your mind not to use

*Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine, February 27th, 1807, at the corner of Fore and Hancock Streets. His early life was passed in the Longfellow House on Congress Street. His father was a lawyer, Stephen Longfellow; his mother, Zilpha, daughter of Gen. Peleg Wadsworth. His wife died in 1835. In 1843 he married Miss Fanny Appleton. Her death occurred in 1861. Longfellow died March 24th, 1882, and was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, in Cambridge.



GASPEREAU LANDING.

the story, will you give it to me for a poem?" Hawthorne assented to this, and promised, moreover, not to treat the subject in prose till Longfellow had seen what he could do with it in verse. It seems that Conolly had been urging Hawthorne to write the story. The priest had been told the facts of the story by Mrs. George Haliburton, an aunt of Judge Haliburton, the author of "Sam Slick." This well-known Nova Scotian published, in 1829, a history of Nova Scotia. He knew many of the Acadians who had returned to the Province after their wanderings in New England. Longfellow made use of this history and Reynal's work when writing the poem.

The picture of Evangeline, opposite page twenty-two of this volume, was painted by Thomas Faed, an English artist. His brother made a steel engraving of it. The picture was taken from the face of a Manchester working girl.

"Sat by some nameless grave and thought that perhaps in its bosom
He was already at rest, and she longed to slumber beside him."
—*Longfellow.*

In 1838 Hawthorne wrote: "H. L. C.—— heard from a French-Canadian a story of a young couple in Acadia. On their marriage-day all the men of the province were summoned to assemble in the church to hear a proclamation. When assembled, they were seized and shipped off to be distributed through New England, among them the new bridegroom. His bride set off in search of him, wandering about New England all her lifetime, and at last, when she was old, she found her bridegroom on his deathbed. The shock was so great that it killed her likewise."

The following extracts taken from Longfellow's journal show the development of the poem.

November 28th, 1845.— Set about "Gabrielle," my idyl in hexameters, in earnest. I do not mean to let a day go by without adding something to it. F. [Mrs. Longfellow] and Sumner are both doubtful of the measure. To me it seems the only one for such a poem. . . . December 7th. I know not what name to give to — not my new baby, but my new poem. Shall it be "Gabrielle," or "Celestine," or "Evangeline"?

January 8th, 1846.— Striving, but, alas, how vainly! to work upon "Evangeline." One interruption after another, till I long to fly to the desert for a season. . . . 12th. The vacation at hand. I hope before its close to get far on in "Evangeline." Two cantos are now done, which is a good beginning. . . . May 20th. Tried to work on "Evangeline." Unsuccessful. Gave it up and read Legaré's letters. . . . November 12th. I long to be fairly at work on "Evangeline." But as surely as I hope for a free day something unexpected steps in and deprives me of it. . . . 17th. I said as I dressed myself this morning, To-day at least I will work on "Evangeline." But no sooner had I breakfasted than a note came from ——, etc. . . . And now it is past eleven o'clock, and the sun shines so brightly upon my desk and papers that I can write no more. . . . December 10th. Laid up with a cold. Moped and mowed the day through. Made an effort, however, and commenced the second part of "Evangeline." I felt all day wretched enough to give it the sombre tone of coloring that belongs to the theme. 15th. Stayed at home, working a little on "Evangeline;" planning out the second part, which fascinates me — if I can but give complete tone and expression to it. . . . 17th. Finished this morning and copied the first canto of the second part of "Evangeline." The portions of the poem which I write in the morning I write chiefly standing at my desk here [by the window], so as to need no copying. What I write at other times is scrawled with a pencil on my knee in the dark, and has to be written out afterward. This way of writing with a pencil and portfolio I

enjoy much; as I can sit by the fireside and do not use my eyes [then weak]. I see a panorama of the Mississippi advertised. This comes very *á propos*. The river comes to me instead of my going to the river; and as it is to flow through the pages of the poem I look upon this as a special benediction. . . . January 14th, 1847. Finished the last canto of "Evangeline." But the poem is not finished. There are three intermediate cantos to be written. . . . 26th. Finished second canto of Part II. of "Evnageline." . . . February 23rd. "Evangeline" is nearly finished. I shall complete it this week, together with my fortieth year. . . . 27th. "Evangeline" is ended. I wrote the last lines this morning. . . . March 6th. A lovely spring morning. I began to revise and correct "Evangeline" for the press. Went carefully over the first canto. . . . . 31st. Got from the printer the first pages of "Evangeline." . . . April 3rd. The first canto of "Evangeline" in proofs. Some of the lines need pounding; nails are to be driven and clinched. On the whole, I am pretty well satisfied. Fields came out in the afternoon. I told him of the poem, and he wants to publish it. . . . 4th. Sumner and Felton came to tea, and we discussed "Evangeline." I think Sumner is rather afraid of it still; and wants me to let it repose for a six-month . . . . . 9th. Proof sheets of "Evangeline" all *tattooed* with Folsom's [his friend the chief proof reader at the University Press] marks. How severe he is! But so much the better. . . . May 26th. Corrected proof sheets of "Evangeline." October 2nd. Why does not Ticknor publish "Evangeline"? I am going to town to ask him that very question. And his answer was that he should do so without further delay. . . 30th. "Evangeline" published. . . . November 8th. "Evangeline" goes on bravely. I have received greater and warmer commendations than on any previous volume. The public takes more kindly to hexameters than I could have imagined.

Strange to relate, Longfellow never saw Grand-Pré. As was natural, certain errors occur in the poem, which only a study of the country could have avoided.

I have noted a few discrepancies, topographical and historical, and facts of interest in connection with the country immortalized by the poet. The poem is, in the main, correct. The people were made to suffer all the misery described. Families and friends were separated.

"This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and hemlocks."

In the year 1710 a terrible forest fire swept over the country from Gaspereau to the Piziquid. It is probable that the extensive forests covering the mountains to the east were also destroyed at the same time. The great quantity of wood which had to be brought to supply the Acadians must have come from a long distance—as some writers say, from the east side of the Avon. Only a small patch at the head of that river remained. When the English settlers came in 1760 they passed laws for the protection of the wood then standing. For many years the new growth was small, and consisted of spruce, fir, white birch, poplar and white pine. It is said that in the previous year, 1759, a cyclone had laid prostrate the forest from Annapolis to East Hants, and destroyed the dykes. Over a great part of this territory the soil is thin and a fire started in the next year burned to the underlying rocks.

"Naught but tradition remains of the beautiful village of Grand-Pré."

Of late years much has been learned of the Acadians and of their villages. Grand-Pré proper was a very small village.

"Vast meadows stretched to the eastward."

The marshes lie chiefly to the north.

"but at stated seasons the flood-gates
Opened, and welcomed the sea to wander at will o'er the meadows."

Gates are not opened to let in the salt water. The land is remarkably fertile, and has been producing crops for many years without renewing. Some of the land is very valuable as hay land, and is rated as high as four hundred dollars per acre. After the deportation, in the year 1759, before the Acadian lands were again occupied, the dykes were broken and the meadows flooded. Again, in 1828, the extremely high tide broke over the dykes and flooded many thousand acres of land. The famous Saxby tide of 1869 overtopped the highest dykes by some inches, and in many places the protecting walls were broken down and much damage was done by the salt water. On the Wickwire dyke, near Wolfville, it was several years before the dykes were built, and a year or so before the productive power of the soil was restored. Salt water has the effect of killing the ordinary vegetation of the meadows, under certain conditions, salt sedge only growing.

"West and south were the fields . . .
Spread afar and unfenced *o'er the plain.*"

There is no plain to the south of Grand-Pré, for the country is hilly, with gentle slopes, still it falls away to the Gaspereau valley.

"Benedict Bellefontaine, the wealthiest farmer of Grand-Pré."

Oliver Bellefontaine, living in the village of Gaspereau, is the only one of the name to be found in

Winslow's list. There was no priest in Minas in the autumn of 1755, he having been removed during the summer.

"Gentle Evangeline lived."

The only Bellefontaine had no daughter, according to the list above mentioned. Gabrielle Lajeunesse was not a name known at Minas.

Réne Le Blanc was the notary.

"Anon from the belfry
Softly the Angelus sounded."

The troops had taken the church for a storehouse. and it was within the picket enclosure, and under strict guard.

In the matter of time there is great discrepancy. No doubt the poet had not access to Winslow's journal at the time of writing the poem.

"Then uprose the commander, and spake from the steps of the altar."

He was seated at a table in the open space of the building, and from there he read the proclamation.

"Lo! the door of the chancel opened, and Father Felician entered."

This scene could not have been enacted, as there was no priest in the country. Nor was there a service afterwards.

"Thus to the Gaspereau's mouth they hurried; and there on the sea-beach
Piled in confusion lay the household goods of the peasants."

The men had been taken on board the transports, and were there some time before the rest of the people were ordered to embark. The sad scene on the beach and the subsequent embarking, are creations of the poet's fancy.

On the fourth of August, 1755, the *curé* of Minas had been ordered to Halifax, and was detained there. On the tenth, Le Maire, priest of Canard River, was also a prisoner. There was now not a priest left to the French of the Annapolis valley. This was a severe punishment at all times; for their religion, and the officers of their religious worship they deemed their dearest possession. This move on the part of Lawrence left the way open for the use of the church and the priest's house by Winslow, when he came to Grand Pré. It left them without the guides they placed every confidence in, and, on the other hand, it removed a possible obstacle to a complete trap set for the Acadians.

CHAPTER XIV.

GEOLOGY OF MINAS — THE TIDES — MINERALS OF MINAS — GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE.

GEOLOGY teaches us that at an early date following on the carboniferous or coal age, the North Mountain did not exist, and the waters of the ocean lay over the whole of the Annapolis Valley from the South Mountain eastward to the Cobequid hills, and north to New Brunswick. The common action of rivers, tides, frost, rain and sun upon the carboniferous limestone, slate and sandstone, and other rocks which made up the surface of the earth and the beds of streams, rivers and seas formed immense deposits of mud and sediment which were laid down level under the water and became rock. Then occurred a warping, or change in this deposit, and what is known as the red sandstone was in many places exposed to view. Along the shores of Minas it can be seen, as well as on the shores of Cumberland and Annapolis basins. The action narrowed the Bay of Fundy to somewhat like its present limits. In many places can be traced the channels of long extinct rivers and waterways at a great altitude above sea-level.

Following this change of feature came the great internal force that rent the earth, and poured forth masses of molten matter which spread over the sandstone, and were piled up from Five Islands in Cumber-

land to the western limit of Digby County. The North Mountain was thus formed, and at Blomidon can be seen the trap or volcanic rock overlying the red sandstone.

To the geologist the study of this region is of unending interest. With the subsequent cooling of the trap rock, great seams and cracks appeared throughout the mass, which were eventually filled up with the chemical elements in crystalline forms, such as zeolites, amethyst, calcites, etc., found in more or less abundance along the extent of the mountains. Between Blomidon and Partridge Island, about five miles, is the great passage-way of the tides which rise and fall in filling and discharging the immense body of water that passes in and out twice in twenty-four hours. The continuity of the mountain of trap is broken here, unless it extends under the water. Digby Gap is another break in the mountain wall.

Now the marsh building begins. The great streams where the broad marshes now lie were open seas at high tide; and at low tide great gaping basins and channels through which long rivers flowed from hundreds of valleys. Mountain rivers, swollen to torrents, carried down earthy matter fed to them by rains or torn from their own banks and channels; and all this rich sediment poured into the tidal waters was in great part at once checked in its onward movement, and fell to the bottom of the slower moving salt water. About the time of high tide the upland streams, losing almost all motion gave up their freights of marsh material, which, mixing with the sea elements, were laid down to become, in the course

of centuries, the richest and most productive of land. Many broad valleys were filled up in this way, only a long, winding, and comparatively narrow channel remaining for the escape of the mountain streams. Doubtless a certain proportion of this accumulation of marsh was supplied by the incoming tide, moving rapidly upward to the heads of its source, and there throwing down the fine particles of material held suspended while its movement was rapid.

At certain periods the tides are higher than at others. At present only these higher tides cover the marshes that have not been dyked. The deposition of material is yet taking place; for the most part, probably changing place. This is shown in many places by the comparative height of the land inside and outside the dykes, there being a difference of several feet. The whole soil has a reddish color, due to the presence of iron.

The character of the whole Minas region has been modified and marked by the wonderful Fundy tides. On the seaboard at Halifax the rise of the tide is about six feet, and there is but little variation over the whole of the coast. At the opening of the Bay of Fundy the height of the spring tide increases, and at Yarmouth it is sixteen feet. At Digby it is twenty-seven feet, and at Parrsboro it is forty-three feet. At the mouth of the Shubenacadie River it occasionally attains the extraordinary elevation of seventy-feet.

"The Bore" is a wall or wave of advancing waters at the head of the incoming tide. The salt water at low tide leaves many of the rivers of Minas Basin

with nothing but a narrow stream or channel of fresh water flowing through them. On either side level "flats" of sand are left bare of water. When the tide returns the empty river channel is filled in six hours, or about a foot of rise in seven minutes. On the Petitcodiac River the bore sometimes attains the height of ten feet. The rush of water is often at the rate of eight miles an hour, and at some points nearer the sea the tide moves over ten miles an hour.

The explanation of the tidal phenomenon lies in the fact that Atlantic tides moving up along the coast line of Cape Cod are met by the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and forced upward into the narrowing limits of the Bay of Fundy. This great volume of water is, so to speak, thrown into the Basin of Minas and up the rivers.

This country has a variety of interesting features in mineralogy and in geological formation. Professors, teachers and students visit here every year to study the geology of the country and to gather mineral specimens. This can be done with advantage and profit. All the localities are easily accessible. Hundreds of pounds of minerals are taken away every season. Amethyst is particularly sought after, both for cabinet specimens and for jewelry. A great variety of agate and jasper can be obtained. Acadialite (red chabazite), heulandite, natrolite, analcite, stilbite, apophylite, dog-tooth spar and the various forms of selenite, etc., are among the kinds of minerals that can be obtained here. Very beautiful combinations of these, sometimes associating five differ-

ent kinds, are found. Sheaf stilbite of exceptional quality, and natrolite, from hair-like crystals to large prisms, are met with. Geodes, fossils, ripple marks, rainprints, animal tracks, etc., are among the interesting things that can be obtained. All this is not in the wilderness, but is in the most picturesque and interesting part of the region of Acadia.

List of minerals found:

Partridge Island:

Analcite, apophylite, amethyst, agate, apatite.
Calcite, chabazite (acadialite), chalcedony, cat's-eye.
Gypsum (selenite, satinspar).
Heulandite, hematite.
Magnatite, pyrite.
Stilbite.
Jasper, cacholong, opal, semi-opal quartz.

Blomidon:

Analcite, agate, amethyst, apophylite.
Calcite, dog-tooth spar, chalcedony, chabazite (acadialite).
Gmelinite, gypsum.
Fareolite hematite, heulandite.
Magnatite, laumonite, malachite, mesolite.
Native copper, natrolite.
Stilbite, psilomelane.
Quartz varieties.

Cape D'Or.

Obsidian, malachite, gold, copper.

Parrsboro:

Augite, amianthus, pyrite.

In the geological structure of the peninsula of Nova Scotia there is evidence of volcanic action, glacial movement and changes of level, and at the present time a gradual subsidence is being repeated. We have evidence of the Pleistocene, Triassic, Carboniferous, Devonian, Silurian and Cambrian, and the granite boulders of Azoic time.

THE SILURIAN AREAS.

At Beech Hill, the ridges above Wolfville, Canaan, and up Angus Brook, afford excellent opportunity of studying what is as yet an imperfectly known formation. They include (1) the *Dictyonema Websteri* slates of Beech Hill and Angus Brook, occurring in hardened and cleaved red and green and mottled slates; (2) the *Astroerium venustenu* beds of lime rock which are undoubtedly newer in age, but also part of the Silurian system.

CARBONIFEROUS.

There are two formations at least in the vicinity of Wolfville. The shales and limestones and associated fossiliferous measures of the Horton formation and the granite sandstones and conglomerates underlying the former. The designation Avon formation has been assigned to the lower of these carboniferous sediments to distinguish them in the field.

TRIASSIC.

The red rocks of Evangeline Beach, the red sandstones and marls which overlap the silurian and carboniferous unconformably, belong to the triassic

system. This is probably the most northerly outcrop of the Newark system of New Jersey and other New England States.

It is to be hoped that careful search will reveal reptilian and other remains. Long Island and Evangeline Beach are made up for the most part of the triassic sandstone.

PLEISTOCENE.

The more recent underlying geological formation, including the "boulder clays" and "till" of the glacial period, followed by the marine clays and sands of later date, together with a careful study of the various phenomena characterizing these two important periods in the later physiographic geologic history of the Basin of Minas, afford excellent opportunity for study of a very attractive type.

The most fossiliferous localities in the neighborhood of Wolfville are Angus and Trenholm Brooks, Gaspereau Valley, Horton Shore, from Avonport Station to Blue Beach; and if an enthusiastic student of marine fossils desires to examine one of the most fossiliferous limestones of carboniferous age he has only to visit Miller's Lime Kiln and quarry and other outcrops of limestone near Windsor.