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Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEAR 1884.

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VOLUME IV.

HALIFAX, N. S.:

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1885.

COLLECTIONS



John Smith Historical Society

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OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers, old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the war of 1776 and 1812; biographical notes of our pioneers and of eminent citizens deceased, and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives and documents relative to the Loyalists, their expulsion from the old colonies and their settlement in the Maritime Provinces.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and all other publications relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of Pre-Historic Antiquities, especially implements of copper, stone, or ancient coin or other curiosities found in any of the Maritime Provinces, together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of all such articles to the cabinet of the society is most earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities with their signification and all information generally, respecting the condition, language and history of the Micmac, Malicetes and Bethucks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travels, and biography in general, and Lower Canada, or Quebec in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced,—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the best of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliments of authors and publishers, to present with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library, where they may be expected to be found always on file and carefully preserved. We aim to obtain and preserve for those who shall come after us a perfect copy of every book, pamphlet or paper ever printed in or about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

11. Nova Scotians residing abroad have it in their power to render their native province great service by making donations to our library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion, or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, &c., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, &c., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Object of Collection.....	3
Rules and By-Laws.....	6
List of Officers.....	8
“ Members.....	9
Biographical Sketch of Hon. Samuel Vetch.....	11
Papers connected with the administration of Mr. Vetch, 1710-13.....	
Instructions to Col. Vetch, 1708.....	
Memorial of Paul Mascarene, Nov. 6, 1713.....	
Instructions of Vetch to Paul Mascarene, 1st Nov., 1710..	
Proclamation to people of Minas by Paul Mascarene, 12th	
Nov., 1710	
Commission to Sundries by Paul Mascarene, 16th Nov.,	
1710	
Orders from Sir Charles Hobby to Paul Mascarene, 1711.	
Vetch's commission to Paul Mascarene to hold Court Mar-	
tial, 16th April, 1711.....	
“ certificate of ownership of vessel, 14th April, 1710	
Orders for Capt. Pigeon, 9th June, 1711	
“ “ Sir Charles Hobby, 12th June, 1711.....	
Account of pay of Chaplain, &c.....	
Skeme of an Establishment for the Garrison of Annapo-	
lis, with letter to Secretary of State, 24th June,	
1711	
Vetch to Governor of Massachusetts, no date.....	
Proceedings of Council of War, 15th June, 1711.....	
Account of Fort and Repairs on it by Major Forbes, and	
Letter from Vetch to British minister, no date....	
Vetch's Instructions to Sir Charles Hobby, 5th July, 1711	
“ Journal of expedition to Quebec, 1711	
“ Vetch's letter to Admiral Sir H. Walker, 1711.....	
“ Commission as Governor of Nova Scotia, 20th	
January, 1714-15.....	
Journal of Colonel John Winslow.....	113
The Province Building.....	247

RULES AND BY-LAWS.

1. This Society shall be called the Nova Scotia Historical Society.
2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country; the reading at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects; the publications, so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish; and the formation of a library of books, papers, and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating Historical subjects.
3. Each member shall pay towards the funds of the Society, Five Dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars on the second day of January in each succeeding year, but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of Two Dollars and shall become a Life Member, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission pay to the Treasurer the sum of Forty Dollars in addition to what he had paid before. The sums received for Life Memberships to be invested, and the interest only used for ordinary purposes. Persons not resident within fifteen miles of Halifax may become members on payment of Two Dollars at the time of admission and One Dollar annually thereafter.
4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed at a regular meeting of the Society by a member; the proposition shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next regular meeting, when a ballot shall be taken; one black ball in five excluding.
5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of every month, at 8 p. m. And special meetings shall be convened if necessary on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.
6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of February of each year, at 8 p. m., at which meeting there

shall be chosen a President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. At the same meeting four members shall be chosen, who, with the foregoing, shall constitute the Council of the Society.

The election of members to serve on the N. S. Library Commission, under the provisions of Chapter 17, N. S. Acts of 1880, shall take place, each year, at the annual meeting, immediately after the election of Officers and Council.

7. All communications which are thought worthy of preservation shall be minuted down in the books of the Society and the original kept on file.

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the Annual Meeting in February, when ten members shall form a quorum. No article of the constitution nor any by-law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

9. The President and Council shall have power to elect Corresponding and Honorary Members, who shall be exempt from dues; and the duties of the Officers and Council shall be the same as those performed generally in other Societies.

10. The Publication Committee shall consist of three, and shall be nominated by the Council. To them shall be referred all manuscripts, &c., for publication, and their decision shall be final.

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OF THE
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED 5TH FEBRUARY, 1885.

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HON. SAMUEL VETCH, FIRST ENGLISH GOVERNOR
OF NOVA SCOTIA.

BY THE REV. GEORGE PATTERSON, D.D., NEW GLASGOW.

[On the 2nd October, old style, 1710, the French garrison of Port Royal, since called Annapolis, capitulated to an English force, commanded by Gen. Francis Nicholson; and three days later, or on the 16th, new style,* the latter entered upon the possession of the place, the keys being received by Col. Samuel Vetch, who, in the expectation of success, had been appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, which, with the fall of its main fortress, now came under British authority. This position he continued to hold for several years. It may, therefore, be a matter of some interest to know who and what manner of man he was. Upon this subject, however, our histories are strangely silent. Some of them ignore both himself and his administration. So far as I am aware, no connected account of him has ever been published, and what little is known of him is scattered up and down in by-places of historical literature, which only antiquarians and book-worms have ever explored.

Yet he was a man of some prominence in his day, and acted a part of some importance in the events which determined the destinies of these North American provinces. His administration of affairs in Nova Scotia, too, if not marked by any startling events, is of interest as covering the first period of British authority in our Province, and as bearing upon her subsequent history.

In these circumstances the committee of publication of the Nova Scotia Historical Society have resolved to devote as much space in their present volume of Collections as they can afford to the publica-

* There has been some confusion among writers about the dates of events connected with the taking of Annapolis, but it has arisen from their not observing that in all the documents of the period the English use the Old Style and the French the New.

tion of his papers, copies of which are preserved in the Provincial archives. These have never been made public, and seem to have been entirely unknown to all former writers of our history. But we believe they will be found to throw light not only on his own character, but on the events of his time, more particularly in regard to the struggle then going on between France and England in North America. It has also been thought advisable that these should be prefaced by a sketch of his life and labours. In regard to this, the materials at hand are not sufficient to enable us to draw anything like a finished portrait of him ; but we can trace the scenes through which he passed from his earliest years, and the leading facts of his life, so that we may form at least a general estimate of his character and services.]

SAMUEL VEITCH, as the name has for centuries been spelled and pronounced in Scotland, or Vetch, as he has generally been called in America, belonged to a respectable Scotch family, which, at least, as early as the middle of the 16th century, lived on a family estate near Dalkeith. In an act of the Scottish Parliament in the year 1598 for the payment of the debts of the king, among the sums mentioned as owing by the king's bankers or furnishers, the first item is, "To James Veitch, in Dalkey, £661 13s. 4d." This was probably the great-grandfather of our governor.

But the family are specially noticeable for the part which they took in the struggle, in which the Scottish people were engaged at a later period, in resisting the measures of Charles II. for the suppression of Presbytery and the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, his grandfather, his father and three of his brothers, and one of his own brothers, and perhaps other relatives,* having been ministers of the Covenanting Church of Scotland. Most of them suffered in the troubles of the times, the first, after being minister of the parish of Robertson, in the shire of Clydesdale, for 45 years, having been ejected from his living, one of his sons, John, minister at Westruther, imprisoned, another, James, minister of Mauchline, banished from Scotland and obliged to take refuge first in England and afterward in Holland, while William, the father of our Governor, for the part which he took on behalf of Presbytery and constitutional liberty,

* There is mention, in addition to the above, of John Veitch, minister, of Whitsom.

narrowly escaped death, being condemned in absence to forfeiture of life and property, and having escaped first to England and afterward to Holland.*

On the 23rd November, 1764, he was married to Marion Fairlie, descended of an ancient family of the Fairlies of the house of Braid, near Edinburgh.† By her he had ten children. Of these four died young, three daughters married well, and the youngest son became a minister of the church of Scotland at Ayr, but died young. The other two were born, William, the second child and eldest son, on 2nd April, 1667, and Samuel, the third child and second son, on the 6th December, 1668. The lives of these two were closely connected as long as both lived, and we shall consider them together. They remained in Scotland till the year 1671, when they were carried to England in creels, accompanied by their mother, to join their father, who was in hiding there and preaching under an assumed name.

Here the family remained for the next ten years. The father, however, having been discovered, was arrested and carried back to Scotland, where he narrowly escaped death. Returning to England, he met Argyle after his escape from prison and accompanied him to London. Here he became involved in the Rye House plot, and on its failure fled to Holland, where his family joined him some time after. On the proclamation of toleration by James II. he returned to Scotland, leaving his sons prosecuting their studies at the college at Utrecht.

The parents had destined both their sons for the ministry, but they preferred the army, and when King William came over to England in 1688 they both obtained commissions under him. When a regiment was raised for the service of the Revolution government among the old Covenanters, since known as the Cameronian or 26th, William was one of its officers. Samuel also had a commission, and from a statement in his mother's diary, we infer, in the same regiment. If so, they both had their baptism of fire at Dunkeld, where the regiment was left unsupported in an open village to receive the

* Full particulars of his career will be found in "Memoirs of Veitch and Bryson," published by Dr. Thomas McCrie, to which we are indebted for the information in the first part of this paper.

† An interesting diary of hers was published in 1846 by the Free Church of Scotland, showing her to have been a woman of eminent piety.

attack of between four and five thousand Highlanders. They maintained the conflict from morning till night, when their enemies retreated after an engagement which has ever been regarded as one of the most desperate of the 17th century, which more than neutralized Killiecrankie, and which established the throne of King William in Scotland. At all events, both were soon after engaged in active service in Flanders against the French. At the battle of Steinkirk, fought on the 2nd August, 1692, the British portion of the allied army, under the command of General Mackay, was left to bear the brunt of the whole French attack. The Cameronian regiment suffered severely, its brave Colonel, the Earl of Angus, the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major and others of its officers and men being left dead on the field. William Veitch was severely wounded, but of Samuel's share in the action we have no particulars. In the following year we find them both serving at the battle of Landen, or Nerwinden. We have no details regarding the services of either, but we know that they established their character as brave and capable officers.

They continued with the army till the peace of Ryswick in 1697, when William returned to England, having had a narrow escape from death by shipwreck on the voyage home. Samuel was left behind dangerously ill, supposed to have been in consumption, but he recovered and after some dangers, having been obliged twice to put back, and a vessel alongside being lost with a number of passengers, he joined the family in Dumfries where his father was now minister.

At the time of their arrival in Scotland, the people of that country were in a state of the highest excitement about a projected colony in South America, to be formed under the direction of a company, named "the company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies," incorporated by Act of the Scottish Parliament a short time before. This scheme originated with Wm. Paterson, who was also the author of the plan of a National Bank, the carrying out of which by the establishment of the Bank of England, marks a new era in English commerce. He was a man of real genius, and now projected what has been known as the Darien Scheme. In this he and those who acted with him were thoroughly honest, as well as in earnest. Nor was the idea altogether without reason. The nations of Europe had long believed that untold riches were to be found in trade with the East.

The doubling of the Cape of Good Hope had opened one way, though long and difficult, to its treasures. It was in the expectation of finding a shorter passage by the West that Columbus made his voyages, in which the New World was discovered. The same idea animated the minds of successive explorers; and even when it was found that there was no such passage to the South, except by the distant and difficult passage round Cape Horn, it still prompted fruitless efforts to find one to the North.

Paterson seized upon the idea of making the isthmus connecting North and South America the entrepot of the trade between the East and the West. For this end he proposed to plant a colony there, into whose harbours on the one side should be borne the richest argosies from regions of fabled wealth in the East, to be exchanged on the other for the ruder products of the West. The idea was not altogether irrational. The genius of Alexander the Great under a similar idea, had selected the isthmus connecting Africa and Asia as the site of Alexandria, with the view of its becoming the mart of the trade of the two continents, and its rapid rise and continued greatness proved the wisdom and grandeur of his conception. And in our own day with the increase of commerce between the East and the West, and the pressure for the shortest and quickest means of communication, the Isthmus of Panama is again attracting attention, and it is not unlikely that it may yet be the scene of a large portion of the world's commerce.

At all events the Scottish people were at this time filled with the most extravagant expectations as to the wealth that was to flow into the lap of the nation from the proposed colony, and all classes entered into the project with the wildest enthusiasm. When the brothers Veitch arrived home the excitement was at its highest pitch. Both volunteered for the expedition and both obtained the rank of captain in the forces which the company were authorized to raise. William, in addition to his army rank, was appointed one of the Council, which was to govern the new colony.

The first band of adventurers, 1200 in number, sailed in three ships and two yachts from Leith Roads on the 17th July 1698. William did not accompany them, but Samuel did. On the 3rd November they landed at a fine harbour between Portobello and Carthagen. Without delay they laid the foundation of a fort which

they called Fort St. Andrew, and of a town which they called New Edinburgh. On the 28th December, the Council issued a proclamation defining the principles on which the new colony was to be governed, and it may be noted that this, the first and the last colony ever attempted by the Scottish nation, was the first founded by any European power on liberal principles of trade, policy and religion.

But a variety of unfavorable circumstances soon led to the ruin of the project. The first of these was the character of the settlers. Some were young gentlemen unfit to command and unwilling to obey, others had been opposed to the Revolution Government, and many were idle and profligate. Of the original councillors Paterson says :

“There was not one of them fitted for government, and things were gone too far before the new took their place.” After a long struggle a new council was named, of which Samuel Veitch was one. But other difficulties arose. The climate had been represented as salubrious, but it proved the reverse, and tropical diseases broke out among the settlers. Provisions failed, the original supply having proved of bad quality. From the outset of the undertaking the English and the Dutch had shown their jealousy of it and spared no means in their power to defeat it, so that, though the king had approved the act incorporating the company, he was obliged to discountenance their measures. And now the governors of Jamaica and the other English colonies in the West Indies and North America issued proclamations prohibiting all intercourse with the Scottish colonists, or the furnishing them with provisions of any kind. The Spaniards, too, commenced hostilities, and internal disorder still prevailed. The council vainly struggled against these difficulties for some months, but being disappointed in their expectations of supplies from Scotland, at length resolved to evacuate the place, which was done on the 23rd June, 1699. Paterson, broken down in body and mind, Veitch and some of the others came to New York.

In the meantime the company had sent a vessel with supplies, which was never heard of, and before intelligence was received of the abandonment of the place by the first settlers, they had sent two fleets, with a large number of others. William Veitch embarked in the last of these, which sailed on the 24th September, 1699, and arrived on the 30th November. Those of the first settlers who came to New York heard there of the new expedition, and some of

them returned, but Samuel Veitch did not. For this he was subjected to some reproach. Even McCrie, on this ground, concludes that, though a man of established character, he had not the powers required for the discharge of important trusts. Subsequent events clearly disproved this, and his not returning to Darien, we think, simply showed that he foresaw the failure of the undertaking.

At all events, the second expedition fared no better than the first, and the stay of the colonists was even shorter. During the time of their residence the chief direction of their affairs fell upon William Veitch, and all parties testified in the highest terms to the manner in which he managed the affairs of the company. But he had to struggle against tremendous difficulties arising from the climate, the state of the country, insubordination among the settlers, external foes, and other causes, and at length, being assailed by the Spaniards both by sea and land, he was obliged to sign terms of capitulation, by which the colonists were allowed to retire with all their possessions, which they did on the 11th of April, 1700. Veitch, worn out by toil, worry and the insalubrity of the climate, died at sea off Port Royal, in Jamaica, on the passage home, and his mother records for her consolation that "he never gave cause to have a sad hour for his sinful practices, though he was a captain and with the king abroad."

Of Samuel Vetch, to adopt the form of the name most commonly used in America, after his arrival in New York, we first hear as present at a conference of the Earl of Bellemont, Governor of New York, with the Sachems of the Five Nations, held at Albany on the 26th August, 1700, and following days. On the 20th Decr. he was married to a daughter of Robert Livingstone, Secretary for Indian affairs, and granddaughter of the celebrated Rev. John Livingstone.*

* The father and grandfather of the Rev. J. Livingstone were ministers of the Church of Scotland, but they traced their descent from the fifth Lord Livingstone, ancestor of the Earls of Linlithgow. He was distinguished as a preacher, on one occasion, when only 28 years of age, having preached a sermon at Kirk of Shotts, which produced such effects that it was estimated that by it 500 persons were led to a change of life. He was one of the commissioners sent by the Church of Scotland to treat with Charles II. at Breda in regard to his restoration. But when that event took place, he was banished the kingdom. He went to Holland, where he died. One son, Robert, emigrated to New York and became proprietor of a large tract of land known as the manor of Livingstone. He married Alida Schuyler, and from them the most of the Livingstone family, one of the most distinguished in the United States, are descended. It was their daughter Margaret that Vetch married. Perhaps the families had been connected pre-

About the same time he became engaged in trade with Canada, for in the following year we find him interested with his brother-in-law in a vessel, which while engaged in a coasting voyage from Quebec to New York with a cargo of wine, brandy and furs, was wrecked at Montauh, Rhode Island. This brought against the partners accusations of illicit trafficking.† In the same year we find his name to a petition to the King from a number of the Protestants of New York, charging the Governor with "great partiality in the appointment of officers, manifest corruption and injustice in elections, etc." And again we find him, on the 18th July, 1702 and following days attending another conference with the Indians of the Five nations.

We have no information regarding him for the next two years. Hildreth, in his history of the United States, speaks of him as a merchant in Boston. But the next mention we have of him is in the year 1705, when he was sent to Quebec by Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts; as one of the commissioners sent to negotiate with M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, a treaty of neutrality and for the exchange of prisoners. But strong suspicions were entertained that he was engaged, with the connivance of the Governor of Massachusetts, in trading with the French. We believe that his principal object was to spy out the land. At all events, he made it a particular part of his business to gain all the information he could regarding the French colony. His military eye enabled him, while observing the country, to note the weak points in its defences, and thus to form a plan for its reduction. With the same view he took soundings of the most difficult passages of the St. Lawrence. Indeed, he asserts that "he had often been at Canada and along that coast," and he boasted that he knew more of Canada than people living there.

But in the following year (1706) he appears in a somewhat different role. He was then engaged in arranging an exchange of prisoners with the French Governor of Nova Scotia, but the vessel sent for the purpose was away longer than was thought necessary, and afterward made a second trip. Suspicion was excited, and the captain named

viously. In the records of the Town Council of Edinburgh, December 15th, 1700, is a resolution settling "a pension of 200 merks on — Veitch, relict of Mr. William Livingstone, late clerk to the Sessions of the good town." We know that the Rev. John Livingstone had a son named William residing there.

† Journal of the voyage of the Sloop Mary from Quebeck, &c. Albany, N. Y., 1866.

Rowse, with Vetch and four others, was accused of carrying on an unlawful trade with the French and supplying them with ammunition and stores of war. There was much excitement in New England on the subject, and it was even freely asserted that the governor himself had a share in such proceedings.

That the keen spirit of trade in the Puritans would lead them thus to sacrifice their patriotic and Protestant feelings to profit, we believe quite likely. But how far Vetch and the others were chargeable with this cannot be ascertained, as they never had a trial before a regular court. But after events showed such an acquaintance with our coasts as indicated visits to them, and the fact mentioned by Mascarene after the capture of Annapolis, that there were in circulation among the French, bills formerly drawn by M. Subercase, the French Governor, and accepted by Mr. Vetch, would seem to indicate his connexion with some trade of the kind.* At all events the Massachusetts Council and Assembly passed bills of pains and penalties against them. By these Rowse was fined £1200 and Vetch and others £200 each, all to stand committed till fines and costs of prosecution were paid. The several acts passed in this matter were however set aside by the Queen in Council at Kensington on the 24th September 1707, as being a usurpation of the powers of the ordinary courts of Justice, and the fines ordered to be restored.

The most of the year 1708 he spent in Britain. He visited Scotland and spent some time with his aged parents, then living at Dumfries, but the principal object of his voyage was to lay before the British Government a plan which he had formed for the conquest of Canada, Acadia and Newfoundland, and to solicit their assistance in carrying it into execution. The ministry approved of it and agreed to send out a powerful fleet with five regiments of regular troops numbering 3000 men. To engage the colonies in the expedition, Vetch was despatched in a man-of-war, with instructions to the several governments, to provide their respective quotas of troops, to be associated with the forces from England. New York was to provide 800, Connecticut 350, New Jersey 200 and Pennsylvania 150, while Massachusetts and Rhode Island together were to

*From this it would appear that there must have been a trade between the French in Nova Scotia and Boston carried on through the French Governor, and the man who was afterwards the first English Governor.

furnish 1200. To stimulate their zeal he was authorized to promise that those Governments which contributed to the reduction of Canada, should have a preference, both with regard to the soil and trade of the country when reduced, to any other of Her Majesty's subjects.

Early in the following year (1709) Vetch arrived in Boston and immediately set to work energetically to urge forward the preparations of the colonies. His appeals were successful. "I have at least," he writes to the ministry, "made good all if not more than I proposed, though not without a vast fatigue and a great expense." Col. Francis Nicholson had joined as a volunteer and Vetch was instructed to admit him to his consultations with the Governors. A plan of operations was concerted between them, by which the Massachusetts and Rhode Island troops were to be under the command of Vetch, who was now raised to the rank of Colonel, and were to accompany the expedition by water, while the troops from the other colonies were to be under the command of Nicholson, and invade Canada by land. In the event of success Vetch had also the prospect held out to him of being Governor General of the conquered Provinces.

In May the transports and troops from Massachusetts and Rhode Island were ready at Boston, but day after day and week after week passed, during which they were kept in weary waiting, and the Provincial Treasuries severely taxed to support them, yet the British fleet came not. Thus spring and summer passed and autumn was ripening its fruits on New England fields, and still no tidings came of the British fleet. In the month of September, Vetch, satisfied that it was too late in the season for the expedition to proceed against Quebec, proposed a conference of the governors of the different colonies concerned in it, to be held at Rhode Island. A few days after the meeting, on the 11th October, a vessel arrived with intelligence that the British fleet which was to have arrived in May, had been sent to Portugal to support the king against a Spanish invasion. It was left to the discretion of the Colonial authorities whether to attempt the reduction of Nova Scotia with the forces at their command, but the commanders of the British Ships on the station were unwilling to undertake it, and the New England troops returned to their homes.

This failure must have been most annoying to Vetch. To the

colonies it was a bitter disappointment, not only from their interest in the undertaking, but from the fact that the expenses incurred had severely tried their resources. However they did not abandon the project. In the autumn a congress of governors and delegates from the colonies was held at Rhode Island, at which it was resolved to send agents to Britain along with Vetch and Nicholson, to represent to the Government the state of the colonies, and to urge them to undertake a new expedition against Canada the next season. The British ministry, however, thought the conquest of Canada too great an undertaking, but agreed to send, the next year, an expedition against Nova Scotia. For this Vetch was commissioned as Adjutant General and Nicholson appointed to the chief command. The latter arrived at Boston in July with several warships. On the 18th September they sailed from Boston and on the 24th they arrived at Port Royal, and on the following day a small party under Col. Reading landed on the South side of the river, and another under Vetch landed on the North, to select the best places for the encampment of the army. On the report of these officers, the whole force landed the same day, and exactly one week later the fort surrendered after a feeble resistance. During that period Vetch was active,* and when the English entered into possession, on the 5th October, (O. S.) the keys were delivered to him, and according to Her Majesty's instructions he assumed the office of Governor of the fort and the country, his titles being "Adjutant General of all Her Majesty's of Great Britains forces, General and Commander in Chief of all her troops in these parts and Governor of the fort of Annapolis Royal and country of L'Accady and Nova Scotia." With the fall of Port Royal Nova Scotia passed under British sway, and from the eagerness of the English, particularly in New England, to possess it, and their triumph over their success, France understood that this time the conquest was to be permanent.

On the 28th October Nicholson returned to Boston, leaving at Annapolis a garrison, consisting of 200 marines and 250 New England volunteers, under the command of Vetch. By the report of Major Mascarene, now published for the first time, we have a pretty minute account of affairs under his administration for the next few months.

* See Nicholson's Journal in first volume of Collections of N. S. Historical Society.

By a census taken in 1707, three years previous, the French population of the Province was as follows: At Annapolis, 554; at Minas, 577; Cobequit, 81; Beaubassin, 271: total, 1484, besides a few families at Cape Sable, Port Razoir, Lahave, Chedabucto, Passamaquoddy, St. John, &c. Col. Vetch, on enquiry, estimated the whole population of what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at 500 families, which he estimates at five to a family, to include 2,500 souls.

By the terms of surrender, all the inhabitants residing within cannon-shot of the fort, or three miles, a district known as the Banlieue, numbering about 500 souls, were taken under British protection, being allowed two years to dispose of their property, they taking the oath of allegiance. As to those residing beyond, no arrangement was made, and according to a letter from Nicholson and his council to the Governor-General of Canada, they "were left absolutely prisoners at discretion;"* and their "persons and effects absolutely at the disposal of the conquerors." Indeed, it was held that by the Royal Instructions for the raising of troops in New England, "the lands were promised away to the captors for their encouragement to reduce the same." †

But Vetch claims that he had protected them from the plundering which characterized some former expeditions from New England to the coast of Acadie. To the people of Minas he says: "Had I not interposed to protect them, the army would have plundered, ravaged, carried away, destroyed all that they now have." But he demanded from the people of that place, with Cobequid and Chignecto together, "a present" of six thousand livres, in money or peltry, afterward reduced to three, with a contribution of twenty pistoles a month for his table, and the same from the people of Annapolis, outside the Banlieue. This may seem oppressive, but when we consider how conquered peoples were treated long after, as, for example, in the terrible requisitions of Napoleon from the countries he over-

* See Collections Nova Scotia Hist. Society, vol. 1, 98.

† Vetch's letter to Lords of Trade, Nova Scotia Archives, p 7. The language of the instructions seems to favour the idea. The words are: "You shall assure them (the Colonial Governors) in our name that such of them as contribute to the reduction of Port Royal and any of the country and places adjacent, belonging to the enemy, shall have a preference both with regard to the soil and trade of the country when reduced, to any other of our subjects," &c. This the New Englanders interpreted as meaning that the lands of the French would be given to those engaged in the expedition.

ran a century later, we need not wonder at Vetch's taking credit to himself for moderation in his treatment of them. The people professed to yield to his demand, but, in reality, scarcely any of it was ever paid. We have no clear information as to their circumstances. These papers throughout seem to represent them as in the deepest poverty; but in the same letter in which Vetch estimates their number at 500 families he estimates their black cattle as numbering 5000, which would be ten for each family, besides a large number of sheep and hogs. This must have been a guess, and it is opposed to the representations made by himself and his officers as to their condition.

Apart from this demand, the reader of these papers will observe the spirit of justice and kindness which he manifested in all his dealings with them. Care was taken to prevent the soldiers committing any wrong upon any of them, and for all their work or supplies they were liberally and promptly paid. Even when an expedition was sent to overawe some who had been refractory, they were allowed to threaten to kill some of their hogs, but were not to do it. They might kill some of their fowls, but if they did they were to pay for them before they left. These papers, however, will show that he, at the same time, showed proper firmness and determination in maintaining his authority, and we are impressed with the conviction that had the proceedings of the British Government towards this unfortunate people been characterized by the firmness, and at the same time gentleness, which characterized his course, it would have been well for all parties. The vacillation subsequently displayed by their new rulers as to the position they were to occupy, and even at this time (for Vetch received no instructions as to the treatment of them) was one cause of the troubles that befel this unfortunate race.

At this time, however, though seemingly yielding quietly to the demands of the Governor, they were not satisfied, and they sent an agent to M. Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New France, with the following representation:—

SIR,—

As your goodness extends over all those, who being subjects of His Majesty have recourse to you to relieve them in their misery, we pray you will vouchsafe us your assistance to withdraw ourselves from this country and to be near you, having had the misfortune to be taken by the English, as you have doubtless

learned from the envoy of Mr. Nicholson, and from the Sieur de St. Castin, who left this in charge of letters from M. de Subercase. M. de Clignancourt, sir, will give you a faithful report of all that passed on this occasion as also since the departure of the English fleet. He will make you acquainted with the bottom of our hearts, and will tell you better than we can do by a letter the harsh manner in which M. Weische treats us, keeping us like negroes, and wishing to persuade us that we are under great obligations to him for not treating us much worse, being able, he says, to do so with justice and without our having room to complain of it. We have given to M. de Clignancourt copies of three *Ordonnances*, which M. Weische has issued and at the moment we have the honor to write you, we learn that he has sent to Minas and Beaubassin. We know not yet what the purport of his orders thither may be, but we are persuaded that he will not have more regard for the inhabitants of these places than he has had for us. We pray you, sir, to have regard to our misery, and to honour us with your letter for our consolation, expecting that you may furnish the necessary assistance for our retiring from this unhappy country.

The three ordinances referred to in the above, we presume, were the two demands for supplies mentioned above, and an order, issued however by the Council of War before the departure of Governor Nicholson, that all trade should be through Annapolis. But this is the last we hear of any contributions from the French to their conquerors.

Winter set in and the fort was very much crowded. The accommodation was increased by turning the greater part of the chapel into barracks, but still the troops had but poor lodgings all winter. The frost having hindered the building of the chimneys, they suffered from want of fire. Fuel was also obtained with great labour, risk and expense. There was none in store in the fort, and all they obtained had to be cut on the opposite side of the river, then transported across, for which three flat-bottomed boats were kept continually going and coming, and then hauled to the fort.

They also began to feel other wants, that of bread especially, "nothing but pease and beefe and little or no porke," he says, being served out to them. An attempt to obtain supplies of grain from the inhabitants up the river led to a collision with some of them. M. Capon, the commissary of the fort, having gone up, accompanied by five or six French inhabitants, while at supper in the house of one Peter LeBlanc, about 9 miles above the fort, they were seized and made prisoners by three or four fellows with firelocks cocked, who commanded M. Capon to follow them, threatening death to

whoever would resist. They carried him in the night through the woods and halted at a house to refresh themselves, telling him that they were carrying him to Canada. LeBlanc, however, advanced the money for their ransom, and M. Capon returned to the fort, when the Governor immediately issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the capture of his abductors.

The French of the Banlieue raised but little grain and depended largely on Minas for their supply, and when a quantity was brought round in a small vessel from that quarter, claimed it for their use, In consequence of this and other circumstances the provisions of the garrison were reduced very low, when in January (1711) a sloop arrived from Boston with a supply. In consequence of the state of matters regarding the pay and victualling of the troops, Vetch felt it necessary to go to Boston, though he says that the voyage had scarcely ever been made before at that season of the year. Before doing so, however, he determined on two things: 1st, to avenge the injury done M. Capon and take a pledge for the fidelity of the inhabitants, and, 2ndly, to adopt measures to have the breaches in the ramparts repaired.

For the first object Capt. Abèrcromby, with a party of 50 men, went in two flat-bottomed boats up the river, and on a Sunday morning landed at LeBlanc's house. Thence they immediately went to the chapel, half a mile distant, where the commander acquainted the priest and four of the principal inhabitants that he had orders to bring them down to the fort, to which they submitted without resistance. "At his return," says Mascarene, "he presented the priest and the four inhabitants to the Governor, who told them, in the presence of most of the officers, that this was done in reprisal of what they had done M. Capon, and that when they should deliver the persons who had committed the act, he would give them their liberty. There was a room appointed for them and an allowance out of the garrison's stores for their subsistence, and, in general, they were very kindly used."

In regard to the fort, it was found in a most dilapidated condition.* The soil was loose and, under frosts and thaws, the embankments readily crumbled down, so that Mascarene says, "We had one

* In one despatch it was said that it had received no supplies from France for three years.

of the faces of the Electoral Prince's Bastion entirely down, and in less than three months after there was not a curtain nor a face of a bastion without a breach." On the report of the engineer it was resolved to face the ramparts with logs, and measures were adopted to induce the inhabitants to provide them. The internal arrangements of the fort were in a most wretched condition, as may be seen by the report of Major Forbes, and energetic efforts were now put forth to put the whole in proper condition.

It is curious to observe that while the Abbe Raynal has pictured the Acadian French as living in Paradisaical peace, and his description has been copied by subsequent writers, the Governor was not three months in the country till he found it necessary, in order "to ease himself of their perpetual complaints against one another in their private feuds and quarrels," to commission some of his officers, together with two of themselves with the authority of Justices of the Peace, to hear their complaints and administer justice among them. "We used," says Mascarene, "to meet twice a week, summoned the parties to appear, and decided their differences by the easiest ways." He naively adds, "there never arose out of the expenses of the court so much as to suffice to the paying of a clerk what we had agreed to give him for his attendance, far from satisfying any of us for the trouble we were continually at on that account."

At the end of January Vetch left for Boston, leaving Annapolis in charge of Sir Charles Hobby, and taking with him, as a pledge for the conduct of the French Father Justinian, the cure of Annapolis, and an Indian who had grossly insulted him. We have no information of his proceedings there, except that we find him before the Council of Massachusetts indignantly denying that the government at Annapolis had traded with the Indians, at the same time "loading New England with calumny — a spirit of witchcraft, and now, seven-fold, a spirit of lying, haters of monarchy, regretting Her Majesty's success in taking Port Royal, &c." (Sewall papers in Collections of Mass. Hist. Society.)

Vetch returned to his command in April. During his absence the supply of provisions for the garrison had run short, when a sloop arrived from Boston and relieved them. On the arrival of the governor, Mascarene says, "everything was plenty, the French supplying us with fresh provisions for our money, or in truck for our salt." On

the whole, the garrison had had a hard winter. Major Forbes, in his report, says: "I have said nothing yet how indifferently a great many officers have passed the winter, for the want of good lodging. We found the frame of a large house standing, which I covered, and began the chimneys, but the want of lime and brick, and the frost coming, prevented its being finished." "I have laid the scheme of a barrack for the accommodation of the soldiers, for some have lyen out of the garrison all winter." The result was much sickness and a number of deaths. The Marines were largely Irish and Roman Catholics, and from them there were frequent desertions to the enemy, so that the force was now greatly reduced.*

During his absence the work of repairing the fort had gone on with some difficulty. The report of Major Forbes shows much energy in completing its internal arrangements, but in obtaining the timber necessary for forming the external wall, he met with many obstacles, from the unwillingness of part of the French to aid, even though well paid for their work, and the hostility of the Indians. We say part, because it seems plain that a number were ready to accept the situation, and would have gladly received good English money in exchange for their labour or produce. But others were "mutinous" as Mascarene calls them; and threatened to injure those of their countrymen who complied with the English demands. On various pretexts they delayed bringing the timber they had agreed, under some measure of compulsion no doubt, to furnish, till the Lieut-Governor sent a force up the river which by threatening them with military execution, persuaded them to proceed at once to provide the amount required. Still when Vetch returned the work on the fort was not half done.

In May he writes, "The inhabitants in general, as well French as Indians, continue still in a great ferment, and uneasiness. Those within the Banlieue, (who are but few), that have taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, are threatened and made uneasy by all the others, who call them traitors, and make them believe the French will soon recover the place and then they will be ruined. The Priests likewise, who are numerous among them, and whom I cannot catch,

* Not however to the extent reported by the French. One of their agents, who went to Placentia to solicit assistance. reported that 340 out of the 450 in garrison had died in seven months. This is incredible. In May Vetch says that the number lost by death and desertion was 116.

(save one sent to Boston), threaten them with their ecclesiastical vengeance for their subjection to heretics, so that until Her Majesty shall be pleased both to give an order and afford me a sufficient force to reduce the whole country to such terms as she shall see meet to give them, we can expect no peaceable possession of the country. We have been much alarmed all winter with designs of the Indians, and the French from Canada making an attempt upon us, while the fortifications were so ruinous."

Meanwhile a movement had been going on toward the reestablishment of French power. The Acadians were a simple, ignorant people, who would, if left to themselves, have bowed to the force of circumstances, and submissively yielded to British authority, but of course they naturally desired the restoration of French sovereignty, but besides this powerful influences were being brought to bear upon them to resist their present rulers, and sanguine hopes were held out that soon their old flag would wave from Port Royal. The Governor of Canada, in reply to their application, already given, sent two trusty messengers to visit all the settlements in Acadia, to encourage the people, instead of removing to remain quietly on their lands, and to assure them that he would send a force to drive out the English. The messengers, who carried their application, having represented that the Indians were becoming cool in their attachment, in consequence of reports of the English intending to conquer Canada, letters were written to the priests, pointing out to them the necessity of keeping the Indians in hostility to the English. He also appointed Baron St. Castin, the younger, to the charge of Indian affairs in the East, his influence extending not only over the tribes on the coast of Maine, but also over those in Acadie. Vetch had made efforts to conciliate the Indians, but M. Gaulin, the missionary, boasts that he had frustrated these attempts, and adds, "To take away all hope of accommodation he induced the savages to make incursions on the English, and openly to oppose themselves to the transport of wood, which the English Government obliged the inhabitants to furnish for re-establishing the fortifications." Under such influence parties of them infested the woods, so that in obtaining fuel, which was brought from a distance of two or three miles, it became necessary to send a considerable guard to protect the men employed in cutting it, who were sometimes shot down

by unseen enemies. They also threatened the inhabitants up the river, who were cutting lumber and plank for the repair of the fort, and cut loose rafts that had been prepared to be sent down the river.

Major Forbes, the engineer, being annoyed by the delays thus occasioned, obtained from the Governor a force of 70 men, under the command of Capt. Pigeon, with which he proceeded up the river to frighten the Indians, to overawe the unruly among the French, and to give those who were willing the excuse for complying with the English commands. The commander was instructed not to shed blood, but in case of a refusal to comply he was to threaten severity. He was at the same time to promise punctual payment and protection to those who furnished the wood demanded.

The party proceeded in two flat-bottomed boats and a whale boat, and having stayed over a tide on the way, the news of their coming preceded them. Rowing up in security the whale boat left the others a mile behind, and, passing through a narrow part of the river, was attacked by a body of Indians, who lay in ambush, and all on board killed, except Ensign Coxsedge, who received seven wounds, before the other two boats came in sight. Those on board the latter hearing the firing, hastened to the relief of their comrades. But the boats coming on one before the other, instead of pulling to the other shore, ran right upon their enemies, who were concealed behind rocks and trees within pistol shot of them. The English, on landing, were thus exposed to their fire, so that after sixteen were killed and nine wounded, the rest were surrounded and taken prisoners. The papers herewith published represent the Indians in this party as numbering 150, and that part had come from Penobscot and Canada, by orders of the Governor of Canada, having crossed the Bay of Fundy in birch bark canoes, and only arrived the day before, while part were Micmacs.* We may mention that the prisoners were afterward redeemed by Vetch at the cost of £50, Boston money, for a captain, and £10 for a private, the money being paid through M. Gaulin, the missionary.

With this event the whole tone of the French changed. From being humble, and to appearance obedient, they became haughty

* The scene of this tragedy was about 12 miles from Annapolis, and has been since known as Bloody Creek.

and imperious. Intelligence was immediately despatched to M. Gaulin, who hastened to Annapolis, gathering the French on the way to the number of 200 men. At that place the force was joined by the inhabitants generally. Even those of the Banlieue joined the revolt, sending word that they considered that the terms of capitulation had been broken by Col. Vetch, and that they considered themselves at liberty to bear arms. The garrison now found themselves blockaded on the land side by 600 men, who were so emboldened that they threatened to take the fort by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. They had not, however, the materials for the siege, even of a weak fort, and Gaulin proceeded to Placentia for assistance. Costabelle, the governor there, sent a vessel loaded with military supplies, and was preparing to send an engineering officer of experience to conduct the siege, and they had the promise from M. de Vaudreuil of a detachment from Quebec. It really seemed as if the French flag was yet to wave in triumph over their beloved Acadie.

But Vetch was not discouraged, and he seems to have been the man for the occasion. "I must say" is his language, "I would not wish to survive the loss of this place while I have the honor to command it." He pronounces the fort pretty defensible, and says that they were still working at it, and that while the sea was open, the worst the enemy could do, was to reduce them to live on salt provisions. In the circumstances with not a person among all the inhabitants to befriend him or bring intelligence, he thought it best to hold what he had, to wit, the fort and the lower town, the latter being thought necessary to protect vessels in the road, and to obtain fuel for the garrison and timber to repair the breaches yet remaining in the walls. All they feared was surprise; and to guard against this, only one-half the men were allowed to sleep at night and they in their clothes with their arms by their side.

A council was held, which resolved on making urgent appeals to the Governments both of Britain and New England for support and reinforcements. Vetch also formed a plan for meeting the hostility of the Indians and securing the peace of the country, which a little later proved entirely successful, and which had it been continued by his successors, would, we believe, have saved many an English scalp and would have placed English authority on a firm basis much

earlier than it was. That was to organize a force of 100 Iroquois Indians for service in Nova Scotia. For this purpose he wrote to the Governor of New York earnestly entreating him to authorize his brother-in-law, Major Livingstone, who had great influence among the Indians, to enlist such a force, and at the same time to the Home Government asking them to sanction such a measure.

While matters were in this state Vetch received a summons to take part in an expedition which was now ready to proceed against Quebec. During the previous winter Nicholson had again visited Britain, with the view of inducing the British Government to take measures for the conquest of the remaining French possessions in North America. His efforts were successful, an expedition for the reduction of Quebec and Montreal was resolved on, and an armament prepared suited to the magnitude of the enterprise. Bolingbroke, then Secretary of State, took up the scheme with energy, looking forward to the conquest of New France, as the crowning glory of his administration. The command of the troops destined for the expedition was given to the second brother of Mrs. Masham, the Queen's favorite, called by his bottle companions "honest Jack Hill," whom the Duke of Marlborough, refusing him a Colonelcy, had pronounced good for nothing, but whom the Queen had pensioned and made a Brigadier-General. The naval force was under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker, who among all those who ever commanded a British fleet enjoys an unenviable preeminence for obstinacy and incapacity.

Early in the Spring of 1711, Nicholson returned to New England to hurry forward the preparation of the colonies, and in June the whole force was assembled in Boston. It consisted of 15 ships of war, 46 transports, and store ships, with a land force of seven veteran regiments from the armies of Marlborough, a force of artillery, and 600 marines. To this were added two regiments of New England troops, to the chief command of which Vetch had been appointed, the Council of Massachusetts Bay having resolved that his services were very necessary for the purpose and having requested that a man of war should be sent to Annapolis for him. This not having been done, when the Governors met in Congress on the 21st June, it was resolved that "the necessity of the service demanding the coming of Col Vetch immediately" to desire another to be sent for him.

Accordingly, early in July, after a hurried preparation, he proceeded to Boston, leaving Sir Charles Hobby in command in his place.

At Boston he took measures for the safety of the garrison he had left, by dispatching a reinforcement of 100 Massachusetts troops and a supply of provisions, sufficient to last the whole force till March following.

On the 30th the expedition sailed from Boston for Quebec. The force was almost as large as that which Wolfe had under his command, while the fortifications of Quebec were feeble and their defenders few compared with what he had to encounter. Vetch was sanguine of success and fondly anticipated high honors to himself as the result. Writing to one of the ministry from on board, he says, "I hope ere long to have an opportunity of congratulating your Lordship on the success of Her Majesty's arms, in putting in execution the scheme, I had the honor to lay before Her Majesty three years ago for the reduction of Canada; for which I make no doubt I shall meet with a reward, suitable to the greatness of the enterprise and my share of executing, as well as projecting the same."

Every reader of North American history knows that these expectations were to be quenched in disastrous failure. But this arose neither from any defect in Vetch's original plan, nor any want either of energy or skill on his part in the execution of it. Not only had he to act as commander to the New England troops, he was obliged to act as pilot to the fleet, though, as he says, this was "none of his province." When off Canso the Admiral sent for a pilot, who was on board the same vessel with Vetch, but the latter, from his intercourse with him, had "found him an ignorant fellow and believed him to be a rogue." He accordingly wrote to the admiral advising him not to trust him. A conference between them followed, in which it was arranged that Vetch should go ahead in a smaller vessel to guide the rest of the fleet, and a code of signals was agreed on for the purpose. In this way he brought them all safely round the East coast of Cape Breton, past St. Paul's Island and Cape North. That this should have been done successfully by a landsman shows, we think, not only a somewhat intimate acquaintance with the coast, but no small skill and capacity, and had he been trusted farther, there can be little doubt that he would have brought the expedition safely to Quebec, where he knew that the defences were entirely insufficient to resist such a force.

But when he had brought them thus far safely, the admiral dispensed with his services without giving reason or explanation, merely sending him written orders that when he was wanted to go ahead, certain signals would be made. This was never done, and the fleet proceeded under other guidance. The weather however was pleasant, and they arrived safely at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Here the Admiral's incapacity was more thoroughly displayed. When they were near the mouth of the river, and the wind fair for entering it, at 12 o'clock at night, to the surprise of all, he made signal for the fleet to tack, and for six hours they ran directly back. This was done two or three nights in succession, when the wind came round to a quarter which, had they been in the river, would have been favorable for their going up, but which obliged them to put into Gaspe. This loss of so much time of a fair wind, Vetch regarded as in one sense the cause of subsequent disasters.

After forty hours delay at Gaspe, the fleet set sail and soon began to make its way up the river. The navigation of the St. Lawrence was then imperfectly known in England, and Walker floating on water a hundred fathoms deep, puzzled his brains to know how he would secure his ships when it should become frozen solid. "The ice," he says, "freezing to the bottom, would bilge them as much as if they were to be squeezed between rocks." "To disencumber them," and then "to secure them on the dry ground in frames and cradles till the thaw," he sagely concluded to be the true way to meet the emergency. On the evening of the 22nd August, a fog came on with an easterly wind. They, however, proceeded safely that night and the next day, but just as the admiral was retiring for the night, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen, but without going on deck Walker madly ordered the fleet to head to the northward. Goddard, a captain in the land service, at the solicitation of the pilot Paradis, rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the admiral at least to come and see, but the latter only laughed at his fears and refused. A second time Goddard came down, exclaiming: "For the Lord's sake come on deck or we shall certainly be lost. I see breakers all around us." "Putting on my gown and slippers," says the admiral, "I found what he told me to be true. But still," he exclaimed, "I see no land to the leeward." Just then the moon broke through the mist and showed

him his error, and measures were adopted to bring the ships back into mid channel. But before this could be effected eight ships were lost and 884 men, the victors of Ramilies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet, found nameless graves beneath the waters of the St. Lawrence.

Vetch saw the danger in which the folly of the admiral was plunging the whole fleet, and was extremely uneasy about the consequences. Pacing the deck in agitation, he exclaimed several times, "What can the admiral mean in sailing such a course?" He, however, kept in safety the vessel in which he sailed, and all under his command, and though he heard guns which led him to fear that some disaster had occurred, he did not learn particulars till three days after, when he was summoned on board the Windsor, in which General Hill sailed, to attend a council of war, which was being held to consider the question of proceeding further with the enterprize. Vetch insisted, and the other colonels concurred with him, that they had yet ample force for the purposes of the expedition, and urged the prosecution of it. But the question was regarded as one depending on the navigation of the river, and, therefore, to be decided by the naval officers. They, and particularly the admiral, magnified the difficulties of the undertaking. Vetch told him that, twenty years before, Sir William Phipps had gone up with 70 sail much later in the season, for he did not arrive before Quebec till the 10th of October, and got them all up safe, though there was not a man on board (as he was informed) who had ever been up the river. "Upon which," he adds, "he asked me if I would undertake to carry up the fleet. I told him I never was bred to the sea, nor was it any part of my province, but I would do my best by going ahead and showing them where the difficulty of the river was, which I knew pretty well."

But the poor admiral's mind was distracted by the fear of more terrible calamities should the fleet reach its destination. In his journal he draws a lamentable picture of the prospects of ten or twelve thousand men being left to perish with the extremity of cold and hunger. "I must confess," he says, "the melancholy contemplation of this strikes me with horror. For how dismal must it have been to have beheld the seas and earth locked by adamantine frosts, and swollen with high mountains of snow, on a barren and uncultivated region, great numbers of brave men famishing with hunger

and drawing lots who should die first to feed the rest, without the least appearance of relief." And after adding every detail which imagination could summon to deepen the darkness of the picture of horror, he adds, "And no prospect of relief for ten months." With such ideas on the mind of the admiral, upon whom, as the naval commander, the chief responsibility rested, need we wonder that the council resolved that it was for the interest of Her Majesty's service that the British troops do forthwith return to England; and Walker congratulates himself that, in the late disaster, "Providence, by the loss of part, had saved the rest."

Vetch was mortified and indignant. "As soon as I got aboard of my own ship," he says, "and seriously pondered the vast disadvantages and fatal consequences which would attend such a retreat when we had advanced so far, I could not forbear writing to the admiral a letter that very night, which I sent him early in the morning." In this he urges the holding another consultation, represents that there was no more difficulty in proceeding up the river than in returning to Cape Breton; and shows how, by having smaller vessels going ahead — of which he was willing to take charge — the ships of war might be safely guided; and once before the city, he looked upon "the greatest part, if not all, the difficulty to be over." Further he urges that the turning back then would involve serious reflection upon all engaged in the affair, and be productive of fatal consequences to the interests of the crown and the British North American colonies.

The arguments were unavailing, and thus, we may say, through the ignorance and incapacity of one man, a force, powerful enough to have changed the destinies of this northern continent, beat an ignominious retreat. Canada was saved to France for the time. Mysterious lights dancing over the surface of the waters were said to have heralded the disaster, and are still said to be seen on the lower St. Lawrence on the eve of storm and wreck, but were then regarded as indicative of supernatural displeasure at the invasion of New France, and the pious colonists reared many churches in honor of Notre Dame des Victoires.

The fleet rendezvoused at Sydney, C. B. and here the question was discussed of attacking Placentia. The force at command was sufficient for the purpose, but Vetch who seems to have made him-

self thoroughly acquainted with our whole coast, and to have been characterized by judgment as well as daring, represented that at that late season of the year, it would not be safe for the fleet to occupy a position outside the harbor; and therefore unless the larger vessels would go in and break the boom which protected the port, it was not advisable to attempt the reduction of the place. For another reason, however, the scarcity of provisions, it was resolved to proceed to England.

But the disasters of the expedition were not over. One man of war and three transports were wrecked on the rocks of Cape Breton, and a few days after arrival in Britain, the *Edgar*, the admiral's flagship, blew up with 470 men. Thus ended perhaps the most inglorious naval and military expedition that ever left the British shores. The Court of Queen Anne went into mourning. Walker's name was some time after dropped from the naval list, and he exiled himself to South Carolina. For nearly half a century longer French power was to extend over this Northern continent, until they could threaten to drive the English settlers into the sea. Many a conflict was to redden its soil with the blood of the brave, and many a frontier home was to be filled with mourning before another such expedition should go forth and plant the British standard on the battlements of Quebec.

To Vetch, personally, this lame and impotent conclusion of the expedition must have been a lifelong mortification. He saw the grand scheme which he had devised, to which he had devoted so much time, thought and labor, which he had expected was to issue in such a large addition to the glory of his country and from which at the same time he had reasonably anticipated so much honor to himself, entirely overthrown, with little prospect of its being soon resumed. But he had done his part. He had the confidence of all parties. Even the admiral testified to his skill and energy during the expedition and his journal so called now first published confirms the testimony, as well as throws light on the causes which led to the failure.

When the British fleet left for England, Vetch returned to Annapolis, taking with him 400 men detached from the seven regiments on board the British fleet, to relieve those in the garrison there, but 150 of these were carried to Boston.

He found matters at Annapolis much as he had left them, or some-

what improved. Soon after his departure, the danger in which he had left the garrison had passed away. The vessel sent by Costabelle with munitions of war, was captured by a privateer, and both he and M. de Vaudreuil, having enough to occupy their attention at home, left the French and Indians of Nova Scotia to their own resources and their own courses. St. Castin was so pressed by the New Englanders, as to be unable to leave his own land, and the arrival of the Massachusetts troops enabled the garrison to turn upon their foes, and in some measure to break the sort of blockade in which they had been kept. The intelligence of the powerful fleet and army in Boston, intended for the conquest of Canada, roused the spirits of the one party and proportionately depressed those of the other, so that both the Acadians and their Indian allies were inclined to be submissive, and on Vetch's return both seemed ready to become the subjects of the British Crown. "During my stay," he says, "several of the inhabitants came in and took the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty upon the proclamations by General Hill and Admiral Walker, sent thither and dispersed amongst them in French. There came in likewise two several messages by two several Indians at a time, and said they came in the name of the Indians nearest to the garrison, who said that as they heard we had promised the French all freedom of trade and privileges as the English themselves, if we would allow the same liberty as they had from the French garrison, and sell them all sorts of goods for their furs, particularly powder and shot, without which they could not subsist, they would never go more to Canada. To which I answered them that, while they behaved themselves peaceably, they might come with as much freedom and safety to us as they did to the French, and doubted not but they would find all sorts of goods in a little time cheaper than they had been from the French. As to powder and shot, I had not allowed the merchants to bring any to sell, until I see the country more peaceable. But I told them if I found they would continue peaceable and true to the Queen of Great Britain, they would want for nothing. This submission of the French, together with the messages from the Indians, is, I know, the effects of their belief that Canada would be taken, and then they had no retreat. But as soon as they shall have heard of our disaster, and have fresh orders from Canada, I doubt not but we shall have all the force they can raise

both of French and Indians, about our garrison early in the spring, if not sooner."

He did not, however, remain at this time at Annapolis, being obliged to return to Boston to dismiss and pay off the New England troops, which had been under his command in the late expedition. Hon. Thomas Caulfield was appointed his deputy, to whom he gives instructions "To order Her Majesty's engineer to carry on the reparations of the works with all possible diligence and despatch, and to make all conveniency of lodgment for both officers and soldiers." As to the French inhabitants that came in to submit themselves, he directs that "they be tendered the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, upon their taking of which they are to be allowed all freedom and liberty of trading with the garrison, and peaceably to enjoy their estates; that all the Indians that come in be civilly received, and no violence offered to any of them while they behave themselves civilly." He gives him particular instructions as to mounting guard and reviewing the troops; urges that "all possible care be taken to keep the forts and barracks clean;" directs him to send a chaloupe to St. John with presents for the Indians, in exchange for English prisoners, "with an assurance to the Jesuitè who is willing to surrender himself prisoner that he shall be well treated." He concludes: "And, lastly, whereas the happiness and safety of the garrison chiefly depends upon a good agreement amongst the officers, you are to recommend *that* to them all to the last degree, together with sobriety and moderation in gaming."

Vetch arrived in Boston on the 20th of October, and remained there till the following spring (1712). During this time he had much to do in settling up matters connected with his command at Annapolis and the late expedition to the St. Lawrence, and also in making preparations for the future. In regard to the first, he met with great difficulties from the British government refusing or neglecting to pay his bills for the repair of the fort, his own expenses, or the pay and victualling of the garrison during the preceding year. Writing to Secretary St. John on the 10th of August, 1711, when on the expedition against Quebec, he says: "Notwithstanding my having laid the scheme of these affairs (that is, of the reduction of Canada), and having been last year honoured by Her Majesty's Royal Commission as a general in the reduction of Port Royal, and afterward,

when reduced, by Her Majesty's royal instructions being made governor of the same, the maintaining of which characters and keeping a table hath occasioned me a very great expense, for all which I have as yet neither allowance, salary nor establishment, and being now in the greatest hurry imaginable called from my government to command the troops of the American governments concerned in the present expedition by sea, and from whom I have not one groat allowance, though my equipage and preparations hath already cost me several hundreds of pounds, I must entreat your Lordships' favour and justice with regard to the premises."

And now the bills for the pay and victualling of the garrison of Annapolis were left unpaid. The public credit was sunk so low that government bills were worth twenty per cent. less than private; the government agents had advanced money till they were on the verge of ruin, and officers and men had suffered much loss and inconvenience. "It is with the last difficulty," he writes on the 24th of June, 1712, "that I can procure any credit to Her Majesty at Boston, by reason of the delay of the former bills, the agent being such a vast sum in advance and so many of his being returned protested." He wrote long and urgent remonstrances both to the Secretary of State, the Lord High Treasurer and the Board of Ordnance on the subject, pleading the loss to individuals, the injury to the Queen's service and the public credit which such a state of things must occasion; at the same time representing the frugality of his management, and that it had been his care that "Her Majesty be put to as little expense as the absolute necessity of the service will allow of."

As to the future, the measure on which he relied for securing the peace of the country was the bringing a force of 100 Indians of the Six Nations, regularly organized as a military company. Before he left Annapolis on Walker's expedition he had made representations in favour of this plan. It seems that a company of them had served under Major Livingstone at the capture of Annapolis and had done good service on the occasion. There were also two companies on board the fleet, forming part of the New England troops under his command. On his representation to General Hill he had been allowed to retain one of them for service at Annapolis, but it was carried to Boston and there disbanded before orders to the contrary could arrive. He now issued instructions to Major Livingstone, who

had great influence among the Indians of New York, to raise a company among the Iroquois. The men were to be regularly enlisted, with a bounty of three pounds each, and the force was to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, two drummers, three corporals and seventy-seven effective privates, regularly mustered in before the governor or a justice of the peace.

The garrison of Annapolis consisted of detachments from seven regiments, and he made strong representations to the Home Government, as to the propriety of having them formed into one regiment under his command. The expense would be no greater. By the present arrangement there was jarring among the officers as to precedency, there was not the same care of the men as when each had his particular charge in company and regiment, and it raised difficulties in the way of recruiting. If his proposal were agreed to he proposed that the company of Indians should be incorporated as part of the new regiment. But his application at this time, and similar applications afterward, seem never to have received any attention. A sentence in one of his letters may perhaps explain the reason. Writing to his agent he says, "If there *wants money to move the wheels*, as to my getting the garrison regimented, you may advance what you think necessary towards the same, but as I never yet gave any money that way, so I hope the reasonableness of the thing itself will prevail with the ministry."

Major Livingstone was successful, and before winter was over his company was mustered in Boston, and, as soon as practicable, was forwarded to Annapolis. In a letter written on the 12th March, 1712, to accompany them, Vetch thus instructs Caulfield; "I wrote to you before to lodge them in the house of M. Adam Fornase or any other houses in the town you think most proper, until we see how the Indians are like to behave. You may let a party of them go out a hunting sometimes, provided there be with them one of their officers to take care they commit no hostilities upon any person unless they be first attacked by them, which you may cause assure all the French and Indians of. But what they must be most employed about, if all be peaceable, is cutting down all the timber upon Goat Island now, that it may be dry and fit for firewood for the garrison, for I hope we shall be able by them to get in store enough of wood for next winter. So would have you to order them axes out of the

magazines and let so many of them be every day employed at Goat Island. You must deliver them arms such as the French used, for our muskets are too heavy for them. The best way is to keep them always employed, otherwise they will be drunk and troublesome."

Vetch returned to Annapolis shortly after and writing toward the end of June says, that Col. Livingstone's company of Indians had themselves with a great deal of labour and little expense to the crown, built a fort "in the most proper place for defense," about a quarter of a mile from the grand fort.* They fully realized the expectations he had formed. "They are," he says, "of wonderful use, and better than three times the number of white men," or, as he expresses it in another place, "four times the number of British troops." The very rumour of their coming had struck such a terror into the Micmacs that he expected that in a short time he would be free from all trouble from them, or that they would submit to the British government. This, he alleges, would soon be effected if it were not for the number of French missionaries among them. He now says he felt pretty secure, the garrison was very healthy, and though they had alarms through agents of the Governor of Canada among the French and Indians, yet, "Thank God," he says, "they cannot do us much harm, only oblige us to hard duty and salt provisions."

We have no particular account of these Iroquois, or Mohawks as they were often called, coming into actual conflict with the Micmacs. On the 20th of June we find Vetch giving orders to Livingstone, with fifty of his men to embark on the sloop Peggy and endeavour to capture a party of Indians or their canoes who had landed in the Bay of Fundy, but the result is not reported. On another occasion a large body of Indians, said to number 150 or 200, were sent by

* It seems to me strange that so far as I know, none of those who have written on the history of Nova Scotia, have ever referred to this employment of the Iroquois. Nor does any of them seem to have been aware of this fort. The engineer appointed to report upon it describes it as "a long square, composed of a dry stone wall of a reasonable thickness, about six feet high, heaped with sods, with a ditch before it about four feet deep, and between five and six feet high, having at each angle the form of a bastion, except towards the river, where it is in a direct line, having a breastwork or parapet of sods, with embrasure for a cannon, capable to be made use of for a battery and commands the river very well thereabouts." Vetch says, "It may prove of very great service of those of Her Majesty's subjects who inhabit the town betwixt the two forts, as well as a barrier betwixt this fort and the enemy upon that side, and more particularly by more immediately commanding the passage up the river, and the preventing the carrying up of ammunition and artillery above the fort, as was practised at the reduction of the place."

the Governor of Canada, captured a dozen of soldiers, and killed two others who had strayed from the fort, and carried their prisoners to Canada. Major Livingstone was absent with half of his force, having been sent to Cape Breton to the wrecks of H. M. S. *Fever-sham* and the three transports lost there the year before. Vetch says that had these been present, though the invading force had been double their number, he would have pursued them and rescued the captives. But, in fact, their very presence was sufficient to keep the Nova Scotia French and Indians quiet. They remained here till May of the following year.

The remaining period of Vetch's administration is not marked by any stirring events; but throughout the whole of it he was involved in serious difficulties. One arose from the composition of the garrison, as made up of so many detachments. "What causes me a great deal of uneasiness is the multitude of officers of different corps, whose jars about command and rank create me an endless trouble, which the settlement of the garrison upon a regular footing would wholly prevent." Then the soldiers are represented as the worst of the seven regiments from which they had been detached; so that desertions among them were frequent. He complains that even his engineer was an avowed Jacobite, who so openly denounced the Revolution of 1688 that another officer broke a large glass decanter over his head. The same officer was supposed to have betrayed St. John's, N. F., to the French.

But his chief difficulty arose from the British government neglecting to pay his bills, although he had besieged officials in every form of urgency. At length, in spring, he learned that they had refused to do so, on the grounds that they had no accounts of the rate of exchange, and because they were not satisfied as to his character. To this he replies, that he had always paid his bills at the same rate of exchange as at the first; and as to his character he says, "I defy any person whatsoever to justly accuse me of doing anything contrary to the good and interest of Her Majesty's service or the strictest laws of honour and equity." He had been accused of building a city at Her Majesty's expense; but "so far from occasioning the crown any needless expense, there had not been one new house built in the garrison or about it since it came into English possession," and he challenges a comparison of his expenditure with that of other places in America.

On the 10th of August he thus writes to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State: "I have wrote to your Lordship so often relating to the garrison and the payment of the bills for its support, without being honoured with the least return or directions with relation to the same, that I now almost write in despair, and as the agent, who hath launched out all the money he was capable to raise for Her Majesty's service and the support of this garrison, having as yet received no reimbursement, is necessitate to abandon us, so that I cannot get any person whatsoever who will, upon the public account, advance either money or provisions for the support of the garrison, nor have we provisions for more than a month longer, which is to the 20th of September, so that we are to be reduced to a necessity to abandon the place, for the inhabitants have not provisions to maintain themselves, so that we are reduced to the last extremity, especially considering that the garrison is composed of all the mutineers and refuse of the seven regiments from which they were detached, as their own officers affirm."

As to the economy with which affairs had been managed, he shows that while the victualling of each seaman stationed at Boston cost nine pence per diem, that of each soldier of the garrison cost only seven pence half-penny, although it took one-fifth of this amount to pay the freight to Annapolis. As to his accounts, he says they can be vouched for by the oaths of those who kept them, as well as by those who paid and those who received the amounts.

He now finds that enemies had been at work misrepresenting him, and he pleads for liberty to go to Britain to vindicate himself, expressing in the strongest terms his conviction that he will be able to satisfy the authorities of the propriety of his conduct. "I doubt not," he says in the same letter, "to convince your Lordship and the ministry that I have laboured under the greatest difficulty and hardship that, perhaps, ever any person in such a post ever did, and notwithstanding any surmises may have been made to your Lordship and the ministry to my disadvantage, I doubt not, when trial shall bring truth to light, to make it evident to Her Majesty and your Lordships of the ministry that I have acted with the utmost zeal, justice, frugality and regard to Her Majesty's honour and interest, and hope to find a reward accordingly."

At the same time, to a friend, he expresses a fear that the ministry

really were inclined to abandon the conquest. "I begin to be very jealous that they would have us forced to abandon the same, since there hath not been the least care taken of it by the public for near these two years past that it hath been in the crown's possession." And the French had the same idea. "They have had news, by way of Placentia, a month ago of a separate peace, and that this country is to be restored to them, which I begin to suspect, since there is no manner of care taken of it."

As the summer passed matters became worse, and Vetch's anxiety was extreme. "The wants of the garrison," he says, "keep me nightly in suspense." By the autumn affairs were almost desperate. On the 16th October, he makes an earnest appeal to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts to apply the Queen's money in their possession, from the sale of the vessels and stores returned from the late expedition against Canada, to the relief of the garrison, the amount to be repaid by the agent of the British Government out of the first money received from England. He pleads that though Her Majesty in her speech to Parliament had expressed such particular care and concern for the securing the country to the crown, the negotiations for peace seemed to have so occupied the attention of the ministry, that no measures had been taken for their relief, and that his only hope therefore was in the Massachusetts Government.

He also went to Boston himself, but returned almost immediately, and now we get almost the only glimpse at his domestic life that we find in the mass of business and official correspondence, which has come under our review. Writing on the 20th November to his agent in London, he says, "my spouse sends you enclosed a memorandum for some more things which pray comply with as soon as possible. She is here now with me doing penance this winter, so that I must please her." This appears to have been the first and only time he took his wife to Annapolis.

At the time of his return, the garrison was reduced almost to extremity. The officers met and drew up a memorial to the Queen setting forth their condition. They had learned from Britain that the Government had objected to allowing them their provisions besides their pay, and they show the unreasonableness of this from the fact that the cost of supplies per man was ninepence per day, to which freight to Annapolis had to be added, while the amount allow-

ed was only sixpence, and the European goods were nearly four times the price they were in Britain. They add that the country could not support them, as many of the inhabitants had been the previous winter in a starving condition. With this Capt. Armstrong was sent express to England, to represent the case before the Government. By him Vetch wrote again in terms, if possible, of more earnest entreaty. "Never any garrison was left in so abandoned condition as this hath been ever since its reduction, during all which time I have had the honor to command, there having been neither pay, nor provisions which have been drawn for the necessary subsistence of the same as yet paid." He represents that by the non-payment of those, not only was the agent ruined and unable to help, but the public credit was so entirely gone in New England, that no person upon any pretence whatever would advance either money or provisions, that he had advanced his own subsistence and credit, and was at the last extremity, and the mutiny of the whole garrison and abandonment of the place imminent—that the soldiers had been the mutineers of the seven regiments from which they were detached, but that they had now just reason to mutiny, being without pay, nearly naked for want of clothing, without bedding, and having the prospect of being without provisions for the winter which was coming on.

By Capt. Armstrong, who went by way of Boston, a memorial signed by the Governor, Lieut-Governor, and all the officers of the garrison was sent to the Governor, Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, with representations to the same effect and appealing to them as the only source of relief. "We cannot but fear either a total mutiny and dissolution of the garrison, or that they must starve and die for want of provisions and clothing."

"With the last difficulty imaginable and after interposing all his credit as well as the agent's," as he says, he obtained a supply of provisions for the winter. But it was late in January before the greater part arrived, and their arrival afforded a remarkable deliverance. The winter had been the most violent and stormy that had been experienced for some time, and the vessels bringing their supplies, had been in the last extremity of danger. Besides two French privateers had been in the neighbourhood, one of which lay for above three weeks in the harbour "within two leagues of this

entry," waiting for the vessels with provisions, of which their garrison at Placentia was in great need. Had the storminess of the weather, or the French privateers prevented their arrival the result would have been the dissolution of the garrison. The ministry at home seemed to have had the idea if they ever thought of his case, that the garrison might live upon the people of the country. But he says, "the inhabitants within three or four leagues of the fort are so far from being able to give us the least assistance, they are now a-starving and have nothing to support them, but what meat or bread they get from the garrison for cabbages and roots."

He had now a supply of provisions to last till the month of May, (1713) but the pay for them was still dependent upon the decision of the British Government, and he again entreats for leave to go home to vindicate himself. It was now nearly two years and a half since the reduction of the place, yet he says he had never been honoured with the least commands, or instructions relating to the garrison. For two years not a farthing had been paid either for the victualling or pay of a garrison of nearly 500 men. But now (in January) he learned by a letter written on the 5th October previous, that after all this delay and the loss from the protesting his bills, the Government had only paid about one half the amount expended. Well might he say, "I believe no person in the like station ever laboured under such difficulties as I have done for these twelve months past." To provide for the public necessities, he now issued letters of credit, and by a proclamation, in which he attributed the neglect of the home Government to provide money for the garrison, to their being busy with the negotiations for peace, he ordered these to pass current, engaging to pay the same in six months either in New England money or in Bills of Exchange on Britain.

Vetch's correspondence at this time is so much occupied with the affairs of the garrison, and his difficulties in maintaining his own position, that we scarcely find a reference to the French inhabitants. In regard to the general policy to be pursued toward them, he was left entirely without instructions. He had begged most earnestly that the Government would either give him instructions on the subject, and if they did he hoped they would be minute, or give him discretionary power in the matter. But they would do neither the one nor the other, and he was therefore unable to carry out any fixed

policy with regard to them, in fact he had not the force necessary to establish British authority throughout the Province as he wished. Indeed till peace was established, there still lingered on the minds of many, particularly of the French, an uncertainty as to the permanent occupation of the country by the English. But from the time of the Walker expedition there appears no instance of collision between the French Acadians and their new rulers. Mascarene speaks of them as having at this time submitted, but he does not give particulars. Indeed, under the administration of Vetch they seemed contented, and even to have felt the sway of their conquerors lighter than that of their own countrymen. He sought to attach them to the British Government by the ties of self-interest. He urges upon his deputy to have two or three thousand pounds worth of bills disposed of among them, alleging that it would "be a greater tie to keep them in our interest than all the oaths they can take." Such means had their influence. The people of Minas now came to supply the garrison with grain, and on one occasion, eight men having deserted, on his offering a reward of five pounds for each man, the inhabitants brought all back but two.

Nor was any attempt made to introduce English settlers. The inevitable Yankee trader was there, as we find a number of deeds from French inhabitants of the town to John Adams, merchant, residing there, and there were English sutlers or hangers-on about the garrison. But we have no account of any actual settlement by the English. This was, however, from no fault of the Governor. He had made strong representations to the Home Government, setting forth the resources of the country and the importance of its being occupied by persons in the British interest. He had warned them that the French could not really be friendly, and that until inhabitants were introduced truly attached to the British crown, their hold upon the country was insecure. He early submitted plans for the object. Thus, in November, 1711, he writes to the Board of Trade and Plantations :

"In several of my former letters I informed your Lordships of the fertility of the soil, vast quantities of minerals, particularly copper, lead and iron, and abundance of very fine marble of all colours, masts and naval stores to be had in plenty, the vast plenty of fish and conveniency of harbours, far beyond Newfoundland. What I

am now to say is, in my humble opinion, the most effectual and easy way to make this a populous and flourishing country. The first is, that your Lordships would be pleased to advise Her Majesty to give, as an encouragement to all her Protestant subjects of Britain and Ireland, who are willing to come over and settle in the country, free transportation, tools and a twelve-months' subsistence, as she was pleased to do with the Palatines in New York." To lessen the expense he proposes that the able-bodied men be subsisted for one year as part of the garrison, and by being exercised twice a week trained to the use of arms, and thus form a militia. He also asks, that two clergymen be sent who speak French, hoping that "by their means and the view of interest, many of them would become Protestants."

"The second thing I would humbly recommend to your Lordships' consideration, as an effectual means to accomplish the former proposal, is to declare Annapolis Royal a free port for all Her Majesty's subjects and confederates to trade to. This, as it could no ways be prejudicial to the interests of either the Crown or subjects, so were it limited to seven or eleven years' time, it would in one year after the expiration of that time be able to pay Her Majesty more revenue than it will do in twenty as it now is, besides the vast advantage of peopling the country and making it a known port and of considerable trade, and at the same time render it strong and secure from any insult of the enemy."

But on this, as on every other subject, he could get no satisfaction from the government. They had no policy of their own, and they did not entrust him with the formation of one for them. "The want of Her Majesty's orders and instructions," he writes, "with regard to the patenting of lands not possessed by any of the French, very much obstructs the settlement and peopling of the country," and he humbly begs instructions on the subject; but they neither gave him any nor authorized him to act on his own discretion.

We have scarcely any information regarding matters at Annapolis during the summer of 1713; but before this a change had taken place in the governorship. On the 20th of October, 1712, Francis Nicholson was appointed to the office in the place of Vetch. Word of this does not seem to have reached Annapolis till summer; and then, as Nicholson did not come himself, Vetch appears for a time

to have continued in authority, awaiting his arrival. But afterward Nicholson commissioned Caulfield as his deputy, who took upon himself the administration of affairs. But Vetch still remained for some time at Annapolis, with the semblance of authority.*

In autumn he left, for we find him in Boston in December, and now, if not before, his eyes were opened to one source of his difficulties with the British Government. When he was in extremity, besieging the ministry for relief in every form of urgency, he frequently refers them to Nicholson as able to give information and to satisfy them as to the justice of his demands; he directs his agent to endeavour to secure Nicholson's influence with those in power, and he writes to Nicholson himself, seeking his aid. But there is reason to believe that the man whom he was thus trusting as his friend, was all the time his enemy and doing him all the injury in his power; that he was, in fact, the "malitious slanderer" from whose influence he had been so long suffering.

At all events Nicholson had lately arrived in Boston, and his proceedings were all in the spirit of intense hostility to his old companion in arms. He came out with a sort of commission to enquire into the conduct of all the Colonial Governors, and hence he was called Governor of Governors. But it was against Vetch that his efforts were particularly, if not entirely directed. On the 13th Feby., (1714), he asked him to attend a meeting of Council that his accounts as governor might be examined, intimating that this did not necessarily imply that there was anything wrong. Vetch attended when his proclamation "for emitting of bills of credit," to which we have seen he had been driven by necessity, was read, and Nicholson "declared that he did not think Her Majesty any ways concerned to make satisfaction for any of those bills." He also charged Vetch "not to leave this government until he had given him satisfaction about the Public Accompts." Vetch attended a second meeting; but when summoned to another, he sent word that "he was undressed," and could not come. Several meetings of the Council followed, at which his business was discussed and a number of officers were examined regarding affairs in Nova Scotia under his

* Caulfield, in a letter to Nicholson dated May, 1714, says, in reply to a complaint that he had allowed Vetch to command after receiving his commission, that he had only allowed him the compliment of parole and guard.

administration. It is in reply to enquiries of this kind that the valuable paper of Mascarene's, published in the present volume, was prepared.

But in the midst of these proceedings, Vetch left for England, sailing early in April. He had as we have seen once and again sought permission to return thither in order to vindicate himself before the home authorities. And now seeing the spirit in which Nicholson was acting he embraced the opportunity of doing so without asking permission from either him or the Council. Nicholson then applied to the latter to have Vetch's property attached, asserting that he was convinced that he was indebted to the crown for several thousand pounds, and they sent for the law officers to take proper measures for that purpose. Then Vetch's correspondents were summoned before the council and examined as to whether they had helped him in his flight. Nicholson's hostility was not abated by his absence. A vessel sailing from Boston at this time for Annapolis, he supposed that Vetch might have embraced the opportunity of sending there for certificates as to his administration, and he wrote to his Deputy, Caulfield, accusing him of "having acted very arbitrarily and illegally," and 'of inventing ways and means to put Her Majesty to charge by making officers and offices for which he had no authority," and of having "used all ways and means to cheat Her Majesty and Her subjects in the affairs of the garrison," and he orders that the captain be examined on oath, and he adds, "what letters he brings from Vetch or any person concerned therein, that he deliver them to you, and that you send to such persons to whom these letters are directed or are to manage them, and in his or their presence let the letters be opened, and which of them concerns Col. Vetch or other officers of the garrison you are to keep." Further he says, "If Davis Jackson or any other that did belong to Col. Vetch comes in Capt. Alden's vessel, you must secure them and their papers." Caulfield followed his instructions but found no letters of the kind sought.

In August, nearly two years after his appointment as Governor of Nova Scotia, Nicholson visited Annapolis. His stay was short, but long enough to bring matters into a worse muddle than ever. Caulfield thus describes his proceeding: "At his arrival he assured the garrison of his favour and interest, tho' at the same time he stopt our pay at home, injured our credit at Boston by his orders, obliged

some of the French inhabitants to quit the country, shut the gates of the garrison against those that remained and declared them traitors, though he was convinced we must subsist that winter by them or perish, for by the measures he took when he returned to Boston he left us entirely unprovided in all respects.

“My Lords, were I to relate the means and methods he took when here it would be too troublesome, there never having been anything proposed by him for either the service of the country or garrison, but *a continued scene of unpresidented methods taken to ruin Mr. Vetch or any other person who interposed on that head.*”

According to Caulfield not only did he neglect to provide for the wants of the garrison, but he acted as if he designed its ruin, giving as a reason that it was useless and the country not worth retaining. Indeed his conduct was such in the other colonies, that the Governor of New York deliberately described him as a madman.

Caulfield had been obliged to obtain supplies on his own credit and had been for a time successful, but he repeatedly asserts that Nicholson for reasons unknown to him had so destroyed his credit in Boston, that he was no longer able to do so. He therefore appealed earnestly to the Governor and Legislature of Massachusetts for relief. But if he received any help from that quarter it was only partial, for the garrison was reduced to greater straits than it had been at any time previous. On 3rd May 1715, he writes that the privates had been for some time on half allowance, and that since December the officers had received from the stores nothing but bread and molasses.

Nicholson indeed had taken or brought a supply of clothing, but it was so rotten and at such excessive prices that the men refused it as not fit for service. Coats that were charged to the British official at 6s were charged to the men at 21s and 8d. Nicholson represented the clothing as belonging to the crown and threatened any officer with dismissal, who should wear any other, and yet he sold the same at half price in Boston. Such was its quality that Caulfield sent a representation to the Home Government on the subject, with specimens of the articles supplied. The condition of the garrison in this respect, he thus describes on the 1st November, “there is neither shoes, stockings, or watch-coats in the stores to keep our men from perishing this winter,” and no bedding had been supplied for five years.

In the meantime Vetch had been to Britain presenting his case before the home authorities. We have no particulars of his proceedings, but as the result we find him reinstated in the confidence of the British Government. Toward the close of the year (1714) we find them consulting him on matters connected with the American colonies—on the boundaries between Hudson Bay Territory and New France, a question which has been up within the last few months, and on various questions arising out of the position of the French Acadians. And finally on the 20th Jan'y. following they again commissioned him as Governor of Nova Scotia, recalling Nicholson, who returned that season.*

I had suspected that these changes might have been connected with the political events of the times in Britain. Vetch was by his whole training an ardent Whig and supporter of the Revolution Government; but during the closing days of Queen Anne's reign, the Tory party were in power and were either intriguing for the restoration of the Stuarts or shaping their course in preparation for that event. And from Nicholson's conduct at New York at the time of the Revolution, he would seem to have sympathized with the exiled dynasty. It appeared significant therefore that Vetch should have been superceded by him shortly before the death of Queen Anne, and their positions so speedily reversed when the Whigs came into power on the accession of George I. This we now find confirmed. In a letter written some time after to Hon. George Troby, Secretary of War, he speaks of himself as having been made by the Queen Governor of Nova Scotia, "from its first reduction, in which he continued till after the peace at Utrecht when *he was suspended for his too great zeal for his present Majesty*, soon after whose happy accession to the crown he was restored to the said Government."†

Vetch however, so far as we can learn, did not return to Nova Scotia. Perhaps having had his character vindicated by his restoration to office, he had little inclination for another residence at

* This fact seems to have been entirely unknown to all who have written on the early history of Nova Scotia. They represent Nicholson as Governor from 1712 to 1717, and some even from 1710. The truth is that he held the office only from 20th Oct., 1712 to 20th Jan'y. 1715. and during that time only made one visit to the Province, and that a short one.

† Article in International Review for 1881, to which we shall presently refer more at large.

Annapolis. He doubtless however used his influence with the Government at home on behalf of the garrison, for that summer there was sent direct from the victualling office, London, a supply of provisions sufficient to last the garrison nine months, "the seasonableness of which," says Caulfield, "I hope prevented what Col. Nicholson's malice designed by his entire neglect of the garrison and colony." To Vetch he writes at the same time, "I am but too sensible of Col. N's unpresidented malice, and had his designs taken their desired effect, I am persuaded there had not been an inhabitant of any kind, nor indeed a garrison on foot."

This is the last notice we have of Vetch in our Provincial records. He however held the office of Governor nearly two years longer or till the 17th August 1717, when Colonel Richard Philipps was appointed his successor. At this time we presume that he was in London, for in a memorial to government afterwards he speaks of himself as "being obliged to attend here an account of the large sums due to the garrison of Annapolis, for which he was liable; during which time he was superceded in the said government by Colonel Philipps."

Of his subsequent life we have been able to glean but few particulars. The most we know of him is that for some time he was engaged in besieging the British Government for his arrears of pay. This he claimed first as captain in Her Majesty's service, next as H. M. commissioner when sent out to enlist the colonies in the projected expedition against Canada in 1709, then as Adjutant-General of H. M. forces in America, and lastly as Governor of Nova Scotia. For the purpose of urging these claims upon the ministry he went to Britain being there in 1719. He at the same time presented vouchers for money advanced out of his own funds toward the equipment, &c., of the Colonial corps designed for the said expedition to the amount of £4000. But whether his claims either for back pay or such advances were ever paid we cannot learn.

Then he petitioned the King that he might be "allowed £3000 a year until he should be provided in some post in America as he had been promised." This was referred to a Board of General Officers, of whose action we have no report. About the same time Col. Bladon was sent to France as commissioner about matters left unsettled by the Treaty of Utrecht, particularly the boundary between the

French and British colonies in America. Vetch, as acquainted with the situation and state of both, was selected to accompany him, and was also proposed as a commissioner for settling these limits on the spot. But nothing was done in the matter. Later on, we find him still seeking relief from Government, and the Earl of Sunderland over and over again promises him "some government abroad," but leaves his promises unfulfilled. At length reduced to extremity he begs that he might have even a captain's half pay. "Being," he says, "entirely disappointed (that is of the promised governorship) notwithstanding his just pretensions, and *being reduced to the last extremity of necessity*, and now, without one shilling from government," he claims a reference of his case to a "Board of general officers in order to his being allowed the £3000 a year or at least direct the payment of *his half pay* either as Adjutant-General or Captain."*

Whether he got even this we know not. But for the next thirteen years we hear no more of him. We cannot even learn whether he lived in England or New York. But he died in London on the 30th April 1732, a prisoner for debt.† Of the circumstances of the case we are entirely ignorant but surely the fact is of itself sufficient to point a moral.

His wife survived him for thirty years, dying about the year 1763.‡ They had only one child, a daughter named Alida, born Christmas day, 1701. She was married to Samuel Bayard, of New York, grandson of Col. Nicholas Bayard, nephew and secretary to Peter Stuyvesant, the last and most eminent of the Dutch Governors of the New Netherlands. Their descendants are numerous. In the American Revolutionary war most of them stood by the British crown. One son, Colonel Wm. Bayard, was head of the mercantile firm of Bayard & Co., of New York, and wealthy. He at first sympathized with the Whig party, being associated with Jay, Lewis, &c., on the committee of fifty. In 1775 the Massachusetts delegates to the Continental Congress were his guests. But he went to England

* For the information contained in these last paragraphs I am indebted to article in *International Review*, Nov. 1881.

† "London, May 2, 1732. Last night was interred at St. George's church, in Southwark Colonel Vetch. He died a prisoner in King's Bench and was formerly governor of Annapolis." *Bradford's N. Y. Gazette*. No. 353.

‡ In a paper written on 23rd July of that year, signed by two of her grandsons, she is spoken of as "recently deceased."

and his large estates were confiscated. He died at his seat, Greenwich House, Southampton, England, in 1804, at a very advanced age, and was buried in All Saints Church, where also lie the remains of other descendants of Samuel Vetch.

Several grandsons entered the British service at that time. One, Samuel Vetch Bayard, was, in 1777, appointed surveyor and searcher of the customs by Governor Tryon, of New York, who, at the same time, writes to Lord George Germain: "From the steady loyalty of his father and the depredations made on his estate, and in consideration that his two sons are now in the Provincial service, I rest in absolute confidence that His Majesty will confirm my appointment in opposition to all solicitations whatever."* Samuel Vetch, however, followed his two brothers to the army, and rose to be Major in the King's Orange Rangers. At the peace he settled in Nova Scotia. When Governor Wentworth, in 1793, raised a Nova Scotia regiment he was appointed Major and afterward Lieut.-Colonel, and served in it till it was disbanded at the peace in 1802. He died at Wilmot, Annapolis County, in 1832. Some of his descendants still reside in the maritime provinces.

There is a large painting of Vetch in the possession of one of his descendants residing in New York, in which he is represented in the military dress of the days of Marlborough and Queen Anne, with wig, &c. His appearance, according to those who have seen the picture, is that of a handsome, well-made and resolute man.

The information we have thus been able to gather regarding Governor Vetch is not sufficient to enable us to draw a finished portrait of him — indeed, presents few personal traits. It enables us, however, to form a general estimate of his character and services; and we must say that the whole records we have been examining impress us most favorably as to his energy, capacity and integrity. As a military man we find him showing that attention to details and care for the wants of his men which mark the well-trained officer; at the same time, his forming the plan for the reduction of the French possessions in America, showed the skill of a commander capable of conceiving grand projects and arranging all the combinations necessary for their execution. That he should, though a landsman, have been able successfully to pilot a fleet along coasts then unsur-

* Sabine's Lives of the Loyalists.

vayed, proves him to have been a man of varied powers. Nothing but the sheerest incapacity on the part of those entrusted with the execution of his scheme prevented its success; in which case, his name would have gone down to posterity as the originator of one of the most important events of modern times.

The failure of the attempt on Quebec prevented his having the wide field for the exercise of his talents for civil administration that he had expected; and in the limited sphere which he was called to occupy, we have seen how he was hampered by the want of the requisite powers. But enough appears to satisfy us that had he received the proper authority to act, and the force been placed at his disposal to enable him to do so, he would have quickly placed British authority in the province on a secure basis; the difficulties which so long stood in the way of British settlement would have been removed, and both French and English saved from many troubles. We know how English colonization was hindered by the Indians, and, when it began, what the settlers suffered from them. But we believe that had Vetch's plan been followed up, this would have been stopped at the outset. A hundred Iroquois, backed by a few hundred British troops, would have speedily compelled the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, whose whole strength would have been taxed to muster 400 warriors, to sue for peace, or have wiped them out altogether. Then, as to the French inhabitants, we know the trouble they afterwards gave to the English, and the evils which came upon themselves. But they were then few in number, and, if let alone, prepared to receive almost anything from the hands of their conquerors. And from the mingled firmness, fairness and tact which he displayed in dealing with them, we believe that, had he been given a policy to carry out, or allowed to form and execute one of his own, the whole question regarding this unfortunate people would have been settled at the very outset. There would have been no disputes about neutrality. The turbulent or patriotic, call them which you choose, would have been obliged to leave, and the more quietly disposed would have unequivocally accepted British sovereignty. And his plan of settling the country was just what had to be adopted forty or fifty years later.

But instead of being allowed or enabled to carry out such measures, he was left in such straits that at times it required all his energies to

maintain his position at all. The service he rendered in this way we can perhaps but imperfectly estimate. It is only when we examine his letters, that we learn upon what a slender thread the whole fabric of British sovereignty for some time hung. Surrounded by a hostile population of French and Indians who at one time kept him blockaded by land, depending for communication with the outside world and for all supplies upon a small merchant vessel which a French frigate or privateer might capture any day and with a garrison not only feeble and ill assorted, but left so ill supplied even with necessaries that it was only by the most strenuous efforts on his part that it was saved from dissolution, the whole country might very easily have fallen under French control. That at this critical period and under such circumstances the way was kept open for the final establishment of British authority and Anglo Saxon colonization, is we think sufficient evidence of the energy and skill of its *first English Governor*.*

After the greater part of the foregoing was in type I learned that an article of General Jas. Grant Wilson on the life of Vetch, entitled "An Acadian Governor" had appeared in the *International Review* for November, 1881. I obtained a copy of it in time to enable me to add some information regarding his later years to the closing part of my paper. Gen. Wilson had no acquaintance with the documents in our Provincial archives from which I have compiled the foregoing account of Vetch's administration at Annapolis. His account therefore of that part of his hero's life is not only meagre but incorrect. He even supposed that Vetch was not engaged in Walker's expedition to the St. Lawrence in 1711. But in regard to other portions of his life he had access to documents of which I had no knowledge from which he has been able to depict more vividly portions of his early career in America, and also portray his personal character, more exactly than I had the means of doing. I shall therefore supplement my sketch by adding some particulars obtained from his article.

* For the information contained in the foregoing regarding Vetch's Government of Nova Scotia, I am indebted almost entirely to his correspondence, copies of which are now in our Provincial archives. Some items in regard to other portions of his life I have taken from the New York Colonial Documents, and other works. I have to return thanks to S. A. Greene, Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Jas. Mascarene Hubbard of Boston, and General J. Grant Wilson of New York who kindly aided me in my enquiries and who furnished me with a few facts connected with my subject.

On Vetch's coming from Darien to New York in 1700, it appears that he took up his residence at Albany. There, as we have seen, he became connected with the Livingston family by marrying the daughter of Robert Livingston. His father-in-law being secretary for Indian affairs, and his brother-in-law being largely engaged either officially or commercially with the children of the forest, he was led to engage in the traffic with them, then forming so large a portion of colonial trade. From this he was led to engage in trade with the French at Quebec by way of the St Lawrence. Of this period of his life Gen. Wilson says, "while acquiring considerable wealth in his Indian trade, he had early become prominent in the councils of the colonial government. His judgment was greatly relied on. A certain aggressiveness derived from his father, and a certain thoughtful patience from his mother, made up a character valuable in offence and defence. A strong leaning to commerce, however, was at this time a distinguishing trait in Captain Vetch. His frontier trade had not been unproductive, and yet he saw better and surer receipts farther at sea." In the year 1701 the sloop Mary was sent to Quebec with a cargo of flour, tobacco, earthenware, &c. On her return laden with wine, brandy and furs, she was wrecked at Montauk, R. I. and the contents seized for violation of the trade and navigation laws. Vetch was found to be owner, in whole or in part of both vessel and cargo. It must have been in this way that he made the visits to Quebec by the St. Lawrence spoken of in one of his letters. We may mention that as the laws were imposed upon the colonies by the Home Government and were extremely restrictive, forbidding all trade between the colonies and foreign plantations, the neglect of these was not considered discreditable.

General Wilson gives an account of Vetch's efforts in preparing for the projected expedition against Canada in 1709, which impresses us strongly as to his energy and tact. While in England he had been much tried by delays of various kinds. H. M. S. Dragon which had been appointed to convey him to America was to have sailed on the 1st of March but she was not off Spithead till the 11th. And the fleet was not ready as expected. Then they met with unfavorable winds. "For more than five weeks afterwards," Vetch writes "we had not one day fair wind." The captain asked for a change of destination from New York to Boston as nearer. At this latter point,

"shattered and overdue," the Dragon finally arrived on the 30th April.

As the fleet was to arrive in May, and the greater part of the preparations of the colonies had yet to be made, we can understand how Vetch's spirit must have chafed under the various detentions he met with. But once he got his foot on land there was no more delay, at least on his part. On the day the vessel cast anchor he landed and had an interview with the Governor of Massachusetts. There were then neither railroads nor telegraphs, but that night messengers were sent express, carrying Her Majesty's letter of instructions to the Governors of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. The next day he met with the Governor and Council and "communicated Her Majesty's instructions relating to the expedition against Canada and Newfoundland, which was received with all the dutiful obedience becoming good subjects, and all the marks of joy and thankfulness which became the objects of so great favours as these Her Majesty had been pleased to confer upon them." On the day following Colonel Wanton arrived from Newport authorized by the Governor of Rhode Island to confer with Vetch. He was immediately sent back with instructions to the Governor to make all necessary preparations before Col. Vetch's arrival which would be in a few days.

Prompt measures were necessary. Spring had fairly set in. The Indian allies of the French were already on the warpath. The fleet would be here in a few days, or at most weeks, and the campaign must be finished before summer was over. The troops for the overland expedition with three months provisions must "be at Albany with all possible expedition sometime in the month of May, besides all the Indians both of the Five Nations and others in amity with the crown." "There is no time to be lost," Vetch exclaimed as he found governments or governors slow either in voting the aid required or in furnishing it after it was voted. On the 3rd May the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay again met with him in conference when vigorous measures were adopted for carrying out the object in view. A general embargo was laid on all shipping save coasters leaving colonial ports, "until such time as enough was secured for the present expedition." Arrangements were made for equipping and drilling the force to be raised, and for organizing a fleet of flat-bottomed

boats suitable for landing troops. On the 12th, accompanied by Nicholson, he left Boston. During the twelve days that had elapsed since his arrival all had been put in train for the old Bay State doing her part. On the night of the following day he arrived at Newport, R. I., and next morning met the Governor and Council, who had to report that they had already taken all the measures necessary to raise their quota of men, to provide transport and provisions, and even to pay the troops. Finding matters thus forward, he left on the 16th for Newhaven. There had just been a new governor elected. Vetch did not see him but received from him a message that he would follow him to New York, and assuring him that he was getting everything in readiness in accordance with Her Majesty's orders. He therefore pressed on to New York where he arrived on the 18th. The Governor had died shortly before, but the Lieut-Governor was ready to receive him. The Council was called for the following day, at which also "the Lower House was summoned to attend." Vetch and Nicholson both addressed them and they responded readily to their appeals. The Governors of Connecticut and Pennsylvania arrived and joined in conference as to the measures to be adopted in their respective governments.

There remained only the Jerseys. In this Province which was subordinate to New York, there had been for some time, "a great variance" between the Lieut-Governor and the members of the Council and Assembly. Vetch, however, proceeded to Perth Amboy where the Assembly was in session. They were sent for and addressed by Vetch, who urged upon them the example of the rest of the governments. But half the members were Quakers opposed to war in every form, and the majority proved stubbornly opposed to the present. But as Wilson says, "Vetch had the gift of managing men. He knew how to frown when wrangling governors were to be brought into the government traces; and how to smile when peace-adoring Quakers deaf of old to the threats of Assemblies, were to be coaxed into swelling the sinews of war." For as Vetch affirms, after some argument, "the House resolved finally to raise £3,000 for Her Majesty's service for this present juncture, but would not have it named for paying or raising soldiers, this being against the pretended principles of the Quakers."

"His energy was as intense as his prejudices were bitter; his

obstinacy rose to the level of either. He did not merely undertake a thing, he threw himself bodily upon it, and rising bore it along with him." And here ambition, patriotism and religion combined to draw out all his energies on behalf of a scheme, which at the same time by its grandeur captivated the imagination. His activity was exhaustless, and he lavished his own funds in promoting the object. His efforts were entirely successful. Government and people heartily responded to his appeals. Assemblies voted men and supplies, and volunteers thronged the ranks of the army. By June the advanced guard of the force under Gen. Nicholson destined for the attack on Montreal was encamped on the borders of Lake Champlain. Vetch then returned to Boston and was delighted at the state of efficiency in which he found the three regiments forming the Massachusetts contingent. Indeed through his marvelous energy and the enthusiasm of the colonists all the preparations required on this side of the Atlantic were complete, and looking at the manner in which every contingency had been provided for, we need not wonder that all parties were sanguine of success. Vetch only spoke reasonably when he said "that in all human probability nothing can occasion the design's miscarriage *save the too late coming of the fleet.*" So confident were all parties of the issue that arrangement had been made for the permanent security of the new conquest. "Which two places" (Montreal and Quebec) "being reduced" he says, "all the others must of consequence fall into Her Majesty's hands, who hath given such orders for well garrisoning and fortifying the same places, when reduced in obedience, that it shall never be in the power of the French to retake them." He even went farther and proposed to drive the Spaniards from Pensacola. Thus he anticipates, "*Her Majesty shall be sole empress of the vast North American continent.*"

The one thing upon which all depended was the timely coming of the fleet; and it never came. It was to have left on the 10th of April, and it was time that it were making its appearance. We need not describe what followed; the weary waiting as the months passed without intelligence, the fasting and praying of the Puritans, the chafing and brooding of Vetch's spirit, the anxiety deepening into despair of the colonists, the difficulties of the government under the charges of such a force, the perplexity as to the course to pursue, whether to disband the troops or not, the uneasiness throughout the

whole population, especially when it was found that the gallant advanced guard under Nicholson at Lake Champlain had been rapidly diminishing from some strange disorder, and was now in danger of being cut off by famine, and thus the whole northern frontier opened to the French and their Indian allies; and, finally, the bitter disappointment, when, at the meeting of governors held in October to consider the situation, word was at length received that the British Government had abandoned the enterprise.

Had Vetch known that the fleet would have been so tardy, he asserts that he would have taken the ships of war then in Boston harbour and the three Massachusetts regiments and attacked Annapolis, "which he doubts not," he adds, "to have carried." And from what we now know of its condition, we need not doubt that he would. By the letter of the Secretary of State announcing the withdrawal of the fleet, the colonists were left free to proceed against Port Royal if the force at their disposal were deemed sufficient. The governors at this conference approved of the measure, and Vetch, returning to Boston, summoned a meeting of Governor Dudley and prominent citizens for Oct. 18. The result was "a demand" on the Captain of H. M. S. Dragon for the services of his and other government vessels at command for an immediate expedition against Port Royal. He demurred, as he had just received orders to proceed to Newfoundland *en route* for England. The Council urged that Port Royal was on his way, and they only required him to remain twenty-four hours in the harbour. But he positively refused, and Her Majesty's ships "Dragon" and "Guernsey," with Nicholson and suite on board, sailed for England. Subsequent proceedings have been already described.

General Wilson's article adds nothing to our information regarding Governor Vetch's administration of affairs in Nova Scotia,—indeed, gives an erroneous view of it. Neither does he cast any light upon the last thirteen years of his life. We may only add what he farther says regarding his personal qualities: "He was a good, though an over-headstrong son, for whom his mother will plead as a tender witness so long as the ladies of the Covenant shall deserve a monument to their Christian and womanly virtues. He was, as I have read of him, a devoted husband,—love for his wife seeming to be only a new and a warmer phase of his affection for that adopted country which had in his

young manhood given her to him. He had a canniness which was altogether Scotch ; but he held the purse-strings with a looseness which was hereditary." . . . "That he was no common man is easily inferred from the strong impression he made upon his American contemporaries. They were men who, in their sturdy independence and intense self-consciousness, had passed far beyond the colonial cradle. They had, out of many worthy competitors, deliberately selected him to represent before their sovereign endangered interests of great moment to them. The controlling power of representation accorded by Anne in response to this commission, and in connection with the expedition against Canada which Vetch, as their mouth-piece, had so warmly and forcibly advocated, affords the only additional proof needed that he was possessed in a high degree of those qualities which command the respect at once of rulers and communities."

II.

PAPERS CONNECTED WITH THE ADMINISTRATION
OF GOVERNOR VETCH.EDITED BY REV. GEORGE PATTERSON, D.D., NEW GLASGOW.

[The following papers are printed from copies in the Nova Scotia Archives, which have been taken either from copies in the British Museum or from the originals in the Record office, London. Most of them being from the former source, are copies of copies, and a considerable number of errors has crept into them. Still it has been thought advisable to publish them as they stand. We have, however, marked with a query (?) some of the most palpable mistakes, and have supplied a few words in square brackets [] where there are manifest omissions. Punctuation and division into paragraphs would have rendered them more readily intelligible, but it has been thought better not to make any changes even of this kind. The documents now published are all we possess of any importance relating to the period from the time of Vetch's taking command at Annapolis till his departure to join the expedition against Quebec in July, 1711, together with his journal of that expedition. The documents relating to his administration of affairs at Annapolis during the two following years are too voluminous for publication in our present volume, but they present no events of striking importance, and the information they contain will be found summarized in the foregoing sketch of his life.]

EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO COL. VETCH.

ANN R.

Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved Col. Vetch, to be observed in his negotiations with Governours of several of our colonies.

in America. Given at our Court of St. James's the 28th February, 1708, and in the 7th year of our reign.

Whereas you have laid before us, the proposal of an enterprize on Canada, and Newfoundland, which may turn very much, to the security, and advantage of our subjects in these parts of America, as well as to the prosperity of our kingdom in general. We having taken the same into our royal consideration do entirely approve, of the said proposal, and in order to execute it effectually, have thought fit, to give you these our following instructions.

You shall immediately repair on board the ship appointed by our High Admiral, for the transporting you with such officers, as shall be sent under your command to several of our colonies in North America. Upon your arrival at New York; you are to deliver to our Governour of that place; a letter from us; and communicate to him these your instructions, acquainting him, that we shall expect from him, a punctual & ready compliance in all such as relate to him; you shall represent to him, that out of our great desire to answer the frequent applications which have been made to us, by our good subjects, the inhabitants of these parts, to deliver them, from the neighbourhood of the French, at Canada, which of late years, has been so troublesome, to them. We have fitted out an expedition the particulars of which you shall lay before him, and withal let him know, that we strictly require, and enjoin him, to give you such an assistance, to ye sd expedition, as is hereafter specified. You shall signifie to him our pleasure, that the government of New York, do furnish a quota, of 800 men; including the 4 standing companies, & that ye city regiments, of York, and Albany, do duty in ye forts, during the absence of the said standing companies; you shall, at ye same time, acquaint him, that New Jersey, is to furnish 200 men, Connecticut 350 and Pensilvania, 150. So that the whole force, will consist of 1500 effectives which are to be disposed, into 4 battalions, each battalion, to have one of the 4 regular companies, mixed and incorporated in it, and to be commanded by the captain (as colonel) whose company is so incorporated; in it. and under him by the respective officers, of the country troops, the officers that goe with you, and are designed for New York; to be distributed among ye companies, as the government in concert with ye commander in chief, shall think best for the service.

You shall likewise acquaint our aforesaid Governor, in our name, that we do command and Expect from Him, that Quotas of his Governments be ready at Albany, with all things necessary for ye expedition by the middle of May next, ensuing at the furthest, and that he furnish all the troops, with what armes and ammunition they want, out of the magazine at New York, and that he do forthwith get together and keep in readiness, 3 months provisions, for his quota of men, to be transported and lodged, in some convenient place at the Wood Creek or elsewhere, for the security of which, he shall in conjunction with the Governments of Connecticut and Pensilvania, cause to be built a large wooden store house, as also six, or more large boats, that will carry 60 men each, for the transportation of their heavier stores, by water and also contract with ye I. nation to make with all speed, as many canoes, as will be wanted for ye said expedition. You shall moreover enjoin, ye aforesaid Governor in our name to command and engage, the aforesaid I. nations as also the River Indians, to join with all their fighting men, in the said expedition, and promise them a good present if they doe. You shall likewise acquaint him that it is our pleasure, that he give all fitting encouragement, to any gentlemen or others that shall offer themselves to goe as volunteers in this our service. You shall deliver a letter from us to the Governor of Connecticut and another to the Governor of Pensilvania, for ye time being and signifie to them our royal will and pleasure that they have their quotas of men and provisions ready by ye middle of May at farthest, acquainting them withal that ye Governour of New York is ordered to assist them, with what arms and ammunition they shall want. After having finished your negociations for the foregoing Expedition, with all possible secrecy and dispatch, you shall deliver a letter from us to our Governour of New England and another to ye Governour of Rhode Island, for the time being, strictly enjoining and commanding them in our name to raise at least 1200 of their best men, according to their usual proportions, and to give all fitting encouragement to any such as shall offer themselves to goe volunteers in the expedition whether Gentlemen or others, as also to have in readiness a sufficient number of transports with 3 months provisions, and able pilots whereof Captain Southwick is to be one, and to go on his own

galley, and that all may be ready to embark by the middle of May. Upon the arrival of the fleet from England, and for their greater encouragement you shall acquaint them that we have ordered armes and ammunition to be sent with you for ye number of troops they are to furnish with armes and ammunition. You shall accordingly deliver to the several companys, in presence of ye Governour, or Commissary of ye country, taking a receipt for the same, which you shall transmit to our board of Ordinance in this Kingdom. You shall with the advice and concurrence of our Governour of New England, contract with ship carpenters for the building of ten or more flat-bottomed boats that will carry 60 men each, for the landing of troops, and also contract with proper persons for the furnishing of 8 months provisions to the troops that shall be left at Quebec and Mont Real, if it shall please God to make our forces masters of those places, and to give us the success that we hope for from this our Expedition. And to the end that nothing may be wanting on our part towards engaging the several Governments to act with the utmost spirit and vigor in this Expedition, you shall assure them in our name, that such of the Governments as contribute towards ye reduction of Canada shall have a preference both with regard to the soil and trade of the country when reduced, to any other of our subjects. And when they shall have concerted among themselves any reasonable proposals, for securing to their respective colonies the benefits of the soil and trade, we shall not be wanting to give the Royal sanction to the same. You shall communicate these your instructions to Colonel Francis Nicholson, who has offered himself to goe as a volunteer in this expedition. And further out of our regard, to his known abilities and zeal for our service, we do require that you should admit him into your private consultations with our several Governours on ye methods for putting this your proposal in execution. And if by the reason of distance of time and place, any other preparation may be necessary for the carrying on this Expedition, which we could not here foresee, and which is not contained in these your instructions, you shall with the concurrence of ye Governours who is to assist in any such service, and of Colonel Nicholson make any such preparation, though it is not in your instructious; provided that if it appear to you absolutely necessary, for the carrying on of the expedition, as

aforesaid and that the Governours and Colonel Nicholson do entirely concur with you in judging it to be so.

SUNDERLAND.

A. R.

Endorsed.
Nova Scotia.

Copy of Her late Majesty' instructions to Colonel Vetch in 1708* relating to an expedition against Canada.

Rec'd. }
Read. }

Jany. 17th 17th.

A. 32.

A. fol. 126

* 1700, according to our present reckoning.

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS AT ANNAPOLIS FROM THE
CAPTURE IN OCT., 1710, TILL SEPT., 1711.

BY PAUL MASCARENE.

[Of the writer of the following document a biographical sketch will be found in a note in the published volume of the Nova Scotia Archives, pages 108-9. We may just notice here that he served at the taking of Port Royal with the rank of captain, and was the officer who, when the English entered into possession, mounted the first guard. He received the brevet rank of Major, and continued to serve in the garrison till Sept., 1711, when he left on a summons to attend upon the expedition to Canada. The following paper by him, which is called a Memorial, but which might more properly be called a report or narrative, contains a plain, unvarnished account of what transpired at Annapolis during that period. It was written, however, two years after, and is addressed to Gen. Francis Nicholson in reply to inquiries of the latter while making investigations in regard to the administration of affairs in Nova Scotia under Governor Vetch. It is valuable as containing the best and almost the only complete history by an eye witness that we possess of the first months of British occupation of our Province.—Ed.]

MEMORIAL.

To his Excy. FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Esq., General and Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's forces in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCY.

I think I cannot answer more justly to your Excys orders than by laying before you a true and faithful accot of all the affairs relating to Her Majtys Garrison of Annapolis Royall—as far as they are come within my knowledge—beginning from the time—that after the Reduction of it—your Excy left it to the command of Colo Saml. Vetch.

I shall not take upon me to make or reflect upon any of the acts as ill or unjust practises—since by my being entirely ignorant or unacquainted with Colo Vetchs orders and Instructions. whatever was done by—him or his—command may have then appeared to me as just and reasonable but your Excy. who left him these orders—and Instructions must be the only fit judge—and resolve whether punctually Executed and duely put in Practice.

After your Departure—the Genl notion of the Garrison concerning the Inhabitants of the new conquered country—was that those of the Banlieue—as included in the capitulation were the only ones of the French who were to be looked upon as Friends for the first two years—and as for those without the sd capitulation it was left to Govr Vetch—to treat with them and use them like Friends—till Her Majtys Pleasure*should be further known.

Accordingly there were then with Colo Vetch and I believe had been before with your Excly—some Deputys from Manis—and from almost all the Settlements without the Banlieue—expecting to learn what they had to depend upon and how far they would be tolerated—under ye new Governmt Govr Vetch—I may suppose did not think it fit to give an answer directly to the Deputys from Manis—but thought it more convenient to send to the Very Place. I was accordingly pitcht upon as being the eldest Captain and the first in command and besides—having the advantage of the French Language—and a party of fifty-nine men drawn out of the Genl Detachments composing ye Garrison was put under my immediate command with a Lieut and a Surgeon. Before I proceed any further I must desire your Excy to read a paper under Colo Vetch's own hand hereto annexed, entitled "Instructions to Captain Paul Mascarene to be observed upon his arrival at Manis," by Saml. Vetch, Esqr. adjutant Genl of all Her Majty of Great Brittain forces—Genl and Comdre in chief of all her Troops—in those parts—and Govr of her Fort of Annapolis Royall Country of Acadie and Nova Scotia—supposing these Instructions read—I'll proceed to give your Excy an accot of my voyage and of my Department—during the same which cannot be done better than by the Journal I kept and which I am—here to set down.

I went on board the Betty Brig., Capt Blackmore Comdre., the 8th of November having a detachment of 25 marines and as many

of the country forces, we fell down in the Bason the 9th and sailed out of it the 11th early in the morning and anchored the same day towards the evening under Spencer's Island, here we found a little sloop and having seized the boat on board of her, she proved to be a French sloop, the *Mar.* of which came on board the brig. at the return of our boat. He told me that he came out of Manis that same day having on board some few furs for a present to the Governor of Annapolis. I proposed to him to go back again into Manis with me when he might learn what yee Govrs. orders to me were in relation to them to which he gave his consent, the 12th we set sail again in the morning and came to an anchor about 12 of the clock into Manis Road whence immediately dispatch. a French passenger then on board the brig. who was an inhabitant of the place to whom I gave a paper here annexed translated out of the French original and markt. No. 2.

The next day being Monday, the 13th of Novr. I landed about 12 of the clock in the flat-bottom'd boat, with 42 men, officers included and was recvd. upon the shore by abt 150 of the inhabits. with demonstrations of joy. I ordered the men to be marched up to the house which yee inhabitants had already appointed for the officers quarters and having considered that it was impossible I should perform yt part of my instructions wherein I was charged to go on board every night, since the brig. anchored three leagues off, and the tide because of the flats is so quick that it doth not serve above an hour and a half to go in and off the creek, I quartered my men in four houses, round abt that which was design'd for the officers, and having ordered a guard of a sergt. and 12 men I went to refresh myself and after that the inhabitants being for the most part present I spoke to them concerning what I was sent to them for they desired of me to have the liberty to choose some particulr. numr. of men amongst them who should represent the whole by reason of the most of the people living scattered far off and not being able to attend for a considerable time, I easily consented to it and accordingly they chose Mr. Peter Melanzon and yees four formerly captains of their militia, with another man for Manis, one for Chicanecko and one for Copequid being eight in all, to these I more particularly and plainly told my instructions, at which they seemed extremely concerned and having represented to me the misery of the

country occasioned chiefly by the tyranny of Mr. Subercase, who was wont to oppress them with and concluded it was impossible the sum demanded could be made up, the third part of the inhabitants not being worth a "*Groat*" and "*actually beggars*" they at last begged of me, this medium that they might be allowed *to go about* the finding of means to make up the half of the sum, and in the meantime petition the Govr. that in consideration of the miserable condition they were in he would be pleased to remit the other half, which I thought I could not refuse, they further desired of me to give them some show of power by which they might oblige the meaner part of the Inhabitants to contribute to the best of their power, for fear that those failing or refusing to give a help in the present necessity the whole weight should fall upon half a score of the most publick spirited amongst them, and so draw them as they sd. into a totall ruin and under obligacon (*obligation*) of entirely deserting the country, upon their entreaty—I went so far as to give them the paper—marked No. 9. translated out of the French original a copy of which—I gave to the representative of Chicannecto, Messrs Mitchel (Michel?) *Porrier* "and Charles *Bourgeois*"—and another to that of Copequid directed to Mr. Matt. Martin—for their share of half of the sum that had been allotted to them by the eight above mentioned representatives.

Immediately after the six appointed for Manis—drew up a list of their inhabitants and taxed them and themselves proportionably in respect both of the sum they were to make up of their respective capacities, and having delivered, as it then appeared to me chearfully what each of them was able to furnish at that present time—in furs—into the hands of the above mentioned six, the whole was delivered to one of that numr. by name "*John Landry*" and the same who was mar. of the above quoted sloop—in order to carry it under the brigts. convoy to Annapolis Royall.

Here it will not be improper to mention that the Evening before I design'd to Embark I ordered the soldiers—and told the Inhabitants if any way grieved by them—or not satisfied for what they had furnished them with to address themselves to me—and I would do them Justice but no complaint being made and rather on the contrary the Inhabitants praising the Civil Behaviour of the soldiers—having on my own part paid sixteen Livres for the Lodging and Diet

of the Lieutenant and Chirurgion and myself, at break of Day—I marched with the party three miles over Land—at a place which I had desired Capt Blackmore to send the Boat and having safely reached the Brig we soon set sail and arriv'd the 20th Novr. at Annapolis Royall—where I directly waited on Colo Vetch shew'd him this journall of which he seem'd satisfied and presented to him the above mentinn'd "*John Landry*," who brought along with him a parcell of Furr, of which, I had but an imperfect accot but which might amount if I well remember according to the sd Landry's Estimation to 50 or 60 pistols—and with all presented the Govr. a petition from the Inhabitants of Manis—therein entreating to be releas'd of the half of the sum to wit three thousand Livres—there being six demanded of them—as also of the twenty pistols demand'd of them monthly. What answer that petition had I cannot justly remember—but so far as I know—that they never pd—the full sum of 3000 Livres—and never pd anything towds the sd twenty pistols the way of their payments after the first in Furrs—was in Bills—Wheat and Pease—and the Bills were drawn formerly by Mr. Subercase accepted by Colo. Vetch—by his name being endorsed on the back of the sd Bills—the sum due by Colo Vetch to Mr. Subercase must have been considerable since there was abundance of those Bills.

At my Return from Manis I heard that Majr. Forbes, Capt. Abercromby, Mr. Capon, had had Instructions from Colo Vetch to demand from the Inhabitants living along the British River—without the Limitts of the "Banlieue" the same sum of 6000 Livres—and twenty Pistols a month—but how much of that sum was pd or which way, I am entirely a stranger to.

Winter began to set in hard and the Fort being overcrowded with Officers and Soldiers made Lodgings very narrow and uncomfortable—for both the latter could not easily be containd in the Barracks—till the Enginr. having reduced the Chappel into a lesser compass (made) two large Barracks of the rest of it in which the best part of the Country Troops were quartered—but the Frost hindering for some time the Chimneys to be built the men were put to great streights for want of Fire to cook their victuals and to warm themselves—Wood was now mightily in request there being twenty-seven more Chimneys—besides the three Guard Rooms—to be supplied with Fuel—there was but little or no stock left at the Reduction of

ye place. I must own that it was with great fatigue—Risque—and no doubt with great expense that the Garrison was supplied with Firing that winter, though the price of wood was very reasonable being “*cut*” and ready brought to the water side for a crown per cord—but being on the other side of the water, three flat-bot-tomed boats were almost continually going and coming to bring it over. One Mr. Winnet* had the direction and management of the whole affair.

We began to be pinchd by other wants — that of Bread was very sensible, nothing but pease and Beefe and little or no pork if I well remember being served to the Garrison—how provisions so soon failed I cant tell being unacquainted with the quantity left, or with the measures taken for supplying with fresh—but I may say that the taking of little less I believe than 20 Frenchmen to work in Fort some of whom had double but all in general an allowance of the provisions did surely contribute to the soon diminishing of them.

However, means were contriv'd to procure corn from the Inhabitants up the River—and Mr. Capon made the Govr. expect that if permitted to go up at the invitation of sd Inhabitants he might be serviceable to the Garrison on that Point—if there was any other Reason—made him undertake that voyage—it never hitherto has come to my knowledge. Colo Vetch consented to his going and accordingly having five or six of the heads of the Inhabitants up the River—with him he took water—and landed at the house of one Peter LeBlanc—about nine miles from the Fort—when being at supper—they were at *once* surprised by three or four Fellows—who with their Firelocks cocked—commanded Mr. Capon to follow them—and threatened Death—to whoever should resist—they carryed him in the night through the woods—and halted at a house to refresh themselves telling him that they were carrying him to Canada—but being overtaken by the above mentioned Peter LeBlanc—they were prevailed upon to release him—for 20 pistols—Ransom which the sd LeBlanc advanced them for him—the next day he came to the Fort with this story which was the first occasion of complaint the French had given us.

* He was of French origin and the ancestor of the Winniett family of Annapolis, among whom may be noticed Sir William Winniett, who distinguished himself in the British service, and died Governor of the Gold Coast.

There was immediately a proclamation issued out by the Govr. agst these Banditti with a promise of Reward to whoever should apprehend any of them—the French made shew to do their endeavors—to catch them but all to no effect.

Tis about this time—or a little before—I am not very certain which—that a sloop came from Manis—laden with Corn—part of which was on the Govrs. accot from the Inhabitants—but yee greatest share for the Inhabitants of the Banlieue—as this has been interpreted several ways—I think myself obliged to give a particular accot. of it. The French of the Banlieue raise but very little corn and are for the most part supplied from Manis, to which Place—they send effects—to purchase—wherewithall to maintain their Familys—with bread, this is generally transported upon —*Frt**—by one or two sloops—belonging to Manis—and when arriv'd at Annapolis—delivered to the people—who send for it they allowing so much for the *Frt*, the above mentioned sloop being arriv'd the French of the Banlieue came to claim their respective shares—and tho' an attempt was made to seize the whole cargoe for the use of the Garrison—the French made a great clamour—and claimed the priviledges of the capitulation—so that they could be brought to spare but very little of what they sd. was their only dependence during the whole Winter—some time after—Gourdeau's sloop went to load with pease and Corn at Manis—on the same Lay—and on her return was seized entirely for the use of the Garrison—which caused a great deal of Clamour and noise—I have forgot to hint at another thing which—I believe contributed very much to the diminishing of our provisions—tho—I cant assert it possitively having it only by report—and but little on my own knowledge.

There were two commissary's—appointed for the delivering out provisions—one for the Marines and another for the other detachmts. these took the eights out of the best part of which the French were supplyd so that this Practice gave just Grounds to that notion that what the Garrison wanted—Provisions, the same were sold to the French. Capt. John Alden arrived *towards* the beginning of Jany., 1710†, at a time when we where—reduced to a “very low ebb,”—and when it may be counted as a great Providence of the Almighty, a sloop could from Boston reach our harbour—at that time of the

* Freight.

† In 1711 according to our present reckoning.

year—this brought everything to Rights—amongst ourselves—and everything being now pretty easy—the Govr. resolved upon a trip to Boston—butt first upon these two following points.

1st. To revenge the Injury done in the person of Mr. Capon—and at the same time to have a pledge for the Fidelity of the Inhabitants—and

2nd. to find some way—for repairing Several Breaches already in our Ramparts and like to be more in number—before the end of the Spring—these two points were communicated as already resolved upon to the Field Officers and Cpts. of the Garrison.

To put the 1st of these into Execution—Capt. Abercromby with a party of fifty men went in two flat-bottomed Boats—up the River—on a Sunday morning and landed at Peter LeBlanc's house—already menconed—and directly went to the Chappel, which is within half a mile of it—when he acquainted the priest and four of the heads of the Inhabitants to wit: Peter LeBlanc, Wm. Bourgeois—and two others whose names I have forgot—that he had ordrs to bring them down to the Fort—to which they submitted without any Resistance, thus Capt. Abercromby returned with his Party without having committed any disordr. or done anything further, at least that I know of, than what I have here related.

At his return he presented the priest, and the four above mentioned Inhabitants to ye Govr. who told them in the presence of most of the Officers—that this was done in reprizals of what they had done Mr. Capon—and that when they should deliver the persons who had committed this act—he would give them their Liberty—there was a Room appointed for them and an allowance out of the Garrison's stores for their subsistence and in general they were very kindly used. The 2nd point was towds. the repairing the breaches of the Ramparts, the earth they are raised withall is very sandy and when Shook with the firing of the Guns—or after a Frost when a sudden thaw comes—apt to tumble down, we had at that time one of the Faces of the Electoral princes Bastion—entirely down and in less than three months after—there was not a Curtain nor a Face of a Bastion without a Breach in it. Majr. Forbes—our Enginr. found it impossible to repair these Breaches—otherwise than by having Straight trees—set agst. the walls—to support them—a French carpenter was sent along the 2 Borders of the British River, to see

whether any Quantity of the trees—might be found Scituated—so as to be easily drawn down to the waterside,—he performed his message with no little Risque of being maltreated by the Inhabitants and at his Return brought an Accot. of—if I well remember upwards of eight hundred.

These Trees—could not be had without the assistance of the Inhabitants, so that some of them were sent for the necessity of this Shown—to them, telling them to propose it to the Inhabitants as a thing the Garrison actually wanted and expected from them. The further management of this was left to Sr. Chas. Hobby, who commanded in chief in the absence of Colo. Vetch.

Some time before the Govrs. departure he had thought fit to ease himself of the perpetuelle Compls. of the French agst. one another in their private “Feuds and Quarrells,”—to appoint a certain number who, with the names and Titles of Justices of the peace,—should regulate their civil affairs—hear their Compls. and administer justice to every one of them—accordingly he made choice of Majr. Forbes, Capt. Abercromby, Mr. Capon and I—as most Versed in the French Tongue and joyned to us two Frenchmen of the Inhabitants, Messrs. Chouet, and St. Scene, we used to meet twice a week—summoned those who complained [and those complained] agst. to appear and decide their Differences—by the Easiest ways—there never arose out of the Expenses of that Court so much as to suffice to yee paying of a Clerk, what we had agreed to give him for his attendance, far from Satisfying any of us for the trouble we were continually at on that Accot.

The Govr. being now on his departure for Boston—resolv'd upon carrying away the French priest to be more sure, as he said, of the Inhabitants fidelity—as also an Indian who some days before had grossly affronted him—He left in his absence Sr. Chas. Hobby, comdre. in chief.

As soon as Govr. Vetch was gone Sr. Chas went to work about what was now thought the main point, the getting of the Trees—for the repairing of yee Barracks, and now the time was come when the French were to give an answer to what was demanded from them, they seem'd at first to be very willing to comply with everything that was in their power to do for the Service of the Garrison—but withall desir'd a little longer time—alleging their Cattle was weak, by

reason of the want of fodder, and the Creeks still full of Ice—So as to hinder the making of Rafts of Trees, with Sevl other petty reasons which afterwds proved to be only pretences to lengthen time to give the better opportunity of putting their projects in Execution, which at that time they began to enter upon.

The French, who like any new conquered people, were glad to flatter themselves with yee hopes of recovering what they had lost—saw with a great deal of Satisfaction our moat walls every day tumbling down—our hospitals filling with sick soldiers—and almost a General discouragemt through all the Garrison—and thought no doubt no less than to oblige us—to relinquish the Fort and to fall undr their national Govern'm't again.

About this time they dispatcht almost unknown to us—the “*priest*” from Manis to Canada with an Acco't as may be supposd, of all this—and at the same time, a certain woman by name “Madam Freneuse,”—came from the other side of the Bay of Fundy in a Birch Canoo, with only an Indian and a young Lad, her son—in the Coldest part of Winter. This woman as there is a great deal of Reason to believe was Sent by Ordrs from Canada, brought by Mr. St. Castine—to keep the French in a Ferment and make them backward in supplying the Garrison with any necessary's, and pry into and give an Accot of our Secrets, till occasion should offer of endeavouring to drive us out of the Country. In all this indeed She was but too lucky, tho she came with quite another story at first, she said that want of all manner of necessary's had put her to the Extremity of venturing all—for all to cross the Bay—at that unseasonable time of the year—that the Indians of penobscot—were entirely Starving, and that she was forc'd to come to try whether she could be admitted to live undr the new Govenmt she was upon this received Very Kindly by Sr. Chas. Hobby—and had the Liberty she desired granted to her.

In the meantime the French kept to their usual Delay—but their pretences of the Ice, and yee leanness of their cattle being now removed they immediately found another, and said that upon the first motion some of them had made of hawling some of the felled trees—down to the water side—a party of Indians came to threaten them with murthering and burning of them if they offered to carry a Single tree towds the repairing of yee Fort.

Sr. Chas Hobby—seeing at last through their Deceit, and at the

intimation of the quietest part of the Inhabitants who desired to live in peace—and foresaw the Troubles coming, and wanted no better than to have the mutinous part forc'd to comply to furnish their Share as well as they were willing themselves—tho durst not for fear of them—resolved to order a party of 50 men—undr Capt. Bartlett—and gave me the ordrs here annexed mark'd (No. 3).

In these ordrs, one “LeBasque” was particularly mentioned who was always reckon'd the most mutinous spirit amongst ye French and liv'd furthest up the River—him and the rest I sent for from Peter LeBlanc's house when I landed, and they having comply'd with everything I was ordered to ask and to tell them—I dismissed them that night, and having kept a secure “Guard,” I went next morning—accompany'd by the same French men and a small Detachmt, to visit some of the places where these trees were cut, and having executed my orders in every Respect without any wrong molesting the Inhabitants and paid for everything I had of them—I returned to the Fort,—and gave an accot of this small Expedition to Sr. Chas. Hobby.

This had the Effect we reasonably could have expected and about the limited time the inhabitants began to bring down their respective Shares of these trees—a considerable numbr of the soldiers of the Garrison were sent to work as labourers, to whom I think 18 pence a day—Boston money, was allowed: some of the Breaches now began to be repair'd, tho' the numr and Largeness of them made it a long and tedious work, and not half an our—(? was over) before yee French took up arms agst us.

'Tis about this time I think, or a little before, that provisions grew very short and that we were reducd almost to the last Ebb, when Jona Bull came in a sloop from Boston and rais'd again the drooping spirits of the Soldiers.

Col. Vetch came soon after, I mean towards the latter end of Aprl, and brought along with him John Alden in a sloop taken in her Majtys Service for the carrying provisions to the Garrison. Every thing now was plenty, the French supplying us with fresh provisions for our money—or in truck for our salt.

As the Govr. was near coming into *Yee Gutt* otherwise called '*Jenny's Streights,*' they spyed from the Brig't a little sloop endeavouring to get away from them, and running into a Creek, they immediately

manned the Boat and sent after her, she proved to be a French vessel belonging to Chicannecto—one "*Gallant*" Ma'r, the comdre of the Boat found the French landed and dragging some of their Goods into the woods, but upon his calling to them, the Ma'r and his son came and surrendered themselves, and the sloop was brought out of the Creek and put under convoy of the Brig. Capt. Blackmore having ordered his Ma'r by name "Goodrick" with a marine and another soldier—belonging to my Compy but both Saylor, to bring the sd sloop up—but as they could not pretend to pilot her up, '*Gallant*' and his son were left aboard. When the little fleet anchored in the Bason the Frenchman took this opportunity so well that when the Brig weighed with the tide of Flood under her the sloop was in the Eddy—and undr an impossibility of weighing so that She was forced to tarry behind. "Goodrick," seeing he could not sail till flood was almost spent, left the Marine upon deck and went to take a little rest, as did the other soldier—but the Frenchman and his son having laid their plot at once Knockt down the Marine—and as Goodrick was running up at the noise he recd the same fate, and was Knockt down in the Cabbin. "*Gallant*" finding himself Ma'r commanded the other Soldier to get into the Canoo—and fetcht Goodrick to get him in too—and whilst his son watched the Marine, who could hardly recover of his Blows, and all this being performd and the canoo fast by the painter at the stern of the sloop—the Frenchman weighed anchor and was busie in hoisting the sails—when Goodrick having recovered his senses—with his knife cut the painter and with the help of the soldier then with him, paddled the Canoo up to the Fort—this was in the middle of the night, being come to the place were the Brig lay at Anchor almost undr the Fort and being hailed and bid to come on board he told Capt. Blackmore the story, who immediately manned his Boat and sent her in pursuit of the Sloop, the Boat overtook her early in the morning and the Frenchman finding that what resistance he could make would be in vain, surrendered and was brought up prisoner in the fort and put undr close confinement.

Some days after I had orders to preside at a Court-martial, it being in my turn, and had accordingly the warrant hereunto annexed marked No. 4. This Frenchman was brought before this Court—and tho the Govr thought the man might have been condemned to Death—yet the Court not finding him Guilty of the same—past

sentence for his imprisonment during the Govrs pleasure, however this sentence was ordered to be kept secret—and thus made abundance of people believe that the sd Gallant had really been condemned to dye.

Some time after the noise of a French privateer being put upon the coast having been brought and spread by one “Baptiste,” who came from the other side of the bay—in a sloop. belonging to his Father in Law, “Gourdeau”—an Inhabitant of the Banlieue, Capt. Pidgeon was order’d with a party of 50 men to go on board of the Brig—but what orders or instructions he had I must leave him to relate, as well as yee circumstances of his voyage since, *I never* had a just notion of either.

There was a little Shallop belonging to six or seven of us—whose names are specified in yee certificate which we had of her which I Joyn here, markt No 5—called the “Royall Mess”—because belonging to a set of us that messed together. She was found a little while after the reduction of the Fort in a Creek up the River and without the Limits of the Banlieue and was given to us by Colo Vetch, and she never brought a farthing profit to the owners, yet she proved very serviceable to the Garrison by the quantity of Cod and other Fish that was catcht by the Soldiers in her at sevl times—the Garrison was scarce of provisions.

This Shallop was sent, If I am not mistaken, towds the latter end of May—on the other side of the Bay—with some Frenchmen, one of which was the above mentiond Baptiste—upon what errand is entirely unknown to me as was also her going to one of Yee owners, Mr. Capon only excepted, and when we enquired into the reasons of it the Govr. answerd that it y-g-s-d at Mr. Capon’s own proposal and that he thought every one of us had been acquainted with it, tho Mr Capon afterwards denyd to us when charged with it yee the former part of this answer. The Shallop when got on the other side of the Bay was seized by the Indians and servd to their use particularly in transporting Capt. Pidgeon, when made prisonr, as he told me himself.

The repairing of the Breaches went on in the meanwhile, but the trees being still in request by reason of some of the French not having furnished any at all, and some others but half of what was demanded of them tho good words and threatening had been used,

particularly against one LeBasque already mentiond, accusd by some of the French themselves of being the promoter and Inciter of the Indians—threats agst the Inhabitants, these delays and Backwardness put the Govr on the sending another party up the River.

Since the releasemt of the four before mentioned hostages and other ways before usd had had no effect—this party was sent with all possible secrecy, Since I knew nothing of it till towards ten of Clock at night, being in bed and a little out of ordrs, Capt. Bartlet, who lodged in the same Room with me, and who unfortunately for him went Voluntr on that Expedition, came and took Leave of me What success that party had or what other Ordrs than ever came to my knowledge and I have here intimated Your Excy already knows or may know by Capt. Pidgeon who commanded that party—undr the direction of Majr Forbes—our Enginr, what were made but too sensible of was its being entirely cut of, having only recovered with much adoe the Liberty of the wounded, amongst who was Capt. Bartlet who pd for his Ransom £50, Boston money—and every one of the soldiers—Ten pounds—the sd sums were advanced by Col. Vetch and pd in goods to the *priest (Gaulin,)* who was sent by the Indians to receive them.

I must however mention that it has always been the report of the French that the party of Indians that so unhappily met with ours, landed but the day before from the other side of the Bay, and had not been joynd yet by any of the French Inhabitants, tho' one or two of the before mentioned Madame Frêneuse's sons were amongst them and came to fetch their mother from the lower town the night that followed the Defeat of our Party.

The French after this changed their countenance at once—and of humble and in appearance obedient—turned haughty and imperious—and threaten'd no less than to take us—by assault—and put every one of us “to the Edge of the Sword.”

The Garrison was now reduc'd by Death—Desertion and the last misfortune to two hundred and forty odd fighting men—a numr not able to cope with the French—whom we could reckon no less than 5 or 600—the best that we thought on was to keep possession of what we had, to wit : yee Fort and the lower town, the latter being thought necessary to preserve the Brigt and other vessels in the Road and to furnish us with fuell for the Garrison, as also to repair

the best we could, many large Breaches we still had in our walls—The first thing that was done was the cutting a large trench or curvette, in the fosse, to which all the Garrison set their hands—and was performed in two days—and in general nothing was left undone that could tend to the securing ourselves agst any surprize—which was the only thing we could doe (? be) in fear of—and for that end—no officer—and but half of the Soldiers, and that in their Cloaths and with their arms by them were allow'd to sleep at night—but the Garrison could not have subsisted long under these fatigues and hardships—if the news of Your Excys. arrival at Boston and the Vast fleet that followed had not raisd the spirits now almost entirely sunk.

Colonel Vetch having ordrs to attend the Expedition—left the command of the Garrison—into Sir Chas. Hobby—who soon after had fresh Ordrs from Genl. Hill with a Reinforcement of two compys from yee Massachusetts Governmt. In the meantime the French block'd us closely up—and one morning surprised yee Guard we sent every morning to the lower town for the Reasons above mentioned, they killed the sargeant and two of the 4 men—who marched with him—at some Paces distance, at the head of the Guard—out of a house where they lay in ambush—and obligd Lieut. Lyndesay, who commanded the Guard, to retire which they did in good order—as did also another Party, sent out to sustain him it not being safe to attack the French who appeared in great numbers—behind the causeway that runs along Hogg Island—This action happen'd before the aforesaid two companies came, but when these were come there was no keeping of the Soldiers within the walls who were for fighting the French and pushd their murmuring so high that Sr. Chas at last thought fit to agree to it. Capt. Lyon for that end was detach'd in the night to endeavor to surprize some of the French—but he not going the right way to work and being discover'd by the Enemy—drew a great numr of them upon his Party—which was no sooner perceived from the Fort—but a strong Detachment was sent to sustain him, with so good success that yee French were entirely rout'd and some of their men dangerously wounded.

This flushed our men to such a Degree as made it difficult for the officers to bring them off, and at their Return they petition'd so hard—or rather, talk't so loud to have the Liberty to go and burn the

house where Yee French made their head Quarters—that Sr. Chas. was in a manner forc'd to draw out a Detachmt of 200 men, of which he gave me the command as being in my Turn—for that Expedition which was executed without the least Resistance on the part of the French.

The Reason of the Misunderstanding I have here intimat'd between Sr. Chas. Hobby and the Garrison—was his not communicating the Ordrs he recd from Genl. Hill to anybody besides Capt. Abercromby—and myself—the reasons of which he may himself give your Excy better than I can, as also *an* accot of the submission of the French after this.

About this time the Country Galley and two Brigts came in order to take some Stores and follow the Fleet to "*Quebec.*" Capt. Abercromby and I with six other Officers had orders to leave the Garrison and attend the Expedition of Canada, and accordingly we embark'd on board the Galley and left Annapolis Royall 10th Sepr 1711.

I have here given an accot. to Yr Exy of the most remarkable Passages occurred during my attending her Majesty's Service at Annapolis Royall, whether placed in their Proper order—I cannot positively answer—for two years being now spent since I left that Garrison, and I owing almost entirely to my memory what I have writ. I can however answer for the truth and Faithfulness of it and dare assure myself of the witness of those who having had an insight in the affairs as well as I—will relate them in Truth and without Partiality, and so far I presume to assure Yr Excy that during my being in Nova Scotia, no private Interest of my own ever made me act, as you may know upon further Enquiry from the Officers of the Garrison of Annapolis—and even the French themselves—amongst whom I may flatter myself to have kept the Character of a just and disinterested man—but that her Majtys Service has always been—in my view and if ever mistaken in my notion of it—it can never be imputed to any fault of my own—or to any view of private Interest, since I can safely say—I never had forty shillings Profit in the Garrison nor no other dependance than my own proper Pay and the Provisions then allowed to every Officer and Soldier.

As for the Accots of the Garrison or how the sums charg'd on the contingency's have been disposed of—I can give no Accot to Yr

Excy having never had an Insight in them further than I have hinted at and never handled any money on that Score but at the time that Colo Vetch left the Garrison to attend the Canada Expedition he ordered me to take from Sr. Chas and others to the value of near £200—to deliver to Mr Davis at several times who was then paymr to the workmen an Accot of which money Your Excy may see an Accot undr Sr Charles's hand hereunto annexed.

In my next I design to give according to Yr Excys Desire an Accot of Nova Scotia of its Products the humour and numbr of the French Inhabitants and how far they may be serviceable to the maintenance of the Garrisons that shall be thought requisite for the Security of the Country and I shall always be willing to shew by my compliance to Yr Excys orders how far I am willing to promote her Majtys Service and to make you truly sensible that I am with the utmost Respect

Your Excellencys Most humble most Obedt and
Most Dutifull Servant

P. MASCARENE.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND

Nov. 6—1713.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MASCARENE ON PROCEEDING TO MINAS.

INSTRUCTIONS to Capt. Paul Mascarene, to be observed upon his arrival at Minas by Samuel Vetch, Esqr.—Adjutant General of all her Majesty's of Great Britains forces—General and Comandre in Chief of all her Troops—in those parts and Governour of Her Fort of Annapolis Royall and Country of L'Accady and Nova Scotia.

You are hereby ordered with the party under your command to go aboard the Brigantine Betty Capt. Blackmore Commandr and during your being aboard said Vessell—you are to order your men to obey Captain Blackmore's commands both with regard to sayling and fighting the said Vessell—if occasion shall offer for the same.

As soon as it Please God you arrive at Minas—if the weather will permitt, you are to go a shore to the most Convenient place for assembling all the principall Inhabitants of the place, Whome you shall order before to be ready to wait upon you there. When you go a shore to meet them take with you at least 40 of the best of your

men with their arms well fixed and Loaden, who are to be a guard upon the house while you treat with the Inhabitants.

You are in my name to acquaint them by the fate of war—they are become prisoners at discretion and that both their persons and Effects are absolutely at the Disposal of the Conquerors—and had I not Interposed to protect them the army would have plundered, ravaged, Carried away, destroyed all they now have hence, But as out of pitty—I have hitherto save (? saved) them—so that their fate is three times [better] than those under the Capitulation Who have lost most of what they had—while they have lost nothing at all. Upon all which Considerations you are to acquaint them that I expect of right due to me, every (? a very) good present to the Value at least of
 of Beaver or 6000 Livres—value in money or peltry—together with a Contribution of 20 pistols pr month—from amongst them all of Minas and Chignecto, towards maintaining my Table to commence from the day the Fort was surrendered acquainting them withall that the people here that are without the “Basten” (? Banlieüe) are to pay as much as they. You are first to make the proposal in General Terms—and see how much they will voluntary offer—and then if they do not come up to the sum—You may acquaint them what I expect at least—after you have settled this matter you are to assure of a free Liberty to come with all Safety to trade here—and send what goods they have and returne home with the produce of the same, and that the Brigantine is to Convoy the Vessells—and Effects safe hither having Ordered this to be the only port and place of Trade—whither they are to bring all their goods to sell.

And to acquaint them they are not to Trade with any person—or Vessells—that may come to them unless they have a written order under my hand for so doing.

You are to returne with your party aboard the Vessell every night for fear of accidents or abuses, takeing care while you are ashore your people behave themselves civilly. If anything of great Consequence should happen in which you want my advice—or orders—You are to send me an Express—by some french man—over land and because several things may occur for which I cannot give you any particular Direction—I Do therefore hereby fully Impower you to act and do in everything as you Shall Judge best for the good of her Majesty's Service.

These your instructions you need not communicate to anybody Savé Capt Blackmore who is hereby directed to give you all possible assistance in putting the same in Execution—and with whome you are to Counsell upon every Emergency—ffor so doing of all which this shall be your Warrant.

Given under my hand at the ffort of Annapolis Royall Novemr 1
—in the ninth year of Her Majesty's Reign—Anno Dom 1710 (years.)

SAM VETCH.

This paper I reced—from Colo Saml Vetch Wrote with his own hands—Witness my hand at Boston March 24th—1713—*

P. MASCARENE,

BOSTON Decemr 7th 1714. A True copy of the Original in my hands.

FR. NICHOLSON.

(3)

PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF MINAS BY MASCARENE.

I underwritten sent by his Excellency Samuel Vetch Esqre Adjutant General of all her Majestys of Great Britains forces General an Commander in Chief of all her forces in these Countrys and Governor of her Majestys Fort of Annapolis Royal of the Countrys of L Accady and Nova Scotia.

Make known by these to all those of the Inhabitants of Manis—Chicanectou—and other places—depending of the Country of Accady and Nova Scotia—who will live in peace and enjoy the trade with Her Britannick Majesty's Subjects of Annapolis Royall and other places of the Dominions of Her Majesty in these parts that they may as soon as possible assemble at the place which they shall judge most convenient for me to Land at, that I may impart to them the Instructions I have concerning them from His Excellency Our Governour—I let them further know that they need not to take any umbrage at my landing with some forces—since they are only designed for my own Guard and Security and not to commit any act of Hostility against the Inhabitants as long as they shall do their duty.

On board the Betty in Manis Road the 12th day of November

O. S. 1710.

P. MASCARENE.

(A True Translation of the
French Original, attested by me.

“P. MASCARENE.”

*1714 according to our present reckoning, the year then beginning on the 25th March.

MASCARENE'S COMMISSION TO SUNDRIES AT MINAS.

By the power to me given by
his Excellency Samuel Vetch, Esqr.
Adjutant General, &c.

I Establish Messrs. Peter Melanson, Alexander Bourg—Anthony LeBlanc—John and Peter Landry—Era to be the receivers of the Contributions agreed on the part of the Eight chosen representatives for the share of the Inhabitants of Manis—designed for a present to our Governour, to wit: the sum of as also for that part of their Shares towards the 20 pistols Vizt. the sum of and Grant to them the power of making the Inhabitants of Manis, Contribute proportionably according to Each's Capacity, under penalty to the sd if they refuse of Military Execution The said Messrs. Peter Melanson—Alexander Bourg, cra are to gather the sums in Peltry—money or other Effects—and to Transmit them to Annapolis Royall.

Done at Manis the 16th day of November, 1710, O. S.

P. MASCARENE.

A true Translation
of the French Original
attested by me.

P. MASCARENE.

SIR. CHARLES HOBBS ORDERS TO MAJOR MASCARENE.

You are hereby Ordered to go up the River—there being a party going for your Security—Commander of which after he is three miles up the River is to take and follow your Orders and Directions. You may land in the place you shall think most Convenient for the Lodging and security of the men from whence you are to Send for Monr LeBasque—Reni Forest—Barnard Goddet—Reni Barnabas—Monr Blanchard—and who else you shall think proper to aske of them the reasons of their not coming down when sent for likewise to show you "Trees" that they were Ordered to Cutt and Demand the reason—Why—they have not brought them down—and if possible any quantity of them may be made into a Raft—and sent down the river—During your stay there you must put the Inhabitants at worke—and see it Executed—or if the Difficulty and

danger of going in the wood Should hinder you from securing those "Trees"—or drawing them to the water Side—and making a Raft of them. Take above Twenty-four hours, then you are to tell the Inhabitants "*that we wont be fool'd*" any more by their false pretentions—and that if in four days after your Return back to the Fort they dont bring down a quantity of "*Trees*" I'll order an other party up the River who shall without inquiring the reason—Why they have not followed their former Orders Lay them under Military Execution, in case any of the above mentioned Inhabitants should refuse when sent for. You may Endeavour to surprize him or them—and bring them down with you—or any other persons you think fitt.

Given under my hand and Seal at her Majtys Fort of Annapolis Royall—in the Tenth year of her Majtys Reign.

Anno Dom—1711.

CHARLES HOBBY.

To Major Paul Mascarene.

This paper I reced from Sr. Charles Hobby, Knight, when in the absence of Col. Samuel Vetch, He was Commander in Chief.

Witness my hand at Boston—March ye 24th, 1713-14.

P. MASCARENE.

Boston, Dec. 7th, 1714.

A true copy of the original in my hands,

FR. NICHOLSON.

GOVERNOR VETCH'S COMMISSION TO MASCARENE TO HOLD A
COURT MARTIAL.

Samuel Vetch, Esq., Adjutant General of all Her Majty's of Great Britain's forces, whatsomever, General and Commander in Chief, of Her Said. Majty's forces in these parts, and Governour of Her Fort of Annapolis Royall, and Territorys of L'Accadia and Nova Scotia, to Major Paul Mascarene.

By Virtue of the Power and authority to me granted for that effect by her Majesty's Royall Commission, bearing date the 8th day of April, 1710—you are hereby required and Impowered to hold a court Martial with such a Number of Officers as are appointed for

the same, whereof you are to be President. You are therefore to Try all Such prisoners as shall be brought before you—Conform to the articles of War and the Law of Nations—In such cases.

Given under my hand and Seal at Annapolis Royall this Sixteenth day of April—In the Tenth year of Her Majesty's Reign, Annoque Dom—1711.

By his Excelley's Comand. }
 PHILLIPS DAVIS, }
 Secy War. }

SAM. VETCH.

This paper was delivered to me the 16th of April, 1711—at Annapolis Royall and a Court Martial was held by virtue thereof, to which I presided—

Witness my hand at Boston, March 24th, 1713-14.

P. MASCARENE

BOSTON, Decmr. 7, 1714.

A true copy of the original in my hands.

FR NICHOLSON.

GOVERNOR'S CERTIFICATE OF OWNERSHIP OF VESSEL.

Samuel Vetch, Esq., Adjutant General of all Her Britanick Majesty's Forces—whatsomever—General and Commander in Chief of all her said Majtys. Troops—in these parts and Governour and Commander in Chief of her Said Majtys. ffort of Annapolis Royall, the Country's L'Accadia and Nova Scotia, &c., &c.,

These are to certify all whome it may concern, that the Shallop "Royal Mess,"—being Plantation Built, and taken at the Reduction of Port Royall by the arms of Her Britanick Majesty—and now belonging to Alexander Forbes—Paul Mascarene—David Pigeon—James Abercrombie—John Bartlett—Peter Capoon and George Stewart—owners—In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this 14th day of December—In the ninth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne.

Anno Dom., 1710.

SAM. VETCH.

By his Excelley's command,

BARTHO. JACKSON, Secy.

This paper was delivered to me by Captain Abercrombie, who had received it from Mr. Jackson—Secretary to Colo. Samuel Vetch, at Annapolis Royall—on the day of its Date. Witness my hand at Boston, March ye 24th, 1713-14.

P. MASCARENE.

Boston, Decemr. 7th, 1714. A true copy of the original in my hands.

FR NICHOLSON.

ORDERS FOR CAPT. PIDGEON.

Whereas her Majesty's Engineer of this garrison hath represented to me that he cannot proceed in repairing the breaches of the fortifications for want of timber and masts for that use, and that the Inhabitants who have contracted for finishing the same dare not bring any more for fear of the Indians, who not only cut loose the raffts as they bring them down, but threaten and Insult the people that are bringing them, it being of absolute necessity for the Security of the garrison that timber be immediately had—You are therefore hereby ordered with Sixty good men detached out of the Marines & New England troops, Lt. Fox & Ensign Grissmond, 3 Sergets, 3 Corplls, & two drums, under your command, to go up the river to the places where the sd timber is cutting as Major Forbes the Engineer will direct you, with whome you are to advise & Consult as to the propperest Method of getting the sd timber Safely or any other accident that may fall out in your present comand, assuring the Inhabitants that if they will bring it down conform to agreement they shall be punctually paid and all imaginable protection, but if you find them averse or delaying to do it then you are to threaten them with severity, & let the soldiers make a show of killing their Hoggs but do not kill any but you may let them kill some fowls—but pay for them before you come away, and whereas Capt. Bartlett goes along with you by leave as a Volunteer, you are hereby directed to Consult and advise with him if anything extraordinary shall fall out & in case of any disaster befalling you, he is hereby directed to take the comand of the party upon him, having performed the above Sd Service with all possible precaution and dilligence you are to returne

again to the garrison with all reasonable despatch wh your Sd party for doing of all which this shall be your Warrant—Given under my hand at her Majesty's Fort of Annapolis Royall this 9th June, 1711.

ORDERS FOR SIR CHARLES HOBBY.

ORDERS and Instructions to the Honourable Sr. Charles Hobby, Coll. for apprehending of the Disserters from her Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royall in Nova Scotia as well as for Leveing recruits of Volunteers to serve in Her Majesty's said Garrison.

You are hereby Directed and required as soon as you are arrived att Boston to apply yourself to the Governour of New England to obtain his Concurrence and authority for apprehending and Securing such disserters as you shall have Notice of who have runn away or absented themselves from the Several Company's or Detachments to which they belonged, now in her Majesty's Garison of Annapolis Royall under my command, whether they be Marines, Mattrosses,* or belonging to the Detachments of the four Country Regiments who stayd Voluntarily to Garison this place the which Disserters when apprehended you are to Cause Secure in the Castle or Common prison untill an Opportunity Offers to transport them to this place Mr. Borland will furnish you wt. money for subsisting them and defraying the Necessary Charges in apprehending them a list of whose names are hereto subjoined and whereas by death and disser-tion the number of this Garrison is Considerably lessened to the Apparent Danger and detriment of her Majesty's service for Remede-ing of which I doe hereby Direct authorise and Impower you to beat Drums for Volunteers to serve this her Majesty's Garison in any of her Majesty's Neighboring Colony's or Governments after proper applications made to the Respective Governours of her said Majesty's said Colonys promising and assuring the said Volunteers good pay Victualls—and Cloathing. Conform to the Establishment of Great Brittan together with forty Shills. bounty or listing money to each said Volunteer upon his arrival at this her Majesty's Garison and to be dismissed from the said service if Desiered after two years

* It may be necessary to explain that Mattrosses were soldiers in the artillery, next to the gunners, who assisted in loading, firing and sponging the guns. They carried firelocks and marched with the store waggons as guards and assistants.

Quarter Master one ffort Major one good Surgeon and two mates, there being none in thiss country one Chaplain, one School Master and Clerk in one person—att half the Chaplain Salary, thiss will go near to Comprehend all the officers that are here—The Establishment of the town to continue as it is att present only with addition of a fire Worker Distinct from the clerk of the stores, a Carriage Maker two Blacksmiths and a Cooper.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord—

Since writting the above wee find our selves every day more and more Infestted with the skulking Indians who have pillaged and Robbed several of the ffrench Inhabitants within the Banlieu because they were Employed in cutting of trees and other Necessary's for the ffortifications which none but the ffrench are Capable of Doing, not Daring to venture our men in the woods but in a considerable body but their being so frighted by the Indians who told them they were ordered by their Priests to plunder the ffrench that helped the English to repair the ffortification doe very much retard our works and as it is Impossible for us to prevent these skulking partys which so plague us but by a party of Indians who are Equall to them in the Woods so I cann fforsee no way to procure us any safety without the ffort, but if possible by obtaining a hundred of the Indians of the five Nations under the Government of New York and as wee want above that number of what was and allways must be the Compliment of thiss Garison untill Canada is Reduced, so have wrote to the Governour of New York to Countenance and permit Major Livingston to raise such a number in the said Indians Country who will Cost her Majesty Little more than what the other Souldiers who are now Dead or Disserted would have done in whose place I would Entertain them, unless it be some present to the Sachems or Chiefs who shall bring them here along with Major Livingston who hath a great Interest among them but as I fear the averseness of that Government to allow or Countenance the same without a positive Order from her Majesty So I would Earnestly Intreat your Lordship's favour for obtaining and transemitting the same as soon as may be, and in case that does not prove Effectuall I begg your Lordships would be pleased to obtain her Majesty's order for one hundred of

the best out of the four Company's in Garison there to Reinforce this place they being in perfect peace there, and in a well peopled Country who Cann Reinforce them upon any occasion, whereas we have not one person to befriend us—save what are within the Garison and those Including the Sick near two hundred men short of what allways should be, as well as a frigget to attend here which would be of great Service to us this being what I think is Very much for her Majesty's Service in these parts I assure my self your Lordship will be pleased to pardon the trouble and freedom I use who am with the most profound regard

My Lord

Your Lordship's

Most humbly Devoted Servant

SAM VETCH.

June 24th 1711.

GOVERNOR VETCH TO GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Sr

Since the date of my last to your Excellency wee have had a very Sevier tragedy acted here which happened as follows Several party's of Skulking Indians having for some time Infested our Neighbourhood which rendered it Dangerous to go so much as Cross the River to ffetch wood but our greatest Damage they did us was that they not only threatened the Inhabitants up the River who were Cutting of timber and Planks but cutt Lose and Destroyed Several Large ffloats of small masts or spars with which the ffort was to be faced up Quite round to the Vast Retardment of the repairing the ffortifications so that wee find there was no possibility of being furnished with the timber undertaken for by the Inhabitants Unless a strong party were sent up the River both to frighten the Indians and afford a fair Excuse for the Inhabitants to send down the trees they had promised accordingly some days ago Major fforbes with a party of Seventy men Commanded by Capt Pidgeon was sent up as well to order down the ffloats of timber as to View the River and Mills for Sawing of timber and Planks of which we wanted a great Quantity for the ffort besides Major fforbes, Capt Pidgeon, Lieuten-

ant ffox Ensign Coxledge and Grissmond who were upon Command Capt Bartlet, the ffort Major and severall other Gentlemen asked me Leave to go as Volunteers which I accordingly granted they Were a Very Compleat party and every way well fitted but their too much Security and ffordwardness passing through a Strait place of the River in two flatt boats and a whale boat they were attacked by a body of One hundred and fifty Indians from the Shore who had not been arrived one hour from Penobscot, Canada and Minas and who firing upon our people through in the boats and close to the shoar Shott them down Verry fast our peoples fforward Imprudence contributed much to their Distruction for Instead of pulling to the other Shoar they ran right upon all their fire while they could see nobody to shoot att and Landing were Intirly Exposed to all their fire—who were covered from So that after fifteen being Killed dead amongst whom were Major fforbes and Elliott who refused Quarters Several times offered to them and about nine wounded among whom were Capt Bartlet and Ensign Coxledge they were att Last all sirrounded and made prisoners by the Indians to our Vast Loss Especially in Major fforbes than whom the Queen has not a better Officer of his Employment whose Loss wee allready Sensibly feel as Indeed of them all the ffrrenchman who Came down from thiss party to me for Surgeons to dress the Wounded says there is but one more ffrrench man of the party though we are Informed there are many Canadiens painted like Indians they pretend to beseige us in the ffort and say they expect four hundred more from Canada besides the Indians to the eastward of us whatever they Design I know not but both they and the ffrrench are Extremely uppish by the accounts they have from home all the ffrrench within the Banlieu are gone from their houses whether they rejoyn them or not I cannot tell but week now they are all our Enemy's at the Bottom this great Loss together with our fformer sickness and dessertion hath so weakened the Garison that I judged it my duty to Call a Councill of Warr of all the field Officers and Capts now in Garison whose Resolutions I herewith Send to your Excellency Inclosed not doubting of yours and your Counsells hearty Compliance with the same in Imitation of the present Worthy British parliament who are so farr from being Discouraged by the great Dissaster and Expensive Warr in Spain, that all the Enemy's

Successes there have only whetted or rather Inraged the Zeall of the Parliament as I hope thiss will yours and I hope your Excellency will with all possible speed while your men are getting Ready in the Meantime Dispatch Capt. Matthews to our assistance and Countenance and with him Coll Redknap. I shall not I hope faile of my duty to her Majesty in every Respect and could but judge thiss a part of it to communicate this Result of the Council of Warr to you and have wrote the neighbouring Governments to Concurr with you in the same and particularly to Governour Hunter which I ordered to be Communicate to you sometime before thiss last Disaster befell us I should be glad to see your sone Major Dudley here upon the the head of one hundred good men whose Capacity is I am Verry well assured, so it be a fair opportunity to gett him fixed on her Majesty's pay if he Inclines to ffollow the Sword and prove a singular testomony of your Extraordinary Zeall for her Majesty's service have hereby transmitted to the Ministry, Several Duplicates of the state of thiss place as well as of all my Letters to your self and the neighbouring Governments for my own Justification whatever may happen though I must say I should not wish to Survive the Loss of this place while I have the honour to Command it of which I hope there is no Danger if our men doe not Desert as they hitherto have done, for many of the Marines being found to be "Irish Papists" have been tempted to Desert by the french upon the Score of Religion. If your Excellency finds a Difficulty to gett white men to any number if you can get the number of Indians will doe as well. I expect Impatiently orders from Brittan and hope in the meantime you will not be wanting to show your Zeall for her Majesty's Service with regard to the premiseses. I am with all possible Regard.

Your Excellency's

Most humble Servant,

SAM VETCH.

PROCEEDINGS OF COUNCIL OF WAR.

Annapolis Royall, June 15th, 1711.

Att a Councell of Warr held there in the Governours Lodgeing
Consisting of all the ffield Officers and Capts now in the Garison as
ffolloweth.

Present : The Governour.

Sr Chas Hobby, }
Willm Whiting, } Collos.

Gilbert Abbott }
Walter Elliott } Majors.
Paul Mascarene, }

Willm Holt }
Sam Templar }
James Abercromby }
Sam Hackett }
Willm Sullivan }
Alex Douglas } Capts

The State of the ffort and the Strength of the Garison being then
fully Considered and Examined it was then unanimously agreed and
Resolved upon that Governour Vetch should be Desirred with all
possible speed to apply to the Government of New England as being
the nearest of her Majestys Governments to thiss place as well as to
all the neighbouring for a speedy Reinforcement of att Least a hun-
dred good men with proper Officers to be sent here as soon as possi-
ble Least by the Insufficiency of the works which are not yett
repaired and the weakness of the Garison which since the Last Dis-
aster of a party of about Seventy of the best of our men Killed and
taken found now to consist of above two hundred Effective men
Officers Included, and which Makes our Circumstances the harder
Wee have not a person of all the Inhabitants to befriend us or bring
us Intelligence, the said Garison should be in Danger of ffalling
into the Enimys hands the Reduction and Maintaining of which
hitherto hath cost the Crown and said Government of New England
so much treasure and Blood and which besides the vast Importance
it is off Contains att present so great a Value of all Sorts of warlick
stores they Likewise unanimously Desire Governour Vetch to write
to Governour Dudley forthwith to order Coll Redknapp hither in
order to compleat the ffortifications begun by Major fforbes who was
unfortunately, to the great Detriment of her Majesty's Service,
Killed upon the Late party and Lastly they Desire that Governour

Vetch will writt in the most Pressing terms that cann be that while the said supply of Men are a getting ready the said Governour Dudley would Immediately [send] her Majesty's Ship "Chester" to ride in thiss harbour and give us what assistance She Cann and in case of her being out upon any Cruise that he would be pleased to order the Country Galley well Maned to attend thiss Station untill her Majesty's Ship "Chester" or some other ffriggatt from Brittan shall Relieve her—thiss being what wee are Most humbly of opinion as absolutely necessary for the Safety of thiss Garison the honour and Interest of her Majesty and the Brittish Empyre aud more particularly here in America wee cannot doubt but the Government of New England and Neighbouring ones will give a Cheerfull and hearty Compliance with the same. Given under our hand att the place above said thiss 15th day of June 1711 and of her Majestys Reign the 10th year—

GOVERNOR VETCH TO BRITISH MINISTER.

The first part of this is the report of Major Forbes, and in modern writing would have had the marks of quotation.—[Ed.]

Account of what is done and what of Necessity must be done for the security of her Majestys ffort of Annapolis Royal, &c, &c.

The Ruined Condition wee found the ffort in when Masters of it Can hardly be Expressed whither occasuned by neglect or want of Supplys from ffrance I know not our Bombs Likewise contributed Something towards it but wee found the Barracks in such miserable order and so few Carpenters among ourselves that wee were fforced to Employ some of the Inhabitants both as Carpenters Smiths and Bricklayers the Barracks being most Necessary to be done for the Reception of the Garison were first cleaned and new beds made for the Enemy Left none standing the hospitall was left in the same Condition and gone aboat att the same time the houses Damaged by our Bombs what with new floors Chamber's Windows glass Covering Locks &c took up abundance of time and Money there was an absolute necessity of repairing the fforge which was in verry bad order and to build a shade for our traveling fforge and shades for the Master Carpenter and mr Bricklayer, to secure all their tools most of which wee were oblidged to buy of the Inhabitants as Like-

wise nails boards Planks Sparrs and Beams for the Doeing of so much work soon Expended what wee brought from Boston a new guard house in the half moon for the old one was fallen Down and the Bridge betwixt the ffort and half moon being Broke by one of our Bombs and being Likewise rotten was obliged to be made allmost new the Centry Boxes being ready to tumble in to the ffosee as some of them did oblidged us to make new ones there was a great deal of work in putting the Magazines in order. The feugades the ffrench had made were filled up I forgott to mention how Nasty wee found the Garison and what pains wee were att in cleaning it, two third parts of the Chappell Necessity obliged to be turned into Barracks the other third part was formed in a small Church for the Garison The trouble of getting wood for fireing was none of the Least the flatt Bottom boats being continually Employed to ffetch it from the the other side of the River where our Governour payed for it by the Cord beside the hands Employed in the boats and men to keep them and the whale boats in repairs the Dificulty and Expencc of carting it to the Garison was Considerable our Sea Coal being soon Expended gave us a New trouble and Charge to gett Charcoal burned in the woods by the Inhabitants for our men could [not] be trusted for fear of the Indians all these things were done not in the order I writt them but as Necessity required them and took up all the winter Necessity allowing us no Respite of time the next thing I went about was filling up a brew house repairing the ovens and Bake house and getting the Wind Mill in order all of which are now of Extraordinary use to the Garison while these were Doeing I did by his Excellencys orders cause make Wheel Barrows hand Barrows and Baskets against the spring such Carpenters as could att Intervals be spared were Employed making horse Carts his Excellency having acquainted me of his Design of bringing horses from Boston which now the Oxen being so starved and over Wrought in the Winter and not able to go are of great use both in Carting of wood boards Planks sparrs Stores said earth &c &c for a new Brickill and repairing of a Lime Kill and for the use of the Brickmakers and Bricklayers and wee have now actually twenty seven thousand Just burned and about the same number ready to be burned which will go but a Little way in all the uses there is for them we have no other way of drawing up the trees from the River

side but by them I have fitted two pair of Timbers for that use the Necessity of keeping the fort Clean in Summer required some Dung Carts which I caused make I have fitted up a Laboratory for the fireworkers and Bombardiers for some Gunners Must be employed as such to Draw the french Shells fix the fuzes with Quick match which wee must make and a great other things which are to be done before his Excellency went to Boston he assured an order to the Inhabitants within and without the Banlieu to furnish two thousand trees and two hundred beams and the Inhabitants of Minas the same number which I calculate as sufficient for the ffort but the Indians not being as yett come in have cutt some ffloats and sent others a Drift besides there was no possibility neither by fair or foul means to perswade the Inhabitants to go about getting of them till they had a promise of being payed for them still alledging that such trees were not to be found and alledging that the Indians would not allow it however wee are now getting trees every day I bought in the Governour's absence Sixty Loggs to be sawed into Boards twenty of which are already used but the other forty are Stopt by the Indians about Six Leagues up the River as soon as the weather could permitt I sett about scarping the Rampart which was so tumbled down that wee were all winter in fear of a Surprize which oblidged me to make same "cheveau de frise," those wee brought from England not suffesing to stop all the Breaches where it was most accessible I made and planted herses and hersillions wee had Likewise in case of our alarm —our alarm posts and in each Bastion a Large Chest covered with tarrpaulins of which the Officer Commanding there kept the key in each were a thousand Musquett cartridges, two hundred hand Granads thirty armed Linstocks, Six Cartouch Boxes fixt and a hatchett Cartridges for three rounds for the great Gunns, but our Rampart is now Scarped very well all round, one face is very well done with trees and the main supporters planted for the next face. Courtiere [?curtain] and fflank which I hope to have in good order in a short time, three men are now Employed in Cutting gazons for the Interior talys of the parapett which is now in a very ordinar Condition. I shall beginn to repair it Likewise the Embrasures as soon as the Carts can bring a Sufficient quantity of them to beginn with I cannot judge what quantity of Iron will be used in the large Spikes that fix the

principall trees in the place most Exposed. I have dressed the Counter Scarp and Covered Way and raised a banquet Joyning the Pallisades I have likewise putt three foot of earth behind the Pallisade to new form the Esplanade so that that part will in a few days let the french, whom wee cannot depend upon as friends See that wee are not idle I am making traverses of earth in the Covered way for they had none the Barriers Locks and bolts are much out of order, the Pallasades are mostly Rotten so that we shall want about four thousand for the ffort and half moon I am now only planting new ones in room of those that are most Insufficient. the conduits which the french had for Carrying away the rain and filth into the River are all spoiled some by our bombs but mostly by their neglect in not keeping them in repairs being either rotten or stopt so that they are of no use to use I am now about Digging as deep as the Water will allow us the conduit of the ffosee to Endeavour to carry of the Ordure from the necessary house which now begins to be very Noysom the necessary house must be new made and the tree are squared for it that for the officers is already made but not used till a Conveyance be made to carry all into the River there are Several good wells about the ffort but we have not as yet cleaned all of them the Plattfforms for the Gunns are but in a very indifferent order and must be Repaired as soon as possible. Mr. Subercases too great Security I believe is the occasion of this ffort being in no better Order I have said nothing yett how Indifferently a great many Officers have passed the Winter for want of good Lodgeings wee found the fframe of a Large house standing which I covered and began the chimneys but want of Lime Bricks and the ffrost coming prevented its being finished I have laid the scheame of a Barrack for the accomodation of the souldiers for some have lyen out of the Garison all winter. There is a necessity of making a large Shade to putt our cannon wheels carriages Limbers, and other things to preserve them from being injured by the violent heat they not being painted. I have a machine for driving in great pilotres or posts into the ground called a mutton of which the French had two both ruined.

Thus far Right Honorable Major Forbes had gone in giving the board on account of his proceedings here, when going up the river to order down the trees, loggs and planks the inhabitants had cutt and to order them to complete the Rest, which they pre-

tended they durst not doe for the Indians who already severall times cutt lose the ffloats and turned them adrift and threatened to kill them if they cutt any more So that there was no expectation of any more unless a good strong party were sent up as well to frighten the Indians as to put, a necessity upon the french to perform their Engagements—Accordingly upon the tenth of this instant a very good party of near seventy men under the command of a Capt and two subalterns with some more officers who went as volunteers went along with Major fforbes who was to give the necessary directions to the Inhabitants they were in two flatt-boats and a whale boat, and having landed their men before they gott halfway up the river as they say to stop the tyde, the news of their coming went up some time before them so that Rowing up too securely the whaleboat which was nimble to row in which was Major fforbes the ffort major and Ensign Coxledge having left the other two a mile behind passing securely through a narrow place of the River they were attacked by an ambuscade of a hundred and fifty Indians and they and boats crew all killed save Ensign Casedge who received seven wounds before the other two Boats came in sight the noise of the firing made the others pull to their Relief who coming up one before the other and pulling a shoar right upon the Enemy's fire who were all covered by Rocks and trees while our men who were throng in the boats being within pistol shott of them afforded such a mark as could not be missed who landing upon a plain Beach directly upon their fire so that after sixteen killed and nine wounded they were all sorrouned and made prisoners by the Indians thiss party which came above two hundred miles and had crossed a large Bay in Birch Canoes had not been arrived above one hour before this action happened, they came from Penobscot by orders from the Governour of Canada and pretend when that the rest of the Indians from all Quarters are come up they will make six hundred men and they threaten not to return until they have the ffort their Business is certainly to prevent the french coming over to the British interest and the neighbouring Indians but mostly to prevent the compleating the ffortifications expecting as they say a french squadron and troops to retake the place but thank God it is now pretty defensible and we are still carrying on the works as fast as we cann though much retarded by the whole french workmen as well as all the inhabitants within the Banlieue having gone away to them whe-

ther they will joyn or not I cannott tell though att the same time wee know they are all our Enemys, besides they are so flushed with the accounts of success from home As the Priests assures them, that I doubt not [their] joyning our Enemys Our garison what by death desertion and the last disaster is reduced so low that wee cannott make above two hundred good Effective men whose duty begins to be so hard that wee cann spare but very few to work I have made application to the neighbouring British Governments for a Reinforcement but hardly expect any I wrote to the Governour of New England to send here Capt Redknap her Majestys Engineer there to be sent here to accomplish the ffortifications whom I shall order if he comes by every opportunity to acquaintt the Right Honourable Board of his proceedings as I shall not faile to doe myself by every Conveyance so begging to be continued in the good Esteem of the Honourable Board I remain with great respect

Right Honourable

Your Most humbly devoted Servant

SAM VETCH

INSTRUCTIONS.

To the Honourable Sr Charles Hobby Deputy Governour of her majestys Fort of Annapolis Royall and the territorys thereon depending &c

Whereas her majestys Royall commands oblidges me to leave thiss place and Government in order to serve in another station wherein it is hoped that I may be more usefull for some time I doe hereby Desire and Direct you with all possible Dilligence and frugality to carry on the Reparations of the ffortifications as they hitherto have bein conform to methods laid down by major sforbes her majestys late Engineer and in case the trees plank and other timber contracted for with the Inhabitants up the River cannot be had you are then to make use of the timber of such Barns and abandoned houses as shall be Judged most fitting for the same. You are to cause M Davis the Clerk of the works to continue to keep an exact account of all the Expenses of what somever nature in a Book as he hitherto hath done—that so they may be all transmitted home along with such bills as shall be drawn for Reimbursing her majestys agent att

Boston. and whereas all the French Inhabitants as well within the Banlieue who had taken the oath of allegiance to her majesty as those without have taken up arms and so are become Traytors to her said majesty you are if possible without hazarding any part of your Garrison to seize and apprehend any of the said Traytors, that they may be punished as her majesty shall Direct and for any of the other Inhabitants who may offer their submission all that you can doe is to tolerate their Living att their houses without giving them any tearms untill her majesty's further pleasure be known with Regard to them and Lastly whereas you are to have Garrison of new and undisciplined troops you are to take care that they be att Least thrice pr week Exercised in the use of their small arms and throwing of Granadoe shells, and that the Gunners be also frequently Exercised both with great gunns and the Cohorn mortars. Given att Annapolis Royall July 5th 1711

JOURNALL OF A VOYAGE DESIGNED TO QUEBECK FROM BOSTON IN
NEW ENGLAND IN JULY 1711.

Upon monday the 30th July I left Boston about '8 oclock in the morning att which time the whole f fleet under the command of Sr Hovenden Walker as admirall who was aboard the "Edgar" with the union flagg att the main top mast head were under Sayle, and got without the Brewsters. I went directly aboard the fflag and carryed one Capt John Bonner who was appoynted to be his pilot for the said Expedition, who being very unwilling to go occasioned me a great of trouble to get him along with me After having delivered him to the admirall and concerted a method to get some marines and Stores of warr from Annapolis Royall I went aboard the "Windsor" and waited upon Generall Hill —when having concerted with him the necessary orders for the marines and stores being imbarked aboard such Shyps as the admirall should order to bring them after us and delivered the said orders and Letters to the Deputy Governour of Annapolis Royall to Messr Capoon Lieutenant to the company of mattresses att Annapolis Royall, who was to have the charge of the said stores. I went and acquainted the admirall with the same, and so went aboard the Dispatch ffrigatt in which I was to make my voyage.

The wind being then fair in the Evening wee made ane Easy Sayle and so we continued to doe for severall days, the wind still favourable and moderate the fflag bringing ffrequently too untill the heavy Transports came up—Upon the 3d of August the ffleet being then as wee judged abreast of Cape Sables the admirall bringing too for the Ships that were astern, he sent Lieut of the “Swiftsure” with their boat to Desire I would go aboard and speak with him which I immediately did as soon as I came aboard the admirall told me he had a piece of Service to propose to me he doubted not but I could very well perform if I would undertake it, and which would be very much for the good of her Majesty’s Service—I answered him he might be assured there was nothing I was capable of but what I would readily doe to fforward her Majesty’s service, and more particularly the present Expedition in which I was so much concerned. Then he told me that I having some knowledge of the coast but more particularly the River St Lawrence and where the Difficulty’s were, and the ffrigatt I was aboard of being about 300 tunns mounted with 29 gunns, sayling tolerably well was a proper Ship to lead the ffleet, and if I would pitch upon 3 small vessels that sayled well to attend upon me he would me Directions in writing what I should doe that so by keeping a League ahead of the ffleet with one of the tenders upon each bow about a mile ahead of me—and one right ahead I should not only point out the ffleet their way prevent their running into any Dangers, but by the 3 small vessells when we were to anchor to marke out the anchorage for the 3 Divisions—these vessells carrying two of them pendants of the colour of the two broad pendants that led two Divisions of the ffleet and the 3d a Jack fflag at the main topmast head to marke the fflags Division as is seen more at Length in the fflags Instructions Relating to the same Copy whereof is herewith transmitted after having received the said instructions from the fflag and orders for the 3 small vessels to attend me I went immediately aboard my own Ship and sending to the sd 3 vessells their orders—I accordingly with them 3 attending me made Sayle and went on ahead the ffleet keeping at the Distance above so the fflag having Delivered to me as a pilot a ffrenchman he had brought with him from Brittan, whom he told me was a very good pilot for both Coast and River which indeed the ffellow did pretend to be. Upon the 8th of Aggust, when we were abreast of Cancer

the flag sent his boat aboard of me for this pilot whom I accordingly sent and wrote him at the same time that he was of no use to me for I found him to be a very ignorant fellow and I feared he was a Rogue, and thereafter advised him to have no Dependence upon him for which he afterwards in answer to mine thanked me Copy whereof is herewith transmitted. The weather being then foggy I proposed to the flag to run and make Cape Brittowne so ly of it to let the fleet know when to steer away for St. Pauls, and proposed to fire a gunn every two minutes as soon as the fleet came so near us as to hear their fogg signals Accordingly wee proceeded to Cape Brittowne, the flagg having sent me the crusiers signals to know them by. The weather proving clear two or three days after this wee mett the three crusiers mentioned in the margine. (Saphyre, Chester, Leopard,) The Saphyre two days before the others who came to us near the Isle of St. Paul's near to which Island I went aboard the flag and Discoursed him with Relation to the voyage up the River at which he told me that the Saphyre then to be commanded by Captain Rouse, (who was then exchanging Ships with Captain Cockburn formerly in the Saphyre) being the smallest ffrigatt in the fleet should likewise go ahead of the fleet along with me and proposed to me to go on board of her I told him that my Stores and Baggage being on boad the Dispatch it would be too much trouble to remove in so stormy blowing weather, So I continued aboard the Despatch. The next day he sent me a written order that when he would have me go ahead he would make the signall mentioned in the said orders Copy herewith transmitted but never after made any such signall but about two days after the Lieut of the Saphyre came aboard and brought Capt. Perkins the master of the vessell orders from the flag to obey Capt Rouse and brought att the same time orders from to Rouse to observe such and such signalls. The said Lieut brought the said papers and showed them me and told me that the Captain Expected I would come aboard his Shipe I told him I had excused myself of that to the admirall so I never had after any more Directions or Instructions from the flagg The wind being att this time fair wee stood for the mouth of the River but upon the ——— about 12 o'clock att night the admirall made the signall to tack (which accordingly most of the fleet did) some being so farr ahead and to winward could not hear the signalls) and for

about six hours wee runn Directly Back to the great Surprizall of all the ffeet, and which indeed proved the accidental cause at least of all uor misfortunes in loseing so much time of the fair wind, which would have carried us into the River. The wind comeing about just as wee came to the mouth of the River obliged us to putt in to Gaspee harbour with a wind which had wee gott into the River would have been verry fair for us I went aboard the fflag while wee were beating of the mouth of the River and in Discourse asked him—what was the reason of his tacking and standing back two or three nights he told me in these words—it was a whimm of Capt Paddons, and old Bonners for fear as they said of some shoal of the Isle of Anticosty next day we went into Gaspee harbour where we found a french ship making fish which they burnt not having I suppose to bring her off we anchored there about 40 hours and then the wind offering fair wee all weighed and turned out it being very late in the night before some of the Sternmost Ships gott out as to the particulars of winds courses and currents I shall not here medle with all that being the masters and Pilots province as well as the particular circumstances of our Disaster which I suppose will be by most of them Exactly Layd before her majesty and the ministry only this much I do say that Coll Dudley and Capt Perkins commander of the Despatch ffriggatt where I was aboard will attest how uneasy I was att the course the fflag steered that night the Disaster happened and that I often told them that I wondered what the fflag meant by that course, why he did not steer West and West by South—however wee were so cautious as to keep astern by which we Escaped the misfortune that happened to severalls—All that I can say upon the matter is—That had the fflag continued to let me go ahead of, the ffeet as I did for some time with the small Vessells—on head of us—it would have been almost Impossible thiss Disaster could have happened for as wee would have never Steered that course unless possitively commanded by the fflag to do so the small Vessells that would have been ahead would have given me sufficient warning and I consequently the ffeet to avoid the danger—upon the 25th of August being three days—after the Disaster—most of the ffeet being close in with the north shoar wee see a great many signals aboard the Windsor where Genll Hill was—one of them being to speak with me upon which I caused Immediately hoist out our boat the sea

bein extremely Rough when I got aboard the Genll which was with much difficulty I found there was a Generall consultation to be with Relation to the Late Disaster and our proceeding here it was I moost [? met] with the first certain account of the late fatal Disaster for though wee had heard some firing of gunns that night which wee did conclude to be the Ships near the Shoar yett we did not untill that day know that there were any totally Lost—I confess the account I had aboard of the Generall of the terrible Tragedy did Extreemly surprize and affect me. The Admirall and sea Cpts to consult about our proceeding up the River. That being their Province—Expressing att the same time both a great concern for the late misfortune and a great deal of Zeal to proceed not doubting but wee had still fforce Enough Left to Effectuate the Designe all the Collos of the Land fforces being Likewise therè present Seemed to be of the same opinion as to the particulars of the consultation and Examination of the Pilots I shall not Enter into Knowing that will be transmitted more Exactly than I cann pretend to, all I shall Say as to the affair is that while they seemed to make the Difficulty of Navigation So great I told the Admirall that Sr. Willm. Phips went up 20 years ago with 70 Sayle much Later than wee for he did not arrive before the place untill the 9th of October and gott all up Safe though there was not one mann aboard the ffleet (as I am informed) never was there before, upon which the fflagg asked me if I would undertake to carry up the ffleet I told him I never was bredd to sea nor was it any part of my Province but I would doe my best by goeing ahead and Shewing them where the Difficulty of the River was which I knew pretty well as soon as it was Resolved to turn Back The Admirall ordered the “Saphyre” to make ready to with an Express to Boston to be thence sent to Lieut Genll Nicholson to prevent his Crossing the Lake with the army under his Command the admirall also said he would go with the ffleet to Gaspe. There to consult further about attacking Placentia as soon as I gott aboard of my own ship and Seriously pondered the Vast Disadvantages and fatal Consequences would attend such a retreat when wee had advanced So farr I could not forbear writting to the Admirall a letter that verry night which I sent him Early in the morning Cobby whereof is herewith transmitted we stood along to Gaspee and from hence to Spanish River where after some beating and blustering weather the

ffleet got all in upon the of Septembr. There was a Counsell of Warr Called to Consult about attacking Placentia but as I had always Declared my opinion that unless some of the heaviest men of Warr would resolve to go in and break the Boubm it was but in vain to offer to go thither So late in the year, so accordingly that attempt was Layed aside for the Reason contained in the Result of the Counsell of Warr signed by all the members to which Reffers—So upon the 15th Septembr the whole ffilet sayled from Spanish River. The Admirall with the British Troops and transports for Brittan the New England troops and Transports under convoy of her Majesty's Ship "Enterprize," for Annapolis Royall with the New Garison where wee arrived with some part of them (severalls having lost Company and gone Directly to Boston) about the beginning of October and after having Exchanged the Garisons proceeded to Boston with the New England troops and old Garison where wee arrived safe about the 20th October.

VETCH TO ADMIRAL SIR H. WALKER.*

Sr

I could not Excuse myself from giving yous the trouble of this Line with my humblest advice that before you Send away the "Saphyre" you would be pleased to Consult once more with your Capts and Pilots with Relation to our to Quebeck as to the late fateal Disaster that happened it cannot in my humble oppinion be any way Imputed to the Difficulty of the Navigation—but to the wrong Course we steered which most unavoidably Carrd us upon the North Shoar: who Directed that Course you best know as to the navigation from hence to Tadousae it was never thought upon to be any Difficulty att all more than to Return to Capt Brittoun and when it shall please God wee are there—let all the transports proceed first and by Sending 3 meats or midship men out of every man of warr—to each of them putt aboard of Different transports in order to take Exact notice of the Difficulty of the passage and Causeing bouy them out as they go along. I Doubt not but the passage will be made verry practicible for the men of warr and when once wee are gott up to the town I look upon the greatest part if not all the

* In the copy of this letter from which we reprint it is marked as to Gen. Hill, but the contents show plainly that it was addressed to Admiral Walker.

Difficulty to be over. I Doubt not but Genl Hill and all the Collos will be of oppinion that we have as yett fforce Enough left to Reduce the place and as our Returne Back without any further attempt would be a vast Reflection upon the Conduct of this affair, the averseness and Insufficiency of the Pilots being known before wee Left Boston) so it would be of a very fatal Consequence to the Entrest of the Crown and all the Brittish Colonys upon this Continent. Sr—I trust that you will pardon this freedom which nothing but a trew Zeall and Concern for the honour and Intrest of my Sovereigne and Country would have prevailed with me to have taken with you, and begg you would believe to be with much Respect

Sr

Your most humble Servt

SAM VETCH.

Sr—I presumed some time ago to give you a Caution in a letter I wrote you with Relation to your ffrrench Pilots. I wish they may have no hand in our late Disaster.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO SAML. VETCH, ESQ.

Commission.

Entered with the
Comming General
G. EVANS. }

GEORGE R.

George by the Grace of God King of Great Britain and Ireland Defender of the faith &c. To our trusty and well beloved Samuel Vetch Esquire Greeting.

We reposing especial trust and confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and faithfulness Do by these presents, Constitute and appoint You to be Governor of our province of Nova Scotia or Acadia in North America and of our town and Garrison of Annapolis Royal within our said province. You are therefore to take our said province town and garrison into your care and charge and diligently to discharge the duty of Governour by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do hereby Command all

our officers and subjects within our said province town and Garrison to obey you as the Governour of the same, and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from us in pursuance of the Trust we hereby repose in you.

Given at our Court at St. James's the Twentieth day of January 1714-15, in the first year of our reign.

By His Majesty's
Command.
JAMES STANHOPE.

Entered with the
Secretary at War

Samuel Vetch, Esqr. to
be governour of Nova Scotia
in North America. }

JOURNAL
 OF
 COLONEL JOHN WINSLOW
 OF THE
 PROVINCIAL TROOPS.
 WHILE ENGAGED IN THE
 SIEGE OF FORT BEAUSEJOUR.
 IN THE
 SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 1755.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL, IN THE LIBRARY
 OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS, BY PERMISSION
 OF THE SOCIETY, IN MARCH, 1880, UNDER DIRECTION OF
 THE RECORD COMMISSION OF NOVA SCOTIA.

*(This is the first part of the Journal, the second part, relating to the removal
 of the Acadian French, was printed in the third volume of the
 Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.)*

WINSLOWS PROPOSALS TO HIS EXCELLY. GOVR. SHIRLEY.

That he Command the New England Provincial Troops.

That he be allowed the Sum of Eight Hundred Pounds Sterling, in
 Consideration of his Giving up the Benefit of the Cloathing, and other
 Regimental Perquisites and paid in Sterling Bills before his Embark-
 ation, and without Deductions.

That all Regimental Charges as well foreseen, as unforeseen be borne at the Cost of the Crown, and the Deductions to be made out of his Pay therefor.

That Suitable Officers be appointed such as can Raise the Men.

That the Companies Consist of one Captain, two Leutenants, one Enigne, four Serjeants, four Corporals, and 90 Private Men, and Enlisted for one Year, from the time of their Embarkation, or Entrance upon Actual Duty.

That the Same Pay be allowed the Officers of Every Rank, as is to other his Majesties Forces Serving with them, and that two Months Pay be allowed before their Leaving this Porte, after the Companies are Completed.

That a Sum of Money be advanced to each particular Officer, to enable them to Raise Men they giving Bonds with Sureties, for the Applying the Money to that Use.

That the Officers enlisting the Men have two Dollars pr. Man allowed them for Extraordinary Expences, and for Marching them to their Head Quarters. the said Officers to be at the Risque of all Disertions, and for the Mens not passing Muster, or otherwise have a Reasonable Allowance for extraordinary expenses, and for Marching the Men.

That the Men be enlisted for one Year, and paid fifteen Pounds old Tenor pr. Man (viz.) Ninety Shillings pr. Man at the time of Enlistment, and Ten. Pound, ten Shillings, at their Mustering at the Place of Rendevous, and that their pay Commence from the time of their Enlistment.

That each Mess Containing Six Men be allowed a Camp Kettle, a Bowl, and Plater, and the Officers of each Company two, and every man a Spoon.

That each man be allowed a Blankett, and I apprehend that there will be great Danger of the Men falling Sick, and Rendered unserviceable, if they have not also one bed to two Men That they be allowed each Man, a Knapsack, and Bandiler. That they be accoutered with the Kings Arms, and Accoutrements.

That they be treated in every Respect as other the Kings Officers Serving with them and dismissed at the end of one year, or Sooner if not wanted.

PROVINCE OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS BAY }

William Shirley Esqr. Captain
General, and Governour in
Cheif in and Over his Ma-
jesties Province of the Mas-
sachusetts Bay in New Eng-
land &c.

To John Winslow, Esqr.

Greeting,

By Virtue of the Power and Authority, in and by His Majesties Commission to me granted to be Captain General, in and over said Province. I do (by these Presents) repose Especial Trust and Confidence, in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct Constitute, and Appoint you, the sd John Winslow, to be Lieutenant Colonel, of the first Battalion of a Regiment, now raising in the Several Provinces and Colonies, in New England, or other His Majesties Neighbouring Provinces, and Colonies for His Majesties Service, whereof I am Colonel and Captain of a Company in the said Regiment, and to be employed in Dislodging the French from the Incroachments made by them within His Majesties Province of Nova Scotia. You are therefore carefully, and Diligently to discharge the Duty of a Lieutenant Colonel, and Captain in Leading, Ordering and Exercising said Regiment in Arms, both Inferior Officers & Souldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline, and I hereby Command them to Obey you, as their Lieutenant Colonel and Captain, and yourself to Observe such Rules, and Instructions, as you shall receive from me, or the Commanding Officer in Cheif, for the time being, or other your Superior, according to the Rules, and Discipline of War, pursuant to the Trust reposed in you.

Given under my Hand and Seal, at Arms, the tenth day of February in the Twenty-Eighth Year of His Majesties Reign, King George, the Second, Annoque Domini, 1755.

W. SHIRLEY.

By his Excellence's Command

J. WILLARD, Secretary

PROVINCE OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
March 29th, 1755.

Received into the
Secretary Office,
Recorded, and
Examined

pr
THOMAS CLARKE,
Dpty. Secr'y

Suffolk, ss. Colonel John Winslow,
repeated, and subscribed the Test or
Declaration, and took the Oaths, by
Law appointed to be taken instead
of the Oaths of Allegiance and Su-
premacyp, and the Oaths relative to
the Bills of the Neighbouring Gov-
ernment.

March 29th 1755
Before { S. DANFORTH } of the
 { JOHN CHANDLER } Council

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

By His Excellency William Shirley, Esqr. Captain General, and
Commander in cheif in and Over the said Province,

Instructions to John Winslow Esqr. Leiutn. Colonel &c.

Sir, With this you will receive beating Orders from me to enlist
Men into His Majesties Service in a Regiment of Foot to be forth-
with Raised under my Command, and to be employed in the
Removal of the Incroachment made by the French on His Majes-
ties Territories in North America, to the Eastward, and Northward
of Pensylvania.

1st. You are to enlist none but able bodied men, not under the
Age of Seventeen years, nor above Forty Five.

2nd. You are to give each Man at the time of his Enlistment
two Dollars, in Part of ten Pounds, Old Tenor as Bounty Money,
the Remainder to be paid them after their Arrival at Head Quarters,
and Having passed Muster.

3rd. You are to enlist each Man for one Year from the Date of
his Enlistment, and to assure them, that they shall in Every Respect,
be treated as other his Majesties Forces serving with them.

4th. That they will receive His Majesties Pay from the Date of
their Enlistment, & receive when they get to Head Quarters,
Provisions, Cloaths, and Arms and Camp Necessaries.

5th. You are to assure them that they shall be discharged at the End of the Term enlisted for or Sooner, if the Service will admit of it.

6th. You are to direct and Order them that they be at Boston, without Fail the twenty Fifth Day of March next.

7th. You are to enlist no Recruits, but Such, as you can be answerable for, as well for their appearing at their Head Quarters, as for their passing Muster at their Arrivall their, and for every Recruit, you shall produce & accepted you are to receive Six Dollars, and to be employ as so much in Discharge of the Money you have Received toward Recruiting, said Regiment, and no Further Expense will be allowed.

8th. It is expected that the Officers in this Service, in their different Ranks, recruit in the Following Manner (viz) Each Captain 50 Men, each Lieutenant 25 Men and each Ensign 15 Men.

9th. Every Recruiting Officer is directed not only to make Returns, but also, to send his Enlistments to the Governor, Every Monday morning of each week, of such Men as he raises, that the Service may not be Hurt, and that Preference will be given to the Industrious in this affair.

Given under my Hand at Boston, 12th Febuary 1755.

W. SHIRLEY.

Instructions to John Winslow, Esqr. Leiut. Colonel of his Excellence's William Shirley Esqr. Provincial Regiment now Raiseing in the Several Provinces, and Colonies in North America, for Dislodging the French from the Incroachment made by them within His Majesties Province of Nova Scotia, and for removing them out of His Majes. Territories.

As soon as I shall Leave this Province, you are to take upon you the Command of the two Battalions, of the aforesaid Regiment, and to order them to the Place of Rendevous at Boston, on the Tenth Day of April next. After which you are to deliver to them His Majest. Cloathing with as many of His Majest. Arms as can be provided at Boston, and embark them on Board the Several Transportes which are, or by that time will be provided to Receive them on Board the Several Transportes, with their Arms, Provisions, and Camp Utensils, and also the Ordnance Stores which shall be pro-

vided for the aforesaid Service, and to Sail with Them, as soon, as the Wind and Weather will permit, for Nova Scotia, there to be Landed in such Place as Lieutenant Coll. Monkton, the Commander in Chief, of said Expedition shall direct. At the End of the term for which the Souldiers of the Sd. Regiment are enlisted, you are to take Care that Such of them as shall be desious to Return to their Habitations be embarked on Board the sd. Transportes or other to be provided by the Government of Nova Scotia, and Sent back to their respective Homes at the Charge of the said Government.

And whereas diverse Sums are daily wanted to Carry on this design, you are to Apply for Supplies to the sd. Leiu. Coll. Moncton and in all Cases of Consequence to advise with him untill your Arrivall at Nova Scotia.

Finally you are to Use your utmost dispatch in executing these Orders and as it is impossible to foresee all the Accidents that may happen, and therefore proper Instructions Touching them Cannot be given; I refer to your Prudence, and good Conduct, with the advice of your Officers, to take the most proper measures, and Act as you apprehend will be for the good of His Majest. Service. With my Hearty good Wishes for your Success, I am Sir your most assured Friend, and Servant.

Boston. Province of the
Massachusetts Bay March 27th 1755

W. SHIRLEY.

PROVINCE OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS BAY. }

{ By his Excellency,
the Governour.

I do hereby authorise, and impower John Winslow Esqr. to beat his Drum any where within this Province, for enlisting Voluntiers for his Majts. Service in a Regiment to be forthwith raised, for the Service and Defence of His Majest. Colonies in North America, and to be Commanded by his Excelly. William Shirley Esqr. and the Coll. with the other Officers of the Regiments within this Province, are hereby Commanded not to give the sd. Jon. Winslow any Obstructions, or Molustations herein; but on the Contrary to afford him all necessary Encouragement, and assistance, for which this a sufficient Warrant.

Given under my Hand at Boston, the 10th Day of Febuary 1755.
In the 28th Year of His Majes. Reign.

W. SHIRLEY.

PORTSMOUTH, March 20th 1755.

Sir,

I am Directed by his Excellency to acquaint you that he has been informed, that you have encouraged People belonging to this Province to enlist in the Service of the other Governments without his Priority or License, which may be injurious, Sir, as he is about to raise Men. for his Majest. Service of this Province. You are therefore immediately to desist, and come directly to Portsmouth where you shall have his Beating Orders. I now write to Coll. Blanchard to put a Stop to any enlistments in his Regiment, till this Province has raised as many Men, as is proposed, but till then no Body is to enlist any Man, without the Governours Orders, I am your Friend,

THEODORE ATKISON.

On his Majes. Service

To Capt. Robert Rogers.

PORTSMOUTH, APRIL 6th, 1755

Sir,

By Majr. Goldthwait, I have the favour of your Letter of the 4th Instant informing me that my letter to Govr. Shirley, on the Subject of Majr. Frye's Memorial came too late to meet the Govr. I therein engage to inquire into the Facts therein Set forth in said memorial, and have given Orders Accordingly; but I am apprehensive the Complaint arose more from disappointment, than from any Solid Reasons that Can be offered. As the Person Referred to in the Memorial has been employed by me to raise a Company in the Pay of the Government, for some time, and Even before the Date of Fry's Memorial; but if Majr. Frye has enlisted into his Majet. Service any Men in this Government, and will transmitt to me their Enlistments, as soon as I have Compleated the Number of Troops, I am raiseing in this Government, I will endeavour that Such Men shall be Delivered up: And an Application at first might have Saved this Trouble, on both Sides; for as I am to raise a Larger body of Troops (very Suddenly) then ever were Raised at one time in this Province, It is to be expected that untill that Regiment is Compleat, I shall take Such Measures, as will effectually answer to procure them. This Province has laid open, to the Officers of Govr. Shirley's & Sr. William Pepperell's Regiments and will be so

untill those two Regiments are Completed, for which Reason, Majr. Goldthwait meets with no Diffculty in taking with him the Men he has enlisted for that Service — I am—

your most Humble Servant.

To E. Hutchison Esqr. Sr.

B. WENTWORTH.

ORDERS APRIL 12th, 1755.

Every Capt. to make out a Muster roll of his Company, as soon as possible, and to see that all their Commissioned and non Commissioned Officers have Copies of said Muster roll.

Every Capt. is ordered to have all his Men drawn up on the long Warf, opposite their Respective Transportes at six o'clock on Monday morning next to be reveiwed. Every Capt. to make up the Accounts of his respective Company as soon as possible, allowing each man Six Pence pr. day, from the date of his Enlistment, up to the 14th Instant inclusive, and four Pence more pr. Diem from the 25th of March inclusive to the Day of their Embarkation. Every Subaltern that is posted to a Company, to Carry in his Accounts to his Capt., and those that are not posted, to bring them in to Coll. Winslow. An Officer of each Company with some of their Men to attend at Funnels Hall, at 4 o'Clock this afternoon, to receive Haversacks, and the Remainder of their Blanketts.

It is recommended to every officer to take Care that their Men behave very orderly on the Sabbath Day, and that they either stay on Board their Transports, or else go to Church, and not strole up and down the streets.

An Officer of each Company is Ordered to inspect every Day into their respective Company's to see that their Men soke their Meat, and dress it well, and that they Sweep their Platforms every morning, and Keep themselves as Clean as possible, Every Capt. will also divide his Company into Messes.

It is Recommended to the Officers not to Suffer their Men to wear their Blankets about Town. No non Commissioned Officer or Souldier to go out of Town without Leave from their Leiut. Colonel.

One Officer of each Company to attend at Col. Winslow's Lodgings every Day at Twelve of the Clock to receive orders.

BOSTON, APRIL 12th, 1755.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

On my return from Recruiting in the County, to this Place, I was favoured, with a Sight of your Excellency's Letter to Mr. Hutchison of the 6th of April with regard to the Men enlisted in his Majest. Government under your Command into his Excellency Governour Shirley's New England Regiment, of which I have the Honr. to be Leicut. Coll. and in his Absence, have under my Direction, and am Concerned to think that this Regiment does not meet with the same Kind Treatment with His Excellences's other Regiment and Sir William Pepperell's which perhaps may arise from your Excellences not being acquainted with its foundation, which briefly is this. We are paid, Cloathed, and provided for the King, and are in every Respect, as much his Majest. Regiment, for the time enlisted for, as any in the service, and destined to Joyne other forces in Nova Scotia for removeing the Incroachments made by the French Kings Subjects on that His Majest. Government; and it is a Peice of Service, the Event of which is nearly allyed to the Government immediately under your Command, and the Settlement and Defence of which Government has Cost the Nation, an immense Sum, and if that Troops from the Northern Colonies are discouraged, and Prevented, from Proceeding to their Assistance, it is probable that they must fall a Prey to the Enemy.

As to Subject Matter of Maj. Frye's Memorial, there is no disputing the Fact, as I now have before Mr. Secretary Atkison's Letter of the 20th of March, directed On his Majest Service to Robt. Rogers wherein he is ordered in your Excellency's Name, immediately to desist from Raising Men, and to Come directly to Portsmouth, and take Beating Orders from your Excellency and Coll Blanchard directed to put a Stop to any Enlistments made in his Regiment &c. And uncontestable Evidence of many Mens being duely enlisted.

I am very sorry that Mr. Rogers Knew so Little of his Duty, as not to wait on your Excellency before he offered to Recruit in your Government, Yet Conclude his Ignorance Should not terminate, in any Shape to the Prejudice of the Service, and as Matters are now Situated, for want of those People who have been duly enlisted in your Excellency Province and paid the Kings Money (not the Province's)

Bad Consequence may arise, and as the Kings Service and my Character are at Stake, must transmitt, an Account of these affairs, to the Secretary of State, Board of Trade and Secretary of Warr as his Excellly Govr Shirley is out of the Province. I have, Sir, for your Perusal, Sent some Sections of the Articles of Warr and would acquaint only you, that our Transportes are now waiting for those Men, that Provisions, wood, and Water, are on Board, and hope to obtain so much favour from your Excellly for his Majestys Service, that the said Rogers, and all the Men enlisted be directed immediately to attend their Duty at Boston. Am with the greatest Regard your Excellly most

Humle Servant,

JOHN WINSLOW.

To His Excellly Benning Wentworth.

Govr. of his Majesys Province of New Hampshire.

BOSTON APRILE 12th 1755.

HOND. SIR

I am informed by Capt Dixon that he meets with great Opposition not only in Raiseing Recruits for his Excellly Govr Shirleys New England Regiment of which I have the Honr to be Leiut. Coll., and as he is out of the Province the Command devolves on me. But also that the Men raised by him sd Dixon, Capt. Brentnal, and Capt Lampson, are for Frivolous Pretenses, arrested and imprisoned Contrary to Act of Parliament, and that the Authority of your Honr. Government absolutely Prevents their Marching to their Duty at this Place, to which they were ordered on the 20th Past.

I apprehend your Honr. has not been rightly informed as to the Circumstances of this Regiment, Therefore take the Liberty to acquaint you that we are raised by the King's Order, Subsisted, Cloathed, and paid immediately by him and have no manner of Concern with the Province, nor in the Defence of it; but our Duty and Orders to Joyne other of his Majest Forces, to remove the Incroachments made by the French Kings Subjects on his Majty Government of Nova Scotia, and in shorte for the time enlisted for, are as much a Regiment of the Kings, as any are in the Servise, and as Nova Scotia is immediately more in danger than any other Part of

the Continent your Honour will Judge the Consequense that must arise from any Authority whatsoever that Prevents the Kings willing Subjects to go to its Relief, and as the Transportes are here ready to receive those three Companies of Men, and Eighteen Hund others Lying at the Kings Expense with their Provisions and Stores on Board You Certainly cannot hesitate, But will give Countenance to the Officers appointed to raise these Troops, and give Such Orders as to you seems proper that they may immediately march to their Duty. And as this is a matter that nearly Concerns His Majesty Service (and as Govr Shirley is out of the Province) my Character is at Stake with it, I am obliged to transmit an Account of these things, to the Secretary of State, to the Board of Trade, and Secretary at Warr. I have also Sent inclosed for your Perusal some Paragraphs of the Articles of Warr and on the whole assure myself that we shall meet with no Difficulty from your Quarter, but that you will use the Proper Measures in your Power to preserve to his Majesty the Valuable Province of Nova Scotia on the Protection of which the Prosperity of his Majesty Government under your Command, as well as this greatly depends.

You, Sir, will be so good, as to Pardon the Liberty I have here taken which my Concern for his Majesty Service has led me to do, and to be assured that with the Greatest Regard I am Your Honrs.

Very Humble Servant

To the Honble. Thomas Fitch,
Govr & Commander in cheif of
his Majests. Colony of Connecticut.

JOHN WINSLOW.

PORTSMOUTH, APRIL 14th, 1755.

SIR,

Yesterday in the afternoon I was favoured with your Letter of the 12th Instant wherein you signify a Concern, that the Regiment whereof you are Leiut. Coll. destined for Nova Scotia does not meet with the Same Treatment as Govr. Shirley's own Regiment, and Sr William Pepperells: for both these Regiments I had his Majests. Commands to assist in filling them up to One Thousand Men each, Govr. Shirley had my General Orders to the Colls. of the respective

Regiments, not to give any Interruption, to his recruiting Officers as you find by the dispatch, Majr. Goldthwaite had in his Application. Sr. Willm. Pepperells recruiting Officers levyed their men under my Beating Orders, and all these Forces were regularly raised by the Captn. Generals Orders and Permission. I have had no trouble with them. I am altogether a Stranger to any Agreement made between Frye, and Rogers, or whether there was any; but if there was any, it must be irregular.

Notwithstanding that by the Post, I sent forward three Inlistments, and informed Mr. Hutchison where he might find two more, which is all that I found Signed by which Men might be held and accordingly I have ordered Coll. Tood to deliver them to Your Officers, which is all that I can do, as for Rogers, I am told he is recognized for a Capital Offence, and is out of my Reach, this farr I have Exerted myself for the Service of the Eastern Expedition—which is more than Govr. Shirly asked for, in Febry. he wrote me a Letter informing me that he was in great Want of a few Men, and desired me to permit the Officers to raise them in my Government, and promised me that he would askt no more favours of that Kind. Accordingly I gave his Officers Liberty to raise thirty men in the Regiment he proposed. The Men in Coll. Tood's Regiment, I have advanced two Dollars for each Man which be so Kind as to leave in Mr. Hutchison's hand for my order.

The Troops I am now raising for the Crown Point Expedition with what have been drafted out of the Regiments in this Government, for his Majess. other Services, will amount to one Sixth Part of the effective Men of this Government, by which Means, I shall with great Difficulty raise the full Number of forces intended to be raised. The Sections of the (Articles of the Articles [sic]) of Warr I have received, and a Clause of an Act of Parliament made in the 28th Year of his Majesties Reign, this Clause I apprehend is in Point against listing men in the respective Governments without the Authority of the Captain General so doing, it being presumed that the Govr. of each Province much be best acquainted with the Circumstances of his Own Government: but let that be as it will, I am always ready to do my utmost to promote His Majest. Service in General, as you will find by the Men I have Ordered to be delivered you by Coll. Tood.

I had a Dispute of this Kind with Sr. Peter Warren in an intended Expedition to Canada, which was given in my favour, and so it must be in this Case, if it was needfull to Contest it, which I am not disposed to do, neither have I time. I am Sir, Your most Obedient Huml. Servant,

B. WENTWORTH.

To Leiut. Colonel Winslow.

ORDERS FOR APRIL 15TH 1755. at noon.

That there be a Return made to Leiut. Coll. Winslow this Evening by the Commanding Officer of every Company, or Party, not put into Companies, of what number of Arms are in each Company, or Party with the Names of the Owners, and of all the Indians they have in their Rolls, with a List of their Names. And further. it is ordered that a Pay roll be forthwith made out by each Commanding Officer, and that they respectively prepare to Settle the Accounts, of what Money they have Received for Recruiting, and pay in, or Receive what is due on Balance. It is not expected that the Drums beat either the Tatoo or Revalle, while in Town. It is Leiut. Coll. Winslow's Order that the Master, or Mate of each respective Transporte taken up for the Troops under his Command, Give their Constant Attendance on Board their respective Vessels to receive orders, or Stores, as may be directed.

ORDERS APRIL 16TH 1755, at noon.

That the Commanding of each Company, or Party make Return of the Number, of each Command that have passed Muster till this time, and that this Return be made to Leiut. Coll. Winslow, or Left at his Lodging by half an Hour after three this Present Day and that without fail.

A Return of Men Mustered for his Excellency Govr. Shirley's Regiment raised for Nova Scotia.

Leiut. Coll. Winslow	57	Leiut. Coll. Scott	
Majr. Prebble	106	Majr. Frye	88
Majr. Goldthwaite	86	Majr. Bourn	22
Capn. Osgood	100	Capn. Jones	91
Capn. Sturtevant	113	Capn. Perry	104
Capn. Colb	75	Capn. Bayley	93
Capn. Speakman	72	Mr. Fuller	25
Capn. Willson	20	Capn. Willard	98
Capn. Adams with Fitch	99	Capn. Smith	70
Brewer	14	Mr. McLallun	22
	—	Mr. Campbell	33
	742	Mr. Noyce	20
			—
			666

ORDERS, APRIL 17TH, 1755, at noon.

That the Pay roll of each Company that is not yet made out, be forthwith made out, and Presented to Capn. Joshua Winslow, appointed to examine the same to see that they be right Cast, and well Vaucht, as also their Recruiting Accounts, that the Men may be duly paid their Money, and Further that each Capn. make Return of their Officers to one of the Majrs. of the Battalion, they respectively belong to, and that this be done by Three o'Clock this Day, and whereas diverse Disputes have arisen, on the enlisting of Recruits, all Officers, or others who have enlisted men for the Regiment, are directed by To Morrow, Ten of the Clock, to (to [sic]) File their Pretensions of every Man Mustered, And at the same time, to Lodge a Particular Account of those that are not yet Come to their Duty, or are by any Means Detained, those of the First Battalion to Leiut Coll. Winslow, those of the Second to Leiut. Coll. Scott.

ORDERS, APRIL 21ST, 1755.

That there be a Return made this Evening, of Left at Lieut. Coll. Winslow's Lodgings, of what Vessles, their respective Transportes are on Board, and the Tunnage of each Vessel, that the Men may be Settled for the Voyage before they receive Provisions, for the Ensueing week, and Care be taken that the Troops be paid and Clear'd as soon as possible that they may Proceed on Duty.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVENOUR SHIRLEYS PROVINCIALS.

1755 DR.

To Sundrys advanced the Several Officers to enable them to Recruit
for which I took Security Payable to the Governour :

Febry. 13.	Phineas Osgood, and Nathaniel Russel, Esqr. Bond	90	0	0
	Nathan Adams, and Joseph, Esqr.....	Do.	90	0
	Josiah Sturtevant, and Thomas Clap, Esq.....	Do.	90	0
	Enoch Bayley, and James Day, Gentlem.....	Do.	90	0
	Benj Goldthwait, and Ezekiel Goldthwait, Esqr.	Do.	90	0
	Nathaniel Perry, and Thomas Trott, Gentlen.	Do.	90	0
	Thomas Spikeman, and Anthony Brackett	Do.	90	0
	Thomas Cobb, and Samuel Proctor.....	Do.	90	0
	Nathaniel Smith, and Benjamin Day.....	Do.	45	0
	Ephraim Jones, and Simon Hunt.....	Do.	90	0
	Humphrey Hobbs, and Elijah Porter.....	Do.	90	0
	Jedediah Prebble, Esqr.....	Do.	90	0
	Job Smith, and Eliakim Hutchison, Esqr.....	Do.	60	0
	Majr. Frye, and James Day.....	Do.	90	0
" 15.	Joseph Willson, and Joseph Willson, junr.....	Do.	90	0
" 19.	Leiu. Dixion Ingerson, and Ashley's.....	Do.	30	0
	William Bourn, and Sylvenus Bourn. Esqr....	Do.	60	0
March 13.	Thomas Spikeman, and Anthony Brackett....	Do.	13	6
	Wood, and Hildreth's	Do.	30	0
	Oliver Noyse Note.....	5	12	0
	Ditto Note Feby. 20th.....	18	0	0
	Ditto Cash.....	3	0	0
			<hr/>	26 12 0
	Cash to Coll. Scott	18	0	0
	Jeremiah Hunt, and John Inkes Bond	9	0	0
" 19.	To Capn. Perry's Note.....	4	8	0
	To Capn. Brintnall's Note	90	0	0
	To Capn. Job Smith's, and Jeira Willis Bond.....	20	0	0
	To John Bourn's Note.....	27	0	0
	To Job Winslows Note.....	10	8	0
	To Ditto Receiv. of Capn. Loring.	22	10	0
			<hr/>	32 18 0
	To Lemuel Bent Note.....	4	8	0
	To Ditto Received of Capn. Loring.	12	0	0
			<hr/>	16 8 0
				<hr/>
				£1652 12 8

REGIMENT TO JOHN WINSLOW ESQR. CR.

1755.				
Febry.	13.	By Cash Received of Messrs. Aphthorp, and Hancock, for which I gave Coll. Monkton a Receipt.....	12	0 0
"	19.	By Cash recd. of Messrs. Hancock & Aphthorp.....	700	4 0
		By Cash in Hand of Butler's note.....	36	0 0
		Adam's Note.....	45	0 0
			<hr/>	
			1981	4 0
May.		By Coll. Monkton's order on Messrs. Aphthorp, Han- cock and Erwin for My Recruiting account.....	99	0 0
			<hr/>	
			2080	4 0
1755.				
		The Account Dr. Brought Over.....	1652	12 8
		To Lemuel Bent Received of Capn. Benj. Loring	8	0 4
		To Due on Benja. Loring and Benja. Lincoln's, Esqr. Bond		
		To paid John Barker, for an express, to the County of Bristol by the Govr. Order.....	1	1 0
		To paid Thomas Fleet for Advertisement in the News	0	8 11
		To John Butler and Joseph Bushman, Esqr. Bond.....	90	0 0
May	2.	To John Burbeau, Going Express to Connecticut.....	5	13 4
		To my recruiting 55 Men at 361.....	99	0 0
			<hr/>	
			1866	16 3
		To paid repairing Whale Boat.....	0	12 2
		Advertisement	0	4 0
			<hr/>	
			0	16 2
			<hr/>	
			1867	12 5
		To Cash paid Coll Monkton In full of ye Ballanc...	212	11 7
			<hr/>	
			Adjusted & Ballancet Account	£ 2080 4 0
			<hr/> <hr/>	

ORDERS APRIL 22ND, 1755.

That those Officers who did not make Return of their Respective Parties on Board the Transportes Yesterday, do make Return immediately to Coll. Winslow's Lodgings, and that the Officers immediately Settle their Accounts and pay their Men.

Clothing &c. Received by Lieut. Collo. Winslow.

MEN'S NAMES.	Sergeants' & Corporals' Coats and Breeches.	Drummers' Coats and Breeches.	Privates' Coats and Breeches.	Shirts and Necks.	Wastcoats.	Shoes and Stockings.	Blanketts.	Caps.	Haversacks.
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Clothing &c. Delivered and Receipts taken.

Sergt. Gideon Parkman	I ea.			I ea.	2	I ea.	I		I W
Issa Smith	I			I	2	I	I		I W
Able Parker	I			I	2	I	I		I
Lieut. Moses Curtis	I			I	2	I	I		I
Corl. Abner Ripley	I			I	2	I	I		I W
Josh Forster	I			I	2	I	I		I
John Gibbs	I			I	2	I	I		I
Drumr Nics Bufford	I ea.			I	2	I	I		I
James Townsend	I			I	2	I	I		I
Luther Arnold Privt.		I ea.		I	2	I	I		I W
Ephm Waterman		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Josh Peirce		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Willm McFarland		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Elisha Burden		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Amos Love		I		I	2	I	I		I W
John Tirell		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Josh Pomroy		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Neah Gurney		I		I	2	I	I		I W
James McFarland		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Joshua Kean		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Elijah Dunham		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Mirah Jeffery		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Townsend Smith		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Joshua Cushing		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Saml Green		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Jerh Jackson		I		I	2	I	I		I W
George Bennett		I		I	2	I	I		I W
John Totman		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Johnson Anderson		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Abisha Stutson		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Jonathan Dunbar		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Jerh Dawry		I		I	2	I	I		I W
George Low		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Jaber Faunce		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Richd Tower		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Richd Tower, Junr.		I		I	2	I	I		I W
Gideon Harvard		I		I	2	I	I		I W
	7	2	28	37	74	37	37	37	37

MEN'S NAMES.	Sergeants' & Corporals' Coats & Breeches.	Drummers' Coats and Breeches.	Privates' Coats and Breeches.	Shirts and Necks.	Wastcoats.	Shoes and Stockings.	Blanketts.	Caps.	Haversacks
	7	2	28	37	74	37	37	37	37
Benjn Eady.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I w
John Neal			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
John Poland.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
John Sears			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Benj Humphrey.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Jehiel Simmons			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Joseph Blake			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
John Smith.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Zebulon Stoddard			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Caleb Chard			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Benj Shaw			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
John Ramsdell			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Windsor Homeny.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Isaac Lawrence			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Patrick McBrise.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
John Cane			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
James Neal.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Ephraim Quoye			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Benjn Sears.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Samll Fay			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Aaron Abbott.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Caleb Barker			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Thoms Richardson, Junr.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
James Blanchard.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I Do
Roger Taylor			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Stephen Whippy			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Jams Whitcomb Junr.....			I ea.	I	2	I	I	I	I
Wilm. Myrich.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Samll Dennis			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
John Goodwell			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Robert Wiley			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Christr Ambler			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Danl Deland			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Mathew Lucas.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Ichabod Benham.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Thos. Hill			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Seth Winslow.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Israel Thomas.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Samll Allen			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Andrew Hill			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Isaah Pratt			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
Moses Garfield.....			I	I	2	I	I	I	I
	7	2	52	79	158	79	79	79	79

MEN'S NAMES.	Sergeants' & Corporals' Coats & Breaches.	Drummers' Coats and Breaches.	Privates' Coats and Breaches.	Shirts and Necks.	Waistcoats.	Shoes and Stockings.	Blankets.	Caps.	Haversacks.
Nehemiah Stutson.....	7	2	53	79	158	79	79	79	79
Moses Barnabas.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Caleb Randall.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Benj Pratt.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
James Rian.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Samll Harris.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
John Prebble.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Richard Kimber.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Phinehas Parker.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Solomon Wyman.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Willm Sampson, Capn.....			4	4	8	4	4	4	4
James Whiteaker.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
John Ragford.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Joseph Wilson, Capn.....			...	...	...	...	4	...	4
Israel HERNIKFOR.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Moses Rogers.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Uriah Holt.....			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Jeremiah Blanchard Returnd. to me			1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Jos. Winslow }	7	2	90	99	198	99			

MAY 12TH, 1755.

Ordered That the Several Captains of the First Battalion as Soon as Posable make Return of what Men they have actually on Board the Several Transportes. Shewing their Numbers and in what Vessels They are Sorted, and also, That they respectively Enquier The Centiments of these Differant Companys, wether they would Receive their pay while abroad, or be Supplied with what Necessarys they want and Receive their Ballances on their Return to New England. Agreeable to an application Made by Several of their officers on their Behalf.

13th, Reced The Different Returns from ye Capt Malcolm Excepted, and it is the Voice of the whole Battallion, Majr Goldthwaits Company accepted, That the Men Incline to Receive their pay as it becomes Due.

Sick til the 20th.

BOSTON, MAY 20TH, 1755—Six in ye Morning.

Then Embarqued on Board his Majesty's Ship, the Success, John Rouse Esqr Commandr Lying in King Road, who has for his officers, Jacobs Levtt Powell Master. Serjon ——— In Company as Passengers Capt Brome of the Train, Major Brown of the 2d Battalion and Doctr Witworth—And the Fleet and Regiment in the Following Order Viz—

his Maj'tys Ship

SHIPS NAMES.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
Success	John Rouse Esqr Comadour...	20
Mairmaid	Washington Shirley Esqr.....	20
Sirene.....	Probe Esqr.....	20

TRANSPORTES.

The Schooner Lawrence Hector McNeal, having on Board Livt. Colo Robt Monckton Esqr Commander in Cheif of Sd Expedition. Colo Scott & Mr. Moncreaf Laden with Stores Tents &c. with a Boat on Each Quarter.

THE FOLLOWING TRANSPORTES ARE WITH TROOPS ON BOARD, AND SHOWS THE VESSELS NAMES, BURTHEN, MASTERS NAMES, WHAT COMPANY ON BOARD AND THE NUMBER VICTUALED BY EACH TRANSPORTE.

VESSELS AND THEIR NAMES.	BURTHEN ALT. TONS.	MASTERS' NAMES.	WHAT COMPANTS ARE ON BOARD.	TOTAL NUMBER RECD. IN EACH VESSELL.
Sloop Prosperous.	75	Joseph Bragdon.	Capn. Nathl. Perry.	
Sloop Molley.	77	John Doggett. ....	.....
Sloop Elizabeth.	97	Nathaniel Mulberrey.	Capn. Josiah Stertevant.	
Sloop Victory.	92	Willm. Rodderick.	Capn. Hillard.	
Schooner Leopard.	88	Thomas Church.	Majr. Frye.	
Sloop Endeavor.	84	— Irwett.	Capn. Bayley.	
Sloop Dolphin.	78	Nathl. Herryman.	Capn. Adams.	
Sloop Seaflower.	81	Samuel Harris.	Capn. Preble.	
Sloop Swan.	84	Jonathan Lovett.	Capn. Osgood.	
Sloop Mairmaid.	82	Samuel Lincoln. ....	.....
Schooner Neptune. . .	100	William Fond.	Coll. Scott.	
Sloop Industry.	86	George Goodwin.	Coll. Winslow.	
Sloop Victory.	77	William Grow.	Capt. Gilbert.	
Sloop Hannah. ....	..	Richard Adams.	Capt. Brentnal.	
Sloop Three Friends. .	68	Thomas Curtis.	Majr. Preble 19, Hobbs 24.	
Sloop Yorke.	87	Nathl Preble.	Capn. Spekman.	

Sloop Endeavour	James Nickolls	
Sloop Phenix	Nathl. Littlefield	
Sloop Jolley	Jonathan Davis	Winslow 19. Osgood 15..
Sloop Saly and Molley.	James Purrington	Capn. Lamson.
Sloop Fortunatus.	John Clap	Capn. Cobbs 73. Capn.
Sloop Biddeford	Benjamin Daniel.	Adams 12.
Sloop Ranger	Francis Perry	Major Goldthwait.
On Board his Majty. Ship		
Success		Major Bown.
Ditto " The Mairmaid		Capt. Lev. Malcoln.
" " The Sirenc.		Capn. Willard.

The Following Vessels are Laden with Provisions, Powder, Ball, ordinance, warlike Stores and Boats,
 —Vizn. Tuns, Brigentine Swallows, Wm. Hase. Falmouth Pote. Brigd Pegassus Nathl. Malcoln.
 Schooner Molley, Nathl. Gordon. Sloop Endeavor, Edwd. Bacon. Schooner Greyhound, Hodgskin.
 Schooner Merrimack, Saml. Coverly.

MAY 21st

The wind Easterly lay all Day at Anchor In King Road, the Transportes under Dear Island. Capn. Rouse & Gent went on Shore at Nantaskett.

Blew Fresh to the Eastward in the Afternoon. Capn. Rouse & Majr. Bourn went to Town. Remained in our Station.

MAY 22nd.

Capt. Rouse Came on Board about five o'Clock in the Morning, Made the Signal for Sailing & The whole Fleet wayd. at about Six. Got up with the Light House about Eight. A Fine wind Southwesterly. Cape Anne Bore at

The after part of the Day Grew Calm.

MAY 23RD.

The wind Every where. Toward Evening made Land which we take to be Monhegin and Penobscut Hills. Bore N & B. E. Distance 14 Leagues.

1755. Sunday, May 24th. Continued under Sail. Made Mount Desert, &c.

25. The whole of the Transportes in the Evening all Got into the Basson of Annapolis Royal, the Three men of War anchored without, went up in Capn Cobbs Boat with

26 Majr Whitworth Capn Brome went in Majr Bowins Boat Lodged at Mudry Winnetts.

27. It is Lev. Colo. Winslow's Orders that the different Commanding officers of the First Battallion of Govr Shirley's Regiment Make returns of their Several Company's according to the Forme herewith Sent, and that they at the Bottom Certify in what Vessels their Respective Company's are and if in more than one how many in Each, if any in the Hospital to mention it, and also that they make Return of the Commission Officers of the Several Company's & where they belong As also one other Return Agreeable to the Copy herewith Sent.

ANNAPOLIS ROYAL NOVA SCOTIA MAY 28TH 1755.

Return of Commission Officers, Serjants, Corporals, Drum's, & Private Men in the First Battallion of his Excellency Govr Shirley's Regimt. Actually of Board the Transportes in this Bason.

COMPANY'S CAPTS NAMES.	Captains.	Leutenants.	Ensign.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	Private.	Total Men Commission Officers & Private.	Total Officers and Men.
His Excell. Govr Malcoln..	1	1	1	3	3	1	31	38	41
Lievt Coll Winslow	1	2	1	4	4	2	85	95	99
Majr Jede Prebble	1	2	1	4	4	2	89	99	103
Majr Benja Goldthwaite	1	1	1	4	4	2	77	87	90
Capt. Nathan Adams	1	2	1	4	4	2	87	97	101
Capt. Humphrey Hobbs	1	2	1	4	3	2	87	96	100
Capt. Phineas Osgood	1	2	1	4	4	2	89	99	103
Capt. Thos. Cobb .....	..	2	1	4	4	2	64	74	77
Capt. Willm. Lamson	1	2	1	4	4	2	75	85	89
Capt. Thos. Speakman	1	1	1	4	4	2	80	90	93
Capt. Josiah Sturtevant	1	2	1	4	4	2	90	100	104
	10	19	11	43	42	21	854	960	1000

Of the Staf	Chaplin	1
	Surgion	1
	Ditto Mates.	2
	Quarter Master	1
	Adjutant	1
	Total the Battallion	<u>6</u>
		<u>1006</u>

THE OFFICERS OF THE FIRST BATTALLION.

FIELD OFFICERS.	CAPTAINS.	LIEVTS.	LIEVTS.	ENSIGNS.
His Excellency the Govr.	Capt. John Malcoln	.....	John Butler	Jona. Brewer
John Winslow Lieut Coll	John Winslow	John Thomas	Gamaliel Brad- ford	Jotham Gay
Jede Preble Majr.	Majr. Preble	Israel Herrick	Josh. Vaughew	Paul Pritchard
Benjn. Goldthwait Majr.	Majr. Goldthwt.	Ebenr. Marrow	Thos. Lane	Nathl. Barrell
	Nathan Adams	Jonas Fitch	Wm Peabody	James Par
	Humpy. Hobbs	Thos. Lawrance	Job Crooker	Benjn. Fassett
	Thos. Cobb	Jos. Wilson	Jona. Carver	Thos. Cobb junr
	Phineas Osgood	Charles Buckley	Timo. Wheeler	Jere Bancroft
	Wm. Lamson	Miles Witworth	Timo. Northham	John Grant
	Thos. Speakman	Job Winslow	Tapley	Josiah Willis
	Josiah Stertevant	Saml. Bent	Moses Curtis	Epm. Holmes

OFFICERS OF THE SECOND BATTALLION.

FIELD OFFICERS.	CAPTAINS.	LIEVTS.	LIEVTS.	ENSN.
George Scott Lievt. Coll.	Coll. Scott			
Joseph Frye Majr.	Majr. Frye	John Indicott	Asa Foster	Thos. Hildreth
Wm. Bourn Majr.	Majr. Bourn	Campbell	Lawrence	David Goreham
	Phineas Stephens	Alexander	Oliver Noyce	Jude
	Wm. Brintnall	Dixson	Cone	
	Nathl. Perrey	Jacob March	Henry Y. Brown	
	Enoch Bayley	Robert Fletcher	Trumbal	David Day
	Willard	Haskal	Willard	Willard
	Ephraim Jones	Wm. Prescot	Josiah Winslow	Armstrong
	Saml. Gilbert	Fuller	Timo. Brown	Joshua Lock

STAFF OFFICERS.

Philip Godfrey Cast Surgeon: Jacob March & Cornelius Nye Surgeons Mates Philip Godfrey Cast Quarter Master. John Bourn Adjutant

ANNAPOLIS BASON MAY 31^t 1755.

LIEVTENANT COLO. MONCKTON'S ORDERS

As Soon as the Several Transportes have Either Run on Shore, or Come to an anchor at Chignecto the officers are to Get their Companys on Shore Forming Each Battallion by Companys and waiting for Further Orders, each man is to take with him when he Lands Five Days Provision From the Transportes the Detachment of the artillery to Land at the same time taking ye Same Quantity of Provisions.

To Lievt Colo Winslow

J. MONCRIEFFE, Adj.

It is His Excellency Govr. Sherleys orders That Lievt. Joseph Wilson with the Private Men Under his Command Now on Board the Sloop Jolley, Hold them Selves in readiness to Joyne Capt. Cobbs Company as Soon as ordered, his Excellency having Directed that the sd. Lievt. Wilson have the Command of that Company in Capt. Cobbs absence.

LIEVT. COLO WINSLOW'S ORDERS.

That the Several within orders Sent herewith to the Captains be Forthwith Delivered and Returns made Immediately.

May 29th & 30th Nothing Remarkable.

VESSELS.	No. of Chests.	No. of Cask.	Contents of Cask.
The Mairmaid Man of War.....	2	43	1260
Sloop Industry	3	13	1080
Sloop Seaflower.....	3	27	1026
Sloop Ranger.....	3	25	1035
Sloop Elizabeth.....	3	29	1071
Sloop Yorke	5	18	1080
Sloop Swan.....	3	22	1080
Sloop Phenix.....	3	31	1089
Sloop Dolphin	3	32	1098
Sloop Fortunantus.....	3	19	1053
Sloop Biddeford.....	3	20	1080
Sloop Jolley	2	2	774
Sloop Three Friends.....	2	39	900 Cartherages
Chests.....	38		13626
at	25		Reced. 13626
		11 Casks More.....	8748
			22374
	950		
2 Chests More to Rece	50		
	1000		

The above Chest & Cask already Delivered with the addition of the Two Chests and Eleven Casks will Compleat the First Battallion, the Numbers of the Cask of Cartridges to be Delivered are as Follows. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. Containing 8748 Carthd.

SIR

Within you have the Number of the arms and Cartheradiges already Delivered with the Names of the Vessels they are on Board. Mr. Wethered will Deliver the Chests & Casks which are wanting to Compleat your Battallion.

I am yr Humble Sert.

To Colo Winslow.

J. MONCRIEFFE.

BAY OF FUNDY, JUNE 1^{TS}. 1755.

SIR,

Please to Deliver to the Bearer the Eleven Cask of Cartheradigis on Board your Brigentine belonging to the First Battallion of his Excellency Govr Shirley's Regiment and are numbered as Follows vizt. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. & 12 & take his Receipt for the Same. your Servant &c.

To Capt. Malcoln, Commander
of the Brign. Pegassus

JOHN WINSLOW.

MEMO. YE BARER JOB CROOKER, LIEVT.
ON BOARD HIS MAJESTYS SHIP SUCCESS
BAY OF FUNDY JUNE 1ST 1755

Lieut Colo Winslow orders that the Following Cask of Cartherages be Removed from on Board the Brigantine Pegassus andrew Malcolm Master, vizn. the following Numbers vizt. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12 Containing in the whole 8748 Cartherages to the Sloop Industry, George Goodwin, Master, and to be Delivered in the Following Maner, vizn.

To Lieut Colo Winslows Company.....	406
To Major Prebles Do.	302
To Major Goldthwaits Do.	765
To Capt Nathan Adams... Do.	666
To Capt Humphry Hobbs... Do.	643
To Capt Thomas Cobbs. . . Do.	516
To Capt Phineas Osgoods... Do.	640
To Capt Willm. Lamsons... Do.	227
To Capt Thos. Speakmans. Do.	760
To Capt Josiah Stertevents. Do.	969
There is 41 Men to be Removed from the 2d. Battallion to Capt. Malcons Company who are to Bring with them Cartherages....	820 ----- 6794

Remains in Store on Board the Sloops Industrey 1954 out of which Deduct 60 for Crooker & Quartermaster 8748

Besides Majr. Preble is to Receive by my orders in part of his Ballance from the Three Friends, Curtis, 384 Cartherages.

you are also to See Delivered to the officers of Each Company for the use of them Selves & Companys Drumers Excepted 2 Flints Each, vizt. To the Governour, 37. addion from the other Battallion 97. Winslows 97. Prebles 101. Goldthwaits 88. Adams 99. Hobbs 101. Cobbs 77. Osgood 101. Lamsons, Speakmans 92. Stertevents 102. Job Crooker Kennady and Bridge omitted is 1006 at 2 Flints Each is 2012.

June 1. Saild From Annapolis on Board his Majtys Ship Success, John Rouse Esqr. Commander the whole Fleet Consisting of Forty one Sail. Got out of the Gut at Eight and Stood up the Bay, the

Wind Blew Fresh Passd by the Isle of Holt, Cape Chignecto, anchored about Sun Setting, about five miles Distance from Forte Laurance at the Place where the Men of War usually Anchor.

ON BOARD HIS MAJESTYS SHIP SUCCESS.

<i>An account of Arms, Cartrige Boxes &c. Reced. Dr.</i>		
To 38 Chests Ddd. on Board the Several Transportes for the First Battallion.....	}	950
To 2 Chests to Receive from Mr. Wetherhead.....		50
		1000

1755 <i>The Account of Cartherages Reced.....</i>	Dr.	
June 1 To 13 Cask of Cartherages Reced. viz. No. 43. 13.	}	13626
27. 25. 29. 18. 22. 31. 32. 19. 20. 2. & 39 as pr. account.		
To 11 Cask on Board the Pegassus, viz. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.	}	8748
8. 9. 10. 11. & 12. Containing		
		22374

ANNAPOLIS ROYAL NOVA SCOTIA MAY 28TH 1755.

A Return of Commission officers, Serjants, Corporals & Drums of the Second Battallion of Govr. Shirleys Regiment Actually on Board the Transportes.

COMPANYS, CAPT. NAMES	n	Lieuts.	Ensn.	Sergts.	Corporals.	Drums.	Private.	Total non Commis. officers & Privts.	Total Commisn. officers, non & Private.
Lieut. Colo. Scott	1	2	1	4	4	2	88	98	102
Majr. Frye	1	2	1	3	4	2	86	95	99
Majr. Bourn.....	1	2	1	4	4	2	84	94	98
Capt. Stephens ..	1	2	1	4	4	2	88	98	102
Capt. Brentnal	1	1	1	4	4	2	84	94	97
Capt. Perry	1	2	1	4	4	2	85	95	99
Capt. Bayley	1	2	1	3	4	2	87	96	100
Capt. Willard	1	2	1	4	4	2	90	100	104
Capt. Jones	1	2	1	4	4	2	82	92	96
Capt. Gilbert	1	2	1	4	4	2	87	97	101
	10	19	10	38	40	20	861	959	998
Surgion 1. Mates 2, Quartermaster 1, Adjutant 1									5

CAPT. ROUSE, BAY OF FUNDY JUNE 1ST 1755.

CONTRA ARMS &C. DELIVERED.....	CR.	
To His Excellency Gov Govr (sic) Shirley's Company....	37	
For the additional from the 2nd Battallion.....	41	
		78
To Lievt Colo Winslow's Company.....	94	
To Job Crooker, an officer.....	1	
		95
To Major Prebles Company.....	97	
To Majr Goldthwaits Company.....	85	
To Capt Nathan Adams Company.....	95	
To Capt Humphry Hobbs Do.....	98	
To Capt Thomas Cobbs.... Do.....	72	
To Capt Phineas Osgoods.. Do.....	97	
To Capt William Lamsons.. Do.....	83	
To Capt Thomas Speakmans Do.....	88	
To Job Winslow an officer.....	1	
		89
To Capt Josiah Stertevant's Company.....	98	
To 2 officers.....	2	
		100
In Store in the Quartermasters Hands.....		11

1000

CONTRA.....	CR.	
By Cartheradges Delivered to the Govr Company.....	800	
To be Delivered to the additional.....	820	1620
By Ditto Delivered to Lievt Colo Winslows Company..	1554	
To be Delivered.....	406	1960
By Ditto Ddd Majr Prebles Company.....	1638	
To be Delivered.....	332	2020
By Delivered Capt Nathan Adams Company.....	1314	
To be Delivered.....	666	1980
<i>Carried forward.</i>		7580

CONTRA—(continued)		CR.
<i>Brought forward</i>		7580
By Ditto to Capt Humphry Hobb Company.....	1377	
To be Delivered	643	2020
By Ditto to Capt Phineas Osgoods Company.....	1380	
To be Delivered	640	2020
By Ditto to Capt Thomas Cobbs Company.	864	
To be Delivered.....	516	1380
By Ditto to Capt William Lamsons Company.	1513	
To be Delivered.....	227	1740
By Ditto to Capt Josiah Stertevents Company.....	1071	
To be Delivered.....	969	2040
By Ditto to Capt Thomas Speakmans Company.....	1080	
To be Delivered.....	760	1840
By Ditto to Majr Goldthwaits Company.....	1035	
To be Delivered.....	765	1800
By Do Ddd to Crooker, Bridge, & Kennady ommited.....	60	
Remains in Store.....		1894
		<hr/> 22374

NEAR CAPE CHIGNECTO, BAY OF FUNDY JUNE 1ST 1755.

From on Board his Majestys Ship Success John Rouse Esqr.
Commandr.

HOND. SIR,

I take this Opportunity to Inclose to your Honr a a [sic] Copy of my Instructions Reced from his Excellency Govr Shirley and to acquaint you that agreeable thereto I am now under the Command of Colo Monckton, Commander-in Chief of ye Expedition and that the two Battallions Consist of about 1950 Men, officers Included, Now on Board the Transportes, and that the Men in General in Good Health & Spirits and all wish to be at Land Exspect to-morrow will be the Day, have Taken this Oppertunity from the Ship to pay My Duty to your Honr as I Expect our First Landing will be a

time of Action, which should it Hapen, Hope all Concernd will do their Duty as becomes their Station, and behave in Such a Maner as to Gaine the approbation of your Honr and all Well wishes to the British Interest which is the Highest Ambition of your Honrs Most Obediant and Most Humble Servant.

To the Honble Charles Lawrance Esqr }
 Lievt Govr & Commandr in Chief of } JOHN WINSLOW.
 His Majtys Province of Nova Scotia. }

June 2nd. ON BOARD HIS MAJESTYS SHIP SUCCESS, JOHN ROUSE ESQR COMMANDER AT A COUNCIL OF WAR, HELD ON BOARD SD SHIP.

John Rouse Esqr President.

Washington Shirley Esqr Commander of his Majtys Ship Mairmaid.

Proby Esqr Commander of his Majtys Ship Sirene

Lievt Colo Monckton Lievt Colo Winslow

Lievt Colo Scott Capt Hale

Capt Spittle Capt Broome

Majr Preble Majr Frye

Majr Goldthwait Majr Bourn.

Resolved. That The Troops Proceed up in the Transportes, upon the Tide and Land as Near as they Can to Forte Lawrance this afternoon &c.

Leievt Colo Winslow orders that the whole of Govr Sherleys Regt be Compleated to Twenty Cartherages Each Man.

At Four of the Clock in the afternoon the Several Transportes wayed, and Stood up the Bay with the Troops on Board; at about Six Part of the Vessels run on Shore on a Pointe of Marsh between River Massaquash and the River Leblanck and Poot into a Creek Called Galips Creek, Colo Monckton with the Later parts and I with ye formèr and Landed on the Marsh Where I happened to be the First Boat on Shore: Drew up the Battallion as the Men Landed: ye First on the right the Second on the Left. Mett with no opposition, Nor the Sight of an Enemy. at Seven March for Fort Lawrance which was Distante from our First Landing about arrived at the Forte at Sun Setting. Lodged our Men in Barns & out Houses. Tooke up my own Quartars at Cobbs where I was Kindly Received.

June 3rd. At a Council of War Resolved to March tomorrow Morning at Brake of the Day in order to Seige to Forte Beausejour.

Got Sundry of our Necessarys from Board our Store Ship and Transporte, repositied them at Capt Cobbs. Gott our Tents & Camp Necessarys on Shore Ddd out Flints, Camp Kittles Canteens &c. Pitched our Tents & Encampnt in Two Divitions, Each Battallion by it Self. the Men all Lodged in their Tents.

4. Struck our Tents Early in the Morning At Six. all things being Ready Began our March from Forte Lawrance for Forte Beansejour in this Maner. Capt Adams of the First Battallion with the advanced Gaurd Consisting of Sixty Men. Then Colo Monckton with the Regulars and Traine amount to about 300 Men; after whome Marchd Colo Scott with the Second Battallion. The Rear Brought up by my Self with the First Battallion, and in this Scituation we Marcht with four Cannon Shorte Six Pounders Brass on Carrages Drawn by a Party of New England Troop under the Command of Capt. Stertevant. Got on but Slowly as We had our Baggage & warlike Stores with wheel carages, and in many Places obliged to Make & Mend Roads as most of our way was over the Marsh where the Dikes had been Cut Down. at about Eleven. about Three miles Distance from Fort Lawrance at a Place called Ponte Abute on a Fine Marsh where the Road Leads accrose the River Mussaquash over which the French Had a Bridge, but now Demolished, the W Side of which the French Claim and had Erected a Block House & Mounted with Some Small Cannon & Swivells and had Thrown up a Brest worke and Posted them Selves Extreamply well to oppose our Laying a Bridge or Passing the River and where Mixt with their Regular Troops Inhabitants and Indians to the amount of 400 Men. and lay undiscovered. Till our Arrival Near the Bridge at about Two or Three Hundred yards Distance when without the Least Notice they Gave us their Full Fire from there Block House and Musquetry (all under Cover) which was Briskly Returnd by the advanced Party. the Regulars and the Fronte Part of the Second Battallion, on which Capt Brome with the Train Son Prepared and Brought to Bear on the Enemy his four Peices of Cannoh & Fired on their Block House and Party in the Quickest Maner that Ever I saw; and after about a Quarter of an Houer in this Maner Disputing the French thought Proper to Sett their Block House and Village on

Fire. but Stil Continued with there Musquetry to annoy us Not with Standing which we March up to the Bridge and Lade it. and as the Second Battallion where Divided Partly Posted on the Dikes &c. & our Battallion Stood Drawn up in order and Intier I Reced orders from Colo Monckton to advance to Joyne with & cover their Passage over the Bridge which was Immediately Put in Execution the Passage Gained. Notwithstanding the Ennemy's Musquetry Stil Continuig their Fire and that from one Cover to another til we Gained the Top of the Hill. this Dispute Lasted about an Hower, and a Great Deal of Shot Spent. and in which we had a Serjant of the Regulars Kild and three wounded. four wounded of Each of our Battallions and two of The Traine of the Enemy by the best Account. one Indian & Three Frenchmen Kild & Many wounded. after the Ingagement was over we Halted and refreshed our Men. Put our wounded into carts and Marcht on within Less then Two Miles of the Forte & Turned out from the Main Road to the Right where we Halted in the wood vizt. The First Battallion Next the wood. the Second Next the Forte. the Regulars and the train in the Center & thus Ended this Day.

June 5. We Removed our Forces about half a Mile Nearer the French Fort Lookt out the Ground and Incampt from the Marsh to the Top of the Hill and is between the Marsh and the Rhoad that Leads from Forte Beausejour to Bay of Verte which is about half a Mile accrose vizt the Regulars next to the Marsh on a Plaine Clear Ground the Second Battallion in the Center the First next to the Road. Placed our Gaurds & Centrys. Disturbd at Night by the Fire of the Enemy on our Guards &c.

6. Sett all hands at worke to Clear the Camp that where of Duty Capt. Silvanus Cobb Came up the River with Stores in his Sloop on whome the French Fired from their Forte and a Number with Smal Arms From behind the Dikes. on which we Detached a Party to Cobbs assistance. which Soon Drove the Enemy back to their fort. and without Loss to us.

7. Parole Cumberland. Counter Sign Frends to Nova Scotia. A Return to be Given to the Brigadr Major of the Number fit for Duty in Each Corps that Camp Duty May be Proportiond accordingly. the Guards of the Camp are not to Make any Fires at Night but to Keep them Selves Conceald and as Silent as Possible. in Case

of Alarm the Several Corps are to Stand to their Arms but not to Fire Unless they are attacked and then only by Command from their officers. The Roll of Each Company to be Calld in the Presence of an officer at Tattoo Beating which the Drums are to Beat at Sun Sett. the ordinary Guards for the Security of the Camp to Perrade at sd Time. An officer and 29 Men to assist the Lievt of the Man of War to Unload Coverley. Divers Vessels with Cannon, Stores &c., Came up the River on whom the French Fired but without Success. this Day Puld Down our Brush Houses, Cleared the Land and Pitched our Tents. Made a Fence or Brest worke with the ruins of our Houses with Brush & wood to Defend us from the Enemys Breaking in upon our Incampment.

Friday 11 oClock. Sir we have only been able to Get up Cobbs Vessel the others not being able to Come up this Tide ye Provisions will be up this Evening & I have ordered up some Rum Immeately which I will give to the Men as soon as it Comes

I am yr Humble Sert.

R. MONCKTON.

June 8. Reced. orders from Colo Monckton to Head a Party of Three Hundred Men to View the Ground near the Forte with an Ingeneir vizt Mr Tunge and to Look out a Proper Place from whence to Make an attack. Proceeded on throh woods &c. at Length arived near a Hill the Place Proposed where the Enemy had Posted them Selves in an advantages maner under the Cover of Rocks &c. from whence upon our approach they made a Smart Fire upon us but over Shott us. the advanced Guard Led by Lievt Alexander, the Main Body by my Self who Immediatly Joyned ye advanced Guard. Gave Three Cheers and March Briskly up the Hill. Gave them our Fire. Dislodged from their Post and so from Place to Place til they recovered the Forte, we advanced with in 600 yds of the Garrison under the Cover of Rocks and Hills in General thoh in Some Places Exposed to open View and that not with standing the Fire of their Cannon. Lieut Colo Scott with 100 Men Came to our assistance in about an Hour after our Taken Possession of the Ground.

I Detached Ensign Gay with a Party to acquaint Colo Monckton

that we had Taken Possession of the Ground and thought it a Place Fit for our Purpose, and In Case we were to Keep it desired a reinforcement. Had this return.

Sir, Colo Monckton Desires me to acquaint you that your Post Cannot be Supported at Present, it may be Possesst at any time when the Stores are on Shore and the Vessels returnd for which reason he would have you return.

I am Sir, your Most obedient

To. Colo Winslow.

MONCREIFFE.

After Receiving of this in about half an Hour I returnd to the Camp in a Differant Road round by the Marsh of Olake, rained very hard & was Sufficiently wett.

ORDERS. Pattrol Halifax. Countersign Frends to Nova Scotia. A return was Ordered to be Given of the Strength of Each Company which has not been Given by Colo Winslow & Colo Scots Battallions it is Desired that thay may be Given in to-morrow Morning. Fifty Men of the Two Battallions are wanted for work tomorrow at Day Brake, the Two Battallions Each at Night one Company in the Fronte of the Battallion and another in the rear, and in the Day time are to have a Subbaltern and Thirty men.

The Party with me this Day Took a French Soldier and the French and Indians Took Mr Hay an officer in Govr Hobsons Regt in the afternoon Majr Barlong arived from Forte Beausejour with a Flag of Truce. Informd us that Mr. Hay was well & Told us that he was Greatly Supprisd that English Subjects Should Molest them in a time of Profound Peace. Discount &c., (Sic)

1755. *June 9.* Patrol Boston. Countersign Friends to Nova Scotia.

The Field officers are Desired to see the Complement of Men ordered for worke Sent down Peticularly at the time Desired, as the Store keeper Complains that a Great many Tools are Issued that are Not Returned and these Tools are So Esential to the Service we are upon it is Expected that Every officer will exhort him Self in Preserving them as much as Possible.

The Commanding officer observing this Day a Great and Unusial

Exspence of Amunition. Some having Fired Two or Three rounds it is Therefore ordered that the Men be acquainted that they will be Chargd Two pence Sterling for every Cartridge which is not Expended in actual Service or by order from their officers, all orders which Concern the men are to be Published to them by an officer.

Sir, Please to Send Dow [sic] a Hundred men of your Battallion and officers in Proportion to worke upon the road up to the Hill you are Incampt on; the Fifty men ordered in the Morning are to be Sent Down now Each with a Spruce Bow in his hand. Colo Monckton Desiers to See the Field officers at ten of the Clock,

I am Sir your Humble Servt

To Colo Winslow.

T. MONCREIFFE.

June 19th 1755 a Return of the First Battallion of his Excellency Govr. Shirley's Regiment, vizt. the Effectives.

	Capt.	Lieut.	Ensgn.	Serjt.	Corpls.	Drums.	Privates.
His Excellency the Govr.....	1	1	1	3	4	1	75
Lieut. Colo. Winslow.....	1	2	1	3	4	1	74
Majr. Preble.....	1	1	1	4	4	2	70
Majr. Goldthwait.....	1	1	1	4	4	2	75
Capt. Adams.....	1	2	1	4	3	2	74
Capt. Hobbs.....	1	1	1	4	4	1	81
Capt. Cobb.....	..	2	1	4	4	2	68
Capt. Osgood.....	1	2	1	4	4	2	80
Capt. Lamson.....	1	1	1	4	3	1	78
Capt. Speakman.....	1	1	1	4	4	1	71
Capt. Sturtevant....	1	1	1	4	4	2	80
Total.	10	15	11	42	42	17	826

JOHN WINSLOW.

The Men were Sent & Employed agreeable to the orders of the Day in Getting our Cannon & war Like Stores up to the Rhoad on the Right Hand of My Camp an a Detachment of the Guard ordd to Take the Immediate Care of them til a Proper Gaurd was Mounted.

JUNE THE 10TH.

SIR, The Vessel that is to Carry my Letters for Hallifax will Sail tomorrow Morning and Some time tomorrow Evening I Propose Sending one to Boston.

I am Sir, your Very Humble Servant,
To Colo Winslow. ROBT. MONCKTON.

Sent a Desier to Capt Hambelton with a Desier as Such Men who were not well on the Third Instant & were now recovd and fit for Duty might be Sent to the Camp on which I recd This answer.

JUNE 10TH 1755.

SIR I am Favoured with your Message and Shall to Night or to morning at Farthest Send you all the Supernumary People of your Detachment as well as those of the others. I Heartily wish you Perfect Health and am with great Regards Dr Sir your most obedient Servant

To Colo Winslow at } HAMILTON.
Beausejour. }

BEAUSEJOUR. JUNE 10TH 1755 Pattrole Bradocke.

A Guard of one Capt. Three Subbalterns & 150 Private men to Perade this Evening at Gun Firing as a Gaurd over the Cannon and Stores on the Top of the Hill. the Gaurds of Each Battallion as usual.

This Day Finished Getting up our Cannon and War Like Stores. all up to the Place ordered by the Rhoad on the right Hand of my Camp.

JUNE 10TH 1755.

SIR as the New way of approaching the Hill has been Proposd by Some of the Ingineres, I should be Glad as you have Seen the other Road that you would Take any Party you may think Proper to-morrow Morning and View this that I may then have your Opinion of the Two.

I am Sir, your obediant Humble Servt.
To Lievt Colo Winslow. ROBT. MONCKTON.

June 11 Agreeable to the orders of yesterday I Took with me Majr. ——— and 400 Men to Finde Survey and Meassur the New road to Forte Beausejour Taking with me Capt. Jones as a Surveyor and on Examination Found that the road was Very Good but that in keeping of it would be Five Miles From our Camps round. when we Came near the Forte, or the Ground we Possesd. on the Eighth. Divided our Party in Three Bodys & Marcht on Three Deep the right wing under the Command of Capt Lamson the Lievt by Capt Stertevant & the Main Body by my Self with Majr Frye which Method So Disconcerted the French Party Drawn up to oppose us. So that we mett with No Difficulty in Gaining the Ground which being obtaind the French from the Forte Plyed us Very Hott with Cannon Shot. which Came Near us but Did No Damage.

June 11 Capt. Adams was Detached Early to reconoiter the Country & Make Discovery of any Party of the Enemy where about us, his Men all Vollentiers and to Consist of 100, who returnd with Barlong's Coach, a Brass Cannon Formerly Taken by me and a Good deal other Plunder.

Sir, Colo Monckton to see you & your Field officers at his Tent at Four of the Clock.

I am your Most obedient.

To Colo Winslow.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

Att Time above mentioned the Field officers of Both Battallions Together with Capt Broome of the Train, Capt Huzey, Capt Hale and Capt Spittle of the Regulars Met as Directed and Determined to Brake Ground Before Forte Beausejour on the morrow Evening and That we would Posses our Selves of the Ground in the Day Time, and That Lievt Coll Scott Capt Spittle and Majr Preble Command the Party who are to Consist of 500 Men.

12. Capt. Adams Party whent out Early this Morning who returnd and Brought with them a Soldier who had Deserted. according to the Determination of yesterday Colo Scott, Majr Preble & Capt Spittle was Detached with Five Hundred Men to Posses the Ground that I had Twice before Taken and to Keep it til Evening in order

to Intrench for Battering: who Proceeding in the Execution of Those orders, and where opposed by a Large Party of French to the amount of about who Disputed the Ground an Houer. Fired Insestantly but at Length Quitted the Ground, we hand in this action, one Pike of Majr Fryes Company Kild Mr Tonge Badly wounded, Majr Preble Slightly but Badley Brused. and Four Privates of our Regiment wounded. in the Evening Colo Scott & Party Brooke Ground and Intrenched them Selves very well at the Distance of yds From the Forte The French this Day Fired Divers Cannon at our Party.

The above Party Executed their Duty by ye followg orders vizt the New England Troops Employed to Intrench the regulars as a Gaurd behind the Rocks with 60 New Englanders.

(*Beausejour June 12th.*) Parol Lawrance. 400 of the six Hundred Men ordered yesterday are to Parade in the Front of Winslow's Camp. Lievt Colo Scott and Majr Preble with a Capt and Two Subs from Each Battallion for this Duty. Capt Spittle and one Sub from the regulars; the other 200 to Parade at the Head of Winslow's at Eight o'Clock for that Duty: one Capt and 6 Subalters from Winslows and Scotts: the Proportion of the regulars are of the Number that Parade this Evening at five.)

June 13th The Ennemy Kept a Continual Fire on our Party Intrencht with their Cannon, and on our Party's Marching with Fassigns as they went Back and forward from our Camp to the Trenches, but without any Success, our Party Keeping their Trenches and Ground: behaved Well.

Beausejour, June 13th. Pattrol London The Trenches to be relived this Night by Five Hundred men. Lievt Colo Winslow, Capt Hale and Majr Frye for that Duty to Parade half an Houer after Five a Capt and four Subalters from Each of the Battallions and one from the regulars for that Command. Regulars 60, Winslow's 220, Scott's 220, the officers Commanding Companys are to see the men for this Command Completed with ammunition, Lievt Hanfield is appointed to act as assistant Enginere.

According to the orders of the Day, Paraded before my Camp at Five. Grounded our arms and remained till the Dusk of the Evening having first Loaded Two Carts of Capt Cobb's with Two Eight Inch Mortors with their Shells and other artillery Stores, and then

set Forward having with us Capt Silvanus Cobb as a Volenteir; arived at the Trenches at about ten, Marcht Most of the way in the Plain roade that Leads to Fort Beausejour, & Then Turnd to the right in a Blind Path having Capt Willard for our Guide, Some what bewildered, & bad Rhoad & as this was our First attempt with Teams Met with Considerable Difficulty, but at Last arived Safe with the Party and Relived Colo Scott & his Detachment and Post-ed our men in the Same Maner as they that we relived were Posted. Work very Hard Til Day break Extending a Trench from the In-trenchment Made by Colo Scott in an angle Towards the Forte. Covering the workmen with a Gaurd between us and the Enemy with fifty men Lying Flat on the Ground, & advanced this night 110 yards, 85 of which was Gaind in a Straight Line Towards the Forte. Met with No Misfortune in the Night Season.

June 14. Early in the Morning the French Fired Very Briskly on us, we returnd the Compliment with our Two Eight Inch Mortars and Five Royals. at about Ten I Found our Royals to Fall Shorte of the Forte & Stopt the Fire of them & Continued to Play with our Two 8 Inch Mortars. Sent to Colo Monckton an account of our Situation, and that we were all well, but had one of our Eight Inch Mortars Disabled by a Cannon Ball at Twelve; and from Him Reced. the following Letter, viz.

BEAUSEJOUR CAMP, JUNE 15TH, 1755.

SIR,

I am Favored with yours and am glad to hear that you are all Well. Capt. Brome is of Oppinion that the Royals are at Too Great a Distance, therefore ought to be Made use of and that we ought to be Very Sparing Likewise of our Eight Inch Shells. I propose sending the Thirteen Inch Mortar this Night & another Eight Inch for which the Battery ought to be Completed, as for want of that Precaution we may be Liable to Loose all our Mortars. Should be Glad Sir, to Know wether the Bed of the Eight Inch Mortar is Disabled or Not, & Likewise when any thing Exstrodenary hapens; am Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

To Lieut Colo John Winslow,
 Commanding in the Trenches. }

FROM THE INTRENCHMENT, JUNE 4TH, 1755.

GOOD SIR,

I have the Pleasure of yours but before the reception, it was Thought best to be Stil with our five Inch Mortars as they where of No use. but to Amuse our Selves. the Enemy have taken Down a Building Some what Like a Block house and one other which I Imagin to be a Pigeon House, we continue our worke this Day in widening our Trenches and are Covering our Mortars, as Fast as we Can and hope to be ready by Night to receive the one of Thirteen Inches. The Bed of the Mortar Disabled is not Hurt and will Serve another of the Same Dementions. the Enemy Levell their Cannon Very well, and half Burry us in the Trenches but hurt us None. We have Reced. 120 Cannon Shot. No Extrodenarys.

your Humble Servant,

JOHN WINSLOW.

To Colo Monckton Commandr
in Cheif of the Forces at Chignecto
in Camp at Beausejour. }

Visitted Capt. Hale and Party at Two, were Complimented with Some Cannon Shot as I Pasd there & Back. we Kept to worke this whole Day althoh our Men were Greatly Fatigued, and did not Like it. The Enemy this Day Fired at us 140 Cannon Shott and in the Evening Divers Ten Inch Shells which Came near us but Did no Damage.

Relived at Eleven in the Evening by Capt Huzey, Major Goldthwait and Bourn who were accompanied by Capt Cobb who Brought with him the Thirteen Inch mortar & Divers other Millatary Stores with Three Teams. Exstream Dark and Rained Very hard, Lost our way in returning to the Camp Got Close under the Fort and Did arive to our Camp til Two of the Clock in the Morning.

Beausejour. Orders June 14th Patrol Rouse, Counter Sign Frinds to Boston.

The Trenches to be Relieved this Night by the Same Number of officersand Men as yesterday, Capt Huzey, Major Goldthwait and Majr Bourn for that Duty, as the adjutants have Some Difficulty in Parading Men for Sudden Occations, the Serjants telling them all their Men are upon Duty out of their Turns which ought Not to be,

as the whole Number of Men Mounted in Twenty four Howers are but 682 and the Number Doing Duty 1727 as follows, regulars 244 Winslows 827, Scotts 656, the officers of the Companys are therefore Desiered to See Exact Duty rolls Kept, to have the rolls of their Companys Calld three times a Day and to take Care that their men are Constantly in Camp and ready for Service, the Serjants are able to make regular reports of the Sick Dayley, Lievt Moncrieffe of Govr. Shirley's Regiment is appointed by Lievt. Govr Lawrance Judge advocatè of all General Court Martials for this Expedition.

As to the Carelessness of Some People with regard to Trixk this Day Might have Distroyed the whole Incampment the officers are Desiered to be Peticularly Carefull about it and see that no Fires are made of Light Brush but of wood and those only for Boiling of Kittles, all which Fires they are to See Well Extinguished at Evening Gun. No Fires are to be Made Near the Tents or the Breast works in the Front or rear of the Incampment, these orders are to be Published to the Men.

June 15. This Proved a Very wet Day So that the Party in the Trenches Could Not worke. The Enemy Fired Briskley as the Day before, one Bomb Fell in the Trenches but Did no Damage, neither Did their Fire which was Supprising. The Trenches releived about Sun Sett by Col Scott, Capt Hale & Capt Adams, who advance the Trenches in the Evening beginning where I Left off.

Pattrol Shirley.

A return of the Sick in the First Battallion.

Colo Winslows	5	Majr Prebles	2	Majr Goldthwait	9
Capt Hobbs	7	Capt Osgoods	12	Capt Lamson	5
Capt Speakman	7	Capt Stertevant	2	Capt Malcolm	3
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
	19		16		17
		Total	52		

SUCCESS, JUNE 15TH 1755.

DEAR SIR,

It would be the Greatest Pleasure Immaginable to me Could I have the Satisfaction of Seeing you and am hartily Sorrey it is Not

Consistant to our Duty as Not Posably to admit of it, for my part I Case not to Venture upon a Flood Tide Least any Strange Ships Should appear in Sight, and on the Ebb it runs So Very Strong that a Boat Cant well Row against it. I was Sorrey yesterday to See the Bombs Drop so far from the Forte as they Did. I was in Great Expectation of Seeing to Day Some of the Shells Discharged from the Large Mortar but hope it wont be Long before I hear that as well as the Large Cannon. I often hear of your Success in Plunder both by Land and water Perticularly a Coach, I hope you have Some Fine Horses for it at Least four to draw it, that it may be said a New England Colonel his Coach & four in Nova Scotia. I am also Informed that you have Got a Birch Canno, I think I have Some Title to what you take on the water, If you have any Good Saddle Horses in your Stable I Should be Obliged to you for one to ride round the Ships Deck on for exercise for I am not Likely to have any other, Der Sir your Most Obediant Humble Servt.

JOHN ROUS.

To Colo. Winslow at the English }
Camp at Beausejour. }

Pattrol Probey.

June 16. The Trenches to be releived by the Same Number of officers and Men as yesterday Lieut Colo Winslow, Capt Hale and Majr Frye for that Duty to Perade at Four o'Clock. The Enemy began their Fire this Morning Early, which was Briskly returnd by our 13 and 8 Inch Mortars, about Nine Came a Flag of Truce from the Fort with Forms in order for a Capitulation on which a Council of War was Called Consisting of Lieut Colo Monckton, Lieut Col Winslow, Capt Broome, Huzey & Spittle, Majrs Frye, Goldthwait and Bourn & Mr. Bruce the Engineer who rejected their Terms, and Proposed others, viz To this Effect—

1st. That they the French March out with their Small Arms Drums Beating Match Lighted & the Honrs of War and Transported at the Cost of the King of Great Briton to Lewisburgh and not Bare Arms for Six months from the Date & Carry of their Effects, &c.

2nd. That the Inhabitants be Left in the Same Scituation as they

were when we arived and not Punished for what they had Done Since our being in the Country, and they allowed till Two of ye Clock to Consider. In which time they Came to a Determination to Surrender on the Terms Proposed, upon which they were allowd til Seven to March out. Colo Scott and the Party in the Trenches ordered to take Possession which was Done. and in the Evening about Sun Setting Colo Monckton & myself with the regulars and 300 New England Troops Marcht into the Forte where being Entered we Found that one of our Large Shells at Eight in the Morning Fell upon a Casment they Immagined to be Secure and Killd Mr Hay one of our officers Taken on the Eight, and four of their officers, our Bombs before Killing them Several Men & Done them Vast Damage. The regulars & half the New England Troops Lodged in the Garrison. I with the others without.

Thus having Got into the Forte I would Observe That from our First Marching from Forte Lawrance to Forte Beasejour we were Continually Molested by Parties of the Enemy, we where Continually Molested and Harrased in our Camps, and Particularly this Day at One of the Clock the French & Indians attacht, us. by Fireing on our Guards. upon which we rallied & Fired on them, wounded one of the Chief of the Indians who Informd us that we had wounded one other of the Mickmack Tribe before he was hurt & that in Passing the Bridge at Pont Debut we Kild on of the Chiefs of the St Johns Tribe & Kild and wounded a Great Many French & Indians (after which and Taking a Dram or too he Quiatly Dyied) and throh all our Varous Scirmages and Different Parties we put our Enemys to Flight and throh Gods Goodness had but Three men Kild and none wounded but what are in a way to do well. The Enemy by the Best Intelligence Lost upwards of Twenty men & Many wounded.

FORTE CUMBERLAND, JUNE 17TH, 1755.

Pattrol King George Colo Winslow & Scotts Battallions to Finde a Gaurd for the Trenches. 200 Men to be Sent to Levell the Trenches tomorrow at Six of the Clock, those now in the Trenches to Return to the Camp this Night.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Colo Winslow.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders that the Gaurds be releived at the usual time and that their be from Each Battallion on Each Flank against their respective Incampments a Captains Gaurd of fifty Men Each and Twenty five over the Guns.

SIR,

Colo Monckton Desiers you would order a Gaurd for the Vessels to relieve the regulars.

I am your Most obedient

T. MONCRIEFFE.

Beasejoure June 17th.

To Colo Winslow.

this order Complied with and we being ninety men Stronger than the Second Battallion ordered that the releif be from the First Battallion & that that Gaurd be Kept up til further orders by the sd First Battallion.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR JUNE 17TH 1755.

SIR

I have Confined here to the Gaurd Stephen Talbot of Govr Hobson's Regiment on Suspition of his Plundering the French Forte and Secured the Goods Found on him. and Desier to Know wether he Shall be removed to your Gaurd. or what is to be Done with him, have also Confined Willm Cannon of Major Goldthwaits Company for the Same Crime and Finde Divers other Goods which I apprehend was taken in the Same Maner and if you think it Convenient you will Please to order it tomorrow Morning.

Should be Glad of the Favor of a Cobby of the Cappitulation that I May Send it to my Colo Govr Shirley who Doubtless will Exspect it from me and I would also be Directed wether Majr Frye who is now in the Trenches is to have aded to his releif any Further number then the 100 Men already Sent him. am your

Very Humble Servant

To Colo Monckton Commander in Chief }
of the Forces at Chignecto, &c. } JOHN WINSLOW.

This Day Marcht to our former Camp with the New England Troops, Leaving Majr Frye with 150 Men to Fill up the Trenches and Detachd 200 fresh Men to assist him who Completed that Business and in the Evening returnd to the Camp all well.

FORTE CUMBERLAND, 8 o'Clock JUNE 18TH 1755.

SIR

you are to be ready to March with 500 Men from your Two Battalions at ten of the Clock this Morning taking with you Provisions for this Day. I am your

Most obedient

To Colo Winslow.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

Mr. Goddard will Carry you your Instructions.

FORTE CUMBERLAND, JUNE 18TH, 1755.

SIR,

I have Exchanged Terms of Cappitulation with the officers of ye Forte at Gaspareau, which are the Same as Granted to Mr. Vergore and his Forte. you will Therefore Sir March with the Party orderd taking with them what Provisions they have, and in Case you Should want More, I will Either Send it you from hence or you May Supply your Self from what you may Finde at Gaspareau, they are to have Carts Supplied them to Transporte their Baggage. For which purpose I inclose you an Order to the Inhabitants, Likewise Some Proclamation which you will Give to them. you will as Soon after your arival as you Can Send me an acct of the Conditions of the Forte & of the Kings Magazine and wether there are any Stores in it. remaining there til further orders.

I am Sir, your Most obedient Humble Servt.

ROBT. MONCKTON.

To Lieut. Colo Winslow, Commanding
in Camp.

P. S. I Send Mr. Goddart with you in
Case he Should be wanted and Must
Desier that you would take Perticular Care
that your Men Donte Plunder.

AU FORTE DE CUMBERLAND, CE 18 JUIN. 1755.

I lert ordonne aux Habitans, De fourrir Des Vortures, for
Transporter Le Baggage De La Garrison De Gaspereau a Cet Forte.

ROBT. MONCKTON,

DE PAR LE ROY.

Par Ordre de Son Excellence Charles Lawrance Ecuyer Lieutenant
Gouvernor et Commandant in Chief de la Provinces, de la Novell
Ecosse on La accardia, &c., &c., &c.

PROCLAMATION.

Aux Habitants et tous autres Natiss de Chignecto Bay Verte
Tintamar Chipondie La Rivere St Jean et Leur Dependance et
Environs et Tous autres Les Sujests du Roy de La Grande Bretagne
Qui wont point Encore facit Leur Soumission. Deautant qui Laplus
part des Habitants des places Susditter. et autress wont point
encore facis Leur Soumission au Roy de La Grande Britagne
mais au Contraire ses Sont Comportez Contre Toute ordre et Loy-
ante onvers Les propre Souverain.

Cert Pourquoi Cellece est pour Les ordonner de ses reparer Imme-
diatement a mon Champ pour fair Leur Soumission opportant ance
eux toutes Leurs armes a fuse, Epees, Sabres, Pistolets et towt autres
Instruments De Guerre Eu Desobeif Sance de Largville. I.Cs.

Seront traitez Comme Rebelles, avec Lexecution Militaire.

Donne au Champ De Chignecto ce Troiseine Jour de May 1755.

ROBT. MONCKTON.

FORTE CUMBERLAND, JUNE 18TH, 1755. .

SIR

a before your return I Shall Despatch the Vessel for Boston you will
be Pleasd therefore to Send me your Letters and as throh my hands
the Terms of Cappitulation ought to be Sent you will be So Good as
to refer Govr Shirley to me on that head. I am Sir your obedient
& Humble Servant

ROBT MONCKTON.

To Lieut Colo Winslow.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR JUNE 18TH 1755.

SIR

I have Just now Recd Orders for the March of 500 Men, am now Collecting them and Shall Inmediately be ready to march to what Ever place you Shall Direct I purposd to have waited on you this Day upon the affairs of the Regiment but as Duty Cals a Differant way would Acquaint you that the People Grow very uneasy about pay and they are in real want of it. I would propose as we are all in a hurry that Three Dollars be advanced to Each private man four to the Corporals & Drummers and Six to the Serjants & the pay rolls to be Made up when More at Leasure, we have also Divers men Confin'd for Pilfering, Misbehaviour &c. Should be Glad a Court Martial Might be ordered as Soon as you Judge Convenient.

am with regards yr Humble Servant

To Colo Monckton Commandr of } JOHN WINSLOW.
the Forces at Chignecto }

June 18th 1755. I am ordered to March Immediatly with 500 Men and must have them Equipt. would Therefore Desier you to Deliver Sufficiant Carthreages for that purpose to the Quartermasters Let on half be in bundles. am y'y

To the officer who has the Command } JOHN WINSLOW
of the Stores in Camp. } Commandg officer at the Camp
The Cartherage Ddd as ordered to Each man Twenty.

FORTE CUMBERLAND JUNE 18TH 1755.

SIR

I have Just now had Intelligence that Mr Lt Latres Chest with his papers &c have been Conveyed to the House of Abbee Monacks who is Priest at the Bay of Vert. I would have uss your utmost Endeavor to Get his Chest and take Perticular Care of it as it will Clear up and open Many Darke Scenes to us.

I am Sir your Obediant Humble Servant,

To Colo Winslow.

ROBT MONCKTON.

Persuant to the aforegoing orders Drew up the Detachment of 500 Men ordered and March of from the Parade at Eleven o'Clock having with me Majr Frye Capt Adams, Osgood, Perry & Gilbert, Mr Goddard Enjenner Doctr Witworth and Divers Subalterns with French Pilots. Stopt at Two by ye Side of a Brook, refreshd our Selves & Set forward, Came to Musaquash River at about Three mile of the Bay of Vert where the French had a Fine Bridge accrose but Now Demolished, which retarded us Some time til we Could lay a New one which we accomplisht & Marcht on all the way a Good Cart road thoh wet. the Land for the Most Part Verry Good til we Came Near the Bay where it grew worse. past throh the Vilage at Bay of Verte. arived at the Fort about Sun Set. Emmediately Entered and Took Possession. Monsr Vilray Commands without about Thirty regulars & Some artificers &c March out. The Latter part of the Day proved Rainey———Patrol Monckton.

FORTE GASPAREAU JUNE 19TH 1755.

To Captain Nathan Adams, Phineas Osgood & Nathl Perrey Lieut
Thomas Lawrance & Job Crooker

you are hereby Directed to take a Survey of the Magazein of Warlike Stores, Provisions &c that are in this Garrison and Make a True Invoice thereof and make return to Me as Soon as Posable. Given under my hand.

JOHN WINSLOW,
Commanding officer of sd Forte.

19th of June 1755. Persuant to the above order we have Taken a Survey and Made an Invoice of the Warlike Stores and Provisions in the Garrison at Gaspereau which we Finde to be as follows, viz 4 Cannon four pounders, 4 Ditto two pounders, 2 Swivells, 2 Carragis for Cannon, 7 Barrels of Powder, one Hundred weight Musquet Balls, 8 Hhds Molasses, 3 Barrels of Pease 6 Barrels of Flower 230 Barrels of Porke, 3 Barrels of Tallow, 10 Galls Lamp Oyle, 9 Doz of Codlines, 1300 Iron Shot and about 50 Cartherages as Witness our Hands &c.

FORTE GASPAREAU, JUNE 19TH 1755.

SIR,

We arived at this place a Little before Sun Setting & Immediatly Took Possession of the Garrison which I take to be one Hundred and Eighty Foot Square with four Bad Blockhouses one at Each Corner a Ditch partly Dug No ramparts nor Glasses nor an Erstrodenary Palasade, a Large Store house but not Tight nor Floar. Nither is there one Building in the whole Tennantable all things are Miserable to the Last Degree.

I have Sent your Honr an Invoyce of the warlike Stores & Provisions Found Considerable Quantities rold out of the Garrison to Places adjatent and Some Molasses in the water Finde Nither Bread nor Licquors, nor Flower for Much More than one Day. so that in Case we remain more then tomorrow we Must be Supplyd with Bread for the Party as also their Camp Kettles as I Find no Kinde of Vessels to Dres their Provisissions in and they obliged to Broyl their Pork or Eat it Raw which I Doubt will be of Bad Consequence, I have represented these Facts as I take them to be and Shall wait your Orders for my Future Conduct, Where I to Give my Opinion it would be to Demolish the Forte am with Due regards
your Humble Servant

To Colo Monckton Commander in Chief }
of the Forces at Forte Cumberland &c. } JOHN WINSLOW.

19

Patrol Shirley

Ordered a Party of 200 Men to Proceed to the Vilage of the Bay of Verte To Make Search for Mr Lt Latres Chest & papers. Said to be Lodged at abbe Monacks where being arived & Made Search Found Nothing of any Consequence and Informed by the Inhabitants that both these Priests went on the Same Day that Beausejour Surrendered by water and Took with all their Effects but wether they were Gone to Cannada or ye Island of St. Johns they Could not Tel. This Vilage Contains about Twenty-five Houses a Chaple and Priests house well Furnished, and the Inhabitants of this Vilage Live in better form and more after the English Manner than Any I have Seen in this Province and have an open Communication with the Island of St. John & the Inhabitants of Cape Briton whome the Furnish with Lumber Indian Goods &c. and from whome they receive all the Conveniencys of Life in Return.

20th

Pattrol Massachusetts.

afternoon Ordered a Party of 200 Men with whome I recointered the Country along by the Side of the River Gaspereau. Found the Soile but Mean to what it is at Chignecto. & Fish in the Bay Scarce.

21. Pattrol Halifax. Nothing remarkable.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JUNE 20TH 1755.

SIR

I was Favored with yours, and ordered you Bread for Two Days as for Porke you will be Good Enough to Supply your Self out of the Porke found in the Forte. Capt. Rous. Shirley and Probey are to be up here this Morning when we Shall Determine Concerning what we Shall do with that Fort. I have Desiered Majr Goldthwait to Send a party with the Bread. I am Sir with Complements to the Gentlemen with you your Most obedient Humble Servt

To Lieut. Colo Winslow }
 Commanding at Gaspereau } ROBT MONCKTON.

The Party arived with the Bread all well.

FORTE GASPEREAU JUNE 21ST 1755.

SIR

I have reced the Bread ordered and Must Issue it this morning as we are out. we Meet here with Great Difficulty on account of water there being None but what is in Tubs Set in the Ground which it Seams used to be sufficiant for the Supply of the Few Soldiers Kept here but of No Consequence for us & is Quite Exspended & I am Even Told by the Inhabitants that in the Sumer Season they and the Garrison Fetch their water at a Large Distance in Carts. There is So many Difficulties in Supporting this Fortres and So Little advantage Can accrew from it that I am Persuaded it will be best to Quit it. for it is Situated So Near the water that it must fall to the First attackt that is made that way. am Sir your

To Colo Monckton Commandr }
 in Chief of the Forces at } Very Humble Servant
 Chignecto. } JOHN WINSLOW.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JUNE 21ST 1755.

SIR

By The advice of the Gentlemen of the Council I have Sent a Party to Keep Possession of the Forte of Gaspereau till Such time as I hear from Hallifax. you will be Pleasd to Deliver over to Capt. Speakman an acct of the Stores that he may take them into his Charge and to return with your party as Soon as May be. I am Sir your Obediant & Humble Servt

To Lieut Colo Winslow Com- } ROBT. MONCKTON.
manding at Gaspereau. }

June 22. In the Evening Capt Speakman & Jones Arived with Two Hundred Men. Arived—all well.

Invoyce of Stores and Provisions in Forte Gaspereau Delivered over by Lieut Colo Winslow to Capt Thomas Speakman by Colo Monckton's order. viz. 4 Cannon four Pounders, 4 Do Two Pounders, 2 Swivells, 2 Carrigis for Guns, 7 Barrels of Powder 100 wt Musquet Shott, 8 Hhds. Molasses, Three Bbs. pease partly used, 230 Barrels of Porke. Three Barrels Tallow wanting about 8 lbs Ten Galls Oyle. 9 Doz Codlines, 1300 Iron Shott and about fifty Cartherages.

SIR I Reced of Lieut Colo Winslow the above Invoyce of Stores and Provisions in Forte Gaspereau and Shall take a Survey of them to-morrow and Make return the First oppertunity.

To The Honble Colo Monckton } THOMAS SPEAKMAN.
at Forte Cumberland. }

Pattrol Pepperrell.

23d. March out with my party at Four in the Morning had a Rainey Day. arived at the Camp about Twelve. Three Men Faild on the Road for whom I Tarryed Near Two Houers at Pont Abute when they Came in. I Left a Detachment of Thirty men to Escorte them who Did not Come in til toward Night. Immediatly

on my arival waited on Colo Monckton and acquainted him with a return of the Party &c. Found That The French Inhabitants were Employed in Cleansing the Forte and began to repair it and this Day began to Take in Provisions Cannon &c for St. Johns River.

FORTE CUMBERLAND, JUNE 23RD 1755.

The orders of the Day Patrol New Yorke. The Centrys in the Forte are to have Peticular orders to Suffer No Body to Meddle with the Guns Except Those belonging to the Train as Mischeffe has been already Done by Craming in Shott too Larg for the Bore of the Cannon.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Colo Winslow Commanding in Camp.

BOSTON, JUNE 16TH, 1755.

DEAR SIR

Lieut Lane being in So ill a State of Health prevented his attending his Duty and there appears No Probability of his recovery in So Shorte a time as to be Servisable, therefore he has resigned and Lieut Billings the Barer is appointed to Succeed him who appears an active young Fellow and has a Good Carracter and hope his Conduct will recommend him to your Notice.

I beg Leave to Congratulate you in the News we have of your Safe arival at Chignecto and hope the Day will be Crownd with Success, I am Sir, with Great Esteam your Most obedient Servt.

To Colo Winslow at Chignecto.

E. HUTCHINSON.

HALIFAX, 19TH, 1755.

SIR

I am Favored with yours of the 1st of June from on Board ye Success Covering Govenor Shirleys Instructions to you as also yours of the 11th from the Camp at Beausejour and am Exstreamly Glad to hear that Every thing Goes on well hitherto and that you are all in Such Good Spirits. I am Exceedingly Sorrey that it has not being my Good fortun hitherto to have the Honour of a Personal acquaintance with you but from your Universal Good Character I have the Greatest room to hope that your Fxample & Influence may

Effect Every thing that Can be Wished for or Exspected from the Brave People under your Command who Merrit the Highest applause for their Good behaviour and Steadiness to Support his Majestys Just rights against the Encroachments of the French.

I wish you all Imaginable Success & Prosperity as well in this as in any other Undertaking wherein you may be Concernd and am with the Greatest Esteem & regards Sir, you Most obedient Humble Servant

On his Majestys Service To Lieut }
 Colo Winslow at Chignecto } CHAS. LAWRENCE.

TUESDAY, Half Seven.

SIR

I have this Moment reced a Letter from Colo Lawrance acquainting me that Mr. Boscowen with Eleven Sail of the Line has taken a 74 and 64 Ship of Lewisbourgh with Eight Company of Marines on Board. that he is Stil Cruising of and Does Not Doubt but that he will take more. an unlucky Fog Prevented his taking the whole which is Supposed to be 3000 Men and Six Ships of all which I Wish you Joy am Sir your

Most obedient

To Colo Winslow

ROBT. MONCKTON.

LONDON, 21ST JANUARY, 1755.

DEAR SIR

It is almost a year Since the Date of your Last Letter which I Reced being on the 9th of February 1754 at Boston and was Very Shorte. I should from your Long and Unusal Silance have Immagined yt you had taken a Trip into the other world had I Not been informd by the Newspapers of your March as a General at the Head of Troops Sent out to Protect and Erect Fortifications to be built in America and that after performing the Service you was Safely returnd to Boston.

My Son Sent you the Books &c you Sent for Last July I have Reced your half pay according to the affidavit you Sent til Decer 1753 I have paid Mr. Lane 150[£] upon your account

you have Made Me no answer to my Letter wherein I acquainted you that you had Neglected or Forgott to Send me an Order on

Capt Wilkinson to Receive your arrears and an answer to the Paragraff of another which Informd you of the Stopage of ten pounds for Capt Scott for Two Men which they Insisted upon to Make according to agreement. There is No appearance of an End of the Suit Commenced by General Phillipps Executors, their Motions are So So [sic] Slow that we Cannot press them as I Could wish. their Chief aim being to Compel us to a Composition for an allowance of a Sum Towards the Generals Disburstments upon that Cursed Suit Carryed on & Obtaind by the Merchants for the Freight of the recruits Sent in the Heneritta. if any part of their Demands are to be Tryed it will be for that and the Fire & Candle Money which now I apprehend they may Succeed in as I am Informed the Present Governours Claim as a Perquisitt all that has been Saved over and above the real Disburstment, if Witnesses be Called to Prove the Custom I am affraid we Shall Fail therein however I Shall Press that Colo Mascarene & the other Commanding officers may be made Parties to the Bill. The Bd of Trade has absolutely refused to allow the Demand of the 4d and the Colonels have Given it up thoh the Regiment is Much in Debt. the Present Captains Complain Greatly.

As to the Treasurys Demand they Stil hang over my head. the Saving you Mention as apprending, belongd to the Late Contractor Missnign and So Mentioned in the reporte about the non Effective Provisions and now Say that Colo Mascarene Informed you there were no Provisions in Store of any Kind when Mr Woodfords Contract took Place. tis pittty this had not been Set forth at first I am afraid to Move any further Lest it Should Make Bad worse as Colo Mascarene in his Letter to me of the 21st of May 1753 observes in these words "I would however be Cautious and avoyd the Causing a general overhal at home as it Might bring a Great Deal of Trouble & Exspence."

In Shorte the Treasury Looks upon all Governours to be Plunderers and agents to be Rougues, they Say the Capts Must refund. I am Tyred with the applicatons. I remain with an Exspection of hearing from you Soon.

Dear Sir, your Most obedient Humble Servant

To John Winslow, Esqr att }
 Marshfield. N. England }

KING GOULD.

PRIVY GARDEN 4TH MARCH 1755.

DEAR SIR

about a weak Ago I was favored with your Letter Containing a Journal of your Expedition up the River Kennebeck together with a Plan of that River for both which I am Very much obliged to you. I have agreable to your permition Shewn them to Some Frinds who were Desierous to See them and they are at Present in the hands of Colo Hopson. I am Glad you have Got So well over that alarming attackt which Seizd you on this Expedition. I hope you will be more Carefull of your Self upon any Future occation.

It is Confidently Said here the Colony of New England has Now Some Scheme on Foot. if it be So I am Shure you have Some Considerable Share in it and I Flater my Self Shall have an account of it from you your Colony has Distinguished its Self So much by her zeal and activity that Even were we unconcerned our Selves in the Issue we ought to wish you all Success but when our Interest is So Manifestly Connected you May Easily Judge that we are Impatient to Learn the Truth.

We Seame here to be upon a Ballance between war & peace. Lord Hertfords Embassey tis in General Presumed will resolve the Doubt. I would write to you More fully but am Streightened in time having had Very Suden Notis of this Ships Departure. My Father I Know Proposed writing and I hope will Supply my Defect. I most hartily wish your Self and Family all health and Happines and Should be Glad of an oppertunity to approve my Self.

Dear Sir your Faithfull Frend & Most obedient Servant

To Majr General John Winslow }
at Marshfield New England. }

CHARLES GOULD.

June 24th & 25th. Nothing remarkable.

26. A return of Lieut Colo Winslows Battalion of Colo William Shirleys Provincial Regiment of Foot.

A RETURN OF LIEUT COLONEL WINSLOWS BATTALION OF COLONEL WILLIAM SHIRLEYS BATTALION PROVINCIAL REGIMENT OF FOOT, JUNE 26TH, 1755.

WRITTEN AND CROSSED IN THE ORIGINAL.

COMPANYS.	WHOLE COMPANYS IN THE PROVINCES.			LEFT AT ANAPOLIS.			AT FORT LAWRENCE.			ON COMMAND AT GASPEREAU.			SICK IN THE CAMP.				FIT FOR DUTY.			
	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	Private.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	Private.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	Private.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	Private.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	Private.
Colonel Shirley.....	4	4	2	80	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	9	..	..	2	4	3	2	68
Lieut Colo Winslow.....	4	4	2	79	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	9	..	..	4	3	4	2	65
Majr Preble.....	4	4	2	82	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	9	..	..	3	4	3	2	68
Majr Goldthwait.....	4	4	2	82	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	4	3	2	70
Capt Adams.....	4	4	2	80	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	4	4	2	65
Capt Hobbs.....	4	4	2	85	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	..	..	1	4	3	1	74
Capt Osgood.....	4	4	2	81	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	9	..	..	2	3	3	2	67
Capt Cobbs.....	4	4	2	80	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	12	..	..	1	2	4	2	60
Capt Lamson.....	4	4	2	78	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	10	..	..	2	4	4	2	61
Capt Speakman.....	4	4	2	80	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	8	..	..	4	2	3	1	67
Capt Stertevant.....	4	4	2	82	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	9	..	..	1	4	3	2	68
	44	44	22	889	42	1	2	1	102	5	7	1	23	38	35	20	735

June 27, Began to Embark Stores for River St. Johns.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR JUNE 26TH 1755.

your Excellency I am Persuaded would Gladly Know the Success that attends your Regiment under My Command now on Duty at Nova Scotia, with Pleasure I acquaint your Excellency that the Plan Lade is Executd in Part beyound or at Least with Less Difficulty then I Imagined.

But to be a Little perticular we on the 26th of May arived at the Basin of Annapolis Continued there till the First of June when we Saild for Forte Lawrance and the Same Evening arived and anchord in about Five Leagues of it and on the Second Landed about six o ye Clock in the afternoon near the Forte, Marcht to it and Lodged in the out building, on the 3rd Incampt. on the 4th Struck our Camps and Marched for the French Forte then Cald Beausejour (now Forte Cumberland) and on our road about Three Miles from Forte Lawrence at a Place Cald Pont Abute where the road Leads across the River Mussaquash over which was Lately a Bridge and the Side opposite to us the French Claim and had Erected a Block house with Some Small Cannon or Swivels. with a party of French Soldiers, Inhabitants & Indians to the amount of about 400 Men Exstreamly well Posted & under Cover of Breast works &c. our Scituation was in this Maner in the Fronte Marcht Capt Adams with the advancet Gaurd then the regulars and Train undr Colo Moncktons own Command together about 300 Men the Train Drawn by the New England Troops under the Command of Capt. Stertevant after whome followed the Second Battallion under the Command of Lieut Colo Scott the rear Brought up by the First Battallion under my Command and in this Scituation we Marchd across a Fine Marsh formerly Dyked in by the French til we arived near the above mentioned Bridge. Hear they lay undiscovered and without the Least Notice Gave us their full Fire from the Block House and their Musqetry which was Briskly returned by the advancet party the regulars and the Front part of the Second Battallion. as Soon as Possible Captain Broome with Four Pieces of Cannon Six pounders which he Brought to Bare against their Block house and Party & Fired in the Quickest Maner that ever I Saw Cannon and after about a Quarter of an Houer in this Maner Disputing the French Set Fire to their Block house and Village, but Still Con-

tinued with their Musquetry to anoye us Notwithstanding which the Bridge was Laid and as the Second Battallion were partly Posted on the Dykes I reced orders to March with the First (who til that time had Not Fired a Shott but Kept them Selves in Good order to Support & Joyne the regulars in their Passage over the Bridge which was Immediately put in Execution and the Pass Gained the Enemys Musquetry Continuering their Fire til we Gained the Top of the Hill. the Dispute Lasted about an Hour in which we had a Serjant of the regulars Kild & Three Private wounded. four wounded of Each of our Battallions & Two of the Train of the Ennemy one Indian and Three French Kild as they own and Several wounded, after refreshing our Men we Marcht on within a Mile and an half of ye Forte and Encampt, on the fifth removed our Forces about half a Mile Nearer to the Forte and Encampt on the ascent of a Hill. between the Marsh and Road that Leads from the Bay of Vert to Forte Beausejour and is Near half a Mile across. the regulars next the Marsh on a Plain the Second Battallion in the Centre and the First on the right Next the Road.—on the 6th Cleard our Camp. Capt. Silvanus Cobb Came up to us with his Sloop on whome the French Fired from their Forte and a Number with Small arms From the Dykes which Cobb Returnd with his Cannon and we Sent a Party to his assistance which Drove the Enemy back to the Forte. on the Seventh Divers Sloops Came up with their Stores, Cannon &c. We Pulld Down our Brush Houses and Set up Tents, Made a Brest worke with Brush and wood to Defend us from the Enemy. on the Eight I was Detached with 300 Men to View the Ground near the Forte with an Engenier, when we Came Near to it the Enemy had Posted them Selves on a Hill under the Cover of Rocks &c. from whence they made a Smart Fire upon us, the advanced Guard Led by Mr. Alexander, ye Main body by My Self who joyned the advanct Guard and Marcht Briskly up the Hill and Gave them our Fire and Drove them from Post to Post till they recovered the Forte. we advanced within 600 yds of the Garrison under the Cover of Hills &c. Notwithstanding ye Fire of their Cannon. Colo Scott Came to our assistance with 100 Men in about an Houer after our Ingaging. I Sent a party to Inform Colo Monckton I had taken Possession of the Ground and in Case we were to Keep it Desiered a reinforcement, had Orders to Quit it & return to the Camp which was ac-

cordingly Executed. Mr. Hay an officer of Hopsons was Taken this Day by a Party of French and Indians and the Party with Me took a French Soldier, in the Evening of the Same Day Monseur Burlong arived with a Flag of Truce and Informd us Mr. Hay was well.

The 9th. Employd our Men and Teams in Getting our Cannon up to the Main road on the right of My Camp &c. the Tenth Finishd the Duty of the Day before begun. the *11th* Capt. Adams Detachd Early with 200 Men to reconoiter the Country & Make Discovery, who returned with Plunder. I was then Detached with Colo Preble and 400 Men to Survey and Measure a New road to be [sic] Forte which was Done by Capt. Jones as a Surveyor, and found a Fine Road but round about So, that keeping it would be five Miles; repossed the Ground we had taken. on the Eight had a Great many Cannon Fired at us but to no purpose—*12th* Capt Adams Party took a Frenchman and one Soldier from the French Forte Deserted to us. Colo Scott & Majr Preble was Detached with 500 Men to Possess the Ground that I had Twice before taken and to Intrench in order for our Batterys who were oposd by a Large party of French who Disputed the Pass Near an Houer. Fired Continually but at Length Quitted the Ground. we had in this action one man Kild Mr. Yung of the Train wounded & four of our Regiment Private. In the Evening Colo Scott & party Brook Ground & Intrenchd them Selves very well at ye Distance of 900 yards from the Forte. The Thirteenth the Enemy Kept a Continual Fire with their Cannon on the Party Intrenched and our parties Back & forward but without Success. In the Evening with Majr Frye, Capt Cobb &c. relived Colo Scott. about ten of the Clock Carried up Two Eight Inch Mortars Shells &c. workt in the Trenches advanced 110 yds & Gaind upon the Forte about 85—the *14th* the French Fired Very briskly on us. we returned the Complement with our Two Eight Inch Mortars and Five royals, the Later of which about ten I Found to Fall Short. Stopt their Fire & Continued with the Eight Inch Mortars till about Twelve when one of our Mortars was Disabled by a Cannon Shot From the Forte, we kept to work the Most of the Day althoh our Men were Fatigued and did not Like it, the Enemy throh Divers ten Inch Shells but Did no Damage relived at Eleven by Capt Huzey Majrs Goldthwait & Bourn who was accompanied by Capt. Cobb

who Brought the 13 Inch Mortar. rained Excessive hard in the Evening Extremely Dark. Lost our way in return to the Camp where we did Not arive till after Two in the Morning. the Enemy Fired this Day 140 Cannon at us besides Bombs but not one Man Hurt. 15th being a wett Day the Party in the Trenches Could not worke. the Enemy Fired as Briskley as the Day Before one Bombe, Fell into the Trenches among our People but hurt No Person Nither did their Fire which was Supprising. the Trenches relived about Sun Sett by Colo Scott, Capt Spittle & Capt Adams who advanced the Trenches in the Evening.

on the 16th the Enemy began their Fire Earley which was returned by our Eight & Thirteen Inch Mortars at about Eight one of our Large Shells Fell upon a Casment they Immagined Secure & Kild Mr Hay one of our officers taken a Fue Days before, and four French officers. our Bombs before Killing them Several Men and Did Vast Damage. about Nine Came a Flagg of Truce From the Forte with Terms on which a Council of War was Calld Consisting of Lievt Colo Monckton & Winslow, Capts Broome, Huzey, Hale, Majors Frye, Goldthwait & Bourn & Mr Bruce the Enginere who rejected their Terms, & Proposed others vizt First that the Enemy March out with their Smal Arms, Drums beating and Honrs of War and Transported at the Cost of the King of Great Briton to Lewisburgh & Not to Bare Arms for Six months. 2d The Inhabitants to be Left in the Same Scituation as they were when we arived and Not Punished for what they had Done Since our arival in the Countrey and they allowed til Two a Clock to Consider in which Term they Came to a Determination to Surrender allowed til Seven to March out and Colo Scott and the Party in Trenches ordered to take Possession which was done and in the Evening about Sen Setting Colo Monckton with the regulars My Self &c Marcht with 300 of the New England Troops into the Forte; the regulars and half the New Englanders Lodged in the Garrison, I with the Other Americans without on the Ground, thus having Got into the Forte I would Observe that from our first Marching from Forte Lawrance to Fort Beausejour we were Continual Molested & Harrasd in our Camp and on our March by the French & Indians, and Continually Firing from Smal parties in all which we routed our Enemy & throh Gods Goodness, had but three Men Killed and None wounded but what are in

a way to do well. the Enemy by the Best Intelligence Lost about 25 French and Two Indians. *17th* the New England Troops March of to our former Camp Leaving Majr Frye and 150 Men to Fill up the Trenches and Detached 100 Fresh men to assist him who Completed that Buisnes and in the Evening returnd to our Camp all Well. *18th* Received orders from Colo Monckton to March with 500 Men to take Possession of Forte Gaspareau Scituate on the Bay of Vert who had Cappitulated on the Same terms as the Forte Beausejour. March of at Eleven with Majr Frye, Cpts Adams, Osgood, Perry & Gilbert, Mr. Goddard Enginere Doctr Whitworth, and a Number of Subs, arived at the Fort about Sun Sett. Distance from our Camp Fifteen Miles Immediatly took Possession and ye French March out. *19th* Examined the Forte found it 180 foot Square four Block Houses on Each Corner badly built and in Miserable order Eight Cannon & Two Swivels the buildings within Very Bad, as well as the water, with out Sum Wine in the Garrison. in Store 7 Barrels Powder, a Large Quantity of Cannon Shot, No bread nor butter, 230 Barrels of Porke, 8 Hhds of Molasses, &c.

20, 21th & 22d Spent in reconoitering the Country found the Soile Barron & but Little Fish in the Bay.

At Bay of Vert is a Village of about 25 Houses a Chaple & Priests House well Finished and the Inhabitants of this Village in better Forme and more after the English maner then any I have Seen in this Province and have an Open Communication with the Island of St. Johns and the Inhabitants of Cape Breton, whome they Furnish with Lumber Indian Goods &c, and from whome they receive all the Conveniencys of Life in return. Cpts Speakman & Jones arived with 200 Men to relive me by order. *23rd* Marcht with My party at Four in the Morning, had a rainy Day, arived at the Camp about Twelve. three men Faïld with whome I Left a Detachment of Thirty Men that Came up Towards Night. Nothing Exstrodenary has hapened Since. we are Clearing the Forte by the French People preparing to repair it and this Day are preparing to repair it. beginning to take in Provisions our Cannon &c for St. Johns, all things Go on well. Colo Preble wounded in the Hip at the Trenches. Lievt Vaughan is almost Gone with a Consumption. Lievt Morrow Not well. the Camp in General Very Healthy.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR

NOVA SCOTIA JUNE 16TH 1755.

GOOD SIR

I Reced yours of the 21st of January at Annapolis Royal and before my Setting out to the other world which I Cant Quiately doe til his Majesty is in Peasable Possession of Canada and the whole Continent of North America and the Nation thereby raised to a Higher Pitch of Glory and wealth then as yet it Ever obtained too. I am now at the Head of 2000 Men, officers Included as Lieut Colo to Govr Shirley, Capt. Scott Second Lieut Colo & Commands the Second Battallion and all things goes on well. have Given your Son a Perticular account which he will Communicate. am Sorrey you Meet with Such Great Difficulty in Clearing the Regiments but hope you will Soon Get over it in Some Shape or other. Am Supprised to think how it Came into Practice for Govrs to Receive the Fire and Candle Money for the absent officers Espeacally when the Commanders on the Spot where not half paid for what they Expended for that article. The 4d is actually Due from the Board of Trade and if Promises are binding and that from the Treasury is a Clear Pointe if he be at the Trouble to look into it for the money is actually there, thoh when I assisted in the Settlement of accounts, I was not acquainted that there was No Provisision in Store when Mr. Woodford Took the Contract. yet Twice the Money was Left as would refund woodfords Demand & the rest a Saving to the Nation.

Please God we Succeed in our Expedition I am Determind for England at the End of our Campain.

I am obliged to you for the payment made Mr Lane. Have sent you Certificates for my half pay to Last Christmas and Desier a Further payment to him. We are about Embarking for St. Johns River which streightens me in time thoh I must need Say None is more agreeably Spent then when reading a Line from or writing to So Good So Kinde & So old a Frind as Mr Gould. Compliments to all Frinds. Please to accept of the Best respects of your Most obliged and Most Humble Servt.

JOHN WINSLOW.

To King Gould Esqr Privy Garden Westminster.

P. S. I want a Regiment.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR

NOVA SCOTIA JUNE 26TH 1755.

GOOD SIR

I am Favord with yours of the 18th of March and am Pleasd at your receiving the 150[£] you Mention Last winter. Sent Certifcates for My half pay and arrears to Mr Gould with Directions to pay you a further Sum, am at Present Ingaged in an Expidition here at the head of 2000 Men officers Included as Lievt Colo to Govr Shirley the Chief Command being in Lievt Colo Moncton. have Succeeded beyond our Expectation in removing the French from their Incroachments in this his Majestys Province having reduced the Fortes Beausejour at Chignecto and the Forte Gaspareau Scituate on the Bay of Vert to his Majtys obediance and wjth Inconsiderable Loss are now about Departing for the River of St. Johns where the French have Fortes which we hope to Subdue and Flater my Self that my unwearied Endeavors to Serve My King & Country will Meet with the approbation of My Superiors and they out of their Great Goodness will bestow on Me a Regiment and that my Friends wonte be unmindfull of me, and am Certain No one in America Can raise one Sooner nor Better men then my Self. Intend to See London before Boston if things Succeed according to My Desiers. am with the Greatest regards

your Very Humble Servt

JOHN WINSLOW.

To Thos Lane Esqr Merchant London.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR

CHIGNECTO JUNE 27TH 1755.

As your Lordship has taken the American Provinces and Collonys under your Immediate Protection and are more Espeacally the Father of this his Majestys Government who owes his Very being to your Lordships Good officers.

I Presum to acquaint your Lordship that on the 10th of Febuary Last I Reced a Commission from his Excellency Govr Shirley as a Lievt Colo of a Regiment to be under his Command and to be raisd in New England for the removing the French Incroachments Made

on this his Majestys Provinces of Nova Scotia and on the 13th Received Beating orders for that Purpose and in Two months time Completed 2000 Men, officers Included and Embarqued them on Board the Transportes, but waited 'til the 22d of May for Arms & war Like Stores, on the 26th Arived at Annapolis Royal, and on the first of June at Chignecto on the Next Day Landed on the 12th Brooke the Ground before Forte Beausejour. on the 16th the Forte Surrenderd. on the 18th I was ordered to Take Possession of Forte Gaspereau Scituate on the Bay of Vert which was Immediatly put in Execution.

But as your Lordship without Doubt has these things from Colo Moncton, Commander in Chief of this Expedition Shall Not Trouble your Lordship with the Detail and only Meddle with my Countrymen. the New England Troops who are Immediatly under my Care and Devided in Two Battallions (the First under my Command the Second under Lievt Colo Scott) who I am Persuaded will have the Character of behaving well on all accounts & on the Duty of Fatigue Excell.

Hartily Congratulate your Lordship on the Success of his Majestys Arms here, and Question Not but that this Province to its Ancient Bounds will be Intierly reduced to his obedience by ye Fall. the Nation have a Valuable Fur Trade &c and the Face of Everything altered for the Better.

Forgive me my Lord in that I Further Presum to acquaint your Lordship of things Personally relating to my Self and of my Services Vizt that in 1740 I Raisd a Company for the Carthergenia Expedition at my own Exspence and Served with them til ye Regiment was reduced & am the only Surviving Capt of the Nine from New England and also Served throh the whole of the French war as a Capt and behaved in Such a Maner as to Obtain the FAVOR of My Superiors. At the End of the war Exchanged into half pay and had the Honr to waite on your Lordshipe Divers times. before I Left England and that the Last year I was at the Head of 800 Troops & 100 artificers & Labourers up the River Kennebeck, built Two Fortes on the River the uppermost of which Erected near Teconnet Falls by Govr Shirleys order has the Honr to Bare your Lordships Name. and that the 2000 in the Present Expedition were Raisd by me and to be under my Command, if my Poor Services Should Meet with your Lordships approbation it would Give me the Greatest Satisfaction.

Would ad one thing further that the Command in the Millitary and Civil way in New England has often been in our Family from 1620 the year of the Countreys being first Settled and Flater my Self No Man Can raise in it a Better Regiment or Sooner then it is in my Power to do and if a war Should hapen and Forces wanted & I Might be So Happy as to obtain your Lordships Smile and So Luckey as to be at the Head of a Regiment. Should be in the Scituation that would Crown all my Desiers. . . . Agent Ballard & Mr Kilbey are both acquainted with my Character and Family.

Pardon my Lord the Trouble I have Given your Lordship in these Matters and be assured that I am with the Greatest regards your Lordships Most Dutiful Most obedient & Most Humble Servt

JOHN WINSLOW.

To the Right Honble Earle of Hallifax.

AT THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR NOVA SCOTIA

JUNE 27TH 1755.

DEAR SIR.

I at Annapolis Royal Reced yours of the 4th of March past & am well Pleasd that My Poor Services Meet with your approbation & Not Disliked by others and that the zeal & activity of New England is So Pleasing to our Mother Countrey and that your Exspectation that other Schemes were Projecting proves to be a Fact.

I Shall therefore without Ceremony Show you the Share I have had and now have in the operation Carrying on in this part of the world, and would Say that the whole Province of the Massachusetts [Bay] were alarmed at the Preperations Making by the French around, and Determined at all Events to Maintain their Ground, and that Governor Lawrance being at their Progres in his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, had Projected a Plan for puting an End Not only to Future Incroachment but removing them from those already made, which I was acquainted with by Govr Shirley and Promist the Command in ye Execution and Ingaged in the undertaking and to raise Two Thousand Men in New England in the pay and at the Exspence of the Government of Nova Scotia, but the Scheme being afterwards altered as we were to Joyne the regulars, I

waved the Command and Col Monckton as Commander in Cheif to whose Care the pay and Providing for the Army was Committed, and I accepted of a Lieut Colos Commission under Govr Shirley with the Actual Command of the Regiment as Such and of ye First Battallion in it, the Second being Given to Capt Scott, and I Inlisted Men to Serve under me to the amount Proposed, in Less then Two Months after Receiving Beating orders for that Purpose, and had them actually Imbarked for that Service in that time all all [sic] Volentiers and Good Troops but when retarded for want of Arms & warlike Stores till the 22d of May when we Saild under the Convoy of Three Men of War viz. the Success, Capt Rouse, the Mairmaid, Capt Shirley, and the Sirene, Captain Probey and on the 26th arived at Annapolis & have Sent you an abstract of My Journal as things have happened Since, and have this to Say that the Troops in General have behaved Well and I Cant but be of opinion Equal to any New raised Forces in the World, and for Fatigues better then the regulars or at Least put to More Duty of that Kinde particularly in Drawing the Cannon in all our removes and Solely ussed in advance Guards &c &c. all Parties behave well and without Jaring. We have Many Forces on Foot in New England for the General Good as Forces against Crown Pointe, the Falls of anigaria our Frontiers &c. but how Far they have Proceeded we know not here. Must Leave you for the Peticulars from Boston. We have the agreable News of Admiral Boscoens taking Two French Men of War &c. and we are in an actual State of War. Shall Soon remove from this to the River of St. Johns to attack the French Fortes and Settlements there, and hope Ere the Fall the Command will be able to Secure the Provinces Effectually to his Majesty & Vastly Lessen the Exspence that the Crown is at for its Preservation or at Least open a Valuable Fur Trade &c to the Benefit of the Nations. My time is so taken up with Drums &c., that this Scrip is Confused which you will forgive. I have only Further to Say that if things Succeed well and our Campaign Over in Any Season I Exspect to See England this winter. our Regiment being raisd for one year only, I Immagin will be Dismissed when Could Weather Comes but as that is Uncertain Should be Glad of a Line.

I Cant but hope that if I Services were properly represented and the Interest I have in my own Country Known yt I Should be

Intituled to the Favor of those at Helm and am Confident that No one [on] the Continent Can raise More men for his Majesty's Service Nor is there any older officer in the Kings pay then My Self and Some times flater my Self a regiment will Fall to my Share Ere Long if it be War. I have been So Bold as to write my Lord Halifax on that Subject and if there is Nothing Materially amis would beg you to Inclose and Properly Direct it, my Best regards to the Commander &c your Brother and all Frends and now Dear Sir that the Best of Good May be your Portion is the Harty Desier of your assured Frend & and Humble Servant,

To Charles Gould Esqr. } JOHN WINSLOW,
Privy Garden, London }

June 27. Sir, Colo Monckton Desiers you would Examine wether the 180 Tents Ddd to Colo Winslow's Battallion are to be Produced as the Commanding officer of the Battallion is to be answerable for all Deficiencies of that Kinde. I am Sir your Most obedient

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
Commanding his Battallion }

N. B. I reced No tents and am answerable for None & So Informed Colo Monckton.

Receipts Given for Arms in the First Battallion of Govr. Shirley's Regiment June 17, 1755. vizt.

The Governours Company Signd by Capt Malcoln	90
Lieut Colo Winslows Signd by Lievt Thomas	86
Major Prebles, signed by Lievt Herrick	90
Major Goldthwaits Signed by him Self	90
Capt Adams " "	92
Capt Hobbs " "	94
Capt Osgoods " "	90
Capt Cobbs Signed by Lievt Wilson	86
Capt. Lamson Signed by him Self	87
Capt Speakmans by Lievt Job Winslow	90
Capt Stertevant Signd by him Self	92
Total	987

June 28th.

FORTE CUMBERLAND, JUNE 28TH 1755.

the orders of the Day, Patrol Chester.

Three Companys of Lievt Colo Winslows Battallion with ye officers are to remain here the above Companys to be Compleated to Ninety four Serjants, 4 Corporals, & 2 Drums. Included. Each Company to Keep Fifteen tents, a Surgons Mate of Each Battallion to be Left with the Detachments the other Company of the Two Battallions to hold them Selves in readiness to Embarque on the First notice, a return of ye Sick of the Two Battallions (that must be Left behinde) to be Given in this Evening as Likewise of the Companys that are to remain.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
Commanding in Camp. }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JUNE 28TH, 1755.

A Return of the Companys that are to remain at Chignecto of the First Battallion of Govr. Shirleys Regiment, viz

Capt Thomas Cobbs, Capt Thomas Speakmans & Capt Josiah Stertevant, which three Companys amount to more than Ninety non Commisn officers and Private. Each one with the other.

JOHN WINSLOW.

To Colo Monckton Commander in }
Chief of the Forces at Chignecto. }

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JUNE 28TH 1755.

SIR.

an officer of your Battallion Before I Left Boston Came to Settle the Accounts of one Lievt Smith that had money & recruiting orders, but at that time the papers Could Not be found and he Promist to return which he Never has Since. Should Therefore be Glad if you would Make Some Inquiery about it, am Sir your Humble Servt.

ROBT MONCKTON.

To Lieut Colo Winslow

Enquired and found that Lievt. Carver was the Man who reported the Ballance in one Leonards hands there being a Dispute in ye Settlement, and that he, Carver wrote Smith to Come & Settle his acct's of which I Informd Colo Monckton.

Tents Delivered to the Several Cpts of the First [Ballion] of Govr Shirley's Regiment as they say viz :

The Govrs to Capt Malcoln . . . 15	To Lieut. Colo Winslow 16
Major Prebles 15	To Major Goldthwait 16
To Capt Adams 15	To Capt Hobbs 16
To Capt Cobb 13	To Capt Osgood 16
To Capt Lamson 14	To Capt Speakman 17
To Capt Stertevant 16	—
—	81
88	88
—	—
Total	169

FORTE GASPEREAU, JUNE 25TH, 1755.

These May Inform you that the Morning we I went to take a [sic] Survey of the Stores and Provisions and Found them agreeable to your Inventory to me Save the Codlines there being only Ninety two Left and the five French Guns you Spoke of are all Missing and by Best Information I Can Get were Carryed out of the Forte the Night before you Left it. We all Like our Scituation Very well and are Quite Contented. Jockey Morris is Very Good and takes a Fatherly Care of us, pray Give my Compliments to Doctr Witworth and all Friends. Must beg the Favor you would Send Dick with the Inclosed Letters which will lay an obligation on those already Confered. am Sir, your obliged Frind and Humble Servt

To Lieut Colo Winslow at Camp }
 Beausejour Near Forte Cum- }
 berland. }

THOS SPEAKMAN.

June 29th.

ORDERS OF THE DAY FORTE CUMBERLAND JUNE 29TH 1755.
 Parole Boscawen.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
 Commandg In Camp. }

T. MONCREIFFE.

ATT THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR

JUNE 30TH, 1755.

It is Lieut Colo Winslow's order that a Regimental Court Martial be held Forthwith for the Tryal of Saml Raymond for Breach of orders For Firing his Firelock when on Gaurd on Saturday Evening Last. President Capt Adams Tim Wheeler, Job Winslow, Gaml Bradford Lievts & Benjn Fasett Ensn. Reported that he be acquitted.

SIR.

Colo Monckton would be Glad you would Send him word as Soon as Possable the Names of the Transportes, the respective Compys of your Battallion where on Board in their Passage from Boston. I am your

Most obedient Humble Servant

T. MONCREIFFE.

To Colo Winslow.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR 30TH JUNE, 1755.

A return of the Names of the Vessels & Masters in which the Several Companys of the First Battallion where Transported from New England to Nova Scotia.

VESSELS NAMES.	COMMANDG & MASTER.	COMPANYS.
His Majtys Ship Mairmaid	Washington Shirley Esqr.	Govr Shirleys
Sloop Industrey.....	George Goodwin.....	Lievt Colo Winslows
Sloop Seaflower.....	Saml Harris.....	Major Prebles
Sloop Ranger.....	Francis Perey.....	Majr Goldthwaites
Sloop Dolphin.....	Nathl Herryman.....	Capt Adams
Sloop Phenix.....	Nathl Littlefield.....	Capt Hobbs
Sloop Biddeford.....	Benjn Daniel.....	Capt Cobbs
Sloop Fortunatus.....	John Clap.....	Capt Lamson
Sloop Yorke.....	Natl Preble.....	Capt Speakman
Sloop Elizabeth.....	Nathl Milburry.....	Capt Stertevant
Sloop Swan.....	Jonathan Levitt.....	Capt Osgood.

Sloop Three Frinds, Curtis & Sloop Jolley Davis with the remains of Several Companys.

JOHN WINSLOW.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY. Parole Pepperrell.

June 30th The Companys that remains here are of Lievt Colo Winslows Battallion Capt Cobbs, Capt Speakmans & Capt Stertevant. of Lievt Colo Scotts, Capt Jones & Capt Gilberts the other Sixteen Companys of the Two Battallions to hold them Selves in Readiness to Embarque on Board the Following Transportes.

COMPANYS	VESSELS.	MASTERS
Gouverneur Shirleys	Sloop Yorke.....	Preble
Lievt Colo Winslow.....	Sloop Industrey	Goodwin
Majr Prebles.	Sloop Seaflower	Harris
Majr Goldthwaits.....	Sloop Ranger	Perey
Capt Adams	Sloop Hannah.....	Adams
Capt Hobbs	Sloop Phenix	Littlefield
Capt Osgood.....	Sloop Swan.....	Lovett
Capt Lamson.....	Sloop Fortunatus.....	Clap
Lievt Colo Scott.	Schooner Neptune	Foord
Majr Frye	Schooner Leopard	Church
Majr Bourn	Sloop Three Frinds.. ...	Curtis
Capt Stephens.....	Sloop Mairmaid.....	Lincoln
Capt Brentnal	Sloop Victory	Grow
Capt Perry.....	Sloop Prosperous.....	Bragden
Capt Bayley	Sloop Biddeford	Daniel
Capt Willard.....	Sloop Victory	Roderrick

The Garrison of Gaspereau to be releived Tomorrow by Capt Cobbs Company & Capt Jones, that of Forte Lawrance by Capt Stertevant, taking with them their Provisions & Leaving their Tents.

FORTE CUMBERLAND JUNE 30TH 1755.

To Colo Winslow or officer Commandg }
The Troops in Camp. } T. MONCREIFFE.

JUNE 30TH, 1755.

It is Lievt Colo Winslows orders that the Commandg officer of Each Company Enquier into the State of Each Mans Arms as Soon as May be, that if Any want repairs they May be put in order & also that they See Every Mans Cleand and Fit for Duty, and it is Exspectd that the Men have all their things Clean and in Order to Go on Board as it is Directed. and that the Companys remaning take Immediate Care to Land their Effects out the Vessels.

J. WINSLOW.

Capt Rouse, Capt Shirley, & Capt Probey in three of his Majesties
20 Gun Ships & a Snow appeared yesterday of St. Johns Harbour
Mand their Boats & Sent in when they Came in Sight the French
Set Fire to their Forte & out Houses & made of. The Next Day
the Capt of Each Ship went on Shore was Recd by 150 of that
Tribe who Fired their Guns in Token of Frindship and Declared we
were all Brothers. Thus Stands the affairs of St. Johns River at this
time and our Expedition there wholly Laid aside which in my oppinion
is a Mistake in Polliticks. but perhaps Some Future Day we May be
ordered to take Possesn. Northg worth Notis has hapened Some
Days past and So I Quit this Month.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 1ST 1755.

July 1st. A Court Martial to be held forthwith for the Tryal of
Edward Leaver for Breach of order for Discharging his Fire Locke
in ye Evening when on Gaurd. Members of the Court, Capt Hobbs
President, Lievt Tapley, Herrick & Crooker & Ensn Gay who reported
ye sd. Leaver was Guilty of the Crime & ordered him to ride the wood-
en horse one Houer. Sentence Confirmed & Executed

J. WINSLOW.

As it was a Rainy Day Sent the orderly Serjant to Know wether the
Party Might Not Defer their March til tomorrow & Reced this
answer.

Sir, Colo Monckton Says you May Settle the time of the Parties
March wether to Night or Tomorrow Morning at your Discretion.

July 1st 1755

To Colo Winslow. }

T. MONCREIFFE.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 1ST, 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders that Capt Cobbs Company of the
First Battallion & Capt Jones of the Second who were ordered to
March this Day hold them Selves in readiness to March To-morrow
Morning Gun Firing to Proceed to Forte Gaspareau.

Parol Coventry.

ATT THE CAMP BEAUSEJOUR
CHIGNECTO NOVA SCOTIA JULY 1ST 1755.

as application has been Made to Colo Monckton Commander in Chief of the Forces at this place and to Me the Subscriber as Lievt Colo Commandant of his Excellency Govr Shirleys Regiment by Mr. Jira Willis for reasons by him Given that he may be Discharged from his Commission as an Ensign in the First Battallion of sd Regiment and that his Might Sease from the 28th of June past.

It is Thought Convenient that the sd Jira Willis be Discharged and I do by the Consent of the sd Commander in Chief & as Commandant of sd Regiment Discharge the sd Jira Willis and hereby Give Liberty for him to Go where he Pleasses. Given under my hand the Day above.

JOHN WINSLOW.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 1ST 1755.

Whereas Jira Willis, Ensign of the First Battallion in his Excellency Govr Shirleys Regiment has Resigned his Post and is Dischargd from yt Duty I have agreable to his Excellency Govr Shirleys Direction of ye 27th of March Last Given that Birth to Doctr John Tyler Surgeons Mate of the First Battallion &c. and to officiate in that office til his Excellencys Pleasure be further Known and all Inferiour officers & Soldiers are to obey him as an Ensign. Given under my hand at Time and Place aforesd.

JOHN WINSLOW, Lievt Colo

SIR,

I have been to waite on Colo Monckton with the Receipt of the Arms in your Battallion which amounted to 987. he told me Yt you had Reced 1000 So that there is 13 wanting to Make up the Number and Says that they must be Found and returnd to him or if you Please May Keep them in Store if they Should be wanted and Give your Receipts for them on the Back of the others Taken from the officers.

he also Desiered Me to Inform you that Capt. Malcoln Sails for

Boston Tomorrow Morning Tide and that Colo Lawrance has Sent his thanks to both officers & Soldiers of Govr Shirleys Regiment for their Good Services in this Province. if he had Tackt a Hhds of Rum to it it would have been Doubley acceptable I am Sir your Most obediant Humble Servant

BENJN. GOLDTHWAIT.

CAMP BOSEJOUR JULY 2d.
To The Honble John Winslow Esq }
at Forte Lawrance.

N B. Spoke to Colo Monckton about the arms & Informed him that I did not Look upon my Self accountable for them as they were Never Delivered Me. but for ye Effectives & I never Gave receipt.

AT THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR

CHIGNECTO JULY 2D 1755.

Wheras Lievtenant Ebenezer Marrow of the First Battallion of his Excellency Governour Shirleys Regiment is under Indisposition of Body and has applyed to me for Leave to return to New England for the Recovery of his health. I Do In Compliance with his Desier Permit and Give Leave to the sd Lievt Marrow to Proceed to New England and to Continue there til his recovery from his Indisposition which Should God Grant he is forthwith to return to his Duty & Joyn the Regiment.

Given under my hand at Place & time aforesd

JOHN WINSLOW,
Lievt Colo & Commandant of sd Regiment.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY JULY 2D 1755. Parole Plymouth.

His Majesty having been Pleased to Promote Lieut Huzey from First Lievtenant to Capt Lievtenant, and Lievt Ennis from 2d Lievt to First Lievt & Lievt Ferguson from Fire ranks to Second Lievt in his Royal Regiment of artillery they are to be obeyed as Such. Ensign Goddard of General Lassells Regiment is appointed by his Majesty Quarter Master to sd Regiment and to be obeyed as Such.

Mr John Archibal is appointed by his Excellency Lievt Govr Lawrance a Lievt in Capt Joseph Gorehams Company of Rangers and is to be obeyed as Such. his Excellency Lievt Govr Lawrance in a Letter to Lievt Colo Monckton Desiers his thanks may be returnd to the Several Corps for their Good Services. the Commanding officers of the Several Corps with it.

T M

The Colo Desiers me to acquaint you that one Capt Rous & the other Ships appearing of St. Johns. the French Set Fire to Every thing & Made their Escape. The Indians Saluted our People Going a Shore by Fireing their Guns in the Air. he Gives his Compliments & Wishes you Joye with it.

FORTE CUMBERLAND JULY 3RD 1755. THE ORDERS OF THE DAY. Parol Bath.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Majr Frye Commandg in Camp.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 3RD, 1755.

A Regimental Court Martial is ordered to be held as Soon as May be for the Tryal of Willm Nottage a Soldier belonging to Capt Speakmans Company in the First Battallion of Colo Shirleys New England Regiment for the sd Williams abuse & Contemtous Treatment of his officers & to Make return.

Members. Capt Phineas Osgood President. Lievts Job Winslow, John Butler & Willm Peabody.
Ensn Nathl Barrell.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 3RD 1755.

Agreable to your Honrs Orders we have Examind the within Wm Nottage who Pleased Guilty and Finde him to be worthy of Twenty Lashes on his Naked Back.

Signd. &c.

approved and ordered to be put in Execution.

JOSEPH FRYE.

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR

CHIGNECTO, NOVA SCOTIA JULY 3RD 1755.

HONRD SIR.

As I have the Honr to be Lievt Colo to Govr Sherleys Regiment raisd in New England for removing the Incroachments Made by the French Kings Subjects in this his Majestys Province & Commandant of sd Regiment which is Divided in Two Battallions. The First under my Command the Second under Lievt Colo Scott. & Contains 2000 Men officers Included raisd & Embarqued at Boston between the 13th of Febuary & 13th of april waited for arms & War like Stores til the 22d of May arived at Forte Lawrance the 2d of June reduced Beausejour Forte the 16th Forte Gaspereau Ddd up the 18th. the Fortes at the Entrance of the St Johns River on the approach of his Majestys Ships the Success. Mairmaid, Sirene, and the Veter Sloop of War, Set on Fire and Deserted by the French. as these affairs with all these Circumstances are Doubtless Communicated to yr Honr by Colo Monckton our Commander in Chief, Shant Take up your Honrs time.

And only Congratulate your Honr on the Success of his Majesty's Arms in this Province which Seams to be Intierly Given up by the French and the Indians by them Deserted in the Transaction of these affairs. I apprehend the Americans have had their Equal Share of Duty with the regulars and all Sides Seams to be Aiming at doing their Best for the Service. and the acquisition of the Quiate Possession of Nova Scotia to his Majestys Seams to be Completed. and that with the Loss of three Men only Kild & Divers wounded.

Flater my Self that the Chearfull and ready Disposition Shown by the New England men in this and Every other Ocation that offers wherein they have had oppertunity to Distinguish their zeal in Distroying the Enemys of Briton will meet with ye Royal approbation and that Even my Endeavors for his Majestys Service May obtain your Smiles. and this I have to Say that I am the oldest officer in the Kings pay & the only remaining Captain of the late Cartherginia Expedition in New England and for Many years have been in the Service. Some times of ye Crown and Sometimes of the Province.

your Honr. will Pardon this Freedom which is Drawn from Me by his Excellency our Colo being from his Regiment on his Majestys Service to the Westward and no one but my Self Left to Speak for the Regiment. am with the Greatest regards your Honrs Most obedient & Most Humble Servt.

To the Honble Henry Fox Secretary }
 a War &c at the War office }
 Westminister. }

JOHN WINSLOW.

FORTE LAWRENCE JULY 3RD 1755.

HONRD SIR,

I am Favored with yours of the 19th of June past & am pleased to the Highest Degree that your Exspection of ye New Englanders in Juncktion with the regulars have Succeeded and that an End Seams to be put to the French Cascanade & their Interest Dying in this Province as their Distroying the Forte at the Enterance of the River St Johns Seams Plainly to Show.

But how Far the Low and Mean Submission Made by ye French to Say No worse Fickel Ihabitants Commonly Cald the Nutrals or their Bretheren the Indians are to be Trusted. I Submit in My opinion Little Stres is to be Laid on their Ever being Good.

I have been Buissed in writing at this Place yesterday and to day & have not Seen Colo Monckton Since Our News of burning the Garrison of St Johns am a Stranger to our future operations. I would Desier one Favor for my Countrey men and that is that they may not be Kept in a State of Indolence for by Long Experence I find that to be the Most Hurtfull to them of anything I Can Imagine. as to My not having a Personal acquaintance with your Honr it is my Great Misfortune but Flater my Self this is not all ways to be the Case, but that Some Day will be so auspicious as to Give me the Honr. of Waiting on you.

I Hartily Congratulate your Honr on the Success that has attented his Majestys Arms in this Province Committed to your Care and of the Harmony Subsisting in the Diferent Cores which makes things always Easey and Shall Endeavor So to behave as

to Gaine your approbation which if obtained will Give Great Pleasure to your Honrs Most Obediant & Most Humble Servant.

To the Honble Charles Lawrance Esqr. }
 Lievt Colo & Commandr in Chief of } JOHN WINSLOW.
 his Majtys Province of Nova Scotia. }

FROM THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR JULY 3RD 1755

HONRD SIR,

Yours of the 16th I reced by Mr. Billings and Considering ye Service and ods in the Gentlemens age believe the Exchange is well and the young Man recommended bids Fare to do well. I have this Day wrote his Excellency & Sent him an abstrackt of my Journal but Omitted one Material thing which perhaps is Better to be Communicated to you then Even to the Govr as you may have Blank Commissions and his Excellency at a Great Distance to the Pointe Jira Willis (Son of Colo Willis my Frind) an Ensign in Capt Speakmans Company has behaved So Ill on Divers accounts that a General Court Martial Must have been his Fortune but obtained Favor to resign and I am Espeacly Directed by the Govr to Give the First Vacansey to Doctr Tyler as your Honr will See by the within order and if agreable and in your Power it will be for the Good of the Service as well as a Benefit to the Gent that his Commission Comes out as Soon as May be. News I Expect you will have from Every Quarter and I have no Great Nack at that part of Duty.

Thank God we have no Enemys to Fight but Muskeeters and under no Danger but from an Indolent Life. My Best Complements to your Good Family and other Frinds & accept of the Sincer regards of your Humble Servant.

To the Honble Eliakim Hutchinson }
 Esqr at Boston. } JOHN WINSLOW.

SIR

The Barer has been with Colo Monckton who thinks he is unfit for Service and as Some Body must be Sent with Lievt Vaughan he thinks you may as well Send him. I am Sir yr Most Obedit.

Forte Cumberland July 3rd 1755 }
 To Colo Winslow. } T. MONCREIFFE.

ATT THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR CHIGNECTO,

JULY 4TH 1755.

Whereas Lievt Joshua Vaughan of the First Battallion of his Excellency Govr Shirleys Regiment is under Indisposition of Body and has applyed to me for Leave to return to New England for the recovery of his health, I do in Compliance with his Desier Permit and Give Leave to the sd Lievt Vaughan to Proceed to New England and to Continue there til his recovery from his Indisposition, which Should God Grant he is Forthwith to return to his Duty. Given under My hand at time and Place aforsd.

JOHN WINSLOW,

Lieut Colo & Commandant of sd Regiment.

ATT THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR JULY 4TH 1755.

Whereas Thomas Brown a Private Soldier in Majr Prebles Company in his Excellency Govr Shirleys Regiment and of the First Battallion has been represented to me as unfit for Duty and Desiered that he Might be Discharged, I at his own Desier Do Discharge him and permit him to Go where Ever he Pleases.

as Witness my hand

JOHN WINSLOW

Lievt Colo & Commandant of sd Regt.

July 4th. Since Compleating the above I recd a Verble Message by Capt Cobb relating to the arms and acquainted Colo Monckton with it who Tels me it is a pointe to be Settled between your Excellency & Govr Lawrance. I Desier Peticular Directions on that Head.

we a Fue Days Since recd an account that on Sunday Capt Rous & the Kings Ships with him Lookt into the River of St Johns at the Sight of which the French Sett Fire to their Forte Burst their Cannon and Made their Escape, the Indians Came with a Flag of Truce and Desiered Peace, we have Two of the St Johns Chiefs in Forte Cumberland on the Same arrant. are Not yet Come to any Conclusion what next to do. but when Known Shall Communicate

to your Excellency, and hope that the Same Success May attend the Forces under your Immediate Command as to those Intrusted to my Care. am your Excellencys Most Dutifull & Most obedient Servt.

JOHN WINSLOW.

To his Excellency Govr Sherley &c.

This Letter was aded to Mine to the Govr of the 26th of June.

July 4th. FORTE CUMBERLAND JULY 4TH. THE ORDERS OF THE DAY. Parole London.

To Colo Winslow or officer Commanding } T MONCREIFFE.
in Camp.

July 5th. THE ORDERS OF THE DAY FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP 5TH 1755. Parole Kingsington.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
Commanding in Camp.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 5TH 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders that the tents of the Two Battallions of Govr Shirleys Regiment be this Day Thoroughly Cleansd. the Blankets aird and that in order to (do) it the Tents be Struck or at Least yt the Pins be Loosened. the Serjants are Directed to See this order duly Executed and that a Subalter of Each Company Inspect ye Serjants & See that they do their Duty.

J. WINSLOW.

After Orders.

Capt. Adams of Lievt Colo Winslows Battallion having made Complaint to Lievt Colo Monckton that his Character is aspersed by Lievt Noyce and Sergt Brewer of Lievt Colo Scotts Battallion, a Court of Enquierey is ordered to Set Tomorrow to Examin into the affair, who are to reporte to the Commandr in Chief according as they Finde it. the Court to Consist of Lievt Colo Winslow, the Eldest Major. the Eldest Capt the eldest Lievt and the Eldest Ensign of Each Battallion in Camp.

Forte Cumberland Camp. July 3rd 1755.

To Majr Frye. T. MONCREIFFE.

This order Not Reed til ye 5th I being at Forte Lawrance.

HALF AFTER NINE. CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 5TH 1755.

a Court of Enquiry to be Held at my Tent at ten of the Clock this Morning of which you are to Notify the Members.

viz. of the First Battallion.

Majr Preble

Capt Hobbs

Lievt Herrick

Ensn Gay

of the Second Battallion

Majr Frye

Capt Stevens

Lievt Dixson

Ensn McLallen

Notify Capt Adams and Lievt Noyce to appear and order Sergt Brewer from the Gaurd.

To Mr Adjutant Kennady.

JOHN WINSLOW.

according to your Honrs within written order I have notified the within Gents to appear at time & Place and ordered Serjant Brewer to be Brought from the Gaurd.

p. SAML KENNEDY.

ATT THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR JULY 6TH 1755.

att a Court of Enquiry Held at Lievt Colo Winslows Tent by order of Colo Monckton Commandr in Chief of the Forces at Chignecto, Bay of Verte &c on the Complaint of Capt Nathan Adams that his Character is Aspersed by Lievt Noyce and Sergt Brewer of Lievt Colo Scots Battallion.

Members. John Winslow President.

Majr Preble

Capt Hobbs

Lievt Herrick

Ensign Gay

Majr Frye

Capt Stevens

Lievt Dixson

Ensign McLallen

who have Made in Enquiry as Directed and reporte that Lievt Noyce, Sensable of his Mistake has Made acknoldgement at the head of Both Battallions to the Satisfaction of Capt Adams and that it appears to us that Sergt Brewer did Speak these words that Capt Nathan Adams was a Damd Coward all which is Submitted.

JOHN WINSLOW, President.

Preseding this reporte ye Court reced what is here inserted viz

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 6TH 1755.

We the Subscribers being Desiered by Capt Nathan Adams & Lievt Oliver Noyce to reconsile their Differance and Vindicate the the Charracter of Capt Adams from the False aspertions that has been Publickly, Imprudently & inadvertently made by sd Noyce. think Proper that Mr Noyce on the Perade to-morrow Morning after Prayers Make the following acknoldgement before the Commission officers of Both Battallions viz That he had Imprudently and Inadvertently Spread a False reporte of Capt Adams behaviour and Good Conduct at the Block house at Ponte Debuté and ask his Pardon for the Same.

BENJA GOLDTHWAIT. ABIJAH WILLARD, THOS SPEAKMAN, P. GOODFREE CAST, JOHN THOMAS.

which was Complyd with.

And afterwards Sergt Brewer Made an acknoldgement at the Head of the Regt that he raids the False reporte and Capt Adams forgave him.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY. CAMP CUMBERLAND, JULY 6TH.

Parole Whitehall.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFF.
 Commanding in Camp. }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 7TH, 1755.

Parole Hampton Court.

Colo Monckton Desiers the officers Commanding the Two New England Battallions take Care that their Captains Provide their Men with Shirts and other Necessarys who having observed Many of them who have Not Changed their Shirts Since their First putting them on at Boston. Likewise Many of them he has taken Notice are in Great want of Shoes & Stockings.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

N. B.—Mistaken as to the Fact of Shirts. the Capts Not able to Provide Shoes, Stockings and Necessarys having Not recd one penny for them Selves or Men Since their Leaving Boston tho often Applied for. J. W.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 6TH, 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow Orders that the Several Companys Muster tomorrow at the Beat of the Bank for Prayers and that the Men bring their Arms and Cartherage Boxes and the Commanding officer of Each Compy in the First Battallion Examin into & reporte the State of their Amunition as to Every Individual.

and that at Eight of the Clock the Several Companys Muster under Arms to be Disaplined. and for the Future their be No Disturbances Made by Powder in any Shape.

J. WINSLOW.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORT CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 8TH, 1755.

Parole Oxford.

To Colo Winslow or officer Commanding in Camp.	}	T. MONCREIFFE.
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THE ORDERS FOR THE DAY.

FORT CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 9TH, 1755.

Parole Cambridge.

To Colo Winslow or Officer Commanding in Camp.	}	T. MONCREIFFE.
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BOSTON, JUNE 25TH, 1755.

SIR,—

I Heartily Congratulate you upon your Success in Nova Scotia. I wish you a Continuance of it and hope you will take Care of your Health which I was much pleased to hear by Major Bourn was Quite Established by the time you Got to Annapolis.

I Shall Set out Tomorrow for Providence, where I embarke on board the Province Sloop for Albany, and am So Hurryed that I have hardly time to Send you these Feu Lines, however you will

Give Me Leave to Press one Peice of Service upon you and to tel you that you Cant oblige me more than by being industrious in it and Getting Such of your officers as have Interest with the Men to be active in it. Likewise, this is to desier that you would Inlist me 100 men who Must be Stout handsom Fellows, as I Design them to purge My Regiment (which is now Compleated) of Some Low & otherwise bad Men when I return from Niagara, as the Regiment is Compleat and our fund for recruiting Very Low we Cant afford to Go Higher than Three pounds bounty for Such as Inlist at Large and 50/ for those who Inlist for Seven years, under Less terms then which we Shant Now take any. you are So well acquainted with the Sorte of Men we want that I Need Say Nothing to you about their age and Size. I Should not Chuse to have them Enter into pay or Joyne the Regiment before the 25th of December.

You will be so kinde as to desier in My Name the assistance of Colo Preble and the other officers of the Corps in this affair and Let them Know how Much they will oblige me in it. I am with Great Truth & Esteem your Most Faithfull Humble Servant,

Station of Men 5 foot 8 Inches.

age between 18 & 30 year. I am to Set out for Nigara tomorrow

On his Majtys Service To Leivt Colo John Winslow of Majr General Shirley Provincial Regiment at Chignecto.

W. SHIRLEY.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 10TH 1755.

A return of the Several Companys in the First Battallion of Gouv Shirley's Regiment under the Command of Colo Winslow of what Cartheridge wanted viz

Govenours	240	Lievt Colo. Winslow	184
Majr Preble	160	Major Goldthwaits	222
Capt Adams	332	Capt Hobbs	37
Capt Cobb	400	Capt. Osgood	174
Capt Lamson	353	Capt Speakman	200
	<u>1485</u>		<u>817</u>

Capt Stertevant's

Total 2302

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 10TH 1755. THE ORDERS
OF THE DAY. Parole Chelsea.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCRIEFFE.
Commanding in Camp }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 10TH 1755

A Regimental Court Martial to be held Tomorrow Morning Eight of the Clock for the Tryal of John McDaniel for Going on Board Capt Clap and taking Sundry Goods which were Not his own and for taking a Jackett out of the Camp and half a Dollar in it, which Man belongs to Capt. Lamsons Company and also for the Tryal of Moses Cascoine of Capt Cobbs Company for taking a Blankett from James Cosam of Capt Lamsons Company and Selling of it. both Confined by Capt Lamson who is to Produce the Evidence. Members, Capt Thos Speakman President Lievtenants Lawrance, Butler & Northam Ensn Pritchard.

J. WINSLOW.

The Court returnd Both Guilty & Sentenced as follows that John McDaniel receive twenty Stripes upon his Naked Back with a Cat well laid on and restore the Jackett and Money, and that Moses Cascoine Receive fifteen Stripes on his Naked Back with a Cat well Laid on & restore the Blankett again.

THOS. SPEAKMAN, &c.

July 11th. The above Sentence Confirmd and the Punishment to be Inflicted at the releif of the Gaurds and the Capts to whome these men belong that the Blanket wescoate & Money be restored and in Case the things thus taken is Not to be Found the Money to Make retaliation to be Stopt by Capt Cobb & Lamson out of the Delinquents pay.

JOHN WINSLOW.

ORDERS OF THE DAY JULY 11TH 1755. Parole Greenwich.
To Colo. Winslow or officer } T. MONCRIEFFE.
Commanding in Camp }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 11TH. 1755.

Whereas after the Surrender of Forte Beausejour on the 16th of June past which is Now Forte Cumberland Divers Goods were Seizd by order by the officers and Gaurds of the First Battallion as being unduly taken and not the Property of Those who then had them in Possession and part of the Goods Seizd stil remain in Security and Some others Soposed to be Moved without order, and also Some other things taken at Forte Gaspereau that are Clandestinely Conceald and whereas Complaint has been made by Stephen Talbot of Capt Hills Company in the regulars yt he Bought part of the First mentioned Goods of John Malcolm & Samuel Tobin of the sd First Battallion and paid an agreed Sum for them. These are therefore to Desier & requier that you Meet and Convene together as Soon as Conveniently you Can as a Court of Enquiry and Examin into the Facts & hear the Parties Challenging the Property of the Goods and reporte on the affair as to you they appear.

To Capt Nathan Adams President Lievts Israil Herrick, Job Winslow John Butler & Job Crooker.

JOHN WINSLOW, Lievt Colo &c.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 11TH 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders that as there is now a Court of Enquiry now in being and adjourned over til Monday Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon to Examin into the affairs of the Goods seized on the 17th & 18th of June past and of Some Articles at Forte Gaspereau between the 20th & 24th of June past and as Some pretend a right to Some of those articles and Divers Witness Concernd.

Notis is therefore to be Given throh out the Camp that Both Parties and Witnesses are to attend the Court at that time.

JOHN WINSLOW.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY. FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 12TH 1755.

Parole Pontefract.

T. MONCREIFFE.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
 Commanding the Camp. }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY. FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY
13TH 1755.

Parole Niagara.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
Commanding the Camp. }

FORTE GASPHEREAU, JULY 13TH, 1755.

SIR.

the Two Companys here have Not been Supplied with Cartherages Since the Fight, I Finde one third wanting upon the whole, the Provisions Left here is Very Poor and Bad. I Donte Know what to do with them there is So Many Complaints however I Gave out Last alowance one pound and half of French Porke in the room of one Pound of ours. Doctr Thomas Waits, am Sir your Most obediant Humble Servt.

Pray Let me know what is Best for my Conduct.

THOS. COBB.

To Colo John Winslow at }
Camp Beausejour. }

ATT THE CAMP AT BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 14TH 1755.

Whereas John Burk a Private Soldier in Major Prebles Company in the First Battallion of his Excellency Govr Shirleys Regiment has applyd to be for Liberty to return home and Desiered to be Discharged. I att his Request do Discharge him the sd John Burk from his Duty in the sd Regiment in Case he Carefully takes care of Lieut Joshua Vaughan of sd Regiment and Sees and attends him Safe to Boston and after his arival there and Seeing Mr Vaughan Safe in Quarters is to Go where he Pleases. Given under my hand at time and Place aforesd.

JOHN WINSLOW, Lievt Colo &
Commandant of sd Regiment.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 14TH A. D. 1755.

Persuant to the within warrant Directed to us from Lievt Colo John Winslow we have Met together and Sent for the Persons Concernd in the Facts that were Interested, Namely John Malcoln Saml Tobin & Samuel Dolby who Declared that the Goods within Mentioned were Taken in the woods Two or Three Days before the Surrender of Forte Cumberland. but upon Close Examination. sd Dolby Declared that Ye Goods were taken out of Forte Cumberland the Next Day after the Surrender of sd Forte by the Three aforst Persons vizn John Malcoln Saml Tobin & Saml Dolby together with Sergt John Fleming all belonging to Capt Malcolns Company. the Last of which is absconded and Cant be found. and they all Confesed that they had Sold a Certain part of sd Goods to one Stephen Talbot of Capt Hills Command in the Regulars for which they have recd Two Dollars.

We have also Found five Gun Barrells Brought from Forte Gaspereau Delivered to us by Samuel Paterson & Jese owin belonging to Capt Gilberts Company, who Declare that sd Guns were Delivered to them by Lievt Timothy Fuller of the Second Battallion whome they Say assisted in taking of their Stocks & Locks from sd Barrells and the Stocks and Locks were Left at Forte Gaspereau.

NATHAN ADAMS,
 JOB WINSLOW,
 JOHN BUTLER,
 JOB CROOKER.

To Colo Winslow.



THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 14TH, 1755.

Parole Crown Pointe.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }



THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 15TH, 1755.

Parole Ohio.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 16TH, 1755.

SIR,—

I was Much Surprised this Morning at the Sight of Lievt Wilson of your Battallion who tels me he was Sent by Capt Cobb with Seveteen men with a Letter to you. if it was the Letter you Let Me See Concerning the Provisions, a Corporal & Six men would have been Sufficiant. Inclosed I Send you an account of the Provisions Sent for the Detachment. So that by that account they ought to have a Good Deal of Porke remaining. and Capt Cobbs Complaint without Foundation. I Should be Glad that for the Future The officers would be More Punctual in their Duty and Not So ready to Make Complaints without reason. Lievt Wilson Gave me the Same answer as formerly Concerning his acct wch will I am afraid oblige me to Bring him to a General Court Martial. I must beg Sir that you will Immediatly upon the receipts of this Send of Lieut Wilson & his party for the Bay of Verte with the Inclosed for Capt. Cobb.

I am Sir yr obedient St

ROBT MONCKTON.

To Lieut Colo Winslow or officer }
 Commandg the First Battallion. }

	PORKE. Pounds.	PEASE. Gals. Pts.	BUTTER. Pounds.	BREAD. Pounds.	MEAL. Galls.
The quantity ordered was 3 weeks for 180 Men	2160	192 4	192 8	3780	135
The Quantity Sent.....	2131	194 4	159 0	3723	120
Sent Shorte of the Proper Quantity	29	... ..	33 8	57	015

CAMP BEASEJOUR, JULY 16TH, 1755.

SIR,—

Yours of the 13th I have Received by Capt Wilson, and by it understood you were Issuing French Porke in Lieu of English and as Such represented it to Colo Monckton, but upon Enquiere Finde you have More English Porke then Can be Expended by a Fort-

night. I would advise that you be Very Carefull in Issuing Provisions and Stores of all Kindes as there has been Some Imbezelmments and Strick Enquierey May be Expected as to all Maters. am Sir your Humble Servt.

J. WINSLOW.

To Capt Thomas Cobb Commandant }
of his Majtys Forte Gaspereau. }

after Dispatching these Letters I made Enquierey about the Provisions and Found that the Provisson Cartes had left four Bbs of Porke which was Designed for Capt Cobbs party of which I Informd Colo Monckton.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 16TH, 1755.

Parole Moyston.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
Commanding the Camp. } T. MONCREIFFE.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 17TH 1755.

Parole Newcastle.

The Commanding officers of the New England Battallions to Give to-morrow at Twelve a return of the names of fifty of the men of Each Battallion Fitest to be Discharged. Including all the French Deserters as Such.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
Commanding in Camp. } T. MONCREIFFE.

FORTE LAWRENCE, JULY 17TH 1755.

SIR,

Please to Supply Lievt Joshua Vaughan & John Burk with a Fortnights Provisions of all Specia Each. am yrs &c.

To Mr. Joshua Winslow }
Commissary &c, } JOHN WINSLOW.

A Return of the Wounded, Sick & Those unfit for Duty here & Fort Lawrance.

OF THE GOVERNOURS COMPANY.

Jonathan Earle old & Infirm.
 John Carter old & Lame
 Jacob Ephraim Rumatizin
 Saml Simons Intermitting Fever,

COLO WINSLOW

Townsend Smith on a Decline
 Mosses Gaffal Formerly wounded now Lost the use of his arm.
 Joseph Marwich Venerial.
 Nehemiah Stetson old & Infirm.
 Richd Tower woundd Not to be movd but wth a Surgeon.
 Anthy Glazier Swis. Deserted from ye French.

MAJR PREBLES.

John Lideard Rumatizen
 Eleozer Furgison old
 Samuel Rogers Sick at the Hospital
 Daniel Clow
 Willm Towsend Rumatizen

MAJR GOLDTHWAITS.

Samuel Marsten old & Infirm
 Richd Wall weak in his Limbs
 Elisha Fuller Fever & Rumatizen
 Edward Flyn Lame with ulcer in his Legs.
 Zachariah Reed Fits

CAPT ADAMS COMPANY.

Ezra Wortham Slow Feaver.
 Ebenezer Stillett Sick at ye Hospital.
 Francis Nelson ditto.
 Timothy George Feaver and ague
 John Levet a Frenchman
 Charles Dumell, ditto
 John Earle old & Infirm.

OF CAPT HOBBS COMPANY

Samuel Bason Slow Feavor
 Oliver Wright wounded
 Jacob Barker Feverish
 John Danly Feaver & ague

OF CAPT OSGOODS COMPANY

Joseph Tayler Sick at ye Hospital
 Nathan Taylor wounded in ye arm
 James Stinson weak & Low

OF CAPT LAMSONS COMPANY

Serjt James Wickwyer Exstream pain in his head
 Joseph Herrington Senr old and Infirm.
 Jacob Sayer old & Feaver & Ague
 Ezekiel Stoddard old Troubled wth Purgings.
 Christopher allin Lost his Leg by an accident Not to be moved
 without a Surgeon.

CAPT SPEAKMANS COMPANY.

John Conre Lame & Infirm
 John Broadstreet old & Lame
 John Robins Sick at ye Hospital.
 Richd Reed Small & Lame
 Sergt Wilkins wounded
 Five Left for Capt Stervetant of which I have no return.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,
 FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 18TH, 1755.
 Parole Portsmouth.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,
 FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 19TH, 1755.
 Parole Norfolk.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,
 FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 20TH 1755.
 Parole Southhampton.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

JULY 21ST CAMP CUMBERLAND.

Parole Exeter.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
Commanding in Camp }

T. MONCREIFFE

SIR.

Inclosed you have a Forme of a return of your Battallion which Colo Monckton Desiers Should be Given in to-morrow. youl please to order yours to be made in that Maner and Sent in as Soon as possible. I having Soposed the number by way of Showing that where the numbers fit for Duty & the Sick are added together they will make the Effectives. The out Commands are to be Considered as fit for Duty and Set Down in That Colum accordingly you neet not take any Notice of the officers Nor order any more Colums to be made then what are in the Enclosed returns: I am Sir your Most Obediant & Most Humble Servt

Fort Cumberland Camp July 21st 1755 }

T. MONCREIFFE.

The return is to be Signd by you }
To Colo Winslow.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 21ST 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders that there be an Invoyce taken by the Quater Master & adjutant of all the Goods Taken from the French and Secured by the Gaurds to-morrow Morning and that a return be Made of Each Company in the First Battallion by Nine of the Clock to-morrow in the following Forme.

The Forme in the Next page.

JOHN WINSLOW.

*A Return of the First Battallion of the Provincial Regiment Com-
manded by Majr General Shirley. Chignecto July 22nd, 1755.*

	FIET FOR DUTY.				SICK.				EFFECTIVES.			
	Serjants	Corporals	Drumers	Private	Serjants	Corporals	Drumers	Private	Serjts	Corporals	Drumers	Private
Colonels	4	4	...	76	...	...	...	4	4	4	...	80
Lievt Colonels	4	4	2	71	...	...	...	8	4	4	2	79
Majr Preble	4	3	2	76	...	I	...	5	4	4	2	81
Majr Goldthwait	4	3	2	79	...	I	...	3	4	4	2	82
Capt Adams	3	2	2	76	I	2	...	5	4	4	2	81
Capt Hobbs	4	4	2	79	...	...	...	6	4	4	2	85
Capt Cobb	4	4	2	82	...	...	...	...	4	4	2	82
Capt Osgood	4	4	2	78	...	...	...	4	4	4	2	82
Capt Lamson	3	4	2	75	I	...	...	7	4	4	2	82
Capt Speakman	3	4	2	75	I	...	...	4	4	4	2	79
Capt Stertevant	4	4	2	82	...	...	...	...	4	4	2	82
Total	41	40	20	849	3	4	...	46	44	44	20	895

JOHN WINSLOW.

SIR.

Please to Send pr the Barer an Exact List of the Names of your officers and their respective Ranks. I am Sir your Most obedt and Most Humble Servt.

T. MONCREIFFE.

Forte Cumberland Camp

July 22nd 1755.

To Livt Colo Winslow or Commanding officer of the First Battallion.

N. B. sent.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 22ND 1755.

Parole Manchester.

The New England Troops to Get all their Bagage on Shore as Soon as Posable from on Board the Transportes.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
Commanding in Camp }

T. MONCREIFFE.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 22ND 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders that an officer & Twenty men from Each Company one to be taken out of Each Mess to be ready to march Tomorrow Morning as Soon as Prayers are over by Pont Abute to Forte Lawrance to remove their Bagage out of the Vessels, a Serjt and Twelve men Immediately to attend Doctr Thomas to Gaspereau.

Appld to Colo Monckton for a Place to reposit our Bagage who Directed me to Examin for one at Forte Lawrance which I did & Found one of the Block Houses of which I made a Store.

JOHN WINSLOW.

SIR.

Capt Gilbert of your Battallion having made Complaint to Colo Monckton of his Charracter being asspersed by Lievt Fuller a Court of Enquiry is ordered to Examine into the affair of which you are President, Majr Bourn & Majr Goldthwaite & the next Eldest Capt Lievt & Ensign of Each Battallion to those who Sate on the Last Court of Enquiry members. I am yr most obedient.

July 20th 1755 To Colo Scott.

T. MONCREIFFE.

Memorandum on this Enquiry. Things Lookt with So Ill an aspect on Mr. Fuller and being Joyned with the affairs of the Guns at Gaspereau That he thought Convenient to resign and was permitted So to do.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 23RD 1755.

HONRD SIR.

as it Seams Propable that we are to Continue at Chignecto Some time and have Very Good officers at the Head of our Battallions Should Gladly Imbrace an opportunity to pay my Duty to your Honr and in my way observe the Country throh which I pas, that in Case it Should be thought Convenient to Settle any part of this Province by People from New England which by them is Exspected. I Might be able to Say Some what about it on my return. am Happy

in my Present Scituation but Should be made more So if I Could have the Favor of a Personal Interveiw with your Honr am with Due regards your Most Dutifull Most obediant & Most Humble Servt.

To The Honble Charles Lawrance Esqr }
 Lievt Colo & Commander in Chief of } J. WINSLOW,
 his Majtys Province of Nova Scotia }

P. S. I Forgot to Say that I applyed to Colo Monckton who refered me to your Honr am &c.

J. W.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 23RD 1755.

Parole Roxborough.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 24TH 1755.

a Court Martial to be held forthwith for the Tryal of Peter an Indian for Fighting with his Mess Mate and Bighting a Piece of his arm sd Indian belonging to Capt Malcolns Company in the First Battallion and for the Tryal of arther Tea for Pulling up the wiping post and Carrying it of. Members of the Court Capt Lamson President, Lievts Fitch, Winslow & Wheeler & Ensign Barrell.

BENJA. GOLDTHWAITE.

The Court Sate & Examined into the Facts and Give Sentence that the sd Peter Should ride the wooden Horse half an Hour, and that ye sd Tea be Set at Liberty Sentence Confirmd & Punishment Inflictd at the Relief of the Gaurds.

B. G.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 24TH 1755.

Parole Dorchester.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 25TH, 1755.

A Regimental Court Martial is ordered by Maj Preble for ye Tryal of Willm Mitchell a Private Soldier in Capt Speakmans Company for Disrespectfully using the officers in General & Capt Speakman in Perticular. Members Capt Adams President, Lievts Herrick Northam Lawrance & Ensign Gay, who reported that the Facts was Fully Proved against the sd Mitchell & Gave Sentence that he Should receive Twenty Stripes upon his Naked Back, approved of and the Sentence put in Execution at the relife of the Gaurds.

J. P.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 25TH, 1755.

Parole Hampton.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or
 officer Commanding in Camp. }

T. MONCREIFFE.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 26TH, 1755.

A Regimental Court Martial is ordered by Lievt Colo Winslow for the Tryal of Joseph Rogers of Capt Adams Company for the Molesting of Major Whitworth in the Execution of his office and Insulting of him as he past throh the Tents. Members Capt Hobbs President Lievts Northam Buckley & Billings and Ensign Pritchard who reported that the sd Rogers was Not Guilty and that he be Dismissd Sentence approved.

JED PREBLE.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR JULY 26TH 1755.

Whereas Divers Men from the Camp Stragle about without orders and Indanger them Selves Lievt Colo Winslow acquaints both officers and Soldiers that there is a Standing order that the Roll Should be Cald Three times a Day in the Presence of an officer of Each Company & Expects that order to be Strickly obeyed.

JOHN WINSLOW.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 26TH, 1755.

Parole Kennebeck.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 27TH, 1755.

John Fleming a Serjant in Capt Malcolns Company who had Deserted the Service and been absent for near a Month being apprehended by a Party and Brought to Camp, and being above the reach of a Regimental Court Martial and we in Camp had no Place to Secure him, I Sent the adjutant to acquaint Colo Monckton Commanding Officer with it and Recd this answer.

SIR.

Colo Monckton Desiers you would Send Fleming to Forte Lawrance to be Confined am your Most obedient & Most Humble Servt

T. MONCREIFFE.

To Colo Winslow.

SIR,—Colo Monckton Intends to See the men who are to be Discharged at Eleven of the Clock in ye Forenoon & Desiers they may be Drawn up between the Two Battallions for that purpose.

T. MONCREIFFE.

To Colo Winslow Commanding in Camp.

The Men proposed to be Discharged Draw up accordingly & Veiwed by Colo Monckton. I at that time being at Forte Lawrance that Duty was Done by Majr. Preble.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, JULY 27TH 1755.

Parole Cornwall.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCRIEFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 28TH 1755.

Parole Dublin.

To Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

FORT CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 29TH 1755.

The Quarter Master and fifty men from each Battallion to Go to Forte Cumberland tomorrow Morning at Six of the Clock to Clear a Place for both Battallions to Incamp. Parole Berwick.

To Colo. Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

A Regimental Court Martial is hereby ordered to Sett forthwith for the Tryal of Michael Jeffery a Private Soldier in Colo Winslows Company for Neglect of Duty. Members Capt Osgood Lievts Butler, Tapley & Bradford, Ensign Fastet.

July 31st 1755 JEDIDIAH PREBLE.

who returned that they Finde him Guilty & Sentence him to Sett on the wooden horse half an hower with Two Fire locks to his Legs approved of and Sentence to be Executed at the relief of the Guards. (wcy was Executed.) J. PREBLE.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY

FORTE CUMBERLAND JULY 30TH 1755.

Parole Stropshier.

The Two Battallions to be ready to remove tomorrow at ten of the Clock. (if Fair)

To Lievt Golo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 30TH 1755.

SIR,

We have Reced Orders for the Battallions to be ready to remove our Incampment Tomorrow ten of the Clock. Should be Glad to be

Indulged with a Number of Carts to remove for there are many heavy things that are too Much for Men to Carry on their Sholders am your Most Obediant Humble Servant.

To Colo Monckton Commandr in } JOHN WINSLOW.
 Cheif of the Forces at Chignecto &c. }

P. S.—there are Some Sickmen that Cant be removed without Carts.

July 31st. 175[5] This Day Proved rainy the Forenoon that we Did Not remove our Camp. I waited on Colo Monckton with regard to the Carts I wrote about yesterday who Told me we Should have a Sufficiant Quantity & Desiered I would remove as Early as I Could.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP JULY 31ST 1755.

Parole Berkshier.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, JULY 31ST, 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow Orders that the First Battallion be in readiness tomorrow Morning at Seven of the Clock Immediatly after Prayers and the men to have their things packt before.

JOHN WINSLOW.

Thus have we Got to the End of July the whole of which was Spent In an Indolent Maner and the acquaintance between the Two Camps Greatly Dropt. There being No Cal for a Convention of officers Since the Surrender of Forte Cumberland and No Partys of the army Stiring. Thoh I Immediatly after the Burning of the Forte on the River of St. Johns applied to Colo Monckton for Leave to Proceed in Strong Parties Two or Three days March at a time to reconniter the Countrey and make our Selves acquainted with its Scituation and urged that it would Not only make us pilots in the Province but would be also beneficial to the Healths of the men & Continued to renew this request often and was also Backt in that Motion by Majrs. Preble & Goldthwait but Could never obtain the Favor Saving for Colo Prebles once Vissiting Fort Gaspareau.

CAMP BEAUSEJOUR, AUGST 1ST 1755.

Early in the Morning the Men began to Pack up their necessaries at a Little after Seven. a Detachment of the Second Battallion were Marching of which I Forbid but afterwards being Informed that there Ground was not Cleard Told Majr Bourn he might Doe as he Pleasd. our Battallion had all their Camps Struck & ready to March at half after Seven. waited for the Carts til nine & they Not Coming March of taking Such Bagage as the Men Could Carry and their Tents with them. ordered To Take up our Incampment to the Left Next to the Ground where the Intrchment was Made & the Camp Markd out. Left behinde us our Maine Gaurd & a Gaurd Exstrodenary to take Care of the Sick. This remove with Sick & Baggage Took us Til Late in the afternoon when the Gaurds Came of under the Command of Lievt Job Winslow & Ensn Barrell who Mounted the First Gaurd at Cumberland Camp vitz the Lievt in the Front & the Ensign in the rear.

AUGT 1ST, 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders That the Gaurds Ussally Kept at Camp Beausejour be Immediatly raised and that the Gaurd returnd from them be forthwith releived and the New Gaurd to mount at the Place Directed & the Centrys posted as ordered.

JOHN WINSLOW.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORT CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST 1ST 1755.

Parole Dorsett.

A Picquet to be Mounted this Evening at Gun Fire from the Two Battallions Consisting of one Capt Two Subalterns Two Serjants Two Corporals Two Drums & fifty Private. They are to be Posted on the Left of the Encampment.

T. MONCREIFFE.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer }
 Commanding in Camp.

SIR

IN CAMP AUGST 1ST 1755.

I have reced Orders Directed to me as Commanding officer in Camp vitz the orders of the Day. Parole Dorsett. a Picquet to be Mounted this Evening at Gun Fire from the Two Battallions Consisting of one Captain Two Subalterns Two Serjants Two Corporals Two Drums & Fifty Private. They are to be posted on the Left of the Incampment.

Signd T. MONCREIFFE.

SIR—I Purpose to Mount from the First Battallion one Sub, half the non Commission officers & Private & Exspect to be Joyned by your Battallion (and that on the Morrow you Finde the Capt and So alternately.) To March to the Place at time appointed.

am your Very Humble Servant.

To Colo Scott or Commanding officer } JOHN WINSLOW.
of the Second Battallion in Camp. }

Names of Men to be Discharged from the First Battalion.

<p><i>The Colonel's Company.</i> Nathan Earle. John Carter. Jacob Ephraim. James Ryan. Peter Petley.</p>	<p><i>of Capt Hobbs Company.</i> John Danley.</p>
<p><i>Lieutenant Colo's Company.</i> Moses Griffith. Nehemiah Stetson.</p>	<p><i>of Capt Osgoods—None.</i></p> <p><i>of Capt. Lamsons.</i> Serjant James Wickwier. Uriah Herrington. Ezekiel Stoddart. Jacob Sayer.</p>
<p><i>Majr Prebles.</i> John Lediard. William Townsend. Samuel Rogers. Eleaser Ferguson. Daniel Clow.</p>	<p><i>of Capt Speakmans.</i> John Conree. John Bradstreet. Richard Reed. John Robins.</p>
<p><i>Majr Goldthwaits.</i> Samuel Masters. Zachariah Reed.</p>	<p><i>of Capt Stertevens.</i> Drumer Peter. Finckom. John Quomeny. Paul Stertevant. Joshua Dunham. Benjamin Eastees. Benja Pratt.</p>
<p><i>of Capt Adamses.</i> Serjant Joseph Lovett. James Emory. John Levett. Charles Dumel. Beamsley Peaboddy.</p>	

FORTE CUMBERLAND, JULY 29th, 1755.

The Thirty four within mentioned men to be Discharged & Cleared with allowing them Twenty Days pay from this date.

ROBT MONCKTON.

Also Nathl Taylor of Capt Osgoods was Discharged all in the Following Fore with Receipts on the Back of the Discharge as Follows :

By John Winslow Esqr, Lievt Colonel of the First Battalion of his Excellency Majr General Shirleys New England Regiment.

These are to Certify that the Bearer hereof A B, has Served as as [sic] Private Soldier in the above regiment in e D Company for the Space of ——— ande is hereby Discharged as being Unfit for ye Service by reason of Infirmity having First received all his Cloathing pay and arrears of pay from the time of Inlisting to the Date hereof.

Given at Forte Cumberland, Augst 1st, 1755.

JOHN WINSLOW.

Indorsed on the Back.

FORTE CUMBERLAND, AUGUST 1ST, 1755.

I Doe hereby acknowledge to have Received from my Colo & Captain all my Cloathing pay and arrears of pay from the time of my Inlisting to this Day as also Eighteen Days More as Witness my hand.

————— A. B.

IN CAMP AUGST 2ND, 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders a General Duty of Fatigue throught the First Battallion for Clearing the Land round the Incampment an officer of Each Company to See that the men Doe their Duty. five Men of a Company to be Immediately Detached with the Quarter master for Tools.

————— JOHN WINSLOW.

CAMP CUMBERLAND AUGST 2ND, 1755.

A Regimental Court Martial to be held Forth with for the Tryal of Serjant Malcoln of Capt Malcolns Company for being Disguised

wth Licquor & Unable to doe his Duty at the rear Gaurd the night Proceeding the 31st of July and arther Tea of the Same Company for offering abuse to Serjt John Mcfarland and of Willm. Mitchell for Saussiness to his officers & for Profane Cursing & Swareing & Make return. Members Capt William Lamson President Lievts Herrick, Winslow & Lawrance. Ensn Gay.

This Day Dismisd fifteen of our Transportes.

JOHN WINSLOW.

The Court Sat & reported & Gave Judgment. that Serjt John Malcoln is Guilty & Do award that he [be] Dismisd from the office of a Serjant and Serve as a Private Soldier. Joshua Tea we Finde Not Guilty Willm Mitchell we Finde Guilty and Do award him Thirty Lasses upon his Naked Back &c.

approved of and ordered that the Prisoners be Punished agreable to the above Judgment at the relive of the Gaurd.

JEDIDIAH PREBLE.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY

FORT CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 2ND, 1755.

Parole Coventry.

A Detachment of One Captain Two Lievtenants Two Ensigns four Serjants 4 Corporals Two Drums, & 120 Private Men to be ready to March on Monday Morning at Break of Day Taking with them what Provisions remain of the weak they will likewise have a further allowance of Provisions Given them which Some of the Detachment Must be Sent to receive tomorrow at one of the Clock to the Creek Capt Lievt Malcoln for the above Detachment Capt Lewis with the rangers to be in rediness to march at the Same time, they will receive Provisions tomorrow at Two of the Clock.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
Commanding in Camp. }

CAMP CUMBERLAND AUGST 3D, 1755.

Mr. adjutant Kennedy having ordered Ensign Pritchard for Duty as it was his Tower Mr Barrel having a Fondness for the Duty

Challenged it as his right & by his Frinds made application to Colo Monckton throh Mr. Moncreiffe without my knowledge. upon which I sent for Mr Barrel and reprimanded him. he sd was Mr Bowin Did it without any Desier of his upon which I wrote the Following Letter to Mr Moncreiffe viz.

CAMP CUMBERLAND AUGST 3RD 1755.

SIR.

Mr Kennedy applied to me for advise on a Letter recd from you in regard to the Touer of Duty Disputed between Ensign Pritchard & Barrell. I am a Good Deal Suprised that any Body Should apply and Trouble Colo Monckton with those things and not Let me or the Commanding officer in Camp Know it. as those Pointes I Take it Might have been Easely Settled here, as to Pritchards being put Over I Know Nothing of it. and never Did Nor Never will Consent To one mans Doing Duty for another. am Sir yr Humble Servt

To Mr Moncrieffe in Forte }
Cumberland Camp. }

JOHN WINSLOW.

P. S.—Mr Kennedy attends you.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CAMP CUMBERLAND, AUGST 3RD 1755.

Parole St Albans.

The Discharged Men to be st on Board Capt Trivitt & Capt Millburry this afternoon taking with them their Provisions.

T. MONCREIFFE.

To COLO WINSLOW.

SIR,—The Detachment of Men is to be Peraded at the Head of the Regulars Tomorrow at Gun Fire with their Provisions & Amunition Compleat Capt Malcoln, Lievt Lawrance, & Ensn Pritchard for that Duty.

T. MONCREIFFE.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP. AUGST 4TH 1755.

Parole Yorke.

Tis Colo Moncktons Posative orders that nither officer Nor Soldier Go Down upon the Marsh.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

CAMP CUMBERLAND AUGST 4TH 1755.

Lievt. Colo. Winslow Orders that one Subaltern, with Six men a Serjant or Corporal of Each Company be Employed on Duty of Fatigue this & Succeeding Days to Clear & Levell the Camp and the right wing thereof and other Duty as the Commanding officer Shall Direct and also yt the officer of the Gaurd be Directed Not to Suffer the Centrys to Sett Down while on their possit.

JOHN WINSLOW.

This Day Eleven of the st, Johns Indians Came to Tantemar and Sent pr the French to Enter into articles of Peace. and after being assured by Colo Monckton that they Should not be hurt Crost thē River over to Beausejour Side. Kept them Selves Close in the Marsh which was unknown to Colo Preble & my Self who Strold within Less then a Quarter of a Mile of them to View the Countrey wch throh Colo Monckton in a Panick on our acct who Sent a Man to recal us but we were on our return before he Came to us.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 6TH 1755.

SIR.

In Consequence of a Letter from Lievt Govr Lawrance, I Should be Glad to Speak with you as soon as Convenient.

I am yr. obedient Humble Servt.

To Lient Colo Winslow, if } ROBT. MONCKTON.
 Not in Camp to be Sent }
 him by a Serjt of his Battn }

In Consequence of the above Letter I Immediately waited on Colo Monckton who Informed me Govr Lawrance had wrote him that it was his Desier that I with part of the New England Troops Should be removed to Piziquid that I might be near to Consult

about Settling part of the Country by New England men, but that he the sd Monckton Could not yet resolve what Force he Could Spare and also was So Free as to acquaint me that it was Determined to remove all the French Inhabitants out of the Province and that he Should Send for all the adult Males from Tantemar Shepedy Olake Beausejour & Bay of Verte to read the Governours Orders, and when that was Done was Determined to retain them all Prisoners in the Forte, and also Informed me that ye Indians of St. Johns Insisted of having Colo Scott whom they Knew, to be Sent to them as a Hostage to be returned when the Treaty was over and the Indians Marcht of. and that they Persisted to make Peace only for one year. I Told the Colo that I Inmaged his word was sufficient for their Save passing and that it would be Disonorable to Give them any other Security and reminded him of the Fate of Capt How, and that I Lookt upon a Peace for one year worse Than None. Especially as we had now Force Sufficient to Correct them if they Should offer any Insults or refuse peace on our own Terms. and as the Massachusetts Bay was at actual war with that Very Tribe it would be od in us to make Pease without their Knoledge.

Futher the Colo Informed me that our party Sent out were Gon to Cobbegate & Tatmebush to bring of those Inhabitants to Distroye their Vessels &c., and this is the First Conference of a Publick nature I have had with the Colo Since the reduction of Beansejour, & apprehend that No officer of Either Core has been made more Free with, that Even these things remains a Secret to the rest.

HONRD SIR.

I This Day waited of Colo Monckton and he being Ingaged had not time to write to you but Desiers you would Discharge Nathan Taylor belonging to my Company who was wounded at the Blockhouse and has Since been in the Hospital and that he Should receive pay Equal to the Soldiers who have Done Duty the whole time. I am your Humble Servant

PHINS OSGOOD.

Camp Cumberland Augst 5th 1755.
 To the Honble Colo Winslow }
 at Forte Lawrance. }

Recd the 6th & Discharged the sd Taylor in the Same form as the other Soldiers of the First of Augst.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST 6TH, 1755.

Parole Edinburgh.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 7TH 1755.

Parole Glasgow.

Four Companys of Colo Winslows Battallion to Get ready to Go on Board the Transportes taking with them their Bagage and Tent Equipage.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
 Commanding in Camp. }

CAMP CUMBERLAND, 7TH AUGST 1755.

The Companys ordered are Winslows, Adams, Hobbs and Osgoods to have their Arms and Close Clean.

J. WINSLOW.

FORT CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST 7TH 1755.

SIR.

I Forgott to acquaint you that the Transportes with the Discharged Men are to Sail tomorrow. In Case you should have any Letters. I am Sir your Humble Servt.

ROBT MONCKTON.

To Lievt Colo Winslow.

SIR.

Please to order a Party to Get Ready Consisting of a Subaltern and Forty men to Escorte the Provisions to the Bay of Vert the Party is to take Two Days Provisions with them. your Most Obediant

Forte Cumberland Camp, Augst 8th } T. MONCREIFFE.
 1755. To Lievt Colo Winslow or }
 officer Commanding in Camp. }

Sent

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST 8TH 1755.
Parole Virginia.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
Commanding in Camp. }

This Day the St Johns Indians Departed & Tooke with them the one we had So Long in Garrison with us who was releasd by Colo Monckton.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST 9TH, 1755.
Parole Shirley.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
Commanding in Camp. }

The Inhabitants of the Contigus Villages with those of the Bay of Verte were Summoned to appear to have his Excellency Gov^r Lawrance orders read to them, but There not being a General Muster they were Dismised and ordered to appear Tomorrow Morning.

This Day the Discharged Troops Embarqued on Board the Transportes for New England viz Those of the First Battallion Thirty five in number on Board the Sloop Elizabeth Nathl Milbery & The Second Battallion forty Six on Board the Sloop Endeavor Capt Trivitt.

SIR,—The Colonel Desiers the Following men may be Sent this afternoon to Forte Lawrance with their arms and Baggage where they are to be Employed in making Bricks they will be Quartered in the Forte, vizt.

Of the Governours Company	Of Majr. Prebles Company.
William Swan.	Samuel Middleton.
odded Eddy.	

Of Majr. Goldthwaits.

James Tufts	William Tufts
Partch Cowill	Edward Turner
James Tufts Junr	Willm Hisley
Philip Turner	Ebenezer Blanchard.
Stephen Blanchard.	

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer } T. MONCREIFFE.
Commanding in Camp. }

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST. 10TH, 1755.

Parrole Braddock.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
 Commanding in Camp. } T. MONCREIFFE.

This Day the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Villages Mustered in Considerable but Not So Many as was Expected. upon which they were ordered to Tarry all Night under the Guns of the Garrison and others Notified &c.

MORNING ORDERS

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 11TH, 1755.

A Capt Lievt and Ensign with 100 Private of the Iregulars to Get ready to March at a Minnets warning Three Serjants & Three Corporals for this Party. Majr Preble with one Captain, Two Lievts, Two Ensigns, 4 Serjants 4 Corporals 2 Drums & 200 Private Men to Get ready to March at a Minnets warning also.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer }
 Commanding in Camp. } T. MONCREIFFE.

CAMP CUMBERLAND AUGST 11TH 1755.

Lievt Colo Winslow orders Three men of Each Company of the First Battallion be ready on Duty of Fatigue at the releif of the Gaurds in order to Build a Guard House for the Picquett Guard.

J. WINSLOW.

N. B. This & the other Duty of Fatigues Dischargd at Eleven Clock on acct of the many Parties Going Forth.

1755. AUGST 11TH. CAMP CUMBERLAND.

A Regimental Court Martial to be held Forthwith for the Tryal of John Holman of the Govrs Company for Leaving his Gaurd & Neglecting his Duty the whole of yesterday and this morning and of Mosses Barnabus of Lievt. Colo Winslows Company for Stealing a

Gun & Gun Stick from one of Capt Hobbs Men and make return as Soon as Possible. Members, Capt Thos Speakman President Lievts Fitch Peabody & Bradford and Ensign Bancroft.

JOHN WINSLOW.

who Gave Judgment that they Finde John Holman Guilty & That he Receive Twenty Stripes upon his Naked Back with a Cat well laid on. the Fact Not Sufficiently Proved against Mosses Barnabus Do Finde him Not Guilty &c.

Judgment Confirmd and Executed.

J. WINSLOW.

CAMP CUMBERLAND 11TH AUGUST 1755.

HONRD SIR.

The men ordered are Collecting. Should be Glad to Know weather any of the Companys Going with me are to be of Thise Party or if they are to Come out of the Fourteen Companys remain- ing am your Most Obediant Humble Servant.

To Colo Monckton Commandr } JOHN WINSLOW.
in Cheif of his Majtys Forces at }
Chignecto, &c.

P. S. The 100 Men will March Immediatly.

SIR

you will March Immediatly with the Party or ded to the O'Lake and Search all the Houses there and between the Lake and this Place and bring of all the Males above the age of Sixteen.

I am Sir your Humble Servt

To the officer Commanding } R. MONCKTON.
the 100 Men. }

Sent Inclosed to Lievt Colo Winslow and by him Ddd to Capt Perry who Commanded the Party.

SIR

Major Bourn is to Parade Immediatly with 150 Men taking their Provisions with them.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 11TH 1755.

P. S. The Parties ordered are to be Taken from the whole now upon the spot.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Lievt Colo Winslow.

Majour Bourns party to take their Blanketts and Provisions with them. Majr Prebles party to march Down here Immediatly taking with them Two Days Provisions.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

FORTE CUMBERLAND AUGST 11TH 1755.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 11TH 1755.

Parole Richmond. Countersign Frinds to America. all officers and Soldiers all Sutlers followers & Retainers to the Camp are hereby Desiered to take notice that all oxen, Horses, Cows, Sheep, and all Cattle what soever which were the Property of the French Inhabitants are become forfit to his Majty wherefore no Bargain on any Pretence whatsoever for the Purchase of sd Cattle will be allowed of. The officers are Desiered to acquaint the men that they are not to Strole from their Camp and that no Cattle are to be Kild or Destroyed as they belong to his Majesty. The above orders to be read at the Head of each Company.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Lievt Colo. Winslow, or officer }
 Commanding in Camp. }

This Day was one Exstrodenary to The Inhabitants of Tantamar Wescoat, olake, Bay of Verte Beausejour & Places adjatent. the Male Inhabitants or the Principal of them being Colected together In Forte Cumberland To hear the Sentence which Determind their Property from The Govr & Council of Hallifax, which was that they were Declared rebels. There Lands Goods & Chattels Forfitt to the Crown and their Bodys to be Imprisoned. upon which the Gates of the Forte was Shut & they all Confined to the amount of Four Hundred men & upwards.

Majr Preble Capt Speakman & the Party with them ordered to Wescoat, Tantemar, &c to Secure all males in those Places upwards of sixteen.

Majr Bourn with his Party having with him Capt Bayley ordered to take with them 150 french Prisoners. march to Forte Lawrence & Take the Command Thereof and Secure the Prisoners there.

Capt Cobb Sailed yesterday From Forte Cumberland to take the Male Inhabitants of Shepody but returned without Effecting anything they all being Fled into the woods.

AFTER ORDERS.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 11TH 1755.

Whereas the Commanding officer has been Informed that Several of the Troops have been out Killing Sheep tis his positive orders that no one Pretend to Go beyound the advance Gaurd. without his Peticular Leave.

T. MONCREIFFE.

To Colo Winslow or officer }
 Commanding in Camp. }

This Last order being of So Exstrodenary a Nature that the officers were to be Confined by their own Gaurds which Never hapened to be in my time before, but in Special Casses Perhaps Might be right. but the reason alledged that Several of our Troops had been out Killing Sheep and the whole Core officers & Men Confined to Prevent them from Sheep Stealing or otherwise for Stealing Gave Umbrage not only to me but to the whole Regiment. Upon which on the Twelfth in the Morning I Caused a Strikt Enquierey to be Made Throh out the whole Troops (which are reported from the severall Companys & on File) and Finde there was not the Least Foundation for Such a reporte. upon which I waited on Colo Monckton & acquainted him that I was Very Sorrey that we had Such Enemys as Should reporte to him Falce Facts as that with oblique Charging us with Sheep Stealing then From which Charge Nothing was more Insolent Even to the Last Individual & that Such Malissous Persons had thereby got Ye officers Confined by their own Gaurds and the men restrained from their Proper Exersise and beged to Know who those Falce Persons where or at Least that a Court of Enquierey Might be Convened that So the Facts Might be Examind into and the Regiment Set Clear of So Falce and

Scandalous an asspersion and Doubted Not but as he had been So Good as to order Such a Court where private Charreters had been Asspersed he would Much more Doe So for The Core, &c. &c.

After all was Told for answer That it was a Common way of Giving orders in General Terms and that Colo Scott had Seen Some of our men Stragling without an officer & Could obtain No other Satisfaction and So Came away in Discontent.

SIR.

Colo Monckton Proposes to Dispatch Adams for Piziquid to Morrows Ebb which will hapen between Two & Three of the Clock in the afternoon and Desiers to Know if you Can be ready to Gó on Board with the Men of your own Company that are Present.

I am your Most obedient

P. S. you may take any other
Company instead of your own.
To Lievt Colo Winslow.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

Upon which I waited on Lievt Colo Monckton and Told him the 4 Companys was a Smal Command for my rank & Should Not Incline to Go with Less & that Ye Other Transportes might be ready in a Day &c. and the Mater rested.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

FORT CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST 12TH 1755.

Parole Grafton.

Fifty Men from Each Battallion for King's worke to Perade here Exactly at Six of the Clock in the Morning to march from the Camp at Five (o. c) Ye Clock.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or officer
Commanding in Camp.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

Arther Tea of the Govrs Company and Samuel Middleton of Major Prebles both Sayers are to be over Slaughed and Sent Down here to worke. I am your Most Humble Servant

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Colo Winslow.

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 13TH, 1755.

SIR.

In Consequence of Lievt Govr Lawrances orders to me you will Proceed with the Four Companys of your Battallion already ordered on Board the Transportes to Piziquid where you will wait his orders I am Sir your Most obediant & Most Humble Servant.

ROBT. MONCKTON.

To Lievt Colo Winslow.

Upon the receipt of These orders I waited on Colo Monckton & Informed him that There was Sundry Things Due to the men & Should be Glad the accounts of the Regiment Might be Settled & Peticularly that of Rum or Molasses in Liew of which I Immagined they had Not reced the one half of their allowance. and that the men Exspectd I would see Justice Done them. as well as in their Small Provisions. he answered this was No time for Settling accounts. I answered that I would be answerable with the Commissarys assistance that it Could be Done in Three Houers & was Certain the Vessels were not ready but Could Get no reply. I also reminded him that he Promist The men that Drew the Cannon & Did other Exstrodenary worke 12d pr Day besides their pay, which they Exspectd Should be performed and was answered he Could not Tel who they were. I Told him my officers had Kept an acct & was answered that he Did not Know but that he might allow them Something in General &c.

Augst 13th. yesterday Capt. Perrey returned with his party from Olake & Brought with him Eleven Frenchmen Prisoners who were Confined under our Gaurd all night and this morning Sent to Forte Cumberland and Majr Preble this Day returned and Brought only Three of the Male Inhabitants all the rest being Fled into the woods The whole number in the Two Fortes are 420 men.

The Four Companys of Col Winslows Battallion that were ordered the Seventh Instant are to hold them Selves in readiness to Embarque tomorrow on Board the Sloop yorke, Preble. Schooner Grayhound, Hodgskins, and the Schooner Warren, Adams. masters.

To Colo Winslow.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

THE ORDERS OF THE DAY,

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP, AUGST 13TH 1755.

Parole Sumersett.

The Same number of men to worke tomorrow as this Day. the Serjants who Bring the men for worke are at the Same time to bring a roll of their names.

T. MONCRIEFFE.

To Lievt Colo Winslow or
officer Commanding in Camp }
}

1755 Aug 13. Capt Goreham arived here from Hallifax & from Pizaquid in Two whale boats. being one Day and half in his water Passage brought us the Malloncolly News of General Braddocks Defeat.

of which on the 14th I reced a Peticular account from Mr. Coffin of that unhappy affair, and althoh it has no connection with our operations in this part of the Continent, yet being of So Exstrodenary a nature and humanly accounting Seames to be Occationed by Setting Two Great a Value on our own Troops. I have Inserted it, that others into whose hands this book may Fall (Especially Those of my own Family Should they be Soldiers) may beware of Falling into the Same Fatal Mistake.

Mr. Coffins Letter as Follows.

BOSTON AUGT 8, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you Some time Since pr. Capt Whitty & Sent you a Cheese wch hope you have Recevd. Inclosed you have the Maloncholy acct of the Defeat of the Troops under the Command of Genal Bradock our Genal Court Met yesterday & have Voted to Raise 800 men more to Strengthen the Crown Point Expedition. which men are to be sent forward as fast as posable about one half of the Troops Raised for the Crown point Expedition In New Hampshire Government Returned hom a few Days since. their Colo Blanchard it Seems with some other great men of their Governmt are Intrested at a place Called Cohorse and Instead of proceeding forward to Albany, he was Carrying them to Cut a Rode to this favorite place upon which his officers and men told him if he would not proceed

towards Crown point they would Return hom. he persisted in going to the above Mentioned place upon they Returnd Back. it put their Genal Court in a Great flame as it did Every body hear. they are Since gon forwd for Crown pointe. my Complents to all friends. Conclude me Dr Sir,

your affectionate freinde,

WILLM COFFIN, JUNR.

The Honble John Winslow Esqr.

CAMP CUMBERLAND AUGST 14TH, 1755.

a Return of that part of the Four Companys Proposed to Embarque this Day under the Command of Lievt Colo Winslow:

COMPANYS	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Private.	Total non Commission officers & private.	Total the Command.	
Lievt Colo Winslow....	1	1	1	3	3	2	61	69	72	of which party there is now in Forte Lawrence of Winslows Company..... 1 Hobbs 1; Lievt 1; Sergt 1; 8 & 11 Osgoods..... 1 officers..... 13 2 15
Capt Nathan Adams....	1	2	1	4	3	1	63	71	75	
Capt Humphry Hobbs..	1	1	1	4	3	2	72	81	84	
Capt Phinias Osgood....	1	2	1	4	3	1	68	76	80	
	4	6	4	15	12	6	264	297	311	

Doctr Whitworth..... 1

Adjutant Kennedy..... 1

Total..... 313

JOHN WINSLOW.

1755 August 14. A Roll of Lievt Colo Winslows Proposed to Embarque this Day:

Gideon Parkman } Isaac Smith } Serjts. John Hasselton }		Abner Ripley } Joseph Foster } Corpls Joshua Cushing }		John Terril } James Townsend } Drums	
Private.					
Johnson Anderson		Elijah Dunham		John Neal	
Joseph Attwood		Jabez Faunce		Joseph Pomroye	
Nicholas Bouffard		Samuel Feiy		Gideon Parker	
George Bennett		Joseph Flagg		Joseph Pearce	
5 Nathl Bayley	25	25 John Gilson	45	45 John Pollard	
Jonathan Bayley		Gideon Howard		Ephraim Quoy	
Nathl Ballard		Joseph Howard		John Ramsdell	
Samson Blood		Abner Harris		John Rollins	
John Blasdell		Windson Homeny		Moses Row	
10 Joseph Buswell	30	30 Benj'n Humphrys	50	50 John Sears	
Moses Barnabus		Jeremiah Jackson		Abishai Stetson	
Timothy Bryant		Elipalet Kembal		Jeremiah Sprague	
Joseph Blake		Benjamin Kembal		Jehiel Simmons	
Samuel Britain		Richard Kimber		Jonathan Simmons	
15 Caleb Chard	35	35 John Lakin	55	55 Townsend Smith	
John Cleaveland		Gabriel Lakin		Zebulon Stoddard	
Samuel Clark		George Low		John Trainer	
John Cane		Amos Love		Richard Tower	
Jeremiah Dawsey		Isaac Lawrance		John Totman	
20 Jonathan Dunbar	40	40 Willm McFarland	60	60 Joseph Whiten	
.....		.....		Ephraim Waterman	

JOHN WINSLOW.

1755 August 14. A return of Capt Nathan Adams Company Proposed to Embarque this Day:

Enoch Blasdell Timothy Serjant Joseph Cass Thomas Johnson	} Serjts	David Farnum Thoms Robinson Timo George Privates	{ Corpls	Drumr. Daniel Marvel
Benjamin Adams Obadiah Badger Osman Baker Samuel Barnard 5 John Blasdell James Bardeen James Burk John Bradford Ebenezer Clough 10 Thomas Chase Mosses Sowell Joseph Search Hugh Lynds Skiper Lunt 35 Elisha Moody Johnson Maston Mosses Merrill Thos McCherrin William McCarthy 40 Nathl Norwood Francis Nelson	15 20 45 50	Anthony Chase Mark Cressey George Cummings Samuel Damon William Floyt Assa Farnum Green French Theophilus Gould Enos Gould Philips Gould Stephen Ordawry Richard Perrey Isaac Peabody Patrick Phillips Thomas Perkins Joseph Rogers William Rutherford Matthew Ryan Timothy Sanders Ezekiel Straw Joseph Spitter	25 30 55 60 63	Christopher Gould Jonathan Gilbert Mosses George John Herrington Davis Howlett Jedidiah Hogg Benja Jacques Mosses Kemball Roger Keshweth John Kittley James Smith Samuel Stickney Ebenezer Stiles John Stichell Wiiliam Stickney Thomas Sweat Richard Skidmore Othnal Thomas Jonathan Trask Ezra Worthin Jacob Woodford

1755 Augst 14. A List of Capt Humphrey Hobbs Company Proposed to Embarque this Day:

Josiah Raymond } Isaac Holden } John Underwood } Joseph Fairwell }		Serjts.	Joseph Blanchard } Oliver Bates } Thomas Poland }	Corpls	Saml Averil } Jona Kenney }	Drums
			Private			
Avery Jonathan	25	Davis Ezekiel			Parker Silas	
Avery Robert		Fletcher Simion	50		Rogers Patrick	
Avery David		Frost Jesse			Robins Elizah	
Bason Thomas		Farmer Jacob			Robbins Nathan	
5 Blanchard Leonard		Gould Jonathan			Richenson Thos	
Ball Jeremiah	30	Green Jonas			Richenson Thos 2nd	
Brown John		Gilson Amasa	55		Richenson Nathl	
Bason Samuel		Gilson Solomon			Rogers Moses	
Baker Jacob		Holden Simon			Robbins Benja	
10 Blanchard James		Holden Asa			Raymond Saml	
Byam Thomas	35	Holden Jonathan				
Dyed					Sartwell Saml	
Augst 22d Bigley Jacob		Holt Uriah	60		Scarp James	
Barns Jonathan		Hutchinson Willm			Sherin John	
Buterfield Ebenezer		Hildyard Joseph			Stephen Eleazer	
15 Blanchard Jeremiah		Hartshorne Ebenezer			Town Daniel	
Bean Caleb	45	Jenings Joseph			Woods Thomas	
Cumings Eleazer		Kemp Benjamin	65		Williams Josiah	
Cumings Abraham		Keys Titus			Wallis Solomon	
Clarke Benjamin		Lyon Ebenezer			Whipple Nathan	
20 Clark John		Lawrance Nathl			Warren John	
Clark William	45	Maning William			Warren Ephraim	
Church Malici		Marble Ellis	70		Wright Palatiah	
Chamberlain Benja		Parker Ephraim			Wright Oliver	
81 Duten Timothy		Nutten Jacob	72		Wyor Richard	
1755 Winslows						

*Augst 14. A List of Capt Phineas Osgoods Company Proposd to
Embarque this Day:*

John Walker William Stimson Simon Godfree Isaac Lawrance		Serjts	Samuel Winch Nathan Simonds David Powers		Corpls	Bill Center Drumer.
Private						
	John Alexander		25	Henry Foster		James Pemberton
	Saml Beard			Samuel Graves		Daniel Russell
	Nathl Buterfield			Saml Graves Junr		John Robbins
	Joseph Blanchard			Saml Green	50	Aron Ramsey
5	Nicho Brown			Peter Hunt		Philip Renuf
	Thomas Braise			Able Hunt		Nathan Robins
	William Barker		30	James Hopkins		Charles Robbins
	Thomas Crosbey			Levi How		Nathl Ranger
	William Cozey			William Hall	55	Benjamin Steward
10	John Cumings			Samuel Johnson		Wilm Sterns
	John Chamberlain			John Knolton		Benjamin Smith
	Jonathan Connant		35	Joseph Kemp		James Stinson
	Timo Cobleigh			Phineas Kemp		William Shedd
	John Center			Jacob Kemp	60	Jonathan Thoyts
15	Zebulon Cozey			Ebenezer Kitterage		Thomas Thoyts
	Nathl Carter			John Lewis		Joseph Taylor
	David Dutten		40	Simon Newton		Thomas Whitcombe
	Joshua Dutten			John Nickolls		Isaac Whitcombe
	Daniel Dudley.			Isaac Noyce	65	Abner Whitcomb
20	Elijah Dennis			Rubin Parker		John Walker
	Issac Danforth			William Parker		David Warden
	Joshua Flynt		45	Phineas Parker	68	Ephraim Wheeler
	Zachariah Flagg			Walter Powers		
67						

CHIGNECTO AUGUST 14TH 1755.

Shiped on Board Hodgskins & Adams. 14 Days Provision for 300 Men.

viz 2400 lb Porke	} being 8 lb Porke	} to Each man.	
4200 Bread			6 pints pease
28 Bushels & 1 galln Pease			14 lb Bread
600 lb Rice			2 lb Rice
75 lb Butter			The Butter for only 4 Days

The men have one pound Rice Each more then their Fortnights allowance to make up for Two weeks Meal Deficiant and on weeks More was Given them the Last Victualling Day.

Joshua

J. WINSLOW.

	no weeks	Porke	Pease	Butter	Bread	Meal
Colo Winslow Cr 2 men } June 7th to Augst 17th }	21.	84.	7. gals 7. pts	7-14	147.	21. qts
Majr Preble.....	21.	84.	7. 7.	7-14	147.	21.
Majr Goldwaits.....	21.	84.	7. 7.	7-14	147.	21.
Doctr Whitworth.....	10.	40	3. 6.	3-12	70.	10.
Delivered.....		292. 150.	27. 3.	27.6.	511 282	73
Due....		142.	17. 3.	27.6.	229	73

Molasses Due....28 gall 1 qt 6 Jills

Delivered.... 9

Balance.....19. 1. 6

This is the Mess acct from Mr Joshua Winslow, Commissary and the one half beeing mine & Doctr Whitworths we received 20 Galls of Molasses & Drew an order on Mr Winslow To pay the one half of Each other Specia to Capt Silvernus Cobb were we made our home when at Forte Lawrance & recd Many Kindnesses.

This Day after Dinner waitd on Colo Monckton and Persisted in our Mens having Extra pay for Exstrodenary labour which was promised them & their back allowance of Provisions. but Could Get no answer, Took my Leave and Proceeded to Massaquash to Get Boats &c ready for the Party to Pass Leaving orders with Capt

Adams to March of the four Companys (the Bagage being gone before) after Some time Tarrying the Partie arived and we Crost the River and when over Capt Adams Informed me that as he was Marching of with Beat of Drum & Colours Flying. Passing Forte Cumberland Colo Monckton Sent Mr Moncreiff his aid De Camp and Peremptorly Demanded the Colours by the Commanders Orders and actually took them from Mr Gay my Ensign which I apprehend is the First Time that Ever a British Commandr in Chiefe Took the Kings Colours from a Marching party that had always behaved well. This Transaction Causd Great uneassiness to both officers & Soldiers & raisd my Temper Some.

We Proceeded on Towards the Vessels and Found they were not ready to Receive us in any Shape. Therefore Incampt on the High Land near Galops Creek & Gave the Following orders.

FORTE LAWRANCE 14TH AUGST 1755.

Liev Colo Winslow orders a Subalterns Gaurd to be this Evening Mounted with a Serjant Corporal & 23 Private men and that they take Care that none of the Party Stragle from their Tents and that Every thing be Kept in Good order.

Parole Justice. Countersign Truth.

JOHN WINSLOW.

FORTE LAWRANCE YE 15TH AUGST. 1755.

SIR,

I Purposed to have paid my Duty to you this Day but things go on Slowly as to our Imbarkation must omite it. Intend if it be Possable to be out this Tide. am Exstreamly Sorrey if I have by any means gaind your Displeasure not being Contious to my Self that I have Merritted it but must think it is so by my Colours being Struck yesterday when on a March which to me is a great Supprise as I Took it to be a Clear Case where a Regiment was on Differant Dutys the Colours always went with the Commanding officer and to me it Looks od and will appear So in Future History that the French who were Conquered Should March with their Colours Flying and that we who assisted to Conquer them where not permitted.

If Sir, you have any Commands shall Gladly receive & Chearfully obey them.

am your Most obedient & Most Humble St.

To Lievt Colo Monckton Commandr in } JOHN WINSLOW.
Chief of the Forces at Chignecto &c. }

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 15TH 1755.

SIR,

I Received yours and in answer to it have to acquaint you yt the removal of Colours is never made without the Knowledge of the officer First in Command, that the reason of my Stopping of them was yt Seven Companys of the Battallion remaind here and that the Colours always remain with the Colo Company to which those in Question belong and with which Company the Strength of the Battallion Commonly is.

I have one thing more to ad which is that Lievt Govr. Lawrance orders were to Send Down Such a number of men and that if Lievt Colo Winslow who seemd Desirous of Seeing the Country Chose to Come with this party, That I might Give him Leave which I think was what I Mentioned to you.

Therefore Sir Cannot See any Grounds for your Thoughts of having Gaind my Displeasure as what I did was only my Duty. To Conclude I Can assure you Sir that my ordering them Back was only owing to the above reasons for the Diferance of a Pair of Colours Here or at Pisiquid is a Mater that at this time I have not Leasure to Deturmine upon Therefore Sir you may rest Convinced that the above were the only reasons of my ordering them to be returned which I am Sorrey has been the Cause of yours & this Letter. I remain Sir

your Most obedient & Humble Servant.

To Lievt Colo Winslow.

[ROBT. MONCKTON.]

Thus Stands the Case of the Coulers Colo Monckton well Knows That ye Command of the Regiment Especially of the First Battallion

was Intierely in me and that Govr Shirleys Name was used only to Serve him and Never Told me that I might Go with this party if I would. but that it was Colo Lawrance order that I Should and that I was to have 400 or 500 Man which I Exspected til the orders Came out for my Numbers & this is the Distribution of Numbers at Present of ye First Battn.

Capt Cobb at GasperEAU	90
Stertevant at Forte Lawrance	90
with Malcoln	60
with Willard	50
with Bourn	60
with me	297
	<hr/>
	647
In Camp	248
	<hr/>
	895

So that I actually Marchd of with more men then I Left in Camp & wy the Govrs Company was not with me is Plainly thus Lievt Capt Malcoln was Sent with 120 New England Troops all which was Commanded by Capt Lievt Lewis of Gorehams Rangers who had with him only 20 regulars, which of it Self was a Slight put on our Troops not Eassaly overlookd and if a Thing Esential that the Colours Could not be removed but by the Commanding officers order ours would have been Left [at] Beausejour or Every Place where we rested as I have never reced orders about them. upon the whole right or wrong it is the most Ungentel Ilnatined thing that Ever I Saw & as Such I Set it Down in my Book.

This Evening My Company Struck their Camp and removed Down on the Pointe of Marsh Next the River Blanch & Incamp there. In order to be ready to go on Board Capt Adams in the warren in the Morning as also Did Capt Osgoods Company & Lievt Croocker with 25 of Capt Hobbs men to go on Board ye york Capt Preble master, the residue of Hobbs with adams whole Company Occupied the Tents they had Taken up the night before

FORTE CUMBERLAND CAMP AUGST 16TH 1755.

SIR,

I have allowed the Two Transportes, Hodgskins & Preble ten Days to go home from the time of your Dismssing them which you will be Pleasd to do as Soon as Possable after that have Landed your Troop. Mentioning the Day on the Back of their orders. I wish you a good Voyage and am Sir yr Most obedient & Most Humble Servt.

ROBT MONCKTON.

To Lievt Colo Winslow.

16. This Day Imbarked my Company on Board ye Warren Capt Adams, Osgoods with Lievt Crooker on Board the Yorke Preble & Adams and remains of Hobbs on Board the Grey Hound, Hodgskins all [B]ound for Piziquid. Pull Down to a Place Cald the Jaging [?] where we anchored.

1755 Augst 17. Came to Sail. Stood Down Chignecto Bay & Doble the Cape of that name. Stood up the Bay of Mines anchored near the mouth of the River Piziquid.

18. Came to Sail and Stood up the River Piziquid to Forte Edward at which we arrived at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon Found it to be a Fine Pleasant Scituation. The Forte of no Great Strength, waited on Capt Murray and Dined with him & the Gents the officers, and from whome I reced the following Minnets Directed to Capt Murray viz.

MEMORANDUM FOR CAPT MURRAY. That he use his Utmost Endeavor to Prevent the Inhabitants or any of them from Escaping out of the Country.

That he prevent as Much as in him lyes their removeing their Effects or Hiding them in the woods, to order the Inhabitants to Proceed in their Cutting their Hay and Corne and in all their Husbandry affairs as they were to remain in the Country otherwise they will be Treated with the Utmost Severity when they Come to Embarque. To Keep Parties Continually Scouring the Country for the Purposes aforementioned and to Get Information of Everything that Passes among the Inhabitants who now will be Employed Chiefly in Scheming and Intreguing.

That if Capt Murray Suspects the Inhabitants having Fire Arms stil amongst them he is to use his Utmost Endeavor to lay his hands on them, when the Inhabitants remove they will be allowd to Carry nothing with them but their money and Household Furniture that they be Kept in the Dark as to their Destination as Much as may be for they Should be of Opinion Privately (and I believe they Certainly are) that the Government will not after all remove them from their Possessions they have the Less temptation to be Doing Mischief whilst the Transportes are Getting round. Suffer as Little as Posable any Communication between the Inhabitants & Soldiers and between ye former and Mr Maugers People and above all things Keep from their Knoledge the News relating to General Braddock.

Immediately on the arival of Colo Winslow at Mines who I would have Quarter his people Immediatly round ye Church or in it if he Should think that Most Safe & Convenient Let Capt Croxton return with his Detachment to this Place and if you think your own Proper Detachment too weak afterwards to do the Duty you will have on your hands apply to Colo Winslow for the assistance of Forty or Fifty Men. Send heither by the first Safe Conveyance Either Land or water both the Priests and take up and put in Confinement any Inhabitant you Exspect to be an Haranger or an Intreiguer amongst the People. Such fellows are Dangerous at this time and Suffer from the Inhabitants in General not the Least Insolence Particularly after the Arival of Colo Winslow. but when they behave amiss punish them at your Discretion. if you have Ocation to Confine any of the Inhabitants within your Forte Keep a watchful Eye over them and order their Familys or Neighbours to Feed them During their Confinement otherwise they will be Exspensive to the Publick which as it is unnecessary I can by no Means allow of.

Show these Memorandums to Colo Winslow as Soon as he arives take an oppertunity of Acquainting the Inhabitants that if any attempt by Indians or others to Destroye or otherwise Molest his Majestys Troops, you have my orders to take an Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth and in Shorte Life for Life from the nearest Nighbours where Such Mischiefe is Performed, if the Mouth of Chibaacadie River Could be Visited before Colo Winslows arival it would be well afterwards there Can be no Difficulty in doing it

both by Land & water. it is by that rout (if at all) the Inhabitants Convey away their Cattle and Effects, if the warren Proceeds to Chignecto with ye Dispatches I now Send Capt Goreham with one of your officers and Some Men may Make an Excursion with the whale Boats to Chibnaidie, if the Warren be not with you when he arives. he must [go] in the whale Boats for Chignecto with a part of his Detachment as you will Perceive by his orders.

CHARLES LAWRENCE.

Halifax Augst 9th 1755.

A True Coppy MURRAY.

To Capt Hodgskins of the Schooner Grayhound & Capt Preble of the Sloop Yorke,—you are Directed to Come to Sail with your Vessels and to Proceed to Mines there to land the Troops you have on Board agreeable to Such orders as you may Receive from me or the Commanding officer of the Party. or the Signals that may be Given by Capt Adams of the Schooner Warren.

am yr Humble Servt

JOHN WINSLOW.

Pisiquid Augst 18th 1755.

Augth 18th. At arived [at] the Entrance of the River Gaspereau and Lodgd on Board our respective Vessels. The People all in health Save one of Hobbs Sick, a Fever.

FORTE EDWARD, THE 18TH OF AUGST 1755.

May it Please your Excellency

I arived at this place this Morning having Two Days passage from Chignecto with a part of four Companys of our Battallion the other part where out on Detachmts I have Sent yr Excellency A a return. on my arival I Finde by Capt Murray that it is your Pleasure that I with the Party be posted at Mines. Shall Depart for it the next Ebb. as to our Stores have nither Powder nor ball but what is in our Catherage Boxes nor Spare Flints and

have only Provisions for Eight Days & for that time nither Butter no Molasses. Exspected to have had all those Supplys at this Fortress but am Told by Capt Murray that Provisions here is a Very Scarse article Esppecially Bread and that I Cant be Supplied from this Save with Powder and Ball of which I have Recd of Capt Murray $1\frac{1}{2}$ Bbls Powder & 3000 Musquet Balls, therefore must Trust to your Fatherly Care for our future Supply. which I hope will Come Seasonably.

There is Considerable arrearages Due to the men in ye article of Molasses or Rum in Leiu which Causes them to be uneasy, Should be Glad that Grievance Could be removed and as I apprehend our party will be Mostly Marching and have no Convenience of Brewing, Molasses Can be of no Great Service to us and if agreable rum would do better but Either would give Satisfaction. Shall Endeavor to Conform my Self to those Minnets which you were Pleasd to Direct to Capt Murray til Such time as I receive from your Excellency orders to my Self One thing I would Just hint that is that the Body of the Regiment is and may be Incamp't under the Cannon of the Garrisons at Chignecto and that the Party with me are in an open Countrey have neither Cannon nor any Protection but from our Musquetry and Doubless are Disigned to reconiter the Countrey. and I Cant but think a Considerable reinforcement Might be Granted me from that Quarter without Distressing them and I thereby the Better Inabled to Prosecute any orders I may be so happy as to receive.

One other thing I would acquaint your Excellency that is that our whole party are Strangers to the Countrey and Should be Extreemly Glad of the whole or part of Gorehams Rangers Could be Spared to our assistance til we Gaine Some acquaintance with its Scituation, when I Can be Spared from this Service Should take it as a Great Favor to pay my Duty to your Excellency and think it would be of advantage to the General Cause as the Soldiers from my Countrey Inlisted Immediatly under my Command as Lievt Colo the whole of them and Exspect that Govenour Shirleys Honr with the Smal addion of my word Should See Every thing that Concerns them Set right. Some Difficulties there is that Greives them. and many of them had an Eye to be Settlers & Probably if Incoraged Properly would Embrace an oppertunity to be Such.

Augst 19th arived at Grand Pre and have Veiwed the Scituation. and Pleased with the Place Proposd by your Excellency for our reception (vizt the Church) I have Sent for the Elders to remove all Sacred things to Prevent there being Defiled by Herriticks, Shall to Secure the Party run a Line of Picquets from the Church to the Church yard which I Look upon as a Place of Security in Case of Supprise.

as we are So Scanty in the article of Provisions and Know not how Soon we may be ordered on Party. I Propose to Provide our Selves from the Inhabitants with one weeks. Shall take Care that Every-thing I receive is by weight & Measure.

Am with the Greatest Esteem your Excellencys Most obediant and Most Humble Servt.

JOHN WINSLOW.

To his Excellency Charles Lawrance, }
 Esqr. Lievt Govr & Commander }
 in Chief of His Majtys Province }
 of Nova Scotia. }

BY LIEVT. COLONEL JOHN WINSLOW COMMANDING HIS MAJESTYS TROOPS AT GRAND PRE AND PLACES ADJATIENT.

To the Deputys & Principal Inhabitants of the Several Districts of Grand Pré river Habitants and River Auxeanard.

you are hereby required to appear at my head Quarters of Incampment at the Mass house in Grand Pere at Nine of ye Clock tomorrow Morning. hereof Faild Not on your Perill. Given under my hand at Grand Pré, the 19th of August, 1755.

JOHN WINSLOW.

GRAND PRE, AUGUST 19TH, 1755.

Dear Sir

I am here with a party of 313 men Exspected to be Quartered at Piziquid, but Met orders to Come to this Place and without Amunition or Provisions. Capt. Murray is So Good as to Supply me with Pow [der] and Ball, but as to Flints have none but what is [in] our

Fire locks, Should be Glad you would by Capt. Adams Send me 600 that are Good and I will Either replace them, or Send an order to Discharge your Store of them, am with Complements to Frinds your very Humble Servant

JOHN WINSLOW.

To Majr. Hanfield Commander of }
His Majestys Garrison of Anna- }
polis Royal. }

GRAND PRE AUGST. 19TH 1755. Patrol Shirley. Countersign Frinds to Nova Scotia.

Aug. 20. This Day the Several Deputys & Principal Inhabitants Met as was yesterday Directed who I informed that I was Sent here by the Kings order to take Command of this Place and that I was Scanty of Provisions & that the Inhabitants must Supply me til Such time as I Should Receive Supplys by water, to which they agreed & said that they would Collect Means together So as to Furnish me at Saterdag & Continue to Grant me Supplys til Such time as I was otherways releved. This Day markd. out the Ground for our Incampment. Lodgd. in the Church. Patrole Lawrance.

Aug. 21. This Day Gave Orders for Picquetting in our Incampment to prevent our being Supprised & Brooke Ground on the Southerly Side Next to the Plainen of Grand Pre workt Very Briskley all hands Employed, Some Fetching Picquetts, Others in Diging, Clearing away Rubish, &c. Patrole Johnston.

THE PROVINCE BUILDING.

THE HON. SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD, K. C. M. G., D. C. L., &c.

In the paper which I had the honor of reading before this Society some few months ago I narrated in detail certain events which were common to the history of Government House and to that of the Province Building. It will be sufficient therefore on the present occasion to deal with these incidents in a more summary form.

The idea of constructing a suitable building to be used by the Legislature, the Courts and the Public Offices, had been long entertained, but it first took shape in an Act of the Legislature passed in 1787. This Act authorized the sale of certain public properties belonging to the Government, and the appropriation of the proceeds to the construction, first, of a goal, and secondly, of a building adapted to the Provincial uses already mentioned.

Nothing, however, was done under this Act. It remained on the Statute-Book for ten years, when it was repealed. The new Act (1797) nominated Commissioners to select and purchase a site and to begin the building. The sum of £3,000 was granted to make a commencement. Under the authority of this Act the Commissioners bought land at the south end of Hollis Street. Adjoining the land so purchased there was a lot that had been laid off as a school lot, and they recommended the purchase of it. The two together constitute the site on which Government House now stands. These two lots the Commissioners considered well fitted for the site of a Provincial Building.

Under the authority of the Act, the Commissioners contracted for a quantity of building materials, and were preparing to proceed with the new structure. Just at this point a difficulty arose.

Sir John Wentworth, who was Governor at the time, had lived since his appointment in 1792 in a house then standing on the ground now occupied by this Building in which we are assembled. But the house was old and decayed, and, according to Sir John's representation, unhealthful and unfit to live in. He therefore urged very strongly on his friends in the legislature to postpone the putting up of the Province Building, with a view to the erecting in the meantime of a new Government House. In this he succeeded, so that the Act of the year before was repealed and another passed carrying out this policy. The Commissioners appointed under the new Act were authorized to go on at once, with the construction of the Government House, and to use for it the site and materials, originally intended for the Province Building. One of the clauses of the Act provided that whenever the House was finished and could be occupied by the Governor, the Commissioners should go on with the Province Building. The House became habitable about 1805. Sir John Wentworth moved into it; but it was still incomplete and grants were required from year to year to finish the Building and enclose it in a substantial manner as it now exists.

It was perhaps fortunate that the old Government House was at the time in such a state of decay as to render it necessary to go on first with the construction of a new one. The site of the old Government House was, as already stated, that of the Building in which we are now assembled and was the best possible one for a Provincial Building; it was in the centre of the old town, it remains very much in the centre of the enlarged area occupied by the present city. It is easy of access from all quarters and renders the discharge of public business comparatively easy. On the other hand, the site at the south end of Hollis Street was far better adapted for the purpose of a Government House.

It was as late as 1809 before the Legislature felt free to resume the interrupted project. On the 25th November of that year, Mr. Haliburton (the father of the celebrated author of that name) moved in the House that a Committee should be appointed to join a Committee of the Legislative Council with a view to procure plans for the erection of the Building, and to prepare estimates of the cost, in stone, brick, or wood. Mr. Archibald, Mr. Lawson and Mr. Pyke were appointed a Committee for the purpose.

On the 4th December following Mr. Archibald reported from the Committee. On the 16th, a Bill to authorize the construction was brought in and read a first time. The report was referred to the Committee of Supply, but no action was taken on it. The Bill did not reach a second reading; the project fell through for the moment. Next year, however, it was resumed in a more effective form.

At the opening of the session of 1811, Sir George Prevost, who was then Governor, brought the matter to the notice of the Legislature in his Speech from the Throne. He said:—

“The prosperous state of this Province requires that the different branches of the Legislature, the Courts of Justice and the Public Offices should be better accommodated than they are at present. I therefore recommend that object to your consideration.”

Two days afterwards, Mr. Archibald, in the Assembly, moved a resolution in these words:—

“*Whereas* the ruinous and decayed state of the building in which His Majesty’s Council and House of Assembly sit, makes it inconvenient and unhealthful to hold the General Assmblly therein any longer,

“*Resolved* that it is expedient to provide a more convenient place for that purpose.”

This resolution was adopted by the whole House with the exception of 4.

The statement contained in the recital was quite correct. The house in which the Assembly was held at the time was known as the Cochran Building. It stood on the site now occupied by the new Post Office. The building filled the square. The west end of it was the part occupied by the Legislature. It was held under a lease, which the Cochranes, who were the owners, had renewed in 1799, after the Legislature had determined to go on with the building of Government House. Ten years’ wear and tear of the premises had not improved their condition, which, at the beginning, was not of the best. The house had fallen into a state of decay which gave the Members of the Legislature the right to make the same kind of complaint which Sir John Wentworth had used when he wished to escape from the old Government House. The recital,

it will be seen, uses the plea "of unhealthfulness" as well as "inconvenience," &c.

In the meantime the lease was about to expire. Should it be renewed? There was a difference of opinion in the House. A Committee was appointed to inquire whether a better place could not be procured. In the end the Cochrans were conferred with. They found it necessary, if they wished to retain the Government as tenants, to put the building in better order. On their undertaking to do so, and to keep it in order, a new lease was agreed on for a further term of 10 years, by which time it was expected the new building would be ready.

The resolution in the Assembly is quickly followed by other proceedings. A Committee is appointed to confer with a Committee of the Council on the subject. The two Committees meet; that of the House returns to their Chamber with a written document handed them by the Council's Committee. It runs to this effect:—

"With regard to the site of the building, the Council had only to observe that as the law now stands the building should be placed in the grounds of the old Government House. The materials should be, in the opinion of the Council, of stone or brick."

The next clause of this document is significant. It says:—

"If the Assembly is desirous of having Commissioners named in the Bill, and will be pleased to inform the Council who they wish to be so appointed, if they should appear to be proper persons to execute the trust, no objection will be made by the Council, who are of opinion that no member of either branch of the Legislature should be named."

This clause, if not what is called in law "a negative pregnant," is certainly suggestive. It leads to the conclusion that the Assembly were anxious to have the appointment of Commissioners, with a view to have some of their own number on the Board. The Council, in denying them that privilege, consent to a little self denial of their own.

The rebuke is rather ungracious, but the Assembly submit to it quietly. A few days afterwards they make up a list of Six names, out of which they are willing the Governor shall select three. They

direct the Speaker to deliver a copy of the resolution to the Governor. This is done, and Sir George expresses himself satisfied. But the House on the same day changes its mind and passes a resolution recommending for the purpose named, three only out of the six they had first named. The persons so nominated were John Merrick, George Grassie and Winckworth Allan.

On the 20th February, the House appoints a Committee to join with a Committee of Council, "to prepare plans and estimates of a building to be constructed of brick or stone," the same to be laid before the two Houses.

On the 21st March, the House, by resolution, decides on the dimensions of the structure. It is to be 140 feet in length, 70 feet in breadth, and 40 feet high. They conclude also to adopt the plan and elevation prepared by Mr. John Merrick, and as for material, it is to be stone. They also appoint a Committee to bring in a bill on this basis.

On the 27th March the Bill is introduced by Mr. Archibald, Chairman of the Committee. It goes rapidly through all its stages and is sent to the Legislative Council. There it passes without difficulty. It names as Commissioners the persons recommended by the Assembly in their last resolution, and fixes their compensation at 3 per cent. on the disbursements. But as regards Mr. Merrick, a Committee of the House in this same session had recommended the payment of £10 to him for the services specified in the resolutions. This certainly does not seem a very munificent sum, judging from the standpoint of modern days, even if it only covered the charge for the plans; but the wording of the resolution passed in the Report goes further: it not only includes the procuring of estimates, but it professes to cover all charges "for furnishing frame and glass for the Provincial Building." What this means may be doubtful.

The resolution was passed on the 1st April. Did the House by voting £10 to Mr. Merrick on all fools' day for such service mean it as a practical joke? A frame and glass for a building 140 feet by 70 feet wide and 40 feet high—all for £10!

Possibly they may have been in earnest, and that what they meant was for the plan and a frame for it, and glass for the frame. But if they meant that they certainly did not say it by their resolution.

The day was now at hand for commencing proceedings. The old Government House was sold for £262 odd, and the materials used to build the dwelling house on Tower Road afterwards occupied by Col. Bazalgette, and now owned by Mrs. Whidden. The foundations of the new building were duly laid, and by the 12th August, 1811, it was ready for the indispensable ceremony of laying the corner-stone.

Monday, the 12th of August, 1811, was an eventful day in Halifax. Into a few hours of that day a great amount of work was crowded.

It was the birthday of Prince George, then Regent during the illness of his father. As such it was observed with royal honors. From early morn flags were seen floating from the ships in the harbor and from the forts and public buildings. At noon the troops and militia were reviewed on the Common by Sir George Prevost, when a series of salutes, three in number, of seven guns each, were fired; these were intercalated by a like series of *feux de joie*. Then came the usual speech approving of the excellent performance by the troops and militia; after this a royal salute from the ships of war, and then Sir George went back to Government House to receive and shake hands with all Halifax at a *levée* held in honor of the day. All this on behalf of the Prince.

Then there was something in which the Governor was himself more especially interested. He was about to leave for Quebec, having recently been appointed Governor-General. In the morning he had to receive an address, in which the citizens congratulated him on his promotion, and, in the evening, to partake of a dinner got up in his honor. To the address he had his answer to deliver; at the dinner there was the inevitable toast to reply to. Everything went merry as a marriage-bell. Sir George seems to have made himself very popular with the citizens.

There is a curious expression, in the *Gazette*, used by the person who chronicled the events connected with the dinner. We can hardly help smiling when we read in language usually applied to more melancholy ceremonies, that the dinner was "a last tribute of respect from the inhabitants of Halifax." These words are not usually applied to a person leaving one earthly home for another.

But before Sir George left for his new Government, he had a ceremony to perform in connection with the old one. The House was to be dissolved, and the Proclamation appears in the *Gazette* which chronicles these festivities. There was something odd in selecting the birthday of the Prince for the death day of the Assembly.

But over and above all these things, one event with which this narrative is more especially connected was to come off on that same day. That was the laying of the corner-stone of this building, which was done with solemn and imposing ceremonies.

We would do injustice to the great event if we were not to describe it in the terms used by the *Royal Gazette* of the 14th August, which is filled with an account of the various ceremonies of the day :—

“Monday being appointed for laying the corner-stone of the
 “Provincial Building, at three o'clock His Excellency Sir George
 “Prevost, attended by Rear-Admiral Sawyer, Major-General Balfour,
 “Commissioner Inglefield, and the different officers of the Staff,
 “Captains of the navy, etc., were received at the eastern gate of the
 “inclosure by the Grenadiers and Light Infantry companies of the
 “2d. batt. of militia, under the command of Capt. Liddell, and the
 “Rifle company of the 8th battalion, commanded by Capt. Albro,
 “with arms presented, the band playing “*God Save the King*,” and
 “by the repeated plaudits of a crowded audience, assembled on the
 “occasion. They were here met by the commissioners for super-
 “intending the erection of the building, who conducted them to a
 “marquee provided for their reception, and where they were received
 “by Quarter-Master General Pyke, Grand Master, and the different
 “Officers of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, the
 “Brethren surrounding the excavation of the building. After
 “partaking of refreshments provided for the occasion, the ceremony
 “commenced by a benediction from the Reverend Mr. Gray, Grand
 “Chaplain. His Excellency Sir George Prevost then assisted in
 “laying the stone, and depositing, in a cavity made for that purpose,
 “a number of coins and the following inscription :—

Pursuant to an Act of the Legislature of
Nova Scotia, for Erecting
A PROVINCE HOUSE,

On the twelfth of August, Anno Domini, 1811, the Anniversary of
the Birth of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and
in the Fifty-First year of the reign of His
Majesty George the Third, King of the
United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Ireland,

His Excellency Lieutenant-General
SIR GEORGE PREVOST, BARONET,
Governor-General and Commander in
Chief of

British North America,
Laid the Corner Stone of this Building.

PROVINCIAL OFFICERS :

THE HONORABLE SAMPSON SALTER BLOWERS,
Chief Justice.

THE RIGHT REVD. THE HONORABLE CHARLES INGLIS,
Bishop of Nova Scotia.

THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER CROKE, D. C. L.,
Judge of the Admiralty.

THE HONORABLE RICHARD J. UNIACKE,
Attorney General.

THE HONORABLE CHARLES MORRIS,
Surveyor-General.

THE HONORABLE MICHAEL WALLACE,
Treasurer of the Province.

LEWIS M. WILKINS, ESQUIRE,
Speaker of the House of Assembly.

SAMUEL GEORGE HOOD, ESQUIRE,
Secretary of the Province.

Commissioners { GEORGE GRASSIE, ESQ.
WINCKWORTH ALLAN, ESQ.
MR. JOHN MERRICK.

MR. RICHARD SCOTT, Architect.

“—which was enclosed in a bottle, decorated with the crest of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and the date of the period of the ceremony, and also a small leaden box, containing copper coins of the present reign. After the Stone was laid and plumbed, levelled and squared, by the different Grand Officers, the Grand Master then presented the corn, wine and oil, which was poured upon it by His Excellency, symbolical of the increasing prosperity of the Province, and the ceremony closed with His Excellency giving three strokes with the hammer and expressing himself as follows :—

“ May the Building, that shall arise from this foundation, perpetuate the Loyalty and Liberality of the Province of Nova Scotia.”

“ This was followed by three heartfelt cheers from the surrounding multitude, and a royal salute from four field pieces, conducted by the Halifax Artillery, under the command of Captain Tremaine, and three volleys from the Grenadiers and Light Infantry Companies.”

“ The ceremony was honored by the presence of a considerable number of Ladies, who were provided with seats erected for their accommodation. The windows of the different houses round the square were also occupied by the fair daughters of Acadia—the whole forming a *coup d'oeil* of taste, beauty and accomplishment, that would do honour to any part of His Majesty's dominions ; and notwithstanding there was a larger concourse of people assembled than we have almost ever before witnessed in this town, and the different sheds, etc., were crowded with spectators, we are happy to announce that not any accident took place, nor any one sustained the least injury.”

Decidedly a heavy day this was for Sir George Prevost ; the review, the *levee*, the address, the dinner, the answer to the address and the speech to the toast, the roar of artillery in the morning, the *feux de joie*, the salutes from the ships, the Volunteer Artillery's salute—to say nothing of the refreshments, which seem to have been rather profuse on that day—must have sent him to bed tired enough to make him almost forget that he was emerging from the chrysalis of Nova Scotia to take wings for a higher sphere in Canada. But he got through the day and the night in some way, and we have no record of his having had a headache next morning.

When the Committee of the whole in the resolution we have adverted to, declared that £20,000 would cover the cost of the building, they ought to have taken warning from the fallacious estimates of which they had had experience in the case of Government House. There the cost has been more than double the estimate; in the present case the result was to be worse still.

Year by year the Legislature appropriated large sums to the Building; in one year £5,000; in another £6,000; in another £8,000. Five thousand was the smallest sum. By and bye the whole cost was counted up, and the Legislature found that on an estimate of £20,000 they had expended over £52,000, an excess of 160 per cent.

A year before the accounts were made up the Province Building was occupied by the Legislature. On the 11th February, 1819, the Earl of Dalhousie opened the Legislative Session in the new building. In his speech he alludes to the event in appropriate terms. He says:—

“The circumstance of meeting you for the first time in this place
 “leads me to congratulate you on now occupying this splendid
 “building. Erected for the reception of the Legislature, the Courts
 “of Law and all the Public Offices, it stands, and I hope will stand,
 “to the latest posterity, a proud record of the public spirit at this
 “period of our history. And as I do consider this magnificent work
 “equally honorable and useful to the Province, I recommend it to
 “your continued protection.”

Such a tribute to the Building and to the public spirit of the Legislature, naturally called for a reply couched in terms a little warmer than usual. The House are equal to the occasion; they say:—

“It affords us the greatest satisfaction to be enabled to meet
 “Your Excellency in the building we at present occupy, and we
 “shall consider it a proud feature in its history that it was opened
 “for the reception of the Legislature under the administration of
 “a nobleman of Your Excellency’s distinguished rank, the grateful
 “remembrance of whose paternal care of the people of Nova Scotia
 “will, we trust, continue with the edifice to the latest posterity.”

The Earl of Dalhousie deserved well of the people of Nova Scotia. He had now been among them some two or three years. He had taken a warm interest in the affairs of the Province; had identified himself with every movement for developing its resources; he had taken a special interest in Agriculture and Education, and had thus rendered himself popular all over the Province. He did his duty well and might fairly be satisfied with the assurance that his memory would "continue to the latest posterity." He might have pardoned the gentle hyperbole for the feeling which gave it expression. But the House were not content to pass this general encomium upon him; after disposing of the other questions in the address, they return to the personal matter and say:—

"Entertaining the conviction that the prosperity and happiness of the Colony have been the objects of unceasing care and attention to Your Excellency, and that the public interests have been essentially protected under Your Excellency's administration, we beg leave to express our fervent wish that the favor of our Sovereign and the inclination of Your Excellency may long continue to afford us the happiness of having Your Excellency to preside over us."

This courtly answer was the first parliamentary effort of Henry Hezekiah Cogswell, who had just entered the Assembly, having been returned for the Town of Halifax in the election of the preceding autumn. He was the Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up the reply, and having previously served some years in the Provincial Secretary's Office, where he was brought into daily contact with the Governor and Council, he seems to have acquired no little skill in the art of saying pleasant things to his superiors in office.

But the hopes of the Assembly were doomed to disappointment. Lord Dalhousie was not to remain among them. A few months later a pet fox of the Duke of Richmond was the remote cause of his promotion to the Governor-Generalship of Canada, and Nova Scotia knew him no more.

The recollection of his services still survives, but it is becoming fainter and fainter. We fear there is not much hope of its living "to the latest posterity."

But we have now finished our story. It has lasted through the administration of four Governors—Sir John Wentworth, Sir George Prevost, Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, and Lord Dalhousie. It began with the first of these, and ends with the last.

The building has been the scene of many of the most interesting events in the history of Nova Scotia, and if it is to remain, as Lord Dalhousie hoped it would, to the latest posterity, it makes it the more desirable that the particulars connected with its construction should be thus placed on record in the Archives of the Historical Society.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEAR 1886-87.

VOLUME V.

HALIFAX, N. S. :

WM. MACNAB, PRINTER, 12 PRINCE STREET.

1887.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers, old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the wars of 1776 and 1812; biographical notes of our pioneers and of eminent citizens deceased, and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives and documents relative to the Loyalists, their expulsion from the old colonies and their settlement in the Maritime Provinces.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and all other publications relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of Pre-Historic Antiquities, especially implements of copper, stone, or ancient coin or other curiosities found in any of the Maritime Provinces, together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of all such articles to the cabinet of the society is most earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities with their signification and all information generally, respecting the condition, language and history of the Micmac, Malicetes and Bethucks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travels, and biography in general, and Lower Canada, or Quebec in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced,—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the best of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliments of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library, where they may be expected to be found always on file and carefully preserved. We aim to obtain and preserve for those who shall come after us a perfect copy of every book, pamphlet or paper ever printed in or about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

11. Nova Scotians residing abroad have it in their power to render their native province great service by making donations to our library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion, or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, &c., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our Society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, &c., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.

5

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page.
Objects of Collection	3
Rules and By-Laws.....	6
List of Officers.....	8
“ Members.....	9
The Expulsion of the Acadians. Part I	11
“ “ “ Part II.....	39
Gordon's Journal of Siege of Louisbourg, 1758.....	98
Papers read before Society since its Inception (showing those published) ..	154
Papers printed in Transactions, but not read before the Society.....	158

RULES AND BY-LAWS.

1. This Society shall be called The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country ; the reading at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects ; the publication, so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish ; and the formation of a library of books, papers, and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating Historical subjects.

3. Each member shall pay towards the funds of the Society, Five Dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars on the second day of January in each succeeding year, but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of Two Dollars and shall become a Life Member, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission pay to the Treasurer the sum of Forty Dollars in addition to what he had paid before. The sums received for Life Memberships to be invested, and the interest only used for ordinary purposes. Persons not resident within fifteen miles of Halifax may become members on payment of Two Dollars at the time of admission and One Dollar annually thereafter.

No person shall be considered a member until his first fee is paid, and if any member shall allow his dues to remain unpaid for two years, his name shall be struck from the roll.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed at a regular meeting of the Society by a member ; the proposition shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next regular meeting, when a ballot shall be taken ; one black ball in five excluding.

5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of every month, at 8 p. m. And special meetings shall be convened if necessary on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of February of each year, at 8 p. m., at which meeting there shall be chosen a President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. At the same meeting four members shall be chosen, who, with the foregoing, shall constitute the Council of the Society.

The election of members to serve on the N. S. Library Commission, under the provisions of Chapter 17, N. S. Acts of 1880, shall take place, each year, at the annual meeting, immediately after the election of Officers and Council.

7. All communications which are thought worthy of preservation shall be minuted down in the books of the Society and the original kept on file.

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the Annual Meeting in February, when ten members shall form a quorum. No article of the constitution nor any by-law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

9. The President and Council shall have power to elect Corresponding and Honorary Members, who shall be exempt from dues; and the duties of the Officers and Council shall be the same as those performed generally in other Societies.

10. The Publication Committee shall consist of three, and shall be nominated by the Council. To them shall be referred all manuscripts, &c., for publication, and their decision shall be final.

OFFICERS
OF THE
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED 11TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

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Vice-President.

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Corresponding Secretary.

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DAVID ALLISON, Esq., LL. D.,
REV. ALLAN POLLOK, D. D.,
PETER LYNCH, Esq.

Commissioners of Library.

(Under Chap. 17, N. S. Acts, 1880.)

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T. B. AKINS, Esq., D. C. L.
REV. PRINCIPAL FORREST,
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THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.

PAPER READ BY SIR ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD BEFORE THE SOCIETY,
7TH JANUARY, 1886.

PART I.

THE expulsion of the Acadians from this Province, which occurred some 130 years ago, does not seem to have attracted, at the time, much notice outside our own borders. The event was, in one sense, only of local importance. It was obscured by other events, of wide and universal interest, which occurred at the same time, or shortly afterwards. The great war, in which all Europe was for seven long years engaged, broke out in the following spring. The adventures of the Prussian hero, Frederick the Great, his victories and his defeats following each other with startling rapidity, presented to History events as wonderful as any to be found in Romance. All the world watched with breathless interest the chequered scenes of a contest in which one prince, and one people, were pitted against all the other princes and peoples of Europe. In the end, Frederick, after beating all his enemies, one after another, was able to conclude a peace, which not only left his hereditary territories intact, but added to them a province, wrested from Austria.

On this side of the Atlantic stirring events, of deep interest, at home and abroad, occurred during the same period. A British army, over 2,000 strong, wending its way to Fort Duquesne, through the woods and swamps that border on the Monongahela, was defeated and cut to pieces by a handful of Canadians and savages. A little later on another British army of 15,000 men was driven back from Ticonderoga and Lake George, with great slaughter, by a small body of French and Indians. These humiliating reverses were a great shock to British pride. The French in Europe, and the Canadians on this side the water, exulted over disasters which raised immeasur-

ably the pride and arrogance of Old as well as of New France. But other, and greater events, of a different character, were soon to occur; events not humbling to British pride nor discreditable to British valor. Louisbourg, the great stronghold of the French in Cape Breton, surrendered in 1758 to an English force, and in the year following, the great events on the St. Lawrence, closing with the memorable battle on the Plains of Abraham, the defeat of the French, the deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm, the surrender of Quebec, and the downfall of the French power on this continent, events which concerned and interested the civilized world, dwarfed our Acadian episode, which was comparatively a domestic affair, occurring in an obscure and sparsely peopled Province, and touching but a small, and isolated section of the race, from whom, on this continent, the sceptre had departed. When, however, the smoke of the greater events had cleared away, and the details of the expulsion came to be more generally known, there arose a feeling of great pity for an ill-starred people, and of reprobation for what seemed to be an act of merciless severity.

Haliburton, in his history of Nova Scotia, published some fifty years ago, told the sad tale in a style that could not but command attention. His narrative was imperfect in detail, and not always accurate in fact. It left untouched many things which we must know before we are in a position to form a correct estimate of the character of the transaction. But we are the more ready to pardon any little leaning of the author in favor of the unhappy sufferers, when we call to mind the relation he held to their descendants. When he wrote his history, he represented, in our Assembly, the County which contained the largest body of Acadians of any county in the Province. He was the intimate personal friend of the excellent Abbe Segogne, who lived in the County, and had acquired over his people great influence, derived from his position as their priest, and from his character as a man of blameless life and unspotted integrity. So far from blaming the author for his tenderness toward the race, we count it rather as a proof of the kindly disposition which endeared him alike to pastor and to people. Strict accuracy was not required to give interest to any narrative told by Mr. Haliburton in the style which has won for the Nova Scotian author his world-wide fame. His History of this Province

attracted not a little notice when it was published—a notice not confined to his own country, but extending far beyond it, and to both sides of the Atlantic. An article published in 1830, in the *North American Review*, pronounced the work to be “not only creditable to the author and to the Province, but one which would safely bear comparison with any of the works of a similar kind that had appeared in the United States.”

We have it, on the authority of Longfellow himself, that it was Hawthorne who first called his attention to a legend of Acadie of which he had heard, “of a girl who, on the dispersion of the Acadians, was separated from her lover, and passed her life in waiting and seeking for him, and only found him dying in a hospital, when both were old.” Hawthorne told him further, that he did not intend to use the legend for a story; whereupon Longfellow asked leave to make it the subject of a poem. When the poet proceeded to seek information on the subject of Acadie, may it not be (we cannot say whether it was so or not) that Haliburton’s narrative, falling under his eye, confirmed him in his purpose to use, as he has done, materials that so readily lend themselves to poetry and romance? The epic of the American bard, has done for our Western valley, what the poems of Scott had previously done for so many of the mountains and plains, and rivers and lochs of his native land. Thousands of persons know something of this Province from the reading of *Evangeline*. The names of Minas and Port Royal, of Grand Prè and Canard, are familiar to many who have never heard of Horton or Cornwallis, of Wolfville or Kentville. The poem is to tourists in our Western valley, what the *Lady of the Lake* is to Loch Katerine.

We do not quarrel with Longfellow on the ground of historical inaccuracy. The poet is not required to confine himself to the region of facts. He constructs his story as he chooses, subject only to the rules of art. It is to truth in this respect, not to the truth of facts, that he owes allegiance. We must concede so much, and still we cannot but regret any unnecessary perversion of historical fact; for, such is the magic power of the wand the poet wields, that the writer’s fiction becomes the reader’s fact. We are apt to think of things, not as they are, but as he has painted them. Impressions thus produced are seldom, if ever, wholly effaced. Many men owe

a large part of what they know, or think they know, of the past, to works of fancy. Readers of Scott can never wholly clear themselves of the impressions left on their minds by his pictures of historical personages. It must be owned that, as a rule, Sir Walter's portraits are as true as they are graphic. Shakespeare too, our great national poet, has stamped on the men who, as sovereigns or as statesmen, figure in his historical dramas, characters indelibly associated in our minds with their names. The great Marlborough, more celebrated as a maker than as a reader of history, declared that all he knew of English history, and all he wished to know of it, he had learned from Shakespeare. How vast then is the responsibility of those who wield this mighty power of making us believe what they please.

We do not charge Longfellow with being specially open to criticism for abuse of this power. Still it is impossible for any reader of his poem to draw from it any conclusion but this: that the act of expulsion was one of gross, unnecessary, and indefensible cruelty, an act of absolute barbarity, or, as the poet himself puts it "without an example in story." There is not, in the whole poem, a single allusion to the grounds of the expulsion, not a hint of any justification or excuse or even palliation for it.

We have, in one of the cases in this chamber, a curious letter from Martin Farquhar Tupper, written to Longfellow on the first appearance of the poem. It is impossible to speak of any work in terms of higher admiration than those contained in Tupper's letter. He says that he read the whole book through at a sitting, and gives a most gushing description of the delight it yielded him. But he closes his letter with this sensible observation: "With respect to the historical part of the poem, no doubt, if it be as you put it, never was a harder case. But the whole story is new to me, and, as a philosopher (a wisdom lover, though not a wise man), I must guard my mind against the secret influences of your description, as well as of the gentle Evangeline. I can hardly credit the matter, unprovoked by some sort of outrage, and poets are dangerous historians." Dangerous they certainly are, when they create an impression not only false in itself, but injurious to the character of a whole nation. This is a case in point. The transaction is known to most readers only through Longfellow's beautiful epic. Few men will take the trouble

to inquire, in the words of Tupper, by what "sort of outrage" the expulsion was provoked.

Let me say first, if the expulsion be a stain on the annals of Nova Scotia, it is a stain from which Massachusetts, the country and the home of the poet, cannot claim to be free. It was a Massachusetts governor who devised the scheme. It was the soldiers of Massachusetts that drove the French from their encroachments on our territory beyond the Missequash. It was Massachusetts officers, and Massachusetts soldiers, who carried out the decree of expulsion at the heart and centre of the Acadian settlements, at that very Grand Prè, which the poet has made a household word. It was Massachusetts vessels, chartered from Massachusetts merchants, officered and manned by Massachusetts captains and crews, that carried the poor Acadians into exile. It is clear therefore that if there be any scutcheon smirched by the transaction, it is specially that of the country and the home of the poet himself.

Nobody denies that the act was severe in the extreme. But that is not the point. The question is: Was it unnecessarily severe? Those who had it to do, had shrunk from it long. The question is: Should they have shrunk from it longer?

To judge of this rightly we must look at what was done from the stand point of 1755, not from that of to-day. We must judge, not as persons who are wise after the event, but as they would do, who had to deal with the uncertainties of an unknown future.

Let me now glance for a moment at the state of the Province in 1755, and then proceed to parate the events of that year, without staying, in the first instance, to inquire what led to these events, or how far they are open to the censure that has been cast upon them. In so doing, I follow in the track of the poet. I present the case in the worst possible aspect for the credit of the Province. If I thought of that alone, I should first describe the gradual growth of the state of things which led up to, and rendered inevitable the final catastrophe. If I were to take that course I should not have (as I shall by the one I adopt) to contend with the unfavorable first impression which my narrative must produce.

In 1755 the population of Nova Scotia, with the exception of the settlements at Halifax and Lunenburg (both then in their infancy), consisted wholly of French Acadians. The earliest attempts

at settlement in Nova Scotia, or Acadie, as it was called at first, were made at Port Royal by the French, well on to 300 years ago. Subsequently the Province fell more than once into the hands of the English, but it was always either re-taken by the French or given up to them when peace came. In 1710 however Port Royal surrendered to a British force under Col. Nicholson, and, by the Treaty of Utrecht, concluded three years later on, the whole Province was formally ceded to the British. Port Royal changed its name to Annapolis in honor of the Queen, by whose troops it was taken. A small garrison stationed in that fort, had for its task, to control a population of 2,500 Acadian French, settled on the Annapolis River.

In forty years from the date of the treaty, the numbers of the Acadians had vastly increased, and that too, though their French neighbours had, in the mean time, by persuasions or threats, and in some cases by actual violence, induced some 5,000 of them to abandon their homes in the Peninsula, and take up their abode outside of it, either beyond the Missequash, or in the Island of St. Jean or in Isle Royale. Still the 2,500 Acadians at the time of the treaty had so increased in forty years that, notwithstanding the large emigration, there still remained in the Province in 1755 over 7,000 persons of that race.

Most of the Acadians were engaged in farming pursuits, or in the trades which supply the wants of a farming people. Fishing and hunting were followed by a smaller number, or were resorted to in the intervals of leisure, incident to farming life. The people were settled along the banks of the tidal rivers and creeks that flow, either into the Bay of Fundy, or into the Basin of Minas. At the time of the treaty the only settled country was on the Annapolis River, but before 1755 the Acadians had established several other settlements (or colonies, as they called them). Their principal villages at that time beyond that on the River, were Minas (which included Grand Prè, Canard, Habitant and Gaspereau), Pisiquid (now Windsor) and Cobequid, which took in the coasts on both sides of the Basin of Minas, from the Shubenacadie on the one side, and from what is now Economy on the other, as far up as the head of Cobequid Bay at what is now Truro. These settlements were all on the main or eastern branch of the Bay. On the Western or Chiegnecto branch there was another large settlement, then known as Beaubassin, near

what is now Fort Lawrence. The farms of the Acadian settlers consisted almost wholly of lands reclaimed from the tide. The earliest French colonists who settled permanently in the country were those who came out with DeRazilly and Charnisay between 1633 and 1638. They consisted in all of about 60 families. From these the Acadians are descended. The mother country of the immigrants was La Rochelle, and its neighbourhood, a tract on the West coast of France, bordering on the Bay of Biscay, where the cultivated land is largely marsh, which has been reclaimed from the tide, by banks or dykes which shut out the sea. The new comers found here a country like their own, and resorted to the same expedients for obtaining the best possible land, with the least possible toil. They seem scarcely to have touched the forest. In 1734 when their numbers had greatly increased, and when these people had been over 100 years in possession of the lands, dating from the arrival of the Colonists under DeRazellay and Charnisay, they had not, according to a report made by the British Governor of that day, cleared in all over 300 acres of forest land. This is probably an under estimate. It allows only one acre or thereabouts to 15 of the population. When the English, some twenty years later on, entered into possession of the French farms, they found a larger clearance of forest land, though even then, the proportion it bore to the dyke land, was hardly as one to three.

The Acadians produced on their farms all the necessaries of life. Their clothes were of wool or flax, of their own raising. Flocks and herds, they had in abundance. They raised a plentiful supply of poultry. They had saw mills and grist mills. They lived in wooden houses. They had none of the luxuries of life, but they had all that to a rude, unlettered and ignorant people, could be considered as necessaries. They married young and had large families. Their numbers would have increased even more largely than they did, had it not been for the troubles arising from their political position. But for these, the Acadians would have been, not only much more numerous than they were, but would also have been a happy and contented, though an ignorant and superstitious peasantry.

The Abbè Raynal has drawn a picture of the Acadians, which, with some people, passes as a correct portraiture. Tried, however, by the test of facts for which we have unquestionable authority,

much of the glamour he has cast over the subject, disappears. Indeed, the sceptical, but clever Abbè, knew nothing personally about these people. His history of the Colonies East and West, was a vast undertaking, and required some special qualifications for the task. Such a work could be properly undertaken, only after years of preparatory study. It would have been well too, that the author should have had some personal knowledge of Colonies, but the Abbè had neither of these qualifications. He had given no attention to Colonial affairs. He had never seen a Colony. Besides, his Book is a conglomerate. It is not all his own. It owes something to persons he employed to assist in the work, and much to selection and appropriation, neither of them always judicious. As an authority it should count for nothing. It is a romance, on the same lines as *Evangeline*.

Longfellow's version of the Abbè's prose poem, is in these words :

“ They dwelt together in love, these simple Acadian farmers,
 Dwelt in the love of God and man. Alike were they free from
 Fear that reigns with the tyrant and envy the vice of Republics.
 Neither locks had they to their doors, nor bars to their windows,
 But their dwellings were open as day, and the hearts of their owners.
 There the richest was poor, and the poorest lived in abundance.”

A beautiful picture truly. But in a question of fact our judgment must not be led astray by fancy. No such Eutopia as this ever existed, except in the imagination of a poet. Let us deal with the verses in detail.

We have the best evidence, that alike of British and French officials, that of travellers and authors of both nations, that there was not in our western vallies such a reign of love as the poet describes, when the Acadians lived there. On the contrary there is not a doubt that they were a very quarrelsome and litigious people. They had, to be sure, little personal property to fight about. Their commercial transactions were too trifling to occasion many disputes. But they had, in the titles and boundaries of their lands, material for numberless quarrels. They did not hold their lands by grant from the British Crown. They claimed under French absentees who were supposed to have grants from the King of France; but these absentees were themselves aliens, and could not own lands under the treaty. The occupants claimed under oral agreements, without definite descrip-

tions or boundaries. When the lands descended to heirs, and became divisible among children, whose shares were held without division or description, the boundaries necessarily became still more complicated. Under these circumstances there could not but be an infinite number of disputes, and we hardly need the assurance of the authorities we have referred to, to be certain that the people of every Acadian village were in a state of chronic quarrelling about their lands. But the position was made still worse by the reluctance of the British courts to take cognizance of these disputes. In the eye of the law the occupants were all squatters together, and the courts did not care to give a quasi legal title by deciding in favor of either claimant. This work, therefore, fell to the priest, who spent most of his time in mediating, and if that failed, in adjudicating between the parties. It was an imperfect jurisdiction, and judgment could be enforced only by spiritual weapons. The erring party was deprived of the sacraments; and if that was not enough, the terrors of excommunication were held over him. Even these were not always successful. In some cases the litigant braved the threats of eternal punishment, rather than submit to a loss of temporal rights. Is it any wonder then that quarrelling and litigation were rife in every Acadian village? If we had no evidence of the fact, we might be sure that it must have been so, but we have abundant proof that the Acadians were not in this respect a miraculous exception to ordinary humanity. This state of things reflects no peculiar discredit on them. It is just what might have been expected under the circumstances, but it scarcely realizes the poet's glowing declaration, that

" They dwelt together in love, these simple Acadian farmers,
Dwelt in the love of God and man."

Such a state of things as we have described can hardly be classed under either branch of the poet's category. I fail to see in it evidence of much love, either to God or man.

But they had "no envy the vice of republics." They seem however not to have been exempt from another vice, and that the one which prevails, even more largely than envy, in the great republic to which the poet belonged; I mean the love of money. The French Governors of Isle Royale, in their despatches to Quebec and Paris complain that all the specie which the King of France sent out for disbursements connected with the support of the army and navy at

Louisbourg, found its way into the pockets of the Acadians, and when once there, was hoarded and hidden, and never seen again. What else could they do with it but to hoard it and hide it? They could not spend it in luxuries, for of these they had none. They did not use it in paying taxes, for they lived free from assessment or taxation of any kind. For forty years that they enjoyed the protection of the British Government, they paid not one penny into the Provincial Treasury. We waive for a moment the fact that all the money so hoarded and hidden, they earned by a trade forbidden by law. The accumulation of money, in a contraband trade, and hoarding it in miserly fashion, may not be quite so bad as envy; but these practices can hardly be classed among the virtues. But

“They were free from fear that reigns with the tyrant.” Yet, if we are to believe their own story, they had no lack either of fear or of tyrants. Time and again when they were required to take the oath of allegiance to their Sovereign, on a hundred occasions, they declared they were afraid to do it, because the savages, their tyrants, would be sure to cut the throat of any man who submitted to that demand. Perhaps this was all pretence. Perhaps they had no fear of the Indians who were connected with them, not only by a community of religious belief, but also by the closest family ties. The savages were but a handful—the Acadians could be counted by thousands. But if we dismiss the idea of fear in such a case, we must suppose the excuse to be untrue. If we credit their fear, what becomes of the Poet’s assertion that they had none. If the savages kept them in dread they had not one tyrant but many. There must have been either fear or falsehood, and neither can count as a virtue. But

“The poorest lived in abundance.” They did, but, it was an abundance of the mere necessities of life. The French authorities agree with the English in describing the houses of the Acadians as mere wooden boxes, without ornament or conveniences of any kind, and absolutely without any but the rudest and roughest furniture. Need we be surprised that they “had neither locks to their doors nor bars to their windows,” when there was so little within to steal?

But while we refuse to accept the glowing verses of the Poet as true to fact, we do not by any means wish to imply that the Acadians were not, on the average, equal to people of any other origin, situate

in like circumstances. All we contend for, is, that they do not come up to the Poet's ideal, that they shared the weaknesses and infirmities incident to every collection of human beings. They were no better, and no worse, than other simple farming people. The attempt to invest them with superior qualities is not justified by the facts of history. In some respects it must be admitted that they showed to advantage. They were pious, sober, and frugal. They were absolutely devoid of ambition. They enjoyed life in their simple way. They were patterns of domestic virtue. We say nothing now of the political errors which entailed upon them such frightful disaster. We shall speak of these later on. Apart from these, we may form some idea of what the Acadians of 1755 were, from the communities of the same race, now to be found in different localities of this, and the adjoining Province.

The Summer of 1755 was a pleasant one in Nova Scotia. The weather was fine. Every crop was good. In due course the Acadian farmer had secured his hay. His fields of wheat were fast ripening under the glowing rays of an August sun. With the prospect of abundant stores for the Winter—with his crops fully grown and nearly all housed, he might well look forward to a season of ease and comfort. In the last week of August, the weather set in wet. The wheat was ripe, and most of it cut, but it could not be got in on account of the rain. But the weather cleared when September came in. The farmers were busied in getting in their grain. From dawn to eve, they were in the fields. They seem to have been thinking of nothing but housing the remainder of their crops. Little fear had they of what was about to befall them. They did not seem to act as if they knew, or if they knew, to care, that a month previously the Governor-in-Council had come to a decision which was to seriously affect their future. They were living in careless defiance, though on the verge of a terrible calamity.

It is hard to conceive how they could have been blind to the extraordinary things that were going on before their eyes. A fortnight only had elapsed, since a body of some three hundred soldiers had arrived at Grand Prè. They were under the command of Colonel Winslow, who had been with Col. Monkton at the siege of Beau Sejour. When that fortress fell, Winslow was ordered to Grand Prè to carry out the decree of the Government. He took with him three

transports, and 313 men. The ships dropped down the Chiegnecto Bay, with the ebb of the tide, and passed up to the Basin of Minas on the flow. Col. Winslow landed his troops on the banks of the Gaspereau; then marched them for a mile and a half to the village of Grand Prè. He took possession of the church. He made the priest's house his own quarters. His camp he pitched between the church and the chapel yard. The church he converted into a place of arms and a provision store. His next step was to picket his camp so as to prevent surprise. He was in the midst of a disaffected population. He determined to be ready for any emergency. Why was it that all this excited no suspicion and no alarm in the village? So soon as Gov. Lawrence heard that Winslow had commenced to picket his camp, he was sure the people would have their suspicions aroused. He wrote Winslow to that effect. He was afraid his plans would prove abortive, if suspicions were raised before the blow fell. But he was comforted by Winslow's reply. What he was doing, the Col. answered, gave no alarm. On the contrary, the inhabitants seemed quite satisfied. They looked upon the picketting as proof that the troops were to winter there. Why they should desire that, it is hard to guess. If the whole proceeding did not alarm them, could it have been that they were too busy with their grain to think of what it all meant?

Other things, occurring about the same time, might have opened their eyes. The three transports, which had brought the troops from Chiegnecto, had now been lying for a fortnight in the stream, and no preparations were being made for leaving. Why were they remaining, now that their work was done? If the troops were to stay all winter, there was no need to keep the ships. But, not only were they kept, but on the first of September, three other transports entered the Gaspereau, fully officered and manned, but without cargoes of any kind, and quietly anchored in the stream alongside of the other ships. This certainly required explanation. And we find that some of the inhabitants went on board the ships and, to use Col. Winslow's language, "were inquisitive to know their errand." But, says the Colonel, "I was early with the masters, and gave them instructions to say that they were come to attend me and the troops whenever I pleased." The masters no doubt did as they were bidden, but the inhabitants could not have been hard to satisfy,

if they were content with this explanation. If, as they had been told, the troops were to remain all winter, what could the new arrivals mean? The masters did not indeed tell their visitors what they had told Col. Winslow: that eleven more sail were on their way from Boston, all officered and manned, but without cargoes, and all bound for the Gaspereau. If they had done so, probably the inquirers would have been harder to satisfy. But Colonel Winslow had cautioned the masters to keep quiet on this point; that information was for him alone.

Other things occurring at the same time indicated preparation for some unusual action. On the afternoon of Sunday, the 31st Aug., Col. Winslow himself, with a party of 50 men, made what he calls a "tour of two-third parts round Grand Prè," returning in the evening. Next day Capt. Adams, with a party of 70 men, visited the villages on the rivers Habitant and Canard; and on the day following, Capt. Hobbs, with a party of 50, was sent to reconnoitre the village Melancon, on the Gaspereau, while Capt. Osgood with a like number of men explored the country to the southward, and in front of, the encampment. Each party going out in the morning returned in the evening with a report of the location of the different villages and the state of the crops in each. What was the meaning of all this "visiting and reconnoitring?" Why was it that the inhabitants did not see, in such unusual proceedings, a presage of some unusual action? In point of fact Colonel Winslow and his soldiers knew nothing of the country around. They were all strangers there; and, in all those large and populous settlements, no English speaking inhabitant could be found who could tell Col. Winslow what he required to know, before he could begin to carry out the instructions of Governor Lawrence. In his Journal, Winslow talks naively enough of his *discovery* of certain villages of which he had known nothing before. He was as ignorant of the country around him, as he would have been, if stationed in the heart of Africa. Judging from the evidence the Journal affords, his knowledge of the language of the inhabitants, was on a par with what it would have been if he had been encamped on the banks of the Congo. Capt. Murray, who was in command of Fort Edward at Pisiquid, had acquired some knowledge of the people in the neighbourhood of his fort. Col. Winslow was instructed to consult him, and to act in concert with him,

in carrying out the Governor's instructions. They had met and arranged a plan of operations, deciding on everything except the time of action. When Murray heard of the arrival of the vessels, which reached Minas on the first of September, he wrote at once to Winslow. "I hear," he said, "some vessels have arrived at Minas, which, I suppose, are the transports. If so, I think the sooner we strike the stroke the better, and therefore I shall be glad to see you here as soon as conveniently you can." On receipt of this letter, Winslow set off in a whale boat for Fort Edward, to hold a conference on what he calls in his Journal "this critical conjuncture". At the Fort they settled the plan of proceeding, drafted their citation to the inhabitants, and had it translated into French by a Mr. Beauchamp, a Pisiqid merchant.

The picketting of the camp had been finished on the 25th of August. It was now the 2nd of September. The harvesting was completed, or nearly so. The reconnoitering parties had procured the necessary local information. Some of the transports had arrived; others were on their way. Everything was ripe for action. The day after Winslow's return from Fort Edward, he had notices posted at Grand Prè and the neighbouring villages, requiring the male inhabitants to be at the church at Grand Prè on Friday, the fifth of September, at three o'clock of the afternoon. All were to appear, down to lads of ten years of age. The notices stated that he had received advice from Governor Lawrence of the resolution he had come to, in respect of the matters lately proposed to the inhabitants; that the Governor had ordered him to communicate the same to the inhabitants generally, in person, so that they should thus be fully satisfied what were His Majesty's intentions, or such of them as had been communicated to the Governor. They were, therefore, to appear at the time and place named. No excuse would be admitted for failure to appear; and default would be punished by forfeiture of goods and chattels. The reference in the words "the matters lately proposed to the inhabitants" was to a solemn interview (which lasted over two days, the 3rd and 4th of July preceding) between the Governor and the Deputies of Minas, Pisiqid and Canard on the subject of certain memorials which the people of these villages had sent to the Governor by their Deputies, touching the demand of an oath of allegiance from the Acadians. At this interview the Governor went

over the memorials, clause by clause, with the deputies. He pointed out that, from time to time, they had been informed that they must take the oath, but they had always avoided doing so under frivolous pretences; that they had been told that some time or other they must do it, and he urged them to do it then. One and all, they refused.

The summons for the 5th September, the black Friday of 1755 in Nova Scotia, was the culmination of the alarming things which should have excited the suspicions of the Acadians. The interview in July; the arrival of the troops; the picketing of the camp; the detention of the transports; the arrival of fresh ships; the visiting and reconnoitring: all followed by this mysteriously worded citation, were surely enough to excite the greatest alarm. But these things failed to create in their minds any apprehension of approaching danger.

On the day named, and at the hour, the people streamed into the Church; 418 able bodied men came in. Col. Winslow had a table placed in the centre of the Church, and at it, he and the officers of his regiment who were off guard, stationed themselves. An interpreter was provided, and then Col. Winslow made his speech in English, which the interpreter repeated in French, paragraph by paragraph. He stated, with a soldier's bluntness, but in language which shewed how distasteful was the task put upon him, that he had been instructed by Gov. Lawrence to call them together to lay before them His Majesty's final resolution touching his French subjects in this Province, who, for near half a century, had had greater indulgence shewn them than any other of His Majesty's subjects in any part of the British Dominions. However disagreeable to him the business he was charged with, and however grievous to them, it was his duty, as a soldier, to obey orders, not to discuss them. He would therefore, without further delay, declare what were His Majesty's orders and instructions. These were (we quote his language): "Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown, with all other your effects, saving your money and household goods, and you yourselves are to be removed from the Province. Thus it is peremptorily His Majesty's orders that the whole French inhabitants of these districts be removed." "I shall do everything in my

power that all those goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off, and also, that whole families shall go in the same vessel, and make this remove, which, I am sensible, must give you a great deal of trouble, as easy as His Majesty's Service will permit, and hope that in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects and a peaceable and happy people. I must also inform you that it is His Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection of the troops I have the honor to command." He then declared them the King's prisoners.

This frightful announcement fell like a thunderbolt on the poor Acadians. They could not at first believe that Col. Winslow was in earnest, but when they looked about and saw themselves surrounded by armed men with guns loaded and bayonets fixed, while they themselves were without weapons of any kind, they began to realize their position. They had been caught in a trap. There was no chance of escape. But soon hope began to revive. For 40 long years the question of the oath of allegiance had kept them in constant difficulty with the Government, first at Annapolis, afterwards at Halifax. Time and again they had been told they must either take the oath or leave the country, with the loss of lands and houses, goods and chattels. But they had over and over again refused the oath, and still the Government had never carried out its threats. This proceeding, they would fain hope, was only a scheme to compel them to take a step to which they had shewn such extreme repugnance. But they soon began to see that they were mistaken, and that the thing was serious, and then they became anxious about their women and children.

When Winslow had finished his speech he returned to his quarters, leaving the people in the Church. But not long afterwards he received a message from the prisoners stating that they were fearful "that the surprise of their detention would quite overcome their families whom they had no means to apprise of their melancholy circumstances," and they asked that the greater part of the prisoners should be allowed to go home, leaving the rest as hostages to ensure the return in the morning of those that should be liberated for the night. After considering the message and consulting with his officers, Winslow declined to accede to the request, but he

allowed them to choose twenty of their number, ten for Grand Prè and ten for the other villages, to go to the homes of the prisoners and tell what had taken place. When the messengers were chosen, he charged them to inform the women and children that they were to remain in their homes, and he would see that they were protected from harm.

The day was now drawing to a close. The prisoners had been without food since they left home. Col. Winslow supplied them with an evening meal, but gave directions that, from that day onward, each prisoner should depend upon his own family for the provisions he required.

On the return of the twenty in the morning, other twenty were allowed to visit their homes and spend the night there on the same terms, of returning next morning. This arrangement subsisted for some time after the first imprisonment.

When the authorities at Halifax had come to the decision to remove the Acadians, and disperse them among the people of the other British provinces on the Atlantic seaboard, they had engaged a number of transports to be at the different ports, to take the people on board, and carry them away to their several destinations. The transports were to arrive by the time to be fixed for making prisoners of the Acadians; but by the 5th September only six had reached the Gaspereau, and none had arrived at Pisiquid—not half the number required for these ports. Meanwhile, on the Wednesday succeeding the unfortunate Friday, the prisoners shewed symptoms of commotion. Col. Winslow did not like the appearance of things. He had reason to believe that the prisoners had concerted a plan of forcible escape. The men in the Church were, in number, nearly twice as many as the soldiers now under Winslow's command. Over 400 able bodied men, driven to despair, what could they not do, with the aid and sympathy of their families outside?

Winslow consulted his officers, and, finding them of the same mind with himself, he decided to break up the body of prisoners into several divisions, and to put one division into each of the five transports anchored in the stream.

He gave orders to have everything ready to carry out this operation—and then sent for Father Landry, who understood English, and was the principal speaker for the Acadians. He told the priest that

the time had come for beginning the embarkation of the prisoners. That the number he proposed to put on board then, was 250—that he would begin with the young men. Father Landry was greatly surprised. He was more so, when the Colonel informed him that the decision was to be carried out forthwith—indeed, that very day, and that the ships, with their prisoners on board, were to fall down the river with the ebb of the tide—that therefore, he could allow little more than an hour for preparation. He asked the priest to tell the people what was to be done, and informed him that all the prisoners were to be mustered in a body, six deep, with the young men on the left. Father Landry delivered the message. The prisoners were drawn up as directed. The young men numbered 141. Winslow then ordered Capt. Adams with 80 men, to draw off from the main body, and take position by the young men, and conduct them to the transports. Capt. Adams stationed his men as directed, and gave the order to march. The young men refused to stir without their fathers. Winslow told them that “won’t” was a word he did not understand, when applied to a command from the King, which was to him absolute, and must be obeyed. That he did not like harsh measures, but that time did not admit of parleys or delays. He then ordered the troops to fix bayonets and advance towards the young men. At the same time he ordered their four right hand files, comprising 24 in number, to divide from the rest. When this was done, he bade them march. They refused again, whereupon he collared the man next to him and repeated the order, at the same time putting the man in motion. The others followed, moving slowly and going off, according to Winslow “praying, singing and crying.” The poor unfortunates were met, on their march to the shore, by crowds of women and children, rending the air with lamentations and groans, and cries of distress; many of them on their knees in prayer to Almighty God to give them strength to bear this dreadful calamity.

When Capt. Adams returned from the shore, Winslow ordered the Acadians to choose out of their number 109 married men, so as to make up the complement of 250 in all. They complied with the order and the men selected were marched to the shore under another guard of 80 men, commanded by Capt. Osgood, and then put on board. The prisoners were distributed equally among the five ships, 50 to each,

and "thus ended," says Winslow, "this troublesome job and scene of sorrow." A troublesome job it was in itself, and in its consequences. It was a most unhappy incident of a most unhappy transaction. To it may be traced much of the misunderstanding and much of the misrepresentation, which have overlaid the Acadian exodus. Col. Winslow did not choose to tell the prisoners what his real object was in putting the 250 men on board ship. He did not wish them to know how unequal to the task of suppressing a desperate rising of the Acadians, he considered the diminished force now under his command. He therefore thought it best to pretend that he was embarking the first instalment of his prisoners for their voyage to the place of exile. To the poor Acadians it would seem that the young men were separated from their fathers; the married men from their wives and children, not for the moment only, but severed permanently, to be dispersed in that way among a strange people with little chance or hope of ever meeting again. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the march to the shore was a "scene of sorrow" such as has been seldom witnessed, and that the incidents of that sad day, handed down by tradition among the Acadians, have given rise to the belief among them, that the eventual deportation was carried out with the same disregard of family ties that had to be adopted on this sudden emergency. It would have been better for the reputation of Winslow himself, as well as for that of the authorities at Halifax, if he had boldly avowed his object in breaking up the Acadians into several small bodies, and announced that the arrangement was but temporary and would be rectified before the ships sailed. Such a course might have added somewhat to the risk of resistance, but it would certainly have saved much of the misery and anguish of that sad afternoon.

When the prisoners were put on board, Col. Winslow offered either to supply them with provisions from the King's stores, or to allow the families of the prisoners to furnish what was required. The Acadians preferred the latter, and arrangements were made next day to carry out their wishes. The families of each village were to bring their supplies to the water's edge. The boats of the transports lying below, were to come up with the flow of the tide, and return with the ebb, laden with the supplies. Each boat was to bring, from the ship it belonged to, an Acadian, whose business

it would be to see that the provisions, supplied by each family, reached the relatives they were intended for. In the main, these arrangements worked fairly well, but it is easy to see that mistakes would occur. Col. Winslow received many complaints, as well from prisoners in the camp, as from those in the ship, that their supplies had gone astray, and that they were without food.

The prisoners still remaining in the camp, were kept within the pickets during the day, and confined at night in the church.

The arrangements made by the Government, contemplated that the transports should reach the several ports of embarkation at or about one and the same time, and that the inhabitants should be put on board as soon as they could be collected, and shipped off immediately afterwards. Sufficient tonnage was to be sent to each port to carry away the neighbouring inhabitants. The ports of embarkation were to be Chiegnecto, Minas, Pisiquid and Annapolis. When all the inhabitants were embarked, the ships were to rendezvous at Minas and sail all together, under convoy of a man-of-war, down the Bay of Funday, to their ports of destination on the Atlantic seaboard. The Snow Halifax was despatched from this harbor for Chiegnecto. She carried provisions to victual the transports in the several harbours. She was to begin at Chiegnecto, putting provisions on board the transports there, then proceeding to Minas and Pisiquid, to do the same service there, and to wind up her work at Annapolis. Had the plan been carried out according to this arrangement, the poor people would have left our shores about the middle of September, and thus have been spared much of the suffering, arising from delay, and from a voyage at a later season. But sufficient allowance was not made for the mischances sure to befall a complicated arrangement, where one part is contingent on another. It turned out that many of the transports did not arrive when they were due. At Minas, only five in all had appeared up to the close of September, though nearly double that number were required to furnish the accommodation needed at that Port. These were lying idle in the stream, with their 250 prisoners aboard, awaiting the arrival of other ships to furnish the needful tonnage. These Winslow was informed he might expect from Chiegnecto, and he sent urgent messages and letters to Col. Monkton to forward them and the provision ship with all possible speed. Winslow at Minas, and Murray at Pisiquid, were fretting

and fuming at the unexpected and unexplained delay. No answer to Winslow's messages or letters came from Monkton. That officer had his hands full at Chiegnecto. Eighty-six of his Acadian prisoners, who had been confined in Fort Lawrence, had dug their way from the barracks under the curtain to the outer air (a distance of 30 feet) and had escaped to their families at Chepody, or Memramcook, or Petticodiac. He had to look after the rest of the prisoners who had come into his hands on the surrender of Beausejour. He either did not, or could not, find time to reply to Col. Winslow, who then applied for additional ships to the Governor. Lawrence, on the 3rd October, ordered the Transports which had been lying idle at Annapolis, to proceed to Minas. When these arrived, another conference took place between Winslow and Murray, at which they decided to proceed to the embarkation of the families, and to send off as many persons as the transports would hold, without waiting for the arrival of additional ships. The Snow Halifax arrived at Minas from Chiegnecto on the 28th September, after having victualled the transports lying at that port. There was now nothing to prevent immediate action. Counting the four transports from Annapolis, there were nine ships for the two ports of Pisiquid and Minas, less than were needed, but still enough to carry off the bulk of the inhabitants. The conference took place on the 6th. The embarkation was to commence next day, but the 7th turned out so boisterous and rainy that nothing could be done. By the arrangement, a transport was to be sent to a place of embarkation near each village, so as to enable the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to embark in one and the same ship, and whole families to go together. Word was sent to the different villages for the people to be in readiness to embark, with their effects, at the places where the ships were to lay. The weather prevented these instructions from being carried out on that day. In the evening it was found that 24 of the young men had, during the day, escaped from two of the transports. How they got away, with eight soldiers in each ship, then on guard, was a mystery. But it seems, the women of the prisoners' families had been allowed to come on board freely, to see their friends and go away toward the evening. It was supposed that the young men had escaped in women's clothes, supplied by the visitors, and had thus eluded the notice of the guards. Col. Winslow's action thereon was prompt and stern. He

found out that one Francois Hebert was either the contriver, or an abettor, of the plot. This man he ordered ashore, and had him taken to his village home. His house and barn with all their contents were burnt before his eyes. He was then taken back to the ship. Notice was then publicly given in all the ships, that in case the fugitives did not return within two days, their buildings and effects should be dealt with in the same way, and that no quarter should be given to the fugitives if they fell into the hands of the military. Winslow attempts to excuse the frightful severity of these proceedings, by affirming that the whole of the Acadian French had bound themselves to be responsible for each other, if permission were given to the families of the prisoners to visit them on board.

But the poor fellows who for the moment had gained their freedom, profited little by their escape. A party of soldiers, reconnoitering the country, came in sight of one of the fugitives. The poor fellow mounted his horse and tried to escape. The soldiers hailed him, and fired in the air above his head. But he persisted in riding off. One of the soldiers then aimed directly at him. The bullet pierced his heart. He fell from his horse—dead.

Shortly afterwards the party fell in with some more of the fugitives, and fired on them, but they escaped to the woods. But what were the poor fellows to do? Father Landry came to Col. Winslow to intercede for them. He said they would return if they had a promise not to be punished for the escape. Winslow readily gave the promise. The priest wished it in writing. This Col. Winslow refused. He had passed his word of honor and would do no more. In the end the priest had to be content with the verbal pledge. Within two days from that date, twenty-two of the fugitives got quietly on board the ships they had escaped from. No notice was taken of the escape. All the fugitives are thus accounted for except one, and he was probably killed by the fire of the soldiers on the party that escaped to the woods.

The prisoners now saw that their fate was sealed. They had to leave their homes and their country. But they wished to be allowed to go to some part of the French Dominions, either Isle Royale or St. John—(Cape Breton or Prince Edward's Island). They petitioned Col. Winslow to that effect. As an inducement for him to comply with their request, they offered to remove at their own expense ;

their object being, they said, "to continue in the enjoyment of their religion, which they had much at heart and for which they would willingly abandon lands and houses." But Col. Winslow had received instructions from headquarters not to allow them to go into French territory. The reasons for this we shall have to refer to by and by. Consequently, he was obliged to pay no attention to the petition, only noting in his journal the fact of its receipt.

At length, after weary waiting, distasteful alike to prisoners and jailers, the nine transports were filled with Acadians and their families. A fortnight before this, the 250 men that had been marched to the ships, had been distributed, so as to accommodate the different villages, to which they belonged, and to allow their families to join them, when the ships took up their positions as arranged. On the 21st of October, the fleet containing Grand Prè and Pisiquid prisoners, dropped down the Gaspereau, and then sailed out into the Basin, under convoy of the Warren, to proceed to their several destinations. But though crowded beyond the number allowed by the instructions, which forbade more than one person, to two tons measurement, there still remained at Grand Prè some 600 souls. These Col. Winslow collected together, and lodged in vacant houses near the camp, allowing the men to live with their families, till further transports should arrive. Long and tedious was the delay. It was not till the 20th December, that the last instalment of these poor people left the Gaspereau in two ships, bound, one for Boston, the other for Virginia.

I have spoken only of what occurred at Grand Prè and the neighbouring villages. The proceedings at Pisiquid were of the same character. The people were summoned by a similar notice, which led to the imprisonment of 180 able-bodied men at Fort Edward.

At Annapolis the scheme was not so successful. But eventually the greater part of the inhabitants of that district shared the fate of their brethren of Minas and Pisiquid.

In Cumberland, with the exception of those who surrendered on the capture of Beausejour, few had been taken. Many escaped to Isle Royale, or St. John's Island, by way of Baie

Verte. Others accompanied the French forces and savages, retreating from the Missiquash along the coast towards the Miramachi.

A force of 100 men under Capt. Lewis sent to Cobequid were singularly unsuccessful. They left Minas in the sloop Neptune on the 17th September, bound up the Bay. This was near a fortnight after the proceedings in the church at Grand Prè, and there can be no doubt that tidings of what took place then, had ere this reached Cobequid. At all events, it turned out that on the arrival of Lewis and his party not a single Acadian was to be found, of all the 100 families settled in that district. Men, women and children had fled. The houses were abandoned—their portable effects carried off. Even the cattle had been driven away. The place was a solitude. Capt. Lewis's party had to be content with the inglorious exploit of burning the houses and other buildings abandoned by their owners. In this work they spent two days. While so engaged a violent storm arose; the Neptune was torn from her moorings, and driven by the gale far down the Bay of Funday. She narrowly escaped shipwreck. She had on board most of the provisions, and some of the men of the party. When the soldiers that had landed had completed their miserable business, they were confronted with a serious danger to themselves. Day after day passed away and there was no sign of the Neptune's return. All the boats and canoes the party had brought with them, had perished in the gale. They found themselves, with little or no food, in an uninhabited county, desolated by their own act, and unless the ship returned soon, they could only hope to escape by a difficult and tedious march from Cobequid through the forest to Fort Lawrence—a march to be undertaken at a time when they were in a state of semi-starvation. Nearly three weeks passed away before the Neptune came to their relief. She had, after being driven about in the Bay for a fortnight, at last made her way back to Minas with such of the party as had remained on board. She was immediately ordered back to Cobequid. She arrived there about the 6th October, and in two days afterwards landed Captain Lewis and his party at Minas. The only serious casualty to the forces was that of one man wounded. He had been shot through the side by a sentinel who mistook him for an enemy. It was afterwards ascertained that the inhabitants had escaped by way of Tata-magouche to St. John and Isle Royale. The names of Mass Town

in Londonderry, and Old Barns at Truro, with the broad French dykes to be found in the Colchester marshes, are almost the only things, in all Cobequid, that remain to tell that the Acadians were ever settled there. I do not know that there is now, in the whole of that section, a single inhabitant with Acadian French blood in his veins.

The number of the exiles in all must have amounted to over 6,000.

Governor Lawrence had prepared a circular letter to the different Provincial Governors, explaining fully the grounds on which the Acadians were sent away, and asking aid and co-operation in a matter which he declared to be vital to British interests. He had also furnished the commanding officers at the ports of embarkation with copies, instructing them to deliver to the master of each ship one of the copies, having first addressed it to the Governor of the Province to which the ship was bound.

Though the plan of banishing these unfortunates and dispersing them among the peoples of the other provinces, had the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, who was also the Governor of Massachusetts, no proper arrangements for the reception of the exiles, had been concerted with the authorities of the different Provinces. The result was that, notwithstanding Col. Lawrence's letters to the Governors, the exiles met with no hearty welcome anywhere. In some cases they were hardly allowed to land at all. Where no actual obstruction was put in their way, they met with a passive resistance. They were likely to become a charge on the Province where they landed. The authorities thought the charge should be borne by Nova Scotia. There was little work to be had by which the new comers could earn a living. Even if there had been work, it would have been of a kind unsuited to a people like these, bred in ease and coarse abundance, and used only to agricultural labor. Every province in which the exiles landed received them under protest. Virginia sent some 600 of them to England, where they were clothed and fed till the end of the war, and then sent to France. In some of the Provinces, the exiles or many of them became gradually absorbed in the population of the country, but it is easy to see what must have been the sufferings of even these

before they could accommodate themselves to a new, and different climate, to kinds of labor to which they had not been accustomed, and to new social usages. Perhaps they felt, more than all else, the loss of those religious privileges, which they valued, as they said themselves, "above lands and goods, and even life itself."

With all, love of the old home was the dominant feeling. Some found their way back as sailors, in vessels bound northward. Some purchased small schooners and steered for the Bay of Funday. Fortunate they were if they succeeded in landing unnoticed on some uninhabited shore of the Province. In the spring of the year following the deportation, a party of 90 set sail in seven small boats from Georgia. They skirted the coasts of the two Carolinas, of Virginia and Maryland; they passed Long Island, and had reached a harbor in southern Massachusetts; there they were detained to await the orders of Governor Lawrence. He had heard of attempts of the exiles to find their way back to Nova Scotia, and had written to the various Governors, pointing out the danger which this Province would be put to by the return of these people, who would bring with them all their old hatreds of race and religion, accentuated by the sense of great injuries sustained, and great wrongs to revenge. Governor Phipps of Massachusetts received one of these letters a few days before the arrival of the 90 Acadians within his Province, and he detained them, but he did not fail to let Col. Lawrence know that the Government of Nova Scotia must pay the charges. After the peace of 1763 all who choose to come back and take the oath of allegiance, were permitted to settle in the Province. They were not indeed allowed to resume their former allotments. These, after remaining for some six years vacant and unoccupied (during which period they were fast relapsing into their original condition), had at last passed into other hands. They had been granted to English speaking settlers who had come in under a proclamation of Governor Lawrence: but the Acadians received grants in other parts of the Province on the same footing as other settlers. From the remnant which never left the Province, and from those who returned after the peace, have sprung the Acadian French now in this Province and in New Brunswick, which was formerly part of Nova Scotia. Their numbers, as appears by the census of 1871, had, by that date, grown to 78,000, or thereabouts. This shows how rapidly they

increased after the cessation of the French power in America left them free to spend their lives in peace and quiet, and in the enjoyment of the comforts which their industry and frugality never failed to ensure them.

It also shews pretty clearly that a very considerable proportion of the Acadians must have found their way back to the Province after the peace. Attachment to their race and religion has grouped them in separate communities, and isolated them largely from our people of other origins. Their principal settlements in the Peninsula are at Clare and Argyle in the west, Isle Madame in the east, and Chezzetcook in this neighbourhood.

They are among the most quiet, orderly and well to do communities of the Province. The Acadians of to-day possess all the virtues of their ancestors, and far excell them in intelligence and enterprise. They enjoy every religious privilege. They are on a par with their English neighbours in the schools they maintain. They are loyal subjects of the Queen. They enjoy and exercise with as much judgment and discretion as their neighbours, all their municipal and political privileges. Oh that our ancestors of 1755 had been able to foresee what was so soon to happen on this northern half of the continent! They would have been spared this most painful chapter of Provincial History. Some thousands of our fellow beings would have escaped great sufferings, many of whom were innocent of crime, unless it be crime to love parents, and husbands and brothers. Women and children, who had done no wrong, were involved in the unhappy fate of relatives who could not claim to be guiltless. The punishment extended, as punishment generally does extend, beyond the guilty, who alone ought to suffer. But if the men of 1755 had dared to say that that would come to pass, which did come to pass, in four short years from that date, they might have been classed, and would have deserved to be classed, with madmen. They thought what had taken place in the past, some guide to what would take place in the future. They took the steps which loyal Nova Scotians would take to-day if they had the same dangers to face, and but one way to face them. I shall have occasion to deal fully with this branch of my subject, in the subsequent part of my paper. I shall endeavour to show why it was that the course pursued in 1755, was, in the judgment of the authori-

ties of that day, absolutely necessary to the safety, indeed, to the very existence of the Province as a British possession. I shall view the question from their standpoint, and deal with it, not as a question in which we may be wise after the event, but as one to be looked at by us, as it had to be by them, as a question of the future.

I trust I may be able to shew that, if all that was done will not admit of a perfect defense, still, the case required prompt and vigorous action in the line that was actually followed. It will be the duty of those who think otherwise, to shew what else could have been done, with a reasonable hope of protecting English settlers, and retaining the Province as a British possession.

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH ACADIANS FROM NOVA SCOTIA.

PART II.

Read before the Society, 4th November, 1886.

Last winter I had the honor to read before the Society, a paper narrating, in somewhat of detail, the painful incidents connected with the expulsion of the French Acadians from Nova Scotia. The narrative submitted on that occasion, was compiled from authentic documents. It stated the incidents that took place, without any attempt at concealment, palliation, or even explanation. It mentioned the Order in Council passed in July, 1755, the summons to the male inhabitants of Grand Prè to repair to the Parish Church at a day and hour therein named, their attendance under the summons, their arrest and detention, their treatment during imprisonment, and finally the deportation of the whole Acadian people from the country, and their dispersion among the populations of the different British Provinces on the Atlantic seaboard, all the way from Massachusetts to the frontiers of Florida.

A sad, sad story it was. It needed not the exaggerations of poets, nor the fables of historians to darken a picture already sufficiently sombre. The dreadful sentence of forfeiture and exile passed upon a whole people—a sentence not confined to men only, but including women and children—a sentence apparently at variance with every feeling of justice and humanity, could not have been pronounced, in the middle of the eighteenth century, by the authorities of a British Province, and sanctioned by the highest officials, military, naval and civil, of the Imperial Government on this side of the Atlantic, if there had not existed at the time, a state of things on this continent as exceptional as the terrible expedient to which the authorities had to resort. The expulsion, even if it were an absolute, was a cruel, necessity. Those who had it to do, shrank from it long, and never would have done it, if it had not been, in their minds, absolutely unavoidable.

This leads us to inquire why it was, that they believed the course they took the only one open to them; and further, whether the grounds of their belief, were such as would affect, in the same manner as it affected them, reasonable and humane men of any other time and country, if placed in a like position and with like surroundings. The conditions of to-day in North America, are so entirely the reverse of those that existed then,—the terrors and dangers of those times have so completely vanished, that we should grossly misjudge the actors in that sad drama, if we were to look at what they did, from the standpoint of the present time. It is always easy to be wise after the event; but in order to justly estimate the act of our ancestors, or to properly appreciate its character and quality, we must go back in imagination to the time when it was done. We must put ourselves in their shoes. We must look at their surroundings. In short, we must reconstruct the society of the day, with all the conditions of life as they then existed. Thus, and thus only, can we form a fair judgment as to how far the authorities of the day were justified—not in their own minds only—for of that there can be no doubt, but how far in truth and in reason, they were justified, in dealing as they did with an unparalleled emergency.

Let us therefore glance at the condition of the northern half of this continent at the period in question.

From the first discovery of North America, two races contended for mastery on its soil. These two races were embittered against each other by centuries of struggle and conflict in the old world. They brought with them to this continent, hatreds, born of injuries received and inflicted in their old homes; born of natures and dispositions, character and institutions, diametrically opposite; born of differences in religious belief that had caused frightful crimes beyond the water. The two races, importing here their European hatreds, had these accentuated by outrages and horrors born of their contact with American savagery.

The French had considerable priority, in point of time, over their rivals. They had great advantages in many other respects. At the period to which our paper refers, they had spread themselves along the St. Lawrence, from its mouth to its source. They had fortified Quebec and Montreal, two great centres of government and trade.

They had built forts and trading posts at the outlets and strategic points of the great inland oceans which discharge their waters eastwardly. They had forts and trading posts on the portage from Lake Erie to the Ohio, thus connecting themselves with the waters that flow westwardly. They had forts and trading posts all down the Ohio to its point of junction with the Mississippi; and, of this mighty river they had control, all the way down to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico. On these waterways was conducted the fur trade with the savages, the only great trade of North America at that day. The Indian tribes dwelt on the borders of the great Rivers and Lakes. Their trade, their travels, their warlike movements, they carried on almost altogether by water. The canoe was their only vehicle—the water their only highway. The French, therefore, having acquired control of the waterways, had in effect the control of the Indians who dwelt along the great Rivers and around the great Lakes.

Now let us glance at the English settlements. These were confined to a narrow strip of land on the Atlantic coast,—the strip which intervenes between the Alleghanies and the sea. The English claim indeed, extended far west of the mountain range, but up to the time we are treating of, or till within a year or two of that time, no British settlement or fort existed west of the Alleghanies. Then again, towards the North, the boundary between the Provinces and New France, (as the country on the St. Lawrence was then called), had never been settled or defined. No range of mountains running east and west, existed here to form a natural,—or even a practical—boundary between the possessions of the two Crowns. The actual boundary shifted with the progress of settlement, and the accidents of frontier raids. Between the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, and the English settlements in the interior, lay a vast wilderness, impenetrable except at certain points where there were passes by lake and river. This tract was, for a century or thereabouts, a battle ground between the two races in time of war. It has been stained by the blood of thousands of English and French, of soldiers and citizens. It has been the scene of Indian atrocities, the very recital of which makes the blood run cold.

New France was divided into different Provinces or Governments. Acadie lay low down on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It included, or was claimed by the English to include, not only what are now Nova

Scotia and New Brunswick, but also the territory between New Brunswick and the Gulf on the north, and that between Nova Scotia and Penobscot on the south. Our business is mainly with the Peninsula, that is to say, the continental part of Nova Scotia. This portion of old Acadie had been long in dispute between the two races. The French were the first to form a settlement on it, giving to the place, where their first colony was planted, in 1604, the name of Port Royal. This is the place now known as Annapolis. During the century subsequent to the date of the French settlement, the Province was several times taken by the English and as often retaken by the French—sometimes when there was war between the two crowns—as often when there was none. At last, in 1710, Port Royal surrendered to a British force under Col. Nicholson. Three years later on, a peace was concluded, at Utrecht, between the two countries. The treaty ceded to Great Britain the territory of “Acadie, with all its ancient limits.” From that day to this the peninsula has been a British possession. Cape Breton remained French, and was thenceforth called Isle Royale. It became a province of New France, with Louisbourg for its capital, and a resident Lieut.-Governor, subordinate to the central Government at Quebec. The then boundary between the English possessions, and those of the French on the Atlantic, was the narrow strip of water which separates Cape Breton from the main land, and which in some places is less than a mile in width.

The French regarded Isle Royale as the key of the Gulf, and, so soon as they were shut off from the main land by the treaty of Utrecht, they commenced the construction of a strong fortress at one of the best harbors on the south coast of the island. On Louisbourg they subsequently lavished enormous sums of money—the expenditure reaching ere long to thirty millions of livres. Situate on the Atlantic seaboard, Louisbourg afforded ready access, through the Streights of Canseau and of Northumberland, to the whole of our northern coast, and, by the Gulph, to the French headquarters at Quebec. But the authorities at Louisbourg and Quebec soon perceived the great blunder they had made in ceding Acadie to the English. They had cut themselves off from all communication with the Acadians at Beau-bassin, Annapolis and Minas, and had closed their interior route by the River St. John to Quebec. They then

set up a claim to all Acadia outside the peninsula, and by opening a trail of some ten miles in length north of the Isthmus, extending from Bay Verte to Chiegnecto, they relieved themselves from the inconveniences we have mentioned which adherence to the treaty would have imposed upon them. Soon an active trade sprung up between Isle Royale and the Acadian settlements on the peninsula. The Acadians supplied the French at Louisbourg with all kinds of provisions for their army and navy at that station. In time of war, even, they furnished ample supplies to the French, while, at the same time, refusing to sell to the English on any terms. Louisbourg, for half a century after it was founded, was the focus of intrigue and the centre of aggression against Nova Scotia.

Let us now consider, for a moment, the condition of the peninsula itself at the time. The only settlements then existing in it, were in the Valley of the Annapolis, and along the margin of the tidal waters on the Bays of Funday and Chiegnecto, on the Basin of Minas, and the affluents of the Bays and Basin. Within this whole stretch of country, extending from the head of Cobequid Bay to Annapolis, a distance of over 150 miles, not an English settler was to be found. No man of the race ventured, or was permitted by the Acadians, to settle among them. The fort at Annapolis, on the western edge of this great tract, was a mere encampment on the coast of an enemy's country. The Government at Annapolis were powerless beyond the range of the fort guns, and not very powerful within that range, as we shall see by and by.

For many long years the struggle in North America between the French and the English, extended all along the undefined line of the frontier Provinces, stretching from the seaboard westwardly towards the Susquehanna. Not a town or a village, scarcely a hamlet, on the English side of this extended frontier, but had, at one time or other, been the scene of some tragic event. Now a horde of savages, led or accompanied by a French or Canadian officer, fell upon a village or hamlet, set fire to the houses, slaughtered and scalped the inmates, men, women, and children, and left the place a scene of utter desolation. Again a different horde, less merciful than the other, made prisoners of those they surprised, carried them off to their forest homes, and there subjected them to every torture which the most fiendish malignity could suggest. Outrages like these

perpetrated all over the frontier settlements, intensified the exasperation between the two races.

We shall not at present deal with what may be called the internal difficulties of the Province, that is to say, those relating to the refusal of the Acadians to assume the status of British subjects, by taking an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign. These may be treated of more conveniently by themselves. We shall first narrate the incidents affecting the Province, arising from the state of feeling, existing outside of it, all over North America, between English and French.

In 1744, the long peace, or rather the long nominal peace, which had existed between the two crowns since the treaty of Utrecht, came to an end. Early in that year France declared war against England. This was soon met by a counter declaration. The French acted promptly. They sent a swift vessel across the Atlantic with news of the declaration. She arrived in Louisbourg some time before it was known in the Provinces that war had broken out. The Government of Isle Royale seized the opportunity at once to despatch an expedition against Nova Scotia. The plan was to surprise and carry a small block house at Canseau, built for the protection of British fishermen on the coast, and garrisoned by eighty men, then to proceed to Annapolis, and to take the fort at that place.

The block house, which was quite indefensible, surrendered at the first summons. It was burnt, and the garrison sent to Louisbourg as prisoners of war. A series of blunders, on the part of Duvivier, the commander of the French expedition, prevented the success of the attack on Annapolis during that season. But the people of New England were well assured that the French would renew their attempt in the following year, and if they should succeed, as it was feared they might, the effect would be to shift the border ground between the two countries to their own immediate neighborhood. They therefore began to think that as a measure of self-defence, they must carry the war into the enemy's country. In this feeling originated the expedition undertaken in 1745, against the capital of Isle Royale. It was put under the command of Mr. Pepperal, a New England merchant, who had had no experience in war. Just as little had the soldiers themselves, but, if they were

without experience, they had, at all events, wrongs to avenge, and an enthusiasm that quailed at nothing. The expedition had the air of a crusade. The Evangelist Whitfield, who was in New England at the time, and who shared the enthusiasm of those around him, contributed a motto for the expedition. It ran thus :

Nil desperandum, Christo duce.

Nothing hopeless where Jesus leads.

It was not a cheery motto. It intimated doubt of the undertaking from a mere human point of view. It was a confession of failure, but for Divine assistance. It suggested the necessity of a miracle to ensure success. Humanly speaking, the expedition could not have succeeded. But it did succeed. A series of fortunate, shall we say, of providential, events occurred. The weather favored them. The ice on the coast of Cape Breton favored them. The lucky capture at Canseau, of a French brig from Martinique, bound for Louisbourg, and unable, from the ice, to make her port of destination, favoured them. And last of all, Commodore Warren, with four English war ships, who had at first refused to have anything to do with so hopeless an expedition, arrived at Canseau just in time to take part in it.

It was a glorious success. It showed that Providence is not always on the side of the big battalions. It proved that, in a righteous cause, a body of rustics and artizans, under a general ignorant of war might, *Christo duce*, prevail against veteran soldiers, though protected by a fort supposed to be impregnable, and possessing all the military appliances accumulated by the continuous labor of five and twenty years, and the expenditure of thirty millions of francs. No wonder that the Provincials were jubilant over their splendid exploit, or that the British Provinces received the news with shouts of joy and triumph. If the capture of Louisbourg was not a miracle, it had at least more of the marvellous about it than many of the miracles we read of. For the three years following the capture, New England had comparative repose from French aggression. When, however, peace came in 1748, the British King, to the intense disgust of the Provincials who had lavished their blood and treasure on the capture—to the disgust also of the mass of the English people, coolly handed back Cape Breton and its stronghold to their old masters. It was a terrible mistake. The Ministry were not long in finding this out, and by way of remedy for the ignominious

surrender of the great prize won by the Provincials, they determined on a policy to put the affairs of Nova Scotia on a better footing.

The time had come when it was necessary to abandon the Province altogether, and so open New England to French inroads, or else to take some steps to make it really British. We had now been in possession of the country for over forty years, and there was not in it a single British settlement. For we cannot call the garrison at Annapolis, or that of the Block House at Canseau, a settlement. The Acadians occupied all the cultivated, and most of what was then considered the cultivable, land in the Province. If they had been left to themselves they would have prospered beyond any other colony of their race on this side of the Atlantic. They were possessed of lands of inexhaustible fertility, than which there were none better, if any so good, in all the Canada of that day. The annals of the world contain no instance of a conquered people treated with such generosity and kindness. They were allowed to remain in full possession of their lands and homes. They governed themselves in their villages as they thought fit. They did no labor or duty for the Government, and were not asked to do any. For forty long years they had not paid, nor had they been asked to pay, a farthing into the Provincial Treasury. They worshipped God in their own way, enjoyed all the privileges of their own religious creed, and their priests were subject to no restriction other than that they should not use their position to propagate sedition and disloyalty among their flocks. Indeed, so exceptionally kind was the British treatment of the Acadians, that a French officer, writing from Louisbourg in 1750, cites a number of ways in which the Acadians had been specially indulged. He says "the English had left them an appearance of liberty so entire, that they would take no notice of their disputes, not even of their crimes. That they had passed over the contemptuous refusal of the Acadians to accept new grants, that had been offered them, of the lands that they lived on." He gives several other instances of British leniency, and he can account for proceedings so much at variance with what would take place under a French administration, only by supposing it to be a scheme, having in view the conquest of Canada, to give the French an example of the mildness of the administration of Government by the English. We might, from the language already

quoted, conclude that the letter was a panegyric on the English, written by a friend, but a little further on the writer displays his real feelings by inveighing against the British as "that cruel nation." We may, therefore, safely take all he says as the testimony of an adverse witness, confirming the statements we have made above, as to the extreme kindness with which the Acadians were treated by the officers administering the government of Nova Scotia. Never was there a people in a more happy position, "*O nimium fortunati, bona si sua nōrint!*"

Why was it then that the Acadians refused to be conciliated? Left to themselves, the treatment they received, so glowingly described in the French officer's letter, would have produced its natural effect. But they were not left to themselves. The French Government made it their special policy that the Acadians should not become loyal British subjects, and they took care to use the most effective means of promoting that object. They sent a number of French priests to Nova Scotia, who were paid to use their religious positions to instil seditious principles into the minds of the ignorant and credulous Acadians. They used these hirelings to persuade the poor people that they were still the subjects of the King of France, and that they would imperil their salvation, if they were to swear allegiance to their lawful sovereign. Happy it would have been for the Acadians if their priests had been of any other race. Those that were stationed among them or, at least, some of them, as we shall presently have occasion to see, subordinated their spiritual to their political functions, and did things from which honest laymen would have shrunk with horror.

After the peace of 1748, the British Government, to allay the feeling arising from the ignominious surrender of Louisbourg, and to meet the state of things then existing in the Province, resolved on a new policy. The cession of Louisbourg was, in fact, the cession of Nova Scotia, unless something could be done to increase the strength of the Provincial Government. Annapolis, pitted against Louisbourg, was a pigmy against a giant. It was resolved therefore to form a settlement in some convenient part of the Province, within an easy distance of the French inhabitants, and there to build a fort, and place in it a garrison strong enough to repel hostile attack and to protect settlers in the cultivation of the soil. On the southern coast

of this Province, half way between Canseau on the east, and Cape Sable on the west, lay the splendid harbour of Chebuctou, already well known to the French in connection with the disaster that had befallen the expedition of the Duke D'Anville, sent out three years before to recapture Louisbourg, to take Annapolis, and to burn Boston. Around the harbor all was virgin forest. The place was a centre as regards the Atlantic coast. It was also a centre from which the French settlements in the interior could be reached, by a road cut through the forest from Chebuctou Harbor to the Basin of Minas. A strong garrison at Chebuctou would, at one and the same time, protect the English on the seaboard and overawe the Acadians in the interior. Accordingly Halifax was built as a counterpoise to Louisbourg. It has the distinction of being the only city in this Dominion, which owes its origin entirely to political, as apart from commercial, considerations. Had the soil in the neighborhood been on a par with the excellence of the harbor, and the convenience of its geographical position: had the land around equalled in fertility any part of the fine country on which the Acadians had settled and flourished, an agricultural community would have sprung up at once around the new town. But, unfortunately, it turned out, when the trees were removed, that little but rock was found beneath, so that, for years to come, the settlers, instead of being able to provide for their own wants, and those of the garrison, by the produce of their farms, had actually to be victualled at the expense of the Imperial Government, or else to earn a scanty living by labor on the public works.

But if a fort at Halifax gave protection to the new settlers, and added to the power of the Government of the Province, it became, for these very reasons, an object of dread and dislike to the Acadians, and to the French of Isle Royale. The project of the Chebuctou settlement was first made public by a notice inserted by the Lords of Trade and Plantations in the London *Gazette*, in March, 1755. Action followed immediately. By the 21st June, Governor Cornwallis arrived in this harbour with over 4,000 people, brought out to form the new settlement. They were soon landed, and the men put to work to clear the ground, to lay out streets, to erect buildings, and to palisade the town. Operations on this large scale, greatly alarmed the French of Louisbourg and Quebec,

and their agents in the peninsula. The most vigorous and active of the French emissaries in the Province at the time was the Abbé Le Loutre. So soon as he saw the new settlers at work, he sent three of his Micmac Indians to Quebec with a letter to the Marquis de La Jonquière, then Governor-General of New France, to concert plans for the destruction of the new settlements. La Jonquière had been stationed for some years as Intendant at Louisbourg, and there had made the acquaintance of Le Loutre, with whom he had had much intercourse. La Jonquière it was, that three years before this date, had conducted back from this harbor to France the shattered remains of the Duke D'Anville's fleet, after a vain attempt to reach Annapolis before leaving this side of the Atlantic. He could, therefore, from personal knowledge of the locality, judge how dangerous to French influence in the Province would be the establishment of a new town and fort at Chebuctou. The contents of Le Loutre's letter, the conference of the Indians with La Jonquière, and his reply to Le Loutre, we shall have occasion to mention presently. But we must pause for a moment to give some account of a man who had more to do than any other one person, with bringing about the events which ended in the deportation of the Acadians. His name should be held in horror, quite as much by the descendants of the poor Acadians, whom he deluded and abandoned, as it always has been by men of the race whom it was the aim of his life to drive out of the Province. In what we have to say of him and his coadjutors, we shall deal with them as men, not as Roman Catholics, still less as priests. It is quite true that they would have been comparatively harmless as laymen. It was their sacred calling which gave them the influence with the Acadians which they constantly used, and so fearfully abused. We cannot condone in a priest, a crime that we should denounce in a layman. The truth of history requires us to speak of things as they were, whether the actor be lay or clerical.

In 1740 Paul Mascarene, President of the Council at Annapolis, was administering the Government of Nova Scotia. Mascarene was by birth a Frenchman, the son of a Protestant who had escaped from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, leaving Paul at the old home under the charge of his grandmother. This lady sent the lad, when he was 12 years old, to Geneva, where he was educated.

In early manhood the youth went to England to reside. There he was naturalized, and subsequently entered the British army, attaining the rank of Captain in 1710. When the expedition against Port Royal was fitted out in that year, Mascarene was ordered to join it. He was present at the capture of that place, and remained there from that time on, with the exception of a temporary absence at Placentia, in Newfoundland. He was a member of the first Nova Scotia Council, formed by Governor Philips in 1720. He continued a member of that body till 1749, when he was named by Governor Cornwallis the first on the list of the Halifax Council, formed in that year. By 1740 Mascarene had become the oldest member of the Annapolis Council, and, as such, was administering the Government in the absence of General Philips, who was Governor for over thirty-two years, spending most of his time in England, reserving for himself the emoluments, but leaving to his deputies the duties, of the office.

Mascarene was a man of good intelligence, of easy and courteous manners, mild and gentle in temperament, and well versed in both the languages, which were indispensable in his position as English Governor of a French people. Towards the close of 1740, Mascarene received a visit from the Revd. Joseph Louis Le Loutre, who had just arrived in Nova Scotia, as Roman Catholic missionary to the Micmacs. That gentleman, who was a Frenchman by birth, had been sent out to Canada three years previously by the French Society of Foreign Missions. On his arrival in Nova Scotia he called on Mascarene. The interview seems to have been very satisfactory to the administrator, who writes that Le Loutre "promised him to do his utmost to maintain peace and good order in the Province, and to keep the people in the submission they owed to the Government to which they had sworn allegiance, and under which they enjoyed their possessions, and the full exercise of their religion." So favorable was the impression produced on Mascarene by the address and the promises of the new priest, that on the following New Year's day he wrote to Le Loutre, wishing him the compliments of the season, and expressing the great esteem he had conceived for him, in consequence of the promises made at the recent interview. Mascarene was delighted to find in the new comer a priest of a different type from that with which an experience of thirty years had made him only too familiar.

But he had not long to wait to have his illusions on this point rudely dispelled.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, the French Acadians were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, so far as the laws of England would permit. Before the cession, the Province was in the diocese of Quebec, and naturally, then and afterward, received their priests from that diocese.

The Micmacs were a tribe of Nova Scotia Indians, inhabiting the Peninsula and the sea coast of what is now New Brunswick. Le Loutre's general residence was at Beaubassin (now Fort Lawrence) on the Bay of Chiegnecto, but he spent much of his time with a band of his Indians, living on the Shubenacadie, a little above the mouth of the Stewiacke. Of this band, the chief was one Jean Baptiste Cope, of whom we shall hear more anon. The water route from Beaubassin to Halifax was first down the Chiegnecto Bay to the Bay of Funday; thence upward to the Basin of Minas, and on to the mouth of the Shubenacadie; thence by that river, and the lakes that empty into it, to within a couple of miles of this harbour. The Indian settlement on the Shubenacadie was therefore a place of great strategic importance. It commanded the water route between all the Acadian settlements and the new capital, at a time when there was no communication by land except through the unbroken forest. Within three years from the date of the interview we have mentioned between the Governor and the priest, Mascarene was called upon to revise his opinion of his clerical friend. In 1743 Le Loutre, at the head of a band of Indians, made an attack on the fort at Annapolis. The attack failed, but not without some loss of life on the part of the garrison. From this time onwards, the despatches of the British Governors teem with notices of the attempts of Le Loutre to stir up the Acadians and savages to mischief and bloodshed. He proved to be the most inveterate of the foes of English authority.

We have mentioned that shortly after Cornwallis had begun his work at Halifax, Le Loutre had despatched three of his Indians to Quebec with a letter to La Jonquière, the Governor-General. The letter was written from Louisbourg, and bore date the 29th July, 1749. He writes, he says, in consequence of having been required by the Count de Maurepas to keep the French authorities informed of

what was going on in the Province. He reports that Cornwallis had arrived with troops and settlers, and had begun work at Halifax, and that it was the intention of the new Governor to cut a road through the woods from Halifax to Minas, to build a fort there, and afterwards, one at Beaubassin. He goes on to say :

“The inhabitants are in a state of perfect consternation. They see nothing before them but to be made English for life and English in religion or else to abandon their country. I have seen M. Desherbiers, M. Bigot and M. Perrott (the French authorities at Louisbourg). They have promised me every assistance to keep the Indians in the religion and the fidelity they owe to His Majesty. I am therefore going to Acadie. I will do my best to collect my Indians, and, as we are not free to oppose openly the English enterprise, I think nothing better can be done than to excite the savages to go to war with the English. I intend to make the Indians tell the English that they will permit no more settlement in Acadie. That the country must remain as it was before the war, and that if the English persist in their designs the Indians will never be at peace with them, but will declare everlasting war against them. My Indians will then send deputies to other tribes to invite them to join in opposing the enterprises of the English, and to prevent them from forming settlements.”

After this frank statement Le Loutre winds up as follows :

“These, Monsiegnur, are the steps I intend to take for the good of the state and of religion, and I shall do my best to make it appear to the English that the project originated with the Indians, and that I had nothing to do with it.”

It will be recollected that at this time the two nations were at peace. The ink was hardly dry on the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which ceded to England Acadie and all the lands of the subjects of the King of France therein, and this is the time selected by Le Loutre to make an avowal of his villainous intentions. These would horrify us if made by a layman, but coming from a man in holy orders, they fairly take our breath away. Here is an agent of a friendly government, himself a clergyman, declaring that he intends to incite his flock to robbery and murder, to take the lives and destroy the property of innocent

Englishmen, for no other cause than that of settling in their own country ; and to crown all, he, the real criminal, was to strut about in the garb of innocence, while his poor tools were, by a lie of his invention, to take on themselves the blame of the crimes of which he was the author. Other men there may have been, who could make such an avowal, but we think there are few who, after doing so, would have the effrontery to say that all this "was for the good of religion." This letter justifies the remark of a French writer of the day, who said : "The Abbè Le Loutre sports with religion."

Now let us turn to La Jonquière, to whom this precious epistle was addressed. To him the contents seemed so interesting and important, that he immediately transmitted to the minister at Paris a copy of the letter, accompanied by a copious commentary on the different clauses, and at the same time gives the details of his conferences with Le Loutre's three Indians. He says :—

"I did not care to give the Indians any advice upon the matter, but confined myself to a promise, that I would on no account abandon them, and I have provided for supplying them with arms, ammunition, food, and other necessaries. It is to be desired that these savages should proceed in thwarting the designs of the English and ruining their settlement at Halifax. They are bent on doing so, and, if they can carry out their plans, it is certain that they will give the English great trouble, and so harass them that they will be a great obstacle in their path. These savages are to act alone. No soldier or French inhabitant is to join them. Everything will be done of their own motion, and without shewing that I had any hand in the matter."

The Governor was an apt pupil of the priest. While almost his equal in candor, he was his superior in hypocrisy. He could not say what the Indians ought to do, but in whatever they did he would back them up. He would take no part in the matter ; only he would give them money and arms, and provisions, and all other necessaries. Like Le Loutre, however, he was not to be known in the matter. The Indians were quite at liberty to use his arms, his ammunition, his provisions, his munitions of war, in the robbery and murder of innocent men ; they might, with his aid, scalp or kill any Englishman they came across ; but it must be understood that he was only a sleeping partner. Complicity was one thing, detection quite

another. He was willing to be guilty, but declined to be convicted.

But there are other parts of La Jonquière's letter well worthy of attention. He says: "It will be the missionaries that will manage all the negotiations, and direct the movements of the savages, who are in excellent hands, as the Revd. Father Germain, and the Abbè Le Loutre, are very capable of making the most of them." "They will manage the intrigue in such a way as not to appear in it."

Did ever any other men in holy orders receive such a certificate of character? It is written by an official of their own race and creed, who had ample opportunities of knowing these worthies. We are bound to say that the certificate is the only little bit of truth in La Jonquière's letter.

Le Loutre scarcely waited for the return of his Indians from Quebec to begin operations. He was determined there should be no failure on his part to carry out the plan he had suggested. The Shubenacadie savages were immediately set on to prowl about the English settlement, and pounce upon every man that was found outside of the pickets, in quest of wood or water, or any other necessary purpose. Some thousand settlers could hardly, by the strictest discipline, be kept cooped up within the small space enclosed by the palisades, and every one that ventured, for a moment, to breathe the fresh air beyond, was liable to be murdered and scalped by the prowling savages set on by Le Loutre.

All these proceedings were duly reported to the authorities at Louisbourg and Quebec, and received their sanction. In the case of the letter to La Jonquière, the information was not confined to the authorities, nor even to the Minister at Paris. This letter, and the Governor's comments on it, were in due course submitted by the Minister to the King himself. So far from disapproving of what his agents on this side of the water were doing, it appears by a dispatch from the Minister to the Governor of Isle Royale that, "His Majesty was well satisfied with what had been done to thwart the English at Halifax, and trusts that the Governor will succeed in so harassing the settlers, that some of them will become disheartened," and the minister promises money and supplies, and sends twelve medals to be given to the chiefs who shall have most distinguished themselves. "But," adds the minister, with the duplicity which distinguishes every actor in this drama, from

sovereign to savage, "But treat the English authorities with great politeness"; murder and scalp as many settlers as you please, but be sure you put on a fair face to the authorities. If it were not that the documents are to the fore, in the public records of France, we could hardly believe that statesmen, even of that age, could, under their own hands, declare themselves so callous to every sense of truth, candour and common honesty.

But La Jonquière seems to have made a specialty of deception. A year or two later on, Governor Cornwallis wrote to him in reference to some ill-treatment of Englishmen captured by the Indians and carried off to Quebec. In the course of his letter he took occasion to say that he thought the savages would not carry on such raids unless they were encouraged by the French authorities. La Jonquière fires up at the suggestion. He says in his reply :

"I am not surprised that you ask to have the prisoners returned, but I am surprised, beyond measure, that you should suppose the French and the Governors of Three Rivers, had any hand in setting the savages on to commit such hostile acts. You ought to do more justice to the French nation. Rest assured that, far from exciting the Indians against the English, I do my utmost to keep them at peace with you. In short, sir, I should be exceedingly sorry not to concur with you in promoting union and a good understanding between the subjects of the two Governments. I have come here with that purpose, and I shall not flinch from it. I beg you to do the same thing on your part so that we may enjoy the sweets of tranquility and peace."

If La Jonquière could have forseen that after the lapse of a century and more, his letters to the minister, and to Cornwallis, would be disinterred from their tomb in the French archives, and placed side by side, he would probably have moderated the language of both, but as the matter stands, his personal honor and his regard for truth must with posterity rest on a level with the wretched man whose suggestions and crimes he adopted and made his own.

Le Loutre kept up his nefarious work near Halifax for the next year or two after the settlement was founded. In 1752 there was some cessation in his activity. In that year he sent his Shubenacadie chief, Jean Baptiste Cope, to Halifax, with a body of Indians under

pretense of making a treaty of peace with the Governor. The Indians were received by Col. Hopson (who had succeeded Cornwallis), with great ceremony, were feasted and well treated. They then entered into a solemn treaty of peace, and were afterwards dismissed to their homes with presents. Next year they returned to Halifax, under the same chief, received their presents, and, as a special favor, were sent to one of our western harbors in a schooner. On their way they seized the schooner, and murdered the crew. The scalps of course were secured, and for these, or for the scalps of some eighteen other Englishmen murdered about the same time, Le Loutre paid his friend Cope 1800 livres, being at the rate of 100 livres each. The money, provided by the French Treasury, was paid at Louisbourg on the demand of Le Loutre, to go to the Indians as a reward for "their services, to religion, and the state!"

Beaubassin was an Acadian settlement in the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, on this side of the Missiquash. The English title was undisputed. Le Loutre spent some time there in 1750, fomenting disturbances among the people. Major Lawrence was sent up during the summer with a body of troops to quell the disorders. Le Loutre was on the spot at the time. Seeing that the force under Lawrence was likely to bring the people under British influence, he determined on vigorous measures to prevent that result. With the aid of his Micmacs, and some of his deluded Acadians from beyond the river, he perpetrated terrible outrages. With his own hand he set fire to the Roman Catholic Church in the village; with the aid of his followers he burned 140 of the houses of the habitants, with a view to deprive them of shelter, and so compel them to cross the river and join the French on the other side. Soon after this, Lawrence returned with his troops to Halifax. But in the autumn of the same year, new disturbances having arisen, he was sent back again with a force of 700 men in 17 small vessels. He landed at the same spot as in the spring. Le Loutre was ready for him. He had thrown up a breast work on the shore at the landing place, and manned it with Indians, and with Acadians disguised as Indians. These were led on by two of Le Loutre's priests, disciplined in his school, Father Germain and La Horne. The first of these held, as we have seen, a certificate of character from La Jonquière. The second was less distinguished for missionary

services, but was no doubt ambitious to earn similar credentials. The intrenchment was soon forced, and the enemy driven over the River. Lawrence then set to work to build a fort to keep the villagers under control. Some houses had escaped being burnt in the spring. The inhabitants of these were visited by the Micmacs, and told that they must move over the River. If they stayed where they were they would be killed. Some crossed the Missiquash, others fled. Then Le Loutre adopted his old tactics. Every house was burned to the ground—every barn and outhouse. Provisions of all kinds were destroyed. He left the Acadians neither food nor shelter. The wretched creatures had no choice but to cross the Missiquash and join the French.

The fort built by Major Lawrence was called after his name. Here an act of gross treachery was committed which, at the time, was charged on Le Loutre by his countrymen. What we know of that person is bad enough to make us think him capable of any atrocity. Capt. Edward How was serving in the fort under Major Lawrence. How had been a member of Mascarene's council at Annapolis. On the removal of the seat of Government to Halifax he had become one of Cornwallis' first council. He was a man of parts, had pleasing manners, and a good address. He spoke French fluently. He was thus able to mix freely with the Acadians, among whom he acquired considerable influence. He was thus somewhat in Le Loutre's way, and the priest was supposed to look upon him with a jealous eye. Be that as it may, one morning about eight o'clock the watchman on duty at the fort saw a person on the far side of the Missiquash approaching the river, carrying a white flag. This was the usual mode of opening a communication between the French beyond the Missiquash and the English on this side. The bearer of the flag wore the uniform of a French officer, and was supposed to be asking a parley.

On the French side of the River, close to its edge, was a high dyke, built to shut out the tide. Major Lawrence sent How, with some other officers from the fort, to see what was wanted by the French. How carried a white flag. He proceeded towards the river. Just as he had come within speaking distance, a body of Indians, who had been concealed behind the dyke on the other side of the river, rose up and fired a volley at the bearer of the flag.

How was shot through the heart, and fell dead on the spot. It turned out that the pretended French officer, the bearer of the French flag, was no other than Jean Baptiste Cope (the same man whom Le Loutre had recently paid for the 18 English scalps) and that the Indians had come behind the dyke and hidden themselves there during the night, lying unseen from the opposite shore, concealed by the embankment. The regular officers of the French troops stationed beyond the Missiquash were indignant at the foul act, and charged it on Le Loutre. Whether they were right or not, the charge shews what they thought of him, who knew him best.

With these revelations of the acts and character of the prime mover in the Acadian troubles, we need not be surprised at the contents of the despatches sent to England by every Governor holding office at or after the time of Le Loutre's arrival—by Mascarene, by Cornwallis, by Hopson, by Lawrence. They teem with charges against Le Loutre. The Governors were sure that these charges were well founded. Wherever Le Loutre went, disturbances followed. The movements of Le Loutre could be traced by them. Still, it would have been difficult to furnish formal proof of his guilt. The only possible witnesses were either Acadians or Indians, but neither Acadians or Indians would care, or possibly dare, to testify against the keeper of their consciences. If we had no other evidence than these dispatches we should have been bound to receive it with reserve. We might fairly enough regard the Governors as in some measure parties in the contest; at all events too much interested to command implicit credence for everything they stated. Without doubting their wish to tell the truth fairly and honestly, we might suppose them to have been misinformed, or at all events mistaken. How could we believe on a mere *ex-parte* statement, that a professor of religion, a priest of a Christian Church, a dignitary of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, could be guilty of acts worthy only of a savage? How could we suppose that such a man would stoop to play on the brutal instincts of the Indians, or the credulous superstition of the Acadians, to excite them to violence and crime, to robbery, arson, and murder? But the truth of these charges no longer rests on the assertions of the English authorities. Le Loutre has himself, under his own hand, in documents still in existence, furnished the proof that he was the monster

of iniquity the Governor believed him to be. Well might his ecclesiastical superior, the Bishop of Quebec, reproach him for what he was doing. That prelate had long since foreseen and foretold what would be the outcome of Le Loutre's meddling in the affairs of the Acadians.

"I reminded you long ago," says he, "that a priest ought not to meddle with temporal affairs, and that if he did so, he would always create enemies, and cause his people to be discontented." "Is it right," he adds, "for you to threaten that they shall be deprived of the services of a priest, and that the savages shall treat them as enemies?" Not right, we should certainly say, but what comparison is there between the things he was reproached for, and others that he did? Withholding priests, refusing sacraments, threatening with the enmity of savages, were trifles compared with other branches of his practice. What may we suppose would have been the character of the good Bishop's reproof, if he had known that his vicar-general in Acadia was a trader in the scalps of innocent men slain by his procurement?

We have as yet dealt mainly with the savages and their missionary. The Acadians themselves claimed to be neutral in any contests between French and English, or between Indians and English. Had they been really so, they would have deserved greater pity for the misfortunes which afterwards befell them. But, in truth, they were not neutral. In every hostile enterprise against the Province, some of their number took part in the fray, and always on the side of the enemy. When Le Loutre first suggested the raids on Halifax, it will be recollected that he was prudent enough to recommend that they should be conducted by savages only. But a year's experience convinced him that it was necessary to change this policy. Thenceforth the Indians were always accompanied or led by Acadians. La Jonquière, who had to report the proceedings to the Minister at Paris, says "that with a view to the savages acting with more courage, it was arranged that some Acadians dressed and painted as savages should join them to secure success. I cannot," he says, "refuse to consent to what these savages wish to do, since we have our hands tied, and therefore can do nothing ourselves. Besides, I cannot see that any harm can come of allowing the Acadians to mix with the savages, because if they should be caught we shall say they

acted on their own account." What a picture for a statesman to draw of himself! He was willing the Acadians should be excited to treason and rebellion. He was willing to pay them, to arm them, to provision them, but there he drew the line. If the poor dupes should be caught, there was no harm done. They might be hanged or shot; that was all. As for any complicity with them, he was ready with a lie prepared beforehand. He would say, "they acted on their own account."

There can be no doubt that the sympathies of the Acadians were entirely with the French and Indians. Were we to go into details of every conflict which took place between these parties and the English, for forty years, we should find that there was scarce an instance in which numbers of the Acadians were not found taking an active part with the enemy; while the great body of them, though not appearing openly in the enemy's ranks, contributed information or furnished supplies. Every scalping party of Indians, returning from a raid upon English settlers, was always sure of a welcome, and of a safe asylum among sympathizing Acadians. A French force in the Province could always count upon recruits for their ranks. Such a force might encamp, and such a force did encamp, for weeks, in the heart of the Province, and no Acadian would convey the news to Annapolis. Indeed, this people disclaimed any obligation to warn the English of any invasion, or hostile proceedings, either of French or of Indians.

This leads me to another branch of the subject. As yet I have referred to it only incidentally, but it is so closely connected with the final catastrophe, that it requires a more detailed treatment. I allude to the question touching the oath of allegiance, which, for over forty years, was a bone of contention between the British Governors and the Acadian people.

When Port Royal capitulated to General Nicholson, it was stipulated in the articles of surrender, that the inhabitants of the *ban lieue* (being a circle of three miles radius around the fort as a centre) should be allowed, on taking the oath of allegiance and fidelity, to remain on their lands, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, for two years, if not desirous of removing sooner. There were, at the time, within this space, 481 inhabitants. Most of them availed themselves of the privilege of remaining. They took the oath of

allegiance, without qualification of any kind. But within a year from that date, they all moved their effects beyond the *ban lieue*, and joined a body of Indians, led by the Revd. Father Gaulin, in an attack on the fort. They gave notice at the time to Colonel Vetch, the Governor, that they considered themselves absolved from their oath, in consequence of his having (according to them) violated to their prejudice, the articles of capitulation. This rebellion extinguished any rights the capitulation gave them, and indeed, the time named in the articles expired before the war closed. We may, therefore, leave out of the discussion of the oath question, any provision contained in these articles.

The war lingered on till 1712. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon in the summer of that year. In the spring following the war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Utrecht, which was signed on the 11th of April, 1713.

The 12th clause of that Treaty is in the following words :

“The subjects of the King of France may have liberty to move themselves within a year to any other place, with their moveable effects, but those who are willing to remain, and be subject to the King of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usages of the Church of Rome, so far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same.”

This clause is silent on the subject of the lands occupied by the Acadians, but, by another clause, the most Christian King cedes to the King of Great Britain all the rights therein which he or any of his subjects had. The demand for so liberal a provision as regards religion, came with bad grace from the French King. At the very time he was stipulating for this indulgence to Roman Catholics, large numbers of his own subjects in France were undergoing punishment as galley slaves, for no other crime than that of being Protestants. The Ministers of the Queen felt ashamed to advise the granting of such privileges to Roman Catholics in a British Province, without making some effort in favor of their fellow Protestants undergoing, in France, such cruel and ignominious treatment. It would seem, therefore, that immediately after the treaty was signed, negotiations with that view were opened with France. The French King was urged to release his Protestant galley slaves. He declined to do so without an equivalent. This consisted of an additional boon granted

to the Acadians. They were to have leave (which the treaty did not give them) to remain on their lands, if they chose to do so, or, if they preferred to leave the Province, they were allowed to sell their interest in the lands. On the completion of this arrangement, Lord Dartmouth forwarded to General Nicholson, a letter bearing the Queen's signature, couched in the words following :

“Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas our good brother, the most Christian King, hath at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys, such of his subjects as are detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion, we, being willing to show by some mark of our favor towards his subjects, how kindly we take his compliance therein, have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under our Government in Acadia or Newfoundland, that have been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late treaty of peace, and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements, without any molestation, as fully and freely as other of our subjects do, or may possess their lands or estate, or to sell the same, if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Kensington, this 23rd day of June, A. D. 1713, and in the twelfth year of our Reign.”

This letter varies the treaty in one respect, and in one only, and that is, as regards the lands of the Acadians. The permission to leave the Province ; that of taking with them their personal effects ; the provision for religion ; the liberty to stay in the Province if they chose ; and the period within which they were to make their choice of going or remaining—all these things are regulated by the treaty. The letter in no respect qualifies any one of these provisions. It merely adds to what is contained in the treaty, the additional privilege of retaining possession of their lands if they remained, or of selling their interest if they left.

Some writers pretend that the letter of Queen Anne was an indefinite extension of the privileges granted. Nothing can be more unfounded. The letter cancelled nothing that the treaty contained. It merely added to the privileges conceded by that instrument, one further privilege in respect of a matter on which the treaty was silent.

In the latter part of the summer of 1714, the year subsequent to the date of the treaty, M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan, Governor of Isle Royale, sent two of his officers, Capt. de la Ronde Denys and Capt. de Pensens, to Annapolis to make arrangements with Gen. Nicholson in respect of the 12th clause of the treaty, the language of which we have quoted above. The commissioners reached Annapolis in August, and on the 13th day of that month presented a memorial to the Governor, asking him, among other things, to summon meetings of the inhabitants, in their different villages, to hear the proposals the commissioners were authorized to make on behalf of the French King, and to ascertain from them whether they wished to remain in the Province or to leave it. General Nicholson acted promptly. He issued a summons that very day to the inhabitants on the River, calling on them to assemble for the purpose. Major Mascarene, with one of the French officers, repaired to the settlement with the summons. It happened to be the fête day of St. Louis, and the inhabitants were at their devotions in the Church. After service the summons was read and explained. The people determined to hold their meeting forthwith. They repaired at once to the fort. There the French officers, by permission of the General, in his presence, and in that of the Revd. Fathers Gaulin, Justinian and Bonaventure, stated the proposals which the King of France had authorized them to make to the Acadians, in case they should decide to leave the Province and settle in the French dominions. These were, that the King would receive them there, would give them lands to settle on, to be held not as in Nova Scotia, under seigneurs, but directly from the crown—that he would furnish all necessary transport for them, their families and effects, to take them to Isle Royale—that to such of them as required it, he would furnish a year's provision, and would exempt all persons, who should settle in Isle Royale and carry on business there, from duties of any kind for a period of ten years.

The people had been prepared by the Priests for these offers, which were certainly very generous. They at once testified their willingness to accept them. The meeting then, by permission of the Governor, adjourned to the house occupied by one of the French Commissioners. There a document was drawn up by the officer, and signed by the several heads of families.

In it the subscribers say that being satisfied, on the one hand, with the negotiations of the Commissioners, and on the other, with the generosity of the Governor, in leaving them free to choose for themselves, whether they should remain in the country or quit it, they add this clause :

“ On this day, the fête of Saint Louis, in the year 1714, we, with all the joy and satisfaction of which we are capable, give by this writing, signed by us, everlasting proof that we wish to live and die faithful subjects of his most Christian Majesty, and we pledge ourselves to go to Isle Royale and settle there, ourselves and our offspring.”

Similar proceedings took place at Minas a few days later on. There the inhabitants of Minas and Cobequid signed a document in the same words.

The heads of families who subscribed this pledge amounted in number to over 300. Counting five to a family, it represented 1500 souls. The whole population of these three settlements, seven years before that date, numbered only 1212, so that it is evident the entire population with, if any, the most insignificant exception, declared for removal.

The French Commissioners, in their memorial, claimed that the year of grace began with this declaration of the choice of the people. They admitted that only a year was allowed, within which the choice was to be declared, and the removal effected, but they contended, and with good reason, that the time should not begin to run, till the people were called together, and were afforded an opportunity to declare their choice. The Governor acted on this interpretation. Indeed, had he construed the treaty strictly, instead of acting on its spirit, he could have done nothing; for already more than a year had elapsed since the treaty had been signed, more than a year since the Queen's letter had been written.

The fact that the Commissioners contended for no more than a year, is proof conclusive that the understanding of all parties at the time, agreed with the language of the instruments themselves, that the privilege ended at the expiration of a year, whatever might be the date at which the term commenced.

Now that the people had met and come to a decision, nothing remained but to carry it out. For this they relied on the French

Government. They were solemnly promised the necessary transports, but none ever came. A few of the inhabitants accompanied the French Commissioners, on their return to Louisbourg. A further number found their way to Isle Royale in the following summer. But the great bulk of the people remained behind, awaiting the transports that were to be sent from Louisbourg. Had the most Christian King kept his engagement, the poor Acadians would have been spared much of the misery they had to endure many years later on. But the Grand Monarque had done enough for his purpose. He held the written declaration of these poor people of loyalty to their old sovereign. He held their pledge to leave home and country, and settle in the French dominions. He had obtained this pledge, indeed, by promises which he never fulfilled. Perhaps, on further consideration, he may have thought the Acadians as useful to him where they were; probably more useful than if they had removed to the unbroken forests of Isle Royale or St. Jean. On the rich farms of the Nova Scotia valleys, they could raise the corn and the cattle required at Louisbourg. On the other hand, if they settled in either of the French Islands, Islé Royale or St. Jean, it would be many years before they could clear away the trees and break up ground enough to supply their own wants, much less to provide for those of the garrison and citizens of Louisbourg and the fleet on the station. And so these poor people were abandoned till the year of grace expired. They had then to face the difficulties incident to a future, in which their religion, the loyalty they had been made to profess under their hands, and ties of race and blood, all drew in one direction, while there was nothing drawing in the opposite way, unless it might be duty to a sovereign whose subjects they had become by conquest, but who was an alien to them in blood and creed, a king whom they had been taught to hate as a foreigner, and to abhor as a heretic. Such elements of discord did not promise a peaceful future.

As yet, no Acadians had been called upon to take the oath of allegiance since the treaty. But the death of Queen Anne, in 1714, rendered it necessary to tender the oath to the inhabitants. Under the old law of England, before parliament undertook to regulate the succession to the throne, *heir* and *successor* meant the same person, but with the Revolution came in a new doctrine and with it

a change of form. *Heirs* and *successors* were both omitted from the oath, which was one of fidelity to the existing Sovereign. Thenceforth it became necessary to renew it on every succession to the throne. When therefore Queen Anne died, all the inhabitants of the province, English and French alike, were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to George the First, who then ascended the throne. The Acadians excused themselves, on the ground that the year of grace had not yet expired. They further alleged that in the memorial of the French Commissioners to General Nicholson, of which we have spoken above, some things were mentioned which the Governor had referred to the English Court, and they claimed delay until these should be disposed of. In the meantime they were willing to take an oath that while they remained in the Province, they would do nothing adverse to the King's interests, and take no part with the King's enemies, savages or others. The Governor consented to this proposal, and on the 13th January, 1715, an oath to that effect was taken and subscribed by the whole people.

At this time, and indeed for some years following this date, the British Government made no objections to the inhabitants leaving the Province, although the people ceased to have a right under the treaty to do so. But the difficulty arose with themselves. The Acadians who had gone to Isle Royale and Isle St. Jean, had been grievously disappointed. An unbroken forest covered the soil on these Islands. The Acadians had no experience in clearing forest land. They had made their farms by reclaiming land from the tide. This was not possible in their new homes. The emigrants were appalled at the idea of having to hew farms out of the forest—and they soon began to feel the mistake they had made in leaving their old homes in the Peninsula. Tidings of their dissatisfaction soon reached the friends they had left behind. These now began to value their privileges, as possessors of the best land to be found in either the English or the French dominions. Under these circumstances, it would seem they began to doubt the wisdom of their promise to leave the Province, made to the French Commissioners. At all events, the inhabitants of Minas, in 1716, wrote to Mr. Caulfield, the Lieut.-Governor at Annapolis, to inform him that they had resolved to continue in the Province, and were making preparations for improvement as formerly. For the moment they appear to

have accepted the situation. But this state of feeling did not last.

In the next year, 1717, Mr. Caulfield, who had succeeded Mr. Doucette as Lieut.-Governor, reports that he had summoned the people on the Annapolis River to come in and subscribe an oath acknowledging King George to be their lawful sovereign, and promising obedience to him. The answer to this summons is interesting as forming the first record we have in connection with a controversy that lasted so long.

The people of the River say in their reply, that they are but a small part of the inhabitants, and they desire the Lieut.-Governor to assemble the people from all the other colonies (as they called the settlements) of Minas, Beaubassin, and Cobequid, with themselves, to answer the demands made upon them. In the meanwhile they express their willingness to take the required oath, so soon as his Majesty shall provide some means of sheltering them from the savage hordes who were always ready to do all kinds of mischief.

This dread of the savages the Lieut.-Governor considered as mere pretence. He says "the Indians are entirely ruled by the French, who treat them as slaves, that the alleged fear was a mere cloak for disobedience supplied by the Priests, who persuade them that the Pretender will soon be settled in England, and then the Province will fall back into the hands of the French King." All subsequent Governors had the same opinion of this excuse, and their disbelief is justified by many circumstances.

First, the Indians were a mere handful as compared with the Acadians. Men of French blood are not usually cowards, but the Acadians would have been arrant poltroons, if they really felt the fears they were taught to express.

Not only did they exceed the Indians vastly in number, but they were connected with them by many family ties. This was almost a necessity, arising from the mode in which the Province was settled. After the first immigration to La Have, every new accession to the population consisted almost exclusively of males. This occasioned a great disparity in the numbers of the two sexes. The males greatly preponderated. Many men would have had to do without wives, if they had not married Indian women. On the other hand the accidents of savage warfare made great havoc among Indian males, so that among the savages there was a majority of females. What more natural than that the surplus males among the Acadians should seek wives

from the surplus women among the Indians. The offspring of such marriages were called mulattos, of whom our archives show there were large numbers among the early inhabitants of the Province. The best families in the country had this mixture of blood. Such of the descendants of Sir Charles de la Tour as settled in the Province, and many of them did, had Indian blood in their veins. Several of the children of Baron St. Castine became part of the Acadian people. These also were of mixed blood. We may rest assured that an alliance which was considered no discredit to families connected with the gentry and nobility of England and France, would not seem very objectionable to the rank and file of the inhabitants. The idea of the Acadians under these circumstances being prevented from taking the oath by fear of the Indians may readily be dismissed.

On this first occasion of discussing the question of allegiance, there is no pretence of exemption from any of the obligations of iege subjects. They are willing to assume the status and duties of subjects. All they demand is protection from their friends and relatives. The idea of neutrality is not thought of. That is an invention of later date.

Their real reason for not complying with the demand contained in the summons we learn from other quarters. In the very year when the treaty was signed Father Felix Pain, then at Minas, and who continued to officiate there for many years, wrote to the French Governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, on the subject of the feelings and intentions of the Acadians. He says, in language somewhat defiant of the rules of syntax, but still quite intelligible :

“We shall answer for ourselves and for 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 was made against one or other of these two articles of our fidelity, that is to say, as to our king or to our law, that in that case we are ready to quit all rather than violate in the least one or other of these articles.”

And as to their fear of the Indians we want no better evidence than that furnished by Le Loutre himself in long after years, when speaking of the savages, he says : “ The wretches,” as he calls them, “ are very unstable, and are anxious to be at peace with the

English. It was as much as I could do by presents and exhortations to keep them from making a treaty with the authorities at Halifax." If the savages themselves were inclined for peace they were surely not very likely "to cut the throats of the Acadians" for being of the same mind with themselves.

Mr. Caulfield seems to have taken no further steps towards bringing the question of the oaths to a point. General Philips, the Governor, visited the Province in 1719, and next year followed up the proceedings commenced by the Lieut.-Governor. He issued a summons calling on each village to elect deputies to confer with him at Annapolis on the subject of the oath. One copy of the summons he sent to Père Justinian, parish priest at Annapolis River, with an order to read it to his congregation, and then affix it to the church door, that all the people should be informed of what was required. The Revd. Father, it will be recollected, was one of the clergy present at the meeting with the French commissioners in the fort at Annapolis four years before. On receiving the Governor's order, instead of obeying it himself, and using his influence with his people to procure their obedience, he induced a number of his own flock to sign a memorial, addressed to the Governor of Louisbourg. To this he got the signature of people of other parishes, and with the document in his pocket he left home secretly, and repaired to Louisbourg. There he had an interview with St. Ovide, and presented his memorial. It purported to be on behalf of the Acadians generally, and said :

"We have up to the present time preserved the purest sentiments of fidelity towards our invincible monarch." It goes on to state that they had lately been called upon to take the oath of allegiance to King George, or else leave the country and forfeit their property, and concludes as follows: "However, in this pressing emergency we have preserved our fidelity to our King, in declaring anew that we will persist in being faithful to our Prince and our religion."

On this occasion there is no word about fear of the savages. All the talk is of loyalty and religion. Fear does duty as an excuse to the British authorities, it has no place in an address to a French Governor. To him they can say what they really think, and they do not scruple to use words which shew their disloyalty to their

actual sovereign. The two papers are evidently the work of the same hand. It requires no sagacity to discern which of them tells the truth.

We have seen Mr. Doucette's charge against the priests. General Philips, before he took any steps in the matter of the oaths, reiterates the charge. He names particularly Fathers Felix and Vincent, as two of the most rabid enemies of the English. "One of them," he says, "presides as Governor over Minas—the other over Chiegnecto." He declares their sermons to be constant invectives against the English, designed to render the nation "odious in the eyes of the Acadians." "The people pay them a willing obedience, and are grown so insolent as to say they will neither swear allegiance, nor leave the country." In another letter he says, "they have remained in their possessions in contempt of the Government, awaiting the opportunity of a rupture between the two Crowns, to re-establish their former Government, and in the meantime are daily, in secret, inciting the inhabitants to robbery and murder, to the destruction of trade and hindrance of settling the country. They are settled on a fertile soil, and raise great store of corn and cattle, with which, and their furs, they traffic at pleasure with the neighbouring French colonies, and have refused supplies to our garrisons in the greatest necessity."

Of Father Justinian, who was a near neighbour, Governor Philips, who had probably had some intercourse with him, conceived a better opinion. Mr. Doucette had spoken to him favorably of this priest, commending him for his quiet life and entire submission to the Government. Mr. Doucette was probably not aware, for the occurrence took place before his arrival in the Province, that the Rev. Father had, some years before this time, been sent as a prisoner to Boston, with four of his parishioners, for alleged complicity with a body of Acadians in an attack made on a British Commissary sent up the Annapolis River on duty, when the officer was captured, carried into the Forest, and held as a prisoner till he was ransomed by the Governor. Had the General known this fact, and also that, under a submissive and quiet demeanor, there lurked as fervent a devotion to French interests as existed in the case of his more open and blatant brethren, he would probably have bracketed the name of Justinian with those of Felix and Vincent, as bitter haters of British Rule.

It was probably the General's report on the conduct of the Acadians at this period, which drew forth a despatch in the same year in which the Lords of Trade and Plantations say to him, "We are apprehensive the Acadians will never be good subjects to his Majesty while the French Government and their priests retain so great an influence over them, for which reason we are of opinion they ought to be removed, as soon as the forces which we have prepared to be sent to you shall arrive in Nova Scotia, for the protection and better settlement of your Province." But they concluded their despatch by an order to take no steps in that direction without the positive orders of the sovereign. Thus early did the question of banishing these people from the Country (instead of waiting till the French King was ready to send for them), force itself on the attention of the Imperial authorities. Had they known at the time, the purport of Father Justinian's memorial, they would probably have worded somewhat differently the concluding clause of their despatch. Better would it have been for England, better for Nova Scotia, and better for the poor Acadians themselves, if that had been done then, which had to be done thirty-five years later on, when their numbers had so largely increased.

It does not appear whether Father Justinian returned to the Province, or, if he did, what report he made to the Governor, of his mission to Louisbourg. All that our records show, is that General Philips writing shortly afterwards to the Duke of Newcastle, says that the Acadians in reply to his summons to come in and take the oaths, or leave the Province, "had signified both by words and actions, that they had no thoughts of doing either."

Shortly after this Governor Philips returned to England, not in the best of odor with the Acadians, and not entertaining the highest opinion of the loyalty of either people or priests. During his absence, there was a succession of Lieut.-Governors, of whom Colonel Armstrong was the last,—all of whom did their best to procure the subscription of the Acadians to the oath of allegiance, but in vain. At the end of ten years, in 1730, General Philips again returned to the Province. On his arrival he once more summoned the Acadians to take the oath, and on this occasion with a very different result from that which followed his former attempt. He succeeded in obtaining the oath from every male inhabitant of

Nova Scotia, over sixteen years of age, excepting only some six families living on the Eastern shore, who were inaccessible for the moment, but who would come in towards the Spring. This shows a most extraordinary revolution on the part of the Acadians,—so extraordinary that we are led to scan with some care, the general's despatches, with a view to find out, if we can, how it came about. He writes two letters on the subject, to the Duke of Newcastle, both redolent of self-complacency. In the first he says, "my success with the Acadians was owing to the good liking they have for my Government in comparison with what they experienced afterwards," meaning of course under the Lieut.-Governors. In the second letter he says, "The people having essayed the difference of Government in my absence, they signified their readiness to comply with what I should require of them on my return." It would seem therefore that he ascribes his success, so far as he accounts for it at all, mainly to his personal popularity. There must have been a great change in the feeling on both sides, since he drew his pen pictures of the Fathers Felix and Vincent, and of the Acadians, and since Father Justinian had run away on his treasonable errand to Louisbourg.

We must not omit another thing mentioned by the Governor, which, he would lead the Duke to suppose, had something to do with this marvellous change on the part of the Acadians. One Mangeant (whom he describes as "a French papist, who had been guilty of a barbarous murder in Canada"), had escaped to this Province, and had put himself under Lieut.-Governor Armstrong's protection. He took the oath of allegiance, and was employed by Armstrong. His interference in local affairs however became very obnoxious to the people. When Philips arrived, this man, finding that serious complaints were about to be made against him, asked leave to quit the Province, which Philips granted, with orders never to return. He left the Province along with Armstrong, who was visiting England on leave. Philips ends his statement of the case by saying "the fellow's character was bad, but he was allowed to have genius, and would make an excellent minister to an arbitrary prince." The deportation of this man he says "gave a general satisfaction, and proved a great inducement toward their submission to the crown."

But neither the popularity of the Governor, nor the unpopularity of the "French Papist," seem an adequate reason for so marvellous a

change. We fear, therefore, we cannot accept these as the only causes, and must look for others elsewhere.

The Acadians ever afterwards maintained that the Governor, when administering the oath, allowed them to take it with the understanding that they were not to be called on to bear arms for the English, or against either the French or the savages. On this ground they afterwards claimed to be considered neutrals. From the persistency with which this statement was repeated in after years, it would seem that there must have been some kind of foundation for it. But the Governor's despatches give no hint of anything of the kind. On the contrary, they contain a denial of it, not in words, but by distinct implication. For in speaking of his success he says "he had no occasion to use threats or compulsion, nor had he prostrated the King's honor in making a scandalous capitulation as Ensign Wroth had done." The reference is to an officer of his own regiment, who, on the death of George the First, had been sent round the Province by Col. Armstrong to proclaim the new sovereign, and administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants. On reaching the settlements he found the people determined to refuse the oath, unless they were allowed certain indulgences, the principal of which was, that they were not to be called on to bear arms against any persons whatever. Thereupon, Wroth acceded to their terms, and gave them a written paper, declaring the privileges they were to be allowed. On this they subscribed the oath tendered to them. Wroth, on his return to Annapolis, made his report to the Lieut.-Governor. He laid it before the Council. It was immediately resolved that he had exceeded his instructions, and they forthwith cancelled his proceedings.

The Acadians were, of course, indignant at this proceeding of the Lieut.-Governor in Council, which occurred shortly before General Philips' second arrival in the Province.

If it be true, as the Acadians alleged, that the Governor, on administering the oath, yielded this point to them, we have some adequate ground for the success achieved, and the contrast of his conduct in this respect with that of Armstrong, may have been a considerable factor in producing the popularity on which he plumed himself, in comparison with that of the Lieut.-Governor, whom he superseded. If, in point of fact, General Philips did allow an

exemption from bearing arms, his letters to the Duke of Newcastle were disingenuous in the extreme. He may have made the distinction that in Wroth's case the exemption was in writing, in his, only by word of mouth, but such an excuse would be the paltriest of quibbles.

Such an exemption as the Acadians claimed is at variance with every idea of sovereign and subject. After the Treaty no authority short of Parliament could give it. No Parliament was ever asked to give: no Parliament would, if asked, have been mad enough to give, such an exemption. Whether, therefore, General Philips did, or did not, assent to the alleged understanding, in no wise affects the legal status of the Acadians, though it does affect, and that very seriously, the character and conduct of that official. What in Ensign Wroth was an indiscretion or a blunder, to be censured and disavowed (and this is what was done when it became known), would, in Governor Philips, be something very much worse. Coupled with a suppression of the truth in reporting the transaction to the Duke of Newcastle, it would amount to a serious crime.

But it is just possible there may have been still other reasons for the compliance of the Acadians. General Philips, who had to govern a French speaking people, had a very limited acquaintance with the French language. When he undertook, in the fall of 1729, to tender the oath of allegiance to the people on the River, he made it run thus in French :

“Je promets et je jure sincèrement, en foi de Chrétien que je serai entièrement fidèle, et obeirai vraiment Sa Majesté Le Roi, Geo. II., &c.”

“I promise and I swear sincerely, on the faith of a Christian, that I will be entirely faithful, and will truly obey his Majesty, King George the Second,” &c.

It was an oath to be faithful, without saying to whom. The only promise to Geo. II., is one of obedience. A casuist, of the style of Father Justinian, might read it as an oath of “fidelity to their invincible monarch,” coupled with a promise to obey their actual sovereign so long as they could not help themselves. They might be faithful to Louis, though temporarily obedient to George.

The Lords of Plantation thought they knew more of the French idiom than their Nova Scotia Governor. They were fearful of mischief

arising from the ambiguity of the oath. So soon, therefore, as the General's report, setting forth the language of his translation, reached them, they sent him a despatch, saying, "King George has not a proper security given by this oath, and it is to be feared the French Jesuits may explain this ambiguity so as to convince the people upon occasion that they are under no obligation to be faithful to his Majesty." They point out the want of connection on the face of the oath, between the words *fidèle* and *Géo. II.*, and they also transmit a form in which the oath is translated so as to make the French version mean the same thing as the English original.

It so happened, however, that this despatch did not reach the Governor in time to be his guide in administering the oath at Minas and Chiegnecto, where the bulk of the inhabitants resided. When he visited these places in the spring to complete his work, he was met with objections to the oath he proposed. But these were not in the line suggested by the Lords of plantations. They were in an exactly opposite direction. The Lords thought the oath too weak. The Acadians thought it too strong. To please them the Governor struck out of it the words *on the faith of a Christian*, and diluted the word *obey* in the first oath to the word *submit* in the second.

These alterations, in the line of decreased sanction, and increased ambiguity, must have gone far to convince the Lords of plantations that they had reasonable grounds for the suspicions shadowed forth in their despatch.

We are not informed who was at the General's elbow when he framed his famous translation. His friend Justinian was no longer on the River, but had he been there—and been asked to frame a translation, he could not have suggested one more fit for his purpose than the first version, unless indeed, it might be the second. But supposing the General not to have been misled—but only to have blundered, can there be a doubt that the astute advisers of the Acadians would be quick to see what an advantage such an ambiguity would give them in the tortuous course they had to pursue, as spiritual guides of King George's subjects, and, at the same time, paid agents of King Louis?

With an ambiguous oath, and such concessions as the Acadians claimed to have been made to them, it may not be so surprising that

it required neither *threats nor compulsion* to bring about the *volte-face* of which the Governor boasts.

We look with some curiosity to see how long this *entente cordiale* lasted between the General and the Acadians. We have some light thrown on this point by a despatch from Philips to the Minister, dated at Minas some four years later on. In this he says :

“As to the present inhabitants, they are rather a pest and incubus, than of an advantage to the country, being a proud, lazy, obstinate and intractable people, unskilful in the methods of agriculture, and, what is still worse, wholly disaffected to the Government.” He adds:

“They have at last complied with taking the oath of allegiance, but discover a strong retention of nonjuring principles.” It would seem, therefore, that the great exploit on which the General had plumed himself, of procuring subscriptions to an ambiguous and mutilated oath (whether qualified or not by an oral understanding) had not had much effect in conciliating the Acadians.

The attempt to exact an oath of allegiance in the usual form was renewed from time to time after 1730, by every Lieut.-Governor, while Annapolis continued the seat of Government, but the Acadians persistently refused to take it in any form which did not contain the exemption which they claimed to have been allowed by General Philips. When Mr. Cornwallis was appointed Governor in 1749, and sent out to found a settlement and build a fortress on the shores of this harbor, he had special instructions from the Crown to bring this matter to a point. Accordingly, on the 16th July of that year, the very day on which, on board the Beaufort transport, he opened his commission as Governor, he issued a proclamation which he caused to be distributed in the various Acadian villages, requiring the inhabitants to take the oath in the form appointed by law, within the period of three months from that date. This led to a deputation of two persons from each village, who waited on him with a letter signed by a thousand Acadians, asking, among other things, that they should not be obliged to take up arms, in case of war or invasion. Mr. Cornwallis received the deputies and discussed with them the contents of their memorial. His reply on the point above referred to, puts the case in a nutshell. “It was impossible that any of the subjects of the Crown, possessing habitations and lands in the Province, and enjoying the advantages and privileges of Government,

should be exempted from an entire allegiance, or from the natural obligations to defend themselves, their habitations, their lands, and the Government under which they enjoyed so many advantages." He told the deputies that officers would be sent to the various villages to tender the oath to the inhabitants. Shortly afterwards another set of deputies arrived at Halifax, bearing still another letter largely signed, in which the subscribers say :

"The inhabitants in general over the whole extent of this country have resolved not to take the oath which your Excellency requires of us." The Governor was much grieved at this refusal. He called the deputies together and reasoned with them. He said :

"You have been led away by people who found it their interest to lead you astray. They have made you imagine that it is only your oath which binds you to the English. They deceive you. It is not the oath which a king administers to his subjects that makes them subjects. The oath supposes that they are so already." After a very long and persuasive discourse he concludes by telling them : "It is only out of pity to your situation and to your inexperience in the affairs of Government, that we condescend to reason with you. Otherwise, gentlemen, the question would not be reasoning, but commanding and being obeyed. Gentlemen, you have been, for more than thirty-four years, the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and you have had the full enjoyment of your possessions and your religion. Show now that you are grateful for these favors, and ready to serve your King when your services are required." But what avail the soundest arguments, or the best advice, with men like these poor Acadians, so long as their consciences are in the keeping of a man of Le Loutre's stamp. The deputies still refusing were dismissed, and from this time on, while Cornwallis remained at Halifax, his hands were too full to allow him to resort to the other alternative. He had tried reasoning and it had failed. He might have found the "command and obey" equally ineffectual.

On his return to England in 1752, the government of Nova Scotia devolved upon Col. Hopson, but before he had been a year in office he was obliged by ill health to ask leave of absence for six months. He obtained it, left the Province, and did not afterwards return.

On his departure Col. Lawrence administered the government as president of the council. Later on he was appointed first, Lieut.-Gover-

nor, then Governor. Lawrence had had much to do with the Acadians and French. He had been stationed at Louisbourg when that Fort was occupied by the English garrison, after having been taken by the Provincials in 1745. When the English evacuated that place after its restoration to the French by the treaty of peace, he came up with his regiment to Halifax. In the spring of 1750 he was sent by Cornwallis to Beaubassin to quell some disturbances there, and on his return was sent again in the autumn of the same year. He had had personal knowledge of the outrages perpetrated there on both occasions by Le Loutre and his Indian and Acadian allies. He commanded in the Fort when the act of horrible treachery was committed, of which poor How was the victim, and which public opinion, alike in the French and in the English camp, charged on Le Loutre. No man knew better than he how impossible it was that Nova Scotia could have peace or prosperity while things remained as they were. Since his expedition to Beaubassin in 1750, the French across the Missiquash had grown more and more aggressive. They had built a new fort on the shore of Bay Verte. They had extended and strengthened the fort at Beau Sejour. They had garrisons in both. By Le Loutre's persuasions and threats, by his appeals to the best and to the worst feelings of the Acadians, to their loyalty to France, and their devotion to the Church on the one hand, and to their ignorance, credulity, fears and superstition on the other, he had succeeded in drawing away from their comfortable homes in the peninsula over a thousand able-bodied men with their families, who were living in abject poverty in the neighborhood of Beau Sejour, or in a state of semi-starvation in the Island of St. Jean. The French authorities had put arms in the hands of the exiles at Beau Sejour, and had engaged them to repair to the fort when summoned. The French had determined to hold the country up to the Missiquash, and to make the Isthmus the base of operations in time of war and of intrigue in time of peace.

The continuance of this encroachment on British territory threatened the safety of the New England Provinces. Mr. Shirley, the sagacious Governor of Massachusetts, was quite alive to the danger, and entered into a correspondence with the British Ministry on the subject. They authorized him to concert, with Governor Lawrence, measures for dislodging the French from Beau

Sejour. As the result of this correspondence and concert, 2,000 volunteers were enlisted in New England and sent to Nova Scotia. These, with a detachment of regulars from the garrison at Halifax, all placed under the command of Colonel Monkton, formed the force for the expedition. They reached Fort Lawrence early in June, 1755, and almost immediately began the siege of Beau Sejour.

The feelings of the French Acadians, particularly of those who had left the Peninsula, at or before the siege, are aptly described by a French writer. A commission had been appointed to settle the boundaries between Acadia and Canada, which were left undefined in both the last two Treaties. It had been sitting for years. "The Acadians," says our author, "became impatient at the length of the conferences. They were annually told that the limits would be settled, and their fate thereby ameliorated. The mildness with which they were treated by the French commandant at Louisbourg, M. deVassau, was empoisoned by the hauteur and harshness of the Abbè Le Loutre." "Le Loutre had visited France, and had obtained 50,000 livres, to be appropriated in building a dyke, a work undertaken to give employment to the poor exiles from the Peninsula. He had also obtained letters from the authorities in France." "He returned more vain than ever. He no longer kept within bounds, and would act as master. He frequently opposed M. deVassau, and the latter needed to remember the orders he had received from the Governor-General, and all the caution of policy, to hinder his making an open quarrel with the Abbè." "The Acadians, seduced by the Abbè, were thronging around Beau Sejour, and places were given them to build upon, while waiting the decision of the boundary commissioners. They were made to believe that they would go back to their properties, and that the English would be confined to the territory of Port Royal, but at Court a different language was used. It was said there, that the exiles were to be settled on the boundary as a people who had become irreconcilable foes to the English, and from whom nothing was to be feared." Some of the exiles were undecided whether to return to the homes they had abandoned, or to remain under the French flag. Religion inclined them to the latter course. Swayed by the exhortations of Le Loutre, who feared that attachment to their properties would, in the end, prevail with them, he caused them to be dispersed in the Island, and on the St. John

River. They refused to go, but eventually he constrained them to do so by the threats that their properties should be devastated and their wives and children carried off and even massacred in their sight by the Indians."

The exiles were unwilling to do the work they were put at by the French. They had lived in ease and abundance in their old homes. They now began to sigh for the things they had left behind. They resolved therefore, to take steps to ascertain whether the English would let them go back to their farms if they returned to the Peninsula. "Le Loutre was informed of this and could not restrain his fury." Before we notice his proceedings on this occasion, it would perhaps be well to refer to a passage in *Evangeline*, in which Longfellow draws a picture of a parish Priest, admirably descriptive of the character and conduct of a holy man. He is speaking of the Priest of Minas, possibly the same Father Felix whose letter to Costabelle we have already quoted, as well as the pen picture of him drawn by Philips. The poet softens the name to Felicien.

The scene is laid at Minas, in 1755. We read that when the people were about to meet in the Church at Grand Prè—

"Suddenly down the street came the parish Priest, and the children
Paused in their play to kiss the hand he extended to bless them.
Reverend walked he among them, and up rose matrons and maidens,
Hailing his slow approach with words of affectionate welcome."

Afterwards, when the poor Acadians were entrapped into the Church and made prisoners, surely, if ever there was a case that would be an excuse for angry passions, it would be this. Yet hear what the poet makes the good Felicien say to them:—

"What is this that ye do my children, what madness has seized you.
Forty years of my life have I lived among you and taught you,
Not in word alone, but in deed, to love one another,
Is this the fruit of my vigils and prayers and privations?
Have you so soon forgotten all lessons of love and forgiveness?"

Now listen to the result of this gentle censure:—

"Few were his words of rebuke, but deep in the hearts of his people
Sank they, and sobs of contrition succeeded the passionate outbreak,
While they repeated his prayer and said, 'O, Father forgive them.'"

This is Poetry, and a fine specimen of Longfellow's powers it is. Now for a little prose. When Le Loutre heard of the Israelitish longings of the Acadians for the flesh pots of the Peninsula

(we quote from the same writer) "He mounted his pulpit and spoke with less of religion than of fire and passion. He threatened the thunderbolts of the Church, and publicly ill-treated some of those whom he knew to have been the first to express their desire to return." This is the difference between poetry and prose. Felicien is fancy, Le Loutre fact. The one is legend, the other history. Father Felicien is the poetic rendering of a priest who, according to Philips, spent his time at Minas in constant invectives against the English. Tupper is not far astray when he says that poets are poor historians.

But we have wandered away from the siege of Beau Sejour. The French commander in the fort was M. Duchambon de Vergor. He owed his position to the friendship of the infamous Bigot, who had been Intendant at Louisbourg, and now held the same office at Quebec. Bigot had swindled his master, the French King, out of millions, and advised his protégè to follow in his footsteps. He sent him a letter which is unique for its cynical contempt of common honesty. "Profit by your place, dear Vergor. Clip and cut. You are free to do what you please." Poor Vergor's chance did not last long. Within a year from his receipt of this fatherly advice, he was a prisoner in the hands of Col. Monkton. His peculations were not large enough to justify subsequent proceedings in the French courts, such as were required to make the greater villain disgorge his ill-gotten gains, but he lived to acquire an infamy of a different kind which his countrymen will never forget or forgive. He it was that had charge of the Post on the bank near Quebec, just where the path which Wolfe ascended to the Plains of Abraham reached the top. His neglect on the morning of the ascent of Wolfe's party led the way to the great victory which the English achieved that day on the Plains of Abraham. It was an important factor in the destruction of the French power in America.

The defence of Beau Sejour was feeble in the extreme. After a few days the fort fell into the hands of Col. Monkton. Among the prisoners surrendered by the French commander on that occasion were over 300 French Acadians from the Peninsula, thus taken when actually in arms against their lawful sovereign. This was the turning point. If the act of the Acadians in 1720 in tendering through Justinian their allegiance to the French King may be considered the first on the long list of provocations offered to their sovereign, this

conduct of their descendants under Le Loutre, a quarter of a century later on, engaging in rebellion against him, was a fitting close to the long drama beginning with Justinian and ending with Le Loutre.

Le Loutre was in the fort at the time of the siege, but before the surrender he escaped in disguise. He fled to Quebec. There instead of receiving praise from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, he met only with reproach and censure. He had ruined the Acadians by his unwise counsels, and when trouble came, he had abandoned them in the hour of their distress. Many writers denounce with unsparing severity the conduct of the English authorities who deported their enemies. What should be said of the man who was the means of dragging from their comfortable homes, and their country, some thousands of these poor people, to engage them in hostilities with their lawful Sovereign,—who ruined not enemies, but friends,—not strangers and foreigners, but fellow-countrymen,—not men of a different race and creed, but men of his own blood and religion,—not men without claim on his sympathy, but members of the flock which, as their spiritual pastor, he was specially bound to protect and defend?

After Le Loutre reached Quebec, he took passage for France, but the ship in which he sailed, was captured by an English frigate, and he himself sent as a prisoner of war to a castle in the Isle of Jersey. There for eight long years he had time to reflect on his misdeeds. Peace gave him freedom. He retired to France, where he spent the rest of his life in obscurity. Few men have left behind them a name so infamous.

While our forces were beseiging Beau Sejour, great events were happening on the western frontiers of the other Provinces. The English had recently determined to descend the western slope of the Alleghanies and enter on the great plain watered by the Ohio. Two years before this date they had built a fort in that region, and in 1754 Mr. Washington was sent by Virginia with a body of troops to garrison it. He did not, however, succeed in reaching the fort. He was driven back by a force of French and Indians, with considerable loss. This repulse opened the western frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania to the incursions of the French and Indians, who perpetrated frightful outrages all along the border. This caused great excitement in the British Provinces. They determined

to send another and larger expedition in 1755, to wipe out the disgrace of the check received by Washington, and to put an end to the outrages on the border. While, therefore, the English expedition under Col. Monkton was besieging Beau Sejour, two British regiments, under General Braddock, with a large body of Provincials, were descending the western slope of the Alleghanies on their way towards Fort Duquesne on the Ohio. The disastrous result of this expedition, we shall have occasion to mention presently.

Beau Sejour surrendered on the 16th June, 1755. Just before that date, the inhabitants of Minas, Canard, and Pisiquid had presented to Governor Lawrence an insolent memorial. On hearing, however, of the surrender of the French fort, and the capture of so many of their brethren they presented a second paper, apologizing for the strong language of the first, and asking leave to explain their situation. Leave was given. On the 3rd of July they appeared before the Governor-in-Council. The memorial first sent in was then read over paragraph by paragraph. Each clause was discussed in order. The Governor gave his views on each, and then asked the deputies what they had to say in reply. They admitted, without a dissenting voice, that their people had always been treated with lenity and kindness; that they had enjoyed greater privileges than their fellow-subjects of British origin; that they had been allowed the freest exercise of their religion; that they had had at all times full liberty to consult their priests; that they had been protected in their trade and fishery; that they had enjoyed the undisturbed possession of their properties, and that these comprised the very best lands in the Province. They were then asked to name a single instance of any privilege denied them, or of any hardship imposed upon them. They could name none. They were asked to mention a single case in which they had assisted, or been of service to, the Government. They could name none. These poor Acadians, suffering no wrong,—with, by their own admission, nothing to complain of,—could not be content to be British subjects, in fact, as well as in name. Had they been wronged and oppressed,—had they been despoiled of their property, and deprived of the privileges of their religion; had they been trodden under the heel of tyranny

or ground down by oppressive taxation, they could not have been more dissaffected to the Sovereign and the Government that had treated them with such exceptional kindness. What could be done with such a people? For forty years they had been in the Province, but not of it. They claimed the rights, but repudiated the duties, of British subjects. They asked to be allowed to stand by, and see the loyal subjects of the crown assaulted, plundered, wounded, even murdered, without raising a hand to defend or a voice to warn. This had been the case for a whole generation, and more; and not a blow had been struck by a French force, or by a band of savages, in which these people had not taken a more or less active part as combatants, or as sympathizers, or as accomplices before or after the fact. How much longer was this to continue? Already every Acadian under 40 years of age (and this comprised the bulk of the race), was born under the British flag, but the British born were no more reconciled to their condition than those who at birth were subjects of France. The disloyal feeling which shewed itself in protestation under Justinian, went on increasing until it culminated in open rebellion under Le Loutre. No wonder then that the Government at Halifax, responsible for the peace of the Province and its safety, began, on the close of the unsatisfactory interview between Lawrence and the French deputies, to think most seriously of what was to be done to put an end to this chronic evil. A crisis was evidently approaching. We were clearly on the verge of a great war. We have mentioned that Braddock and his troops were plunging into the western wilderness. France had already dispatched to America a fleet and a powerful reinforcement in troops, which were now on their way across the Atlantic. French troops and rebel Acadians were swarming at the Isthmus. Louisbourg was being strengthened by outlying forts. Its garrison had been increased by a large addition of veterans. The sympathies of the bulk of the people within the Province were with the enemy without. There was danger before us, danger all round. It was clear that if the Province was to remain British something must be done at once to meet the emergency, and what could be done? It was a case where the safety of all the Provinces was the Supreme Law. No ordinary rules could apply. How could the safety of the British Provinces be assured? This was the condition of things when the Governor-in-Council dismissed the deputies who

had just presented the insolent memorial, which they toned down on the fall of Beau Sejour. The council, after grave deliberation, finally decided that if the Acadians were again appealed to, and again refused to take the oath of allegiance, they should be removed from the Province. In the meantime they determined to call on the villages to elect fresh deputies; and send them to Halifax, bearing the final determination of the people. At the same time, the council invited the two British admirals then on the station, Boscawen and Mostyn, to be present at the meeting to be held when the deputies arrived. On the 25th July the Council met. The admirals were in attendance. Thirty deputies arrived with the answer of the Acadians. They appeared before the Governor-in-Council. The document they brought was signed by 207 of the inhabitants. It declared "that they had charged their deputies to contract no new oath." The deputies were then told that the patience of the government was exhausted, and that the people must now take the oath without reserve or quit their lands. Still the deputies were allowed one more chance. Time was given them till the following Monday (it was then Friday), to reconsider their determination. On that day the Council met again. The Admirals were again present. Another paper from the inhabitants of Minas and Canard was brought by deputies from these villages. These and the other deputies then appeared before the Council, and being asked what they had to say, they with one voice declared they would not take the oath.

The minute of council already referred to decided that if the Acadians again refused the oath they should be removed from the Province. Nothing now remained but to decide what was to be done with them. After deliberation it was resolved that, "in order to prevent as much as possible their attempt to return and molest settlers that might be set down on their lands, it would be most proper to send them to be distributed amongst the several colonies on the continent, and that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired for that purpose."

What else could be done with these unfortunates? The immediate danger, it is true, was over. Beau Sejour had fallen, but this success had been achieved by the aid of the New Englanders. Without them the enterprise could never have been undertaken, and they had enlisted for a year only. Already half that period had expired.

The volunteers, it was well-known, would not remain in the Province an hour beyond their engagement. The moment they were gone the old troubles would revive. The outlook for the future was even worse than the experience of the past.

We say again, what could be done with this unhappy people? Over and over again they had been appealed to, and reasoned with by every representative of the Crown from the time of General Nicholson to that of Col. Lawrence. They had been forewarned of the consequences, urged and sometimes almost persuaded, to assume the status of British subjects. The matter had been brought before the people of every village by deputies, chosen by themselves, to represent their views to the Governors. Over and over again these deputies had been kindly received at head quarters, their excuses listened to, their questions answered, and they had then been sent back to their constituents to tell them of the fatal consequences of persistent refusal, and still came back the same answer, "We will not take the oath demanded." The whole population thus became parties to the proceedings. They all refused to accept their position as British subjects. It was impossible to discriminate where all were of one mind. If their devotion to a foreign Prince, and their submission to his agents, were incompatible with the safety of the loyal inhabitants of the Province, nothing could be done but to remove them from the Country. But they could not be sent into the neighbouring French territories. To have sent them there at this time, would be the very thing the enemy desired. It would make the English authorities recruiting officers for the French forces. It would supply the enemy with a large additional body of soldiers, nourishing, not only the hatreds of race and creed, but the exasperations of a compulsory exile. There seemed to be nothing left but to disperse these disaffected people among colonies where their disloyalty would not affect the safety of their fellow subjects.

If history has few parallels to the action of the Government, it has none at all to the attitude of the subjects. Miserable Acadians, taught to hate their best friends,—and to lavish affection on their worst enemies. If there were cruelty in the sentence of deportation, surely the men of their own race and creed, who rendered that proceeding inevitable, are the persons to whom blame should attach.

The cruel delusions practised on these people by the French of Louisbourg and Quebec, wanted only one thing to show the utter heartlessness of the whole proceedings. The Acadians were made to believe themselves still the subjects of Louis XV. They were told that swearing allegiance to George II., would imperil their everlasting salvation. For the French King, they were persuaded to give up lands and goods, home and country. Surely then they were justified in thinking, that if once they could make their way to Quebec, they might expect protection and relief from the representatives of the Prince for whom they had made such sacrifices. Some of them did find their way there, after a long and weary tramp from Boston, where they had been kindly treated. How were they received? Take the reply from a French writer. He says: "They are dying by wholesale. Their past and present misery, joined to the rapacity of the Canadians, who seek only to squeeze out of them all the money they can, and then refuse them the help so dearly bought, are the cause of this mortality." This statement comes not from an obscure scribbler. It does not come from an enemy. It is the testimony of a French military officer of distinction, himself the personal friend and aid-de-camp of the Marquis of Montcalm, touching a matter passing under his own eyes. At the time, there existed at Quebec a company of Government officials, with Intendant Bigot at their head, organized to plunder the sovereign they were supposed to serve. They were called the Grand Company. DeBouganville, from whose letter we are quoting, proceeds to say:—

"A citizen of Quebec who was indebted to one of the partners of this company, had no means of paying. The company gave him a great number of these Acadians to board and lodge. He starved them with hunger and cold, got from them all the money they had and paid the extortioner." Well might DeBougainville add,—

"Quel pays, quels moeurs."

The expression might have had a wider application than to the swindlers and extortioners of Quebec.

But not only did the French of Quebec disregard the sufferings of the poor exiles, their kith and kin,—but the very men whose dupes they were,—the men who had hired and paid the missionaries to delude and deceive the Acadians, now turned round and denounced their own agents when they had no further occasion for their services.

No man had a larger part in bringing about the troubles in Acadia than Governor-General Vaudreuil. Yet no sooner had the poor Acadians been driven out of their country, than that official writes to the Minister in Paris, "The misfortunes of the Acadians are not due to any acts of their own—they are the fruits of the solicitations and misdeeds of the priests." And this to the Minister who had in his hands a despatch of which the ink was hardly yet dry, in which Vaudreuil takes credit to himself for having set on the Priests to these very *solicitations and misdeeds*. We may say with his fellow-countryman :

"Quel pays, quels mocurs."

Boishebert, another servant of the French Government, gives us, in one of his letters, another glimpse of the feelings entertained by these officials towards the instruments they employed to dupe the Acadians. This officer commanded for some years on the St. John River and at the Isthmus. In that capacity he was most zealous in spurring on the missionaries to the actions stigmatized by De Vaudreuil. When the end came, and the poor Acadians were suffering the penalty entailed by their compliance with bad advice, Boishebert coolly writes to Minach, one of the most prominent and active of his missionary agents :

"Recollect, if we have war, it is the missionaries that have brought it on."

The decision to deport the Acadians was come to, as we have seen, on the 29th July. But no instruction to carry out the decision was given till the 11th August. Four days before that date tidings had arrived at Halifax of a frightful disaster to the expedition under Braddock against Fort Duquesne. The army under that General consisted, as we have already mentioned, of 2,000 men, most of them trained British soldiers. It was not supposed there would be any difficulty, with such a force, in taking the small French fort known as Fort Duquesne, built in the wilderness at the junction of the Alleghany with the Ohio, at the spot where now stands the city of Pittsburg. But the disastrous defeat of this large force, before it had even reached the fort, its utter rout and dispersion, the death of the General and most of his chief officers, the disgraceful flight of the survivors before a comparatively small body of French and Indians, threw all the British Provinces into a state

of consternation. Rumors of the disaster spread like wild fire. At last they reached Halifax, but the story seemed incredible. On the 7th August, however, a ship arrived at this port, bringing full details of the disaster. It was easy to see how the news would affect the Acadians and Indians. Governor Lawrence wrote at once to Col. Monkton, at Beau Sejour, and to Capt. Murray, at Pisaquid, warning them against surprise, and instructed them to keep the news, if possible, from the inhabitants. He was afraid that in the excitement of the moment the Acadians would attempt some enterprise either at Minas or Beau Sejour.

Col. Winslow was at this time at the Isthmus. Writing of the news, to a friend, he uses these words: "It is the most extraordinary event that ever occurred in America, and unparalleled in history." We quote the expression, not because of the extent of Winslow's historical knowledge, but to show how men of unquestionable bravery, in the Province at the time, were affected by news of the disaster. We may fairly assume that the Governor and Council at Halifax would be affected by the news in a way not unlike that indicated in Colonel Winslow's letter.

At all events, four days after the arrival of the news at Halifax, Governor Lawrence issued letters of instruction to carry out the decree of the 29th July.

Had the Government possessed the gift of prophecy, and so been able to foresee that in a very few years the French power would vanish from this continent, there would have been no necessity of resorting to the measure of removal. But without such a gift he would have been a bold man that would have ventured on such a prediction. It would not have been a wild conjecture, that the French, predominating as they did, through all the wide range of country on the two great rivers, and on the inland oceans of the continent, might, with the aid of the Indians of the North and the West, keep the British settlers confined to the country east of the Alleghanies, even though they might fail to carry out the threat so often made by them to cross the mountains and sweep the British settlers into the sea. At all events, it might fairly be supposed that Canada, with a population mainly, if not altogether, military, with its forces under one head, with its power of prompt and vigorous action, would be able to hold its own for ages against a number of separate Provinces

with no common sentiment to unite them ; each with a Legislature, and with political factions of its own, each jealous and suspicious of the others, each unable to carry any measure except by public and tedious discussions, and none ever ready for action, till the time for action was past. Judging from the history of the two countries for the century then last past, he would have deserved to be called a madman, who would venture to predict that the French power was in 1755 on the eve of extinction on this continent: and if it were not, what was to be the fate of Nova Scotia? New raids on British settlers. New disturbances and terrors. New murders and assassinations, till British settlers, disheartened and discouraged, as La Jonquière predicted they would be, would abandon in disgust a country where life and property were held on so uncertain a tenure. There was but one way of making the Province British, and that way our ancestors took.

A very little exercise of prophetic power would have enabled the British authorities to foresee some of the inevitable consequences of Braddock's defeat. They might have been sure that that would come to pass, which did come to pass, all along the western frontiers of the British Provinces for hundreds of miles in extent—a series of the most horrible outrages that history records. A perfect carnival of blood and fire prevailed along the whole line. They might have foreseen that the French in Louisbourg and the Acadians in the Peninsula, and the savages in both countries, would exult over these calamities and be quite ready to extend the sphere of their operation to Nova Scotia. But it would have required a greater exercise of the prophetic power to have been able to foresee that before another year should pass away, the French would besiege and capture the only fort the English had on Lake Ontario; that Oswego which had cost enormous sums for construction and maintenance, and which was our only channel of correspondence with the Indians of the great Lakes, and the only impediment to a French monopoly of the fur trade with the North-Western savages, should, by a sudden dash of the enemy from Fort Frontenac, fall into the hands of the French, thus removing the only post interfering with free communication between the French forts on the St. Lawrence and those on the upper Lakes. This was a blow which at the time was looked upon “as such a terrible shock as the country never felt.” But a still further exercise

of the prophetic power would have enabled our ancestors to foresee, within three years from that date, another terrible disaster to the British forces; (a disaster before which even Braddock's defeat pales), when the largest army that had ever mustered on American soil, consisting of some 20,000 men, led by an English General, should be met, defeated, driven back with disgrace from Ticonderoga, and cut to pieces, by an inferior force of French and Indians. Had our ancestors been able to foresee the things that did happen just after this period, they would certainly have been confirmed in the belief that the only path of safety for them was the one they decided to take. Nor would the foreknowledge of these events have created a belief in the speedy downfall of French power on this continent.

But before they could have supposed that result to be within the range of reasonable probability, they must have been able to foresee a condition of things in France itself, which nobody could have supposed possible. They must have foreseen that France would, all of a sudden, reverse her policy on both sides of the Atlantic. That on this continent, she would be willing to abandon her magnificent empire, of which it is not too much to say that there was nothing like it in the world—that in Europe her infatuated King, yielding to the importunities of a worthless woman, his mistress, would depart from the policy his country had followed for a century, and ally himself with Austria, his hereditary enemy—that he would send 100,000 of his best troops to support Maria Theresa in a war with which France had no concern, while he could scarce afford a ship, or a regiment, to assist Canada at a time when she had to sustain a war with the British Colonies, united for once by the outrages and disasters of 1755, 56 and 57, as they had never been united before.

And yet the men of 1755 must have been able to foresee all this, before they could feel it was safe to allow the heart of the Province to be occupied by a people always ready to assist any French aggression. We have a perfect right to require from the men of that day the exercise of a sound judgment. We may demand a forecast founded on reason and experience, but we have no right to condemn them for not foreseeing events which no sagacity could anticipate, and which would seem to be possible, only by a miracle.

French and French-Canadian writers denounce with great severity the policy of deportation adopted by Great Britain, in respect of her disaffected subjects, the Acadians. Has it ever occurred to them to imagine what the authorities of their own country would have done, if they had been placed in the circumstances in which our people found themselves in 1755? If they would take the trouble to examine their own records, they would find in them abundant material to warrant a pretty decided opinion on this point. There was a condition of things not long before the period we have spoken of, which bears some analogy to that of which we are treating. In the time of Louis XIV. the Grand Monarque, as the French are proud to call him, at the time when he was at the height of his glory, and when he wielded a power never before equalled in Europe, there was a state of things in Canada that he was anxious to change. The communication between Old and New France had mainly to be carried on by the long and circuitous route by the River and Gulph of St. Lawrence. For five months of the year this communication was closed by frost. In winter the only route to the open sea was by land, through the wilderness and down the valley of the St. John to the Bay of Funday, and a large part of this route was through territory claimed, and in parts occupied by the British. There was however a short, direct and easy route from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Hudson, by River and Lake in summer, and by land in winter, to a sea open at all times of the year. Unfortunately, however, for the French, the valley of the Hudson, from New York to above Albany, was occupied by an English colony. This interposed a barrier which could be removed only by a conquest of the country. The French King, therefore, in concert with his Canadian authorities, determined on an invasion of the English colony. He accordingly sent a veteran soldier and administrator, the Comte de Frontenac, across the ocean with two ships of war and a large land force. The ships were to be stationed at the mouth of the Hudson, there to wait for, and co-operate with a military force headed by de Frontenac, to be despatched from Quebec by river and lake, to descend the Hudson, and make themselves masters of the whole country between Lake Champlain and the sea. The question of what was to be done with the conquered inhabitants of course engaged the attention of the French Government. Their delibera-

tions resulted in a series of instructions from the Sovereign to his Lieutenant, which shew in what way the emergency was to be dealt with. "If," says the King, "there are any Catholics among the inhabitants, of whose fidelity you can make yourself sure, let them remain, first exacting from them an oath of fidelity. Keep as prisoners, if you think fit, such mechanics and other laborers as you may need to cultivate land or work on the fortifications. Imprison all officers and such of the principal inhabitants as may be able to pay ransom. As regards all the rest of the inhabitants who are not French, men, women and children, send them out of the colony, scatter them in New England, Pennsylvania, or other distant places, by land or by sea, together or separately. Disperse them in such a way that they cannot get together again, to join any hostile enterprise against the colony. As to French fugitives, particularly those belonging to the pretended reformed religion, send them to France."

This last clause is significant. The Huguenots had fled from their old homes after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. They could not join the communities of their fellow countrymen on this side of the water, who were as intolerant of Protestantism as the authorities of France itself. The poor wretches, self-exiled from their countrymen on both sides of the water, in order to have leave to worship God in their own way, were now to be ferreted out in their homes on the Hudson, and sent back to France, where there was no future for them but apostacy or the hulks. Compare this with the religious privileges enjoyed by the Acadian French for the long period of over forty years, while they were under the British flag. Then, as to the families that were to be dispersed "together or separately" (*ensemble ou séparément*, in the original), compare these cruel words with the instructions given by our authorities, to embark whole families together and send them in one ship to the same place. Compare the absolute liberty always enjoyed by the Acadians,—liberty to work or be idle, as they chose—freedom from tax or assessment of any kind, compare this with the imprisonment of the wealthier classes with a view to extorting a ransom from them, with the orders to treat mechanics and labourers as if they were gangs of convicts, serving out their punishment in chains!

If the instructions of the British authorities are open to the charge of inhumanity, what shall be said of those which bear the

sign manual of Louis the XIV? Under the circumstances might not the writers to whom we have referred, ask themselves when dealing with this question, whether or not a vehement condemnation of the British proceedings, comes with the best grace from men who have no word of censure for the policy of their great King—a policy conceived in cold blood—provoked by no misbehaviour—excusable by no imminent danger—justifiable by no inevitable necessity?

I have not gone into details of the deportation. Even in these the poets and historians have travestied the facts. Doubtless there were mistakes. Nothing considerable ever was done without mistakes. But there cannot be a question that the Government and its subordinates were most anxious to do what had to be done, (which, at best, was admittedly a very painful necessity), with as much consideration and humanity as the case permitted.

One consolation we certainly derive from the perusal of the voluminous papers touching this subject to be found among our archives, and that is, the evidence they afford of the unceasing efforts of the British authorities, continued without intermission for the long period of forty years, to induce the Acadians to become good citizens and loyal subjects. We find the governors, one after another, from the first to the last, pursuing the same course of kindly argument and persuasion. We find them submitting to evasion, to excuses, and even to insolence, from the people and their leaders, and yet continuing a course of such uniform kindness, that the Acadians, when challenged, were unable to make a complaint, or suggest a grievance. If these chapters in our history had stood by themselves; if they had not been followed by a catastrophe as sad as anything in history, we should have looked upon these records as humiliating to the British authorities. The spectacle of a long list of Governors begging, beseeching, imploring a refractory people, subjects by conquest, to do their duty, is not a dignified one. It was, as Cornwallis puts it, "reasoning and arguing," instead of "commanding and being obeyed." Read, however, in the light of subsequent events, they show the anxiety of the authorities to prevent the people from yielding to the arts of foreign hirelings. They show the incessant struggle to avert the fatal necessity which loomed up in the future,—and they show how reluctantly our ancestors met it at last, when it could no longer be averted, consistently with the

maintenance of British power in the Province, and the protection of the British inhabitants.

Instead, therefore, of imputing the calamity which befel these people, to the cruelty of the English authorities, we ought rather to charge it on the men who rendered it inevitable. The true authors of the tragic event, were the French Governors at Quebec and Louisbourg, and their agents, lay and clerical, in the Province. They created the necessity, the British only met it. They played with cruel skill on the ignorance, credulity and superstition, as well as on the generous affections, of the poor Acadians, and if that followed, which could not but follow, under such circumstances, surely they ought to bear the blame whose intrigues and instigations brought about a natural and inevitable result. The Acadians may therefore say with truth, that if they suffered calamity beyond the common lot of humanity, they owe it to men of their own race and creed—pretended friends, but real enemies.

COPY OF JOURNAL

KEPT BY

————— GORDON,

One of the Officers engaged in the Siege of
Louisbourg under Boscawen and
Amherst, in 1758.

—————
CERTIFIED BY HIS SON, MAJOR H. W. GORDON, [FATHER OF THE
CELEBRATED GENERAL GORDON, COMMONLY CALLED CHINESE
GORDON, LATELY KILLED IN AFRICA.]

—————
Commanding Officers on the Expedition against the Fortress of
Louisbourg were,

Of the Army :

Major General Jeffry Amherst, Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's
forces to be employed on the Island of Cape Breton, &c.
Brigadier General Edward Whitmore,
Brigadier General Charles Lawrence,
Brigadier General James Wolfe.

Of the Navy :

The Hon'ble Edward Boscawen, Admiral of His Majesty's Blue
Squadron,
Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, Rear Admiral of the White,
Philip Durell, Esqr., Commodore.

The Army consisted of the following Regiments :

COLONELS OF CORPS.															Rank and File.		
	Regiments,	Battalions.	Colonels.	Lt.-Colonels,	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Qr. Masters.	Surgeons.	Surg'ns Mates.	Sergeants.		Drummers.	
Lieut.-Gen'l James St. Clair	1	2		1	1	7	20	9	1	1	1	1	1	2	38	18	854
Lieut.-Gen'l Jeffrey Amherst	15		1	1	1	8	18	7	1	1	1	1	1	2	35	19	763
Brig'r-Gen'l John Forbes	17			1	1	7	10	9	8	1	1	1	1	1	29	20	660
Brig'r-Gen'l Edward Whitmore	22		1			8	17	8	8	1	1	1	1	2	37	20	910
Lieut.-Gen'l Philip Bragg	28			1	1	7	9	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	20	627
Lieut.-Gen'l Charles Otway	35			1	1	5	12	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	14	566
Major-Gen'l Per. Thos. Hopson	40			1	1	7	16	6	6	1	1	1	1	2	30	16	550
Lieut.-Gen'l Hugh Warburton	45			1	1	6	17	6	6	1	1	1	1	1	38	19	864
Lieut.-Gen'l Per. Lascelles	47			1	1	5	15	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	38	18	857
Colonel Daniel Webb	48			1	1	7	16	8	1	1	1	1	1	2	38	20	932
Colonel Robert Anstruther	58			1				7	1	1	1	1	1	1	26	15	615
Hon. Colonel Robert Monckton	60	2d			1	6	20	7	1	1	1	1	1	2	39	20	925
Brig'r-Gen'l Charles Lawrence	60	3d	1		1	6	16	7	1	1	1	1	1	2	35	17	814
Colonel Simon Frazer	78	2d	1		1	10	22	10	1	1	1	1	1	2	43	22	1084
Effective Total.				4	11	10	97	216	106	6	13	14	14	23	476	258	11021

Lt.-Colonel Scott with 5 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 5 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon, 24 Sergeants, 2 Drummers and 499 Rank and File of Rangers were added.

The Royal Train of Artillery, commanded by Colonel George Williamson :

Colonels.	Captains.	Captains' Lts.	1st Lieuts.	2nd Lieuts.	Lt. F. Workers	Adjutants.	Qr. Masters.	Surgeons.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers.	Gunners.	Matross's.	Drummers.	Effective Total.
1	3	2	6	5	4	1	1	2	11	14	28	63	165	7	324

11 Miners not inserted in the return of the Artillery :

Engineers.

Colonel John Henry Bastide.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Patrick Mackellar, | 6. Adam Williamson, |
| 2. Matthew Dixon, | 7. Hugh Debbeig, |
| 3. George Weston, | 8. William Spry, |
| 4. John Brewse, | 9. Augustus Durnford, |
| 5. William Bontein, | 10. John Montresor. |

The Fleet consisted of the following Ships:

ADMIRALS.	SHIPS' NAMES.	No. of Guns.	COMMANDERS' NAMES.
Hon. Edward Boscawen Sir Charles Hardy, Kn't Philip Durell, Esqr.	Namur	90	Captains Buckle
	Royal William	84	Evans
	Princess Amelia	80	Bray
	Dublin	74	Rodney
	Terrible	74	Collins
	Northumberland	70	Rt. Hon. Lord Colvil
	Vanguard	70	Swanton
	Orford	70	Spry
	Burford	70	Gambier
	Somerset	70	Hughes
	Lancaster	70	Hon. Geo. Edgcombe
	Devonshire	66	Gordon
	Bedford	64	Fowke
	Captain	64	Amherst
	Prince Frederick	64	Man
	Pembroke	60	Simcoe
	Kingston	60	Parry
	York	60	Piggot
	Prince of Orange	60	Ferguson
	Defiance	60	Baird
Nottingham	60	Marshall	
Centurion	54	Mantle	
Sutherland	50	Rous	
3	23	1544	23

FRIGATES.

Juno	Kennington
Diana	Squirrel
Boreas	Beaver
Trent	Hunter
Gramont	Scarborough
Shannon	Hawke
Hind	Etna
Portmahon	Lightning
Nightingale	Tyloe

About 144 Sail of Transports, &c., with Troops, Stores and Artillery.

RETURN OF CANNON.							RETURN OF MORTARS.									
BRASS.					IRON.				BRASS.					IRON.		
24 Prs.	12 Prs.	6 Prs.	3 Prs.	Total.	32 Prs.	24 Prs.	6 Prs.	Total.	13 Inch.	10 Inch.	8 Inch.	5½ Inch.	4⅝ Inch.	Total.	13 Inch.	Total.
26	18	6	1	51	8	25	4	37	2	2	7	10	30	51	1	1

Two 8 and four 5½ inch Howitzers.

Five spare Travelling Carriages for 24 pounds.

25 Ditto Ship Carriages for Iron 24 pounds.

Some spare Carriages for the Howitzers.

RETURN OF THE QUANTITY AND DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHOT.

SIZE OF GUNS.	ROUND SHOT.	ROUND SHOT FIRED.	TIN CASE SHOT.	BAG SHOT.	GRAPE SHOT.
32 Poundsers	2866	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	24
24 "	23804	. . . .	1300		
12 "	14742	. . . .	960		
6 "	1806	212	120	27	
Total	43218	212	2380	27	24

There was no shot for the 3 pounds, they being sent through mistake.

RETURN OF THE NUMBER AND DIFFERENT SORTS OF SHELLS AND CARCASSES.

SIZE OF THE MORTARS.	NUMBER.	ROUND CARCASSES.	OBLONG CARCASSES.
13 Inch.....	1009	100	
10 "	869		100
8 "	3540		
5 1/2 "	6200		
4 2/5 "	30144		
Total.....	41762	100	100

4000 Grenades.

The Shells for the 8 and 5 1/2 Inch Mortars served the Howitzers
 Corn'd Powder, 4888 Barrels ; Meal'd ditto, 500 pounds.

Sand Bags—	{	2 Bushel.....	5000
		1 "	15000
		1/2 "	95000
		Total	115,000

Mantelets.....	150
Scaling Ladders	105
Cheveaux de friz	30
Forge Carts	2

RETURN OF FLANNEL AND PAPER CARTRIDGES FOR CANNON AND HOWITZERS.

SIZE OF GUNS AND HOWITZERS.	PAPER CARTRIDGES.	FLANNEL CARTRIDGES.
32 Pounders.....	3206	.....
24 ".....	28640	..... 1430
12 ".....	15840	..... 990
6 ".....	877	..... 550
8 Inch.....	.....	..... 660
5½ ".....	.....	..... 1320
Total.....	48563	..... 4950

Musquet Cartridges with ball.....726756

Fuzes fixed	{	13 Inch.....	1022
		10 ".....	1085
		8 ".....	3334
		5½ ".....	6820
		4⅔ ".....	33000
			45261

RETURN OF INTRENCHING TOOLS.

Felling Axes.	Pick Axes.	Hand Barrows.	Wheel Barrows.	Hand Bills.	Shovels Shod.	Spades.	Gabion Forks.	Hand Hatchets.
230	2027	229	814	892	1666	2336	30	902

GENERAL ORDERS GIVEN AT HALIFAX BY BRIGADIER LAWRENCE.

THURSDAY, 18 May.

The following orders, given by Major-General Abercrombie, to be strictly obeyed :

New York, 29th April, 1758.—When the Troops are on board the Transports, they are to be upon the same allowance as last year, according to the printed Tables, viz : 6 men to 4 Men's Allowance, officers included in the order, which is two-thirds allowance in the navy. After they disembark they are to have their full allowance according to the contractors agreement, but all officers whatever from the day of the Regiments embarking, or taking the field, until the day of their entering quarters, are to have only one Ration per day, and the order of the 25th Novr., 1757, for the allowance given in lieu of provisions to cease on the Embarkation of the Regiments or Companies.

20th. The following officers are to be employed on the Expedition as Engineers :

Mr. Collins,	} 45 R.	{	Mr. Peach,	} 47.	{	Mr. Cuthbert, 63rd.
Mr. Mitchell,			Mr. Goddard,			Mr. Benzell, Royals.
Mr. Tonge,						Mr. Holland, R'l Am's.

The Regiments to be employed on the present expedition are to be put into Brigades in the following manner :—

First Brigade to be commanded by Colonel Monckton consists of the Royals, 47th, 2nd B'n of R'l Americans and the 28th Reg'ts.

Second, commanded by Colonel Murray, consists of the 15th, 35th, 40th and 63rd Reg'ts.

Fourth, commanded by Colonel Wilmot, consists of the 22nd, 45th and 3rd B'n of R'l Americans.

The 1st and 3rd Brigades to compose the Right Wing of the Army; the 2nd and 4th the left.

The Royals, 40th and 47th embarked this day; yesterday the 45th.

Sunday.—Upon the firing 3 Guns from the Battery before the Governor's house, all Officers and Soldiers are to repair on board their respective Ships, and no person whatever is afterwards to come on shore without the Admiral's or Governor's express leave.

The Grenadiers of the Army and 2 or 3 of the eldest Reg'ts will probably be the first to land, unless the Admiral finds it necessary from the situation of the Transports or other circumstances to order it otherwise.

The boats of the Ordnance Ships, as well as the rest, will be employed in landing the first body of men; except such a number as are requisite to carry on shore the light 6 prs. Those of the Hospital Ships will be solely employed for the use and assistance of any men that may happen to be wounded, a place of rendezvous will be appointed for the boats when the landing is fixed upon. The Seamen that row the Transport Boats are not to have fire-arms.

When the Troops are ordered to land, Officers are to go into the boats in proportion to the number of Men without crowding, and particularly if there is any swell or surf.

The Admiral will order some light empty boats to save the men that may fall into the sea by accident.

The first body that is ordered to land in Chaberoose bay must take nothing in the boats but their arms and ammunition, with Bread and Cheese in their pockets for two days.

. and blankets of the Troops that land first are to be carefully bundled up, ready to be carried on shore after they have landed, and have beat the Enemy. Three days' provisions to be prepared, at a proper time, in readiness to be sent on shore after the Troops.

Trusty persons to be left in every ship, to superintend and take charge of the baggage and provisions. No women are permitted to land until the army are all on shore, and their Tents, Blankets, Provisions and Necessaries are likewise landed.

An officer commanding a boat shall be answerable that no man fires from out of that boat.

There have been examples of men fixing their Bayonets in boats; but the practice is so absurd that it seems hardly necessary to forbid it. Bayonets are fixed in a moment after landing.

As fast as the men get out of the boats, they must form, and march directly forwards, to clear the beach and charge whatever is before them. They are not to pursue far, but will be ordered to take post, so as effectually to secure the landing of the rest of the army.

The Commander of the Grenadiers and all the Field officers employed in the first landing are to embark into the light rowing boats, that they may lead their respective corps and give their Orders readily.

The Transports of the Regiment of Artillery and the Corps of Rangers must keep as much together as possible, that when a signal is made for any particular Corps it may be in rediness to act. As this depends in a great measure on the Masters of Transports, they must be desired to endeavor to effect it, but if the Admiral should think proper that the boats of every Transport without regard to Corps should bring away as many men as they can safely contain to any particular place of rendezvous then the Commanding officer of every Ship is to make choice of good men under proper commissioned and Non-Commissioned officers that the first attack may be carried on with spirit and vigor.

Colonels & Field Officers will be named to Command every Regt. as they know the number of men their boats can hold will send Captains in proportion and give them directions to be ready before they leave this Harbour. As there may be occasion to detach the Schooners and Sloops a Signal will be appointed for them.

Monday, 22d.—Experience having discovered that Ginger & Sugar mixed with the water of America prevents the ill effects of it, and preserves the men from Fluxes & fevers better than anything yet found out, Brigadier Lawrence does therefore in the strongest manner recommend the use of it to the Troops.

Any of the volunteers that choose to serve with the Light Infantry till the Trenches are opened are at liberty to do it, taking care to be provided with a good Cloak or blanket and a good quantity of Ammunition.

As there is no provision of buntein or other Materials for making distinguishing Vanes the Reg'ts are to endeavor to procure it for themselves so as at least to know the ships of their own Corps and to distinguish particulars in particular a Commanding officers ship.

* When the Fleet shall arrive at the Island of Cape Breton, if the Grenadiers are ordered to land in one body they are to be put under the charge of a Colonel, Lt. Colonel and 2

* Some acid having been spilt at the top of the MSS., it has obliterated throughout part of the writing in that part.

Majors, and land each as many men as they can put into :

They are to be under the orders of 3 Colonels, 1 Lt. Colonel and 4 Majors, the officers of these commands to be taken according to Seniority, and if both the Grenadiers and Battalion Men are commanded upon the same service, then the whole Body will receive directions from Brigadier-General Wolfe.

The Disembarkation of the Grenadiers is to be commanded by Colonel Monckton, Lt. Colonel Fletcher, Major Farquhar and Major Murray,—that of the Battalion men is to be commanded by Colonel Murray, Colonel Burton, Colonel Wilmot, Lt. Colonel Handfield, Major Provost, Major Darby, Major Clephane and Major Hamilton.

MINUTES OF THE SEIGE OF LOUISBOURG.

Monday 28. The Signal being made according to the orders of the 21st and the Troops all on board Admiral Boscawen sailed with the Squadron and Transports. Off Cape Sambro' we met the Dublin from England with General Amherst, who went on board the Namur; Capt. Rodney proceeded to Halifax; The Hawk Bomb Ketch conveying the 28th Regt. from Chignecto in the Bay of Fundy—The Detachments of the several Corps from Lunenburg. The Kennington from England, and the Essex Transport from Madeira with an officer of the 40th and another of the 45th Regt. who was on board the men of war at the time of the violent storm when the Tilbury was lost off Louisbourg.

Saturday 3d of June.

After a favourable passage nothing happening particular except Colonel Monckton being ordered back to Halifax and General Whitmore to join the Army in his room we came to an Anchor at about 5 o'clock in the morning in Gabreuse bay—The Admiral with a few ships getting in yesterday.

Saw many small encampments along the shore with Batteries here and there. The Kennington hawl'd in and played upon one of 2 Guns for several hours the Enemy returning the fire, kill'd 3 and wounded 6 men on board the Frigate.

ORDERS GIVEN THIS DAY BY GENERAL AMHERST.

Major General Amherst having received His Majesty's orders to land the forces under his command upon the Island of Cape Breton and to Besiege and attack the Town of Louisbourg in conjunction with the Fleet, and Brigadier General Lawrence having in conformity to the Kings commands used the utmost dispatch in preparing every thing for that end; the Major General will prosecute it with the utmost vigor, in which he expects to be seconded by the zeal and valor of the Troops. His Majesty & the Nation have their eyes fixed upon the operations of this great Fleet and Army: their Union and Mutual good inclinations promise success, neither side it is hoped will be wanting in their best endeavors to deserve it.

The Troops must pay exact obedience to all orders be treated with the most impartial justice. It is recommended to them to live in great friendship and harmony to assist each other, and to carry on public business as becomes Soldiers and Englishmen, to do honor to themselves and to their country by their behaviour. A sufficient quantity of provisions and Stores of all kinds . . . in the Fleet, no care or attention will be wanting for the subsistence and preservation of the Troops, such as our situation will allow of. There will be an Hospital, and in time it's hoped there will be fresh meet for the sick and wounded men. and it is not doubted but the Commanders of Corps will in every respect have due regard to health and welfare of their Soldiers. On the other hand the least murmur or complaint against any part of duty will be checked with great severity, and any backwardness in sight of the Enemy will be punish'd with immediate death. If any man is Villain enough to desert his colours and go over to the Enemy he shall be excepted in the Capitulation and hang'd with infamy as a Traitor.

When any of our Troops are to attack the French regular forces, they are to march close up to them discharge their pieces loaded with two bullets and then rush upon them with their bayonets; and the Commander of the Highlanders may when he see's occasion order his Corps to run upon them with their drawn swords.

A Body of light troops are now training to oppose the Indians, Canadians and other painted Savages, of the Island; who will entertain them in their own way and preserve the women and child-

ren of the army from their unnatural barbarity. Indians spur'd on by our inveterate Enemy the French are the only brutes and Cowards in the creation who were ever known to exercise their cruelty's upon the sex and to scalp and mangle the poor sick Soldiers and defenceless Women. When the light troops have by practice and experience acquired as much caution and circumspection as they have spirit and activity these howling barbarians will fly before them. The Army under the Fire and protection of the Fleet will land perhaps if the wind favors in face of the Enemy, or we may attempt it perhaps at different parts of the Island, that by dividing their force we may be sure to succeed somewhere. When the Troops, Artillery Stores &c., are all landed in which the Troops must exert themselves to assist and the business is half done. The camp will be slightly intrench'd or Pallisadoed that the men may be quiet in their Tents and that the Sentries may not be exposed to the Shot of a miserable lurking Mick-mack whose trade is not war but murder. The Troops may expect some cannon shot and a feeble opposition at landing, but those and other obstacles, the British Grenadiers supported by the Battalions will easily overcome.

If any body of men are detached to get footing to the Eastward of the Harbour The Commander when he has landed his men must possess himself advantageously and send immediate notice to the Admiral and General of his situation.

Officers must be extremely vigilant in their duty throughout . . .
 . . . Campaign and obstinate in the defence of any post . . .
 . . . in charge.

Drunkenness in general is forbid, but a man that is drunk on any part of his duty will be punished without mercy. The Commanding Officers of Regiments shall be answerable for the behaviour of their sutlers, and that nothing be sold by them that may hurt the men or induce disorder and irregularities in the Army, the General will encourage a Market for Provisions, Beer and other necessaries for the Troops, no person whatsoever shall presume to sutle in the Army without his particular permission. It is strictly ordered that the Soldiers of all Regiments do pay the same respect and obedience, to the officers of other Corps as to their own, distinctions of the sort are inconsistent with His Majesty's Service and not to be permitted in a well disciplined Army. The Pioneers of the Army

will be paid the usual allowance when they work upon the Trenches, Battaries, Sap or Mines, and when Volunteers are wanted for any act of vigor the General will pay and reward them in proportion to their merit and behaviour. Great care must be taken of the arms and ammunition and such reparations made to the firelocks as may be requisite. A constant fire from the Trenches will destroy the arms unless there be continual repairs. Reports are to be made to the Colonels Commanding Brigades by the Regiments under their orders, and by the Colonels to the Brigadiers Commanding the wings. Major Barry is Major of Brigade of the right wing and Major Dobson of the Left. The Subaltern Officers servants are to do all duties with them and a Captain shall only exempt one man of his Company from the duty of the Siege. As the air of Cape Breton is moist and foggy there must be a particular attention to the fire arms upon duty that they may be kept dry and always fit for use and the Light Infantry should fall upon some method to secure their arms from the dews and the dropping of the Trees when they are in search of the Enemy. The Commander of the Light Troops must teach his Corps to attack and defend themselves Judiciously, always endeavoring to get upon the Enemy's flank and equally watchfully to prevent their surrounding them. They must be instructed to choose good posts and to lay themselves in ambuscade to advantage, to be alert, silent, vigilant and obedient, ready at all times to turn out without the least noise or the least confusion. They must always march in files and generally fight in a single rank pushing at the Enemy when they see them in confusion and that the ground favors their efforts never persue with too much eagerness nor to give way excepting a very great inequality of numbers.

The signals to row ashore will be three guns from the Sutherland repeated from the Admiral.

Although the Highlanders, Light Infantry and Irregulars are a separate attack upon the left yet when they land they are to consider themselves part of the left wing and immediately under the command of Brigadier General Lawrence.

The Field Officers of the right attack for the Grenadiers Colonel Murray, Lt.-Colonel Fletcher, Major Farquhar and Major Murray.

. . . . of the right wing Col. Burton . . . Col. . . .
 and Major Darby.

. . . . officers of the centre attack or Detachment of the left
 . . . Wilmot, Lt.-Col. Handfield, Major Hamilton . . . Hussey
 all the remaining Field Officers of the Army are to come ashore with
 the second disembarkation. As Bragg's Regt. is to be detached for
 particular duty they are not to furnish Grenadiers for the Right
 Attack, and the whole of the Highlanders are to be employed with
 the Light Infantry and Irregulars on the left.

Captain Amherst and Capt. Darcey are appointed to act as Aid-
 De-Camps to Major-General Amherst.

Lieutenant Tonge of General Warburton's Regiment is to attend
 on the Deputy Qr. Mr. Genl. on the landing of the Troops.

Col. Frazer's Company of Grenadiers in the Princess Amelia's
 boats will row to join their own Regiment.

Gabreuse bay is above three leagues by sea from the harbour of
 Louisbourg to the South-west of it. *Sunday, 4.*—A hard Gale and
 foggy. The *Trenk* struck unshipped her Rudder, made repeated
 signals of distress; got off with great difficulty, proper assistance
 being given her by the other ships. The Transports in danger of
 driving ashore suffer'd much in their Cables and anchors.

General Orders.

As the Surf is so great that the disposition for landing in three
 Divisions cannot take place, and as the Men of War cannot be
 carried near enough to the shore of the Bay within the white point
 to cover the landing there, The General not to lose a moment of
 time has thought proper to order that an attack be made upon the
 little Intrenchments within the fresh water cove with four companies
 of Grenadiers. That no Body regulars or irregulars, may dare stand
 before them. These Detachments are to be commanded by Brigadier
 General Wolfe.

The Detachments of the Left Wing under Brigr. Genl. Lawrence
 are to draw up as was before order'd behind the Frigates of the
 Centre Attack; in readiness if the weather permits to run ashore on
 the opposite beach or if not to follow the Grenadiers when it is
 judged necessary.

The right wing to draw up to the Right as in the orders of yesterday
 opposite to the Bay that is on this side of the white point to fix the

Enemy's attention, or to follow the Troops of the left wing when they shall receive orders for that purpose.

The boats of this division are to keep out a mile and a half or two miles distant from the land, extending in a considerable length of line.

As the Grenadiers are now to Assemble towards the left instead of the Right the Captains must be attentive to the Red flag in Brigadier General Wolfe's boat which is to be the centre of their Line and range themselves accordingly.

The Detachments of the Right wing must have the same attention to Brigadier-General Whitmore's Flags and those of the left wing

General Lawrence's Flag, and the whole to Assemble Posts immediately after the signal is made to

four oldest Companies of Grenadiers are to attack first

Forbes under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel on the little Bay upon the right. Amhersts and Whitmores under the Command of Major Murray in another little Bay upon the left. The Field Officers and Captains will receive their particular instructions from Brigadier General Wolfe.

They must avoid huddling together and running into a lump in such a situation, they are a fair Mark for their Adversaries and not able to employ their arms to purpose.

When these men use their Powder Horns to Load they must take particular Care, not to put too much Powder into their Pieces, and to have paper ready Cut or Tow to charge with in proper portions. The evolutions and movements of these Bodys for the ready forming in, a variety of situations will be regulated hereafter.

The Commdg. Officers of Regiments, Captains of Companies and other Officers are to read and explain all the orders that Concern them, taking great care to inform them of every part of their duty, and shewing them upon all occasions examples worthy of their imitation.

The Army is to land and attack the French in three different Bodies and at three different places, all the Grenadiers and Detachments of the right Wing land upon the right in the bay within the White Point, the Light Infantry, Irregulars and highlanders are to land in the fresh Water Cove in order to take the Enemy in flank and rear, and cut some of them off from the Town.

The Men of War are ordered to each of those places to scour the Posts and Protect the Troops at their landing, the Grenadiers are to draw up as they lay in their Brigades upon the right of the right attack, and to Rendezvous in a line behind a Boat with a Red Flag in which Brigadier General Wolfe will be. The Detachment of the Right Wing are to assemble in a line as they are in their Brigades behind a Boat with a White Flag where Brigadier General Whitmore will be. The Detachment of the left Wing are to Rendezvous in the same manner behind a Boat with a Blue Flag where Brigadier General Lawrence will Command.

The Highlanders, Light Infantry, and Irregulars are to Rendezvous to the right of the Island lying before the fresh water Cove to be ready to run in the Cove when the Signal is given.

After the Grenadiers are landed and have taken Post along the Entrenchments, The Light Infantry are to land, push forward into the Wood and force the Enemy's Irregulars to retire.

Monday 5. Very Foggy and a great Surfe.

Tuesday 6. Rain and Fog. It was thought proper on an appearance of change of Weather to make an attempt of landing the Troops after the signal made they Boats they debarked in, rowed near the shore, But Captain Gambier who was sent to reconnoitre the Beach reporting that the Surge was to High and a violent Shower of Rain coming on the Troops were ordered to embark.

Wednesday 7th. The Fog cleared, discovered a chain of Works that the French had all along the shore, Surge continued still high.

Brag's regiment detached by the mouth of the Harbour in the small craft in which they came down the Bay of Fundy, to make a show of Landing at Loumbeik and draw the Enemy's attention that way cannonaded as they got near Louisbourg from the Barbet Batteries toward the sea.

General Orders.

If the Surfe should be so great that the Troops cannot land this afternoon, the General intends to attack the Enemy to morrow at the dawn of Day, unless the Weather is so bad as to make it impracticable.

The Boats are to Assemble in three Divisions as before, the right wing at the Violet Transport where there will be three Lights hung upon the off side near the water edge.

The Left Wing at the St. George's Transport with two lights hung in the same manner.

The Rendezvous of the Grenadiers &c. will be at the Neptune Transport where a single light will be hung out.

As the General's intentions are to surprise the French as well as to attack them, he depends upon the care and vigilance of the officers, commanding Transports, that his orders be strictly complied with.

The Troops are to be in their Boats at two o'Clock exactly.

No Lights are to be shewed in any of the Transports except the signals above mentioned after Twelve o'Clock at night and there must be profound silence throughout the whole Army and above all things, the firing of a single Musquet must be avoided.

The men of wars Boats will be sent to their respective Transports by one in the morning.

The General is sufficiently convinced of the good disposition of the Troops by what he has already seen, he desires they will not hollow nor cry out at Landing, but be attentive to the commands of their Officers by which they can never be put in any confusion or fail of success. Their officers will lead them directly to the Enemy.

If the Admiral and General should think proper to alarm the Enemy in the beginning of the night the Troops are to take no notice but prepare themselves to obey their orders.

Thursday, 8th.—At the hour appointed the Boats attended the Transports, the Troops debarked and formed according to orders. Men of war Stationed to Cover the Landing in the following manner :

The Sutherland and Squirrel on the right near white Point, the Kennington and Halifax Snow on the left near the Cove, the Grenadiers &c were to land in ; and the Gramont, Diana and Shannon in the Centre, at the dawn they began a most heavy Cannonade on the Enemy's Works on Shore ; They making a feeble return, and throwing Shells at the Boats, at the same time lining their Intrenchments.

When the Fire from the Ships was thought Sufficient the Signal was made for the Grenadiers to row into the Cove which they accordingly did. The Enemy began a very hot fire of Musquetry and Swivels, from their Intrenchments, and the same with Grape from their Batteries in Flank. After standing this some time still making for the shore, a small body of Light Infantry Commanded by Lieutenants Hopkins & Brown and Ensign Grant of the 35th Regiment seeing a convenient place on the right of the Cove that is free from the Enemy's Fire, the Surge being equally or more violent than in the Cove, made for it, and getting ashore, were soon followed by the whole ; came upon the Flank and back of the Enemy drove them, and Brigadier General Wolfe with a small Body pursued them within Cannonade of the Town.

The right and Left Wings landed afterwards and were followed by the Second Embarkation. The Line was formed and marched nearer the Town, laid out the Encampment for the Army, every Corps taking up their own ground.

The Loss we Sustained this day was

Killed.

Of Amhersts. Lieutenant Nicholson, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal and 38 of the whole, 21 with the above mentioned officer of the 15th were Drowned, a shot of the Enemy taking place sunk their Boat.

Of the Highlanders Captain Baillie and Lieut : Cuthbert.

Wounded.

Five Lieutenants, 2 Serjeants 1 Corporal, and 51 Privates. The officers names were of the Royals, Lieut. Fitzymonds, Bailey & Fenton.

Of Whitmore's Lieutenant Butler; of the Highland Regiment Lieutenant Frazer, who with Fenton, afterwards died of their wounds.

Of the Rangers Ensign Crothers and 3 Privates Killed 1 Wounded and 1 Missing.

On the Enymy's Side 2 Captains of Grenadiers and two Lieutenants with about 70 Regulars, Canadians &c were made Prisoners. 1 officer killed with an Indian Chief and several other men.

Took from the French Three 24 Pounders, Seven 9 Pounders, Seven 6 Pounders, Fourteen Swivels, and Two Mortars, which were placed along the Shore, and a continuation of the Intrenchment to prevent our Landing with ammunition Tools and Stores of all kinds.

The obstacles the Troops had to Surmount in landing was an Enemy Posted to the greatest advantage, their intrenchments being 15 feet above High Water mark, the approaches to which was rendered impracticable by large Trees being laid very thick together upon the Beach, all round the Cove, their Branches laying towards the Sea, the distance of 20 yards in some places, and 30 in others between their lines, and the Waters edge. Then the Surge was extremely violent, most of our Boats being staved, and the Rocks coming out so far that the greatest part of the Army landed to their middle in Water, many were much hurt, others crushed to Pieces being carried away by the Surge, and the Boats driving over them with the return of it.

Had the Enemy permitted the Troops of the Left attack to have landed in the Cove, They must certainly have put it out of our power to have troubled them afterwards, as by reserving their Fire till then in all probability they would have put us in confusion, and we afterwards must have been at their mercy.

The advantages mentioned given them so much the superiority.

Colonel St. Julien Commanded the French Lines which consisted of about 3000 Regulars, and Irregulars 1500 of which were posted at the Place French Officer with his Party, Posted at some of the Batteries to some of our Flying Parties being cut off from the Town

Sir Charles Hardy who had sailed from Halifax the latter end of March with 9 Ships of the Line and some Frigates with Troops on Board to Block up, and cruise off the Harbour of Louisbourg joined Admiral Boscawen.

Orders.

The Picquets to lay out all night and be Posted by the Field officers partly in the Front, but chiefly in the Rear of the Camp and then all the out Posts to be called in except the Detachment with Colonel Burton,—who was Posted at the Landing Place.

Friday, 9th. Brags Regiment returned, clearing the Encampment. The Surf so high that very few Tents or Baggage of the Army could be landed.

Orders.

If there are any French Prisoners, they are to be brought to Major General Amherst in the rear of the Centre of the Army.

All the Tools that may have been taken at the different Posts of the Enemy to be collected together in the rear of the Royals.

Lieutenant Tonge will mark out the Ground in the Rear of the Corps where it may be necessary to throw any works, which each Regiment will do for themselves taking half of the Interval to secure the whole rear of the Camp.

The 1st Brigade consists of the Royals, Hopsons, Lawrences, Webbs and Whitmores.

The 2nd of Brags, Anstruthers, Frasers, Warburtons & Amhersts.

The 3rd of Forbes, Lascelles, Moncktons and Otways.

Brigadier General Whitmore to have the Inspection of the 1st Brigade, Brigadier General Lawrence the 2nd and Brigadier General Wolfe the 3rd.

The Major General in Camp is in the Centre of the Army, the Brigadier Generals in the Centre of their respective Brigades The Brigade Majors in the Rear of the Centre of the Army. Orderly time at 10 o'clock.

All the standing orders given out by His Royal Highness the Duke, of the Duty in Camp to be strictly obeyed.

Saturday 10. Still clearing our Camp, Pitching Tents, and getting our Baggage on Shore which was attended with great trouble on account of the Surge it being equally violent as at the place we landed.

Began to throw up the works in the rear as ordered yesterday.

A Captain of a Man of War ordered daily to inspect and direct the landing of all the Stores Artillery &c.

Sir Charles Hardy with 7 or 8 ships sailed from Gabrouse and anchored off the mouth of the Harbour.

Sunday 11th. The Army employed in the same manner as yesterday with the addition of beginning to make Roads through the Camp and to the Cove where the Artillery &c. was landing.

The Serjeant Major and 4 Men of Fishers Regiment of Volunteers deserted from the Enemy, said that the Garrison was not more than 3000 and including every Body that Could bear arms 5000, that they might expect a good many if not the whole of their Regiment, they not liking a Service in which they had been trepanned that the Enemy had destroyed the Grand & Light House Batteries and Called in all their out posts.

Some Light Artillery and Stores were Landed.

Orders of the 10th.

When the rear of the Army are sufficiently Secured against incursions of the Barbarians, two or three small Detachments will be guard enough for each Regiment.

All the Tents taken at the different Posts which were abandoned by the Enemy to be collected by Lieutenant Lesley, and given to the Five Companies of Rangers.

The Grenadiers are to do Duty entirely by themselves, except the Camp Duty.

Orders of this Day.

Morning.

The Grenadiers of Otways, Hopsins, Warburtons, and Lascelles are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to March.

Evening 7 oClock.

Four hundred of the Light Infantry and Rangers are to march this night, and take Post in the Woods, round the upper part of the north East Harbour, there lay in Ambush, and cover the March of a Detachment of the Army, which will be ordered to take Post at Lorembeck, at the end of the North East Harbour, and upon the Light House Point.

The Detachment to consist of four Companies of Grenadiers who were mentioned this Morning to hold themselves in readiness to

march under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Nale of the 47th Regiment, and of the following number of Men to be Detached from every Corps.

Corps.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
1st	1	3	4	2	90
15th	1	3	4	2	90
17th	1	3	4	2	100
22nd	1	3	4	2	90
35th	1	2	3	2	50
40th	1	2	3	2	80
45th	1	3	4	2	90
47th	1	3	4	2	90
48th	1	3	4	2	100
58th	1	2	3	2	50
60th { 2nd } Battalions	1	3	4	2	100
{ 3rd }	1	3	4	2	90
63rd	2	6	8	4	200
Total	14	39	53	28	1220

These 1220 men are to be put into three Battalions, the 1st to be under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Morrice, the 2nd by Lieutent Colonel Rollo, the 3d by Major Ross.

The Detachments of the Right Brigade, are the 1st Battalion, those of the left the 2nd and those of the centre the 3rd.

The Grenadiers are to be the Van Guard of their Detachments preceeded only by some of the Light Infantry, They are to be formed into Battalions, on the left of each Brigade, and march from them by the left by files to the general place of Rendezvous, the Rear rank of each Regiment is to serve as Light Infantry for their own Corps and to move in a single File upon the left of the march about 50 or 60 yards from the Line.

This Detachment is to have 40 Rounds of Ammunition as many Hatchets as can be spared from the Regiments, at the rate of a

Hatchet per man or one for every two men, at least Six days Provisions Tents and Camp necessities for every Eight men, The officers must be contented with Soldiers Tents, till better Provision can be made for them.

The whole to assemble in the front of Amhersts to-morrow by Five in the Morning, but so as not to be perceived by the Town or Ships in the Harbour.

The whole of this Detachment from the Line, to be under the Command of Brigadier General James Wolfe.

Monday, 12th. At 2 oClock this Morning, the Light Infantry and Rangers under the Command of Major Scott, marched according to orders.

About Five General Wolfe with the Four Companies and Detachment followed to take possession of the Light House Battery.

The Regulation of our March strictly kept up to, and without any interruption. a thick fog favoured us from the Cannonade of Five Ships of the Line and some Frigates that were in the Harbour; Heard very plain the noise they made on Board in the Course of their duty.

About 2 oClock came to our Ground, two Small Encampments with the Tents Pitched, some Provisions and Tools remained.

The Shore Intrenched in the same manner as heretofore described, two Pieces of Cannon with their Trunnions Knocked off on the flank of a Cove where the stores &c for this little Army were to be Landed, Three Eight Pounders in the upper Encampment, two of which were Spiked.

The Detachment that was ordered to Lorembeck marched under Captain Sutherland of the 45th Regiment, They found a great quantity of Salt Fish, a small Encampment and one piece of Cannon.

Left that, ordered to be Posted at the head of the North East Harbour, in our Way, under the Command of Major Ross of the 48th Regiment.

General Wolfe having reconnoitered, the Light House Point The Detachment Encamped about 4 oClock, and the Light Infantry and Rangers returned to the Grand Camp.

Several Vessels with Artillery, ammunition &c. covered by the Diana and Hunter, anchored off the Cove.

Part of the Intrenchment pulled down to make a Communication between the Cove and — Encampment.

The Tools left by the Enemy were collected and amounted to a considerable number.

The Enemy Fired a Shot or two from their Ships, on Seeing some of our People walking backwards and forwards about the Light House an officers Guard mounted there.

Tuesday 13th. At Day Break a road began from the Cove for drawing Artillery to the Point, and along the shore opposite the Harbour where it was intended Batteries should be erected.

About 9 o'clock an alarm in the Camp occasioned by a message from Major Ross, that a large party of French were advancing towards his Post, upon which the Grenadier Companies with a Detachment from the Line marched to sustain him. But it turned out that the Enemies intentions were only to burn some Houses they had neglected, when the Grand Battery and other Buildings were set fire to the day they landed—on the execution of their design they retired to their Garrison, our Troops returned to Camp and continued the work began this morning.

A great Fire of Musquetry on the right supposed to be a sally from the Town, and so it proved, a party of about 300 came out, but was — drove back by the Light Infantry, with the loss of 5 killed, and 40 wounded, it ended with a Cannonade from the Ramparts, Pickets from the Line marched, but the affair was over before they could get up. Lieutenants Allen and Lilley the former of the 35th and the latter of the 40th were wounded.

The Fire from the Island Battery rather incommoding our Camp, The Tents were struck, and about 9 o'clock the line marched to a place of more security. The Grenadiers remained.

The right was employed, making Roads, and finishing the Works in the Rear of their Corps in the day, and at night threw up a redoubt on a Hill by the water side half a mile in the front of the Royal.

Wednesday, 14th. At Day break the four Companies struck their Tents, while on their march received an order to sustain Major Ross' Post, who had notice from the Rangers that a Body of the Enemy appeared to move that way, But before the Grenadiers joined him their proceeding was countermanded, and they encamped on the right of the line.

The Enemy towed a Sloop mounting two 32 Pounders on her bows, under cover of the Island Battery to annoy our landing of Stores and play on the Men of War and Transports, she fired for some hours without doing any damage; went back to the Fleet and came to her station again in the afternoon, continued firing for an Hour and a half. Returned by the Ships of War but to little purpose there being great difference in the Weight of Metal, the shot of the Sloop going over and the others not above the third of the way, neither was it in their power to approach nearer without exposing themselves to a Hot and unequal fire from the Battery on the Island. The Diana had six men killed and wounded on Board of her, she with the Hunter Sloop convoyed Transports that came round from Gabarus Bay with Artillery, Ammunition & Anchored off a convenient Cove to the Eastward of the Light House for the getting these stores on Shore.

Several Cannon and Mortars landed this night.

The Right still continued to work on their Roads and landing Stores.

Three Redoubts began last night on the Eminences from right to left to secure a communication in the Front of the Camp. A Flag of Truce from the enemy.

Thursday, 15th. Large Party's at Work in landing and Drawing Artillery, carrying Fascines and Picketts to the places where the Batteries were to be; cutting sods at the Light House and filling Sand Bags Cannonading and some Shells thrown from the Island at those Partys going backwards and forwards, and those employed on the spot.

Orders given on the right.

Whenever a Drummer may be sent from the Town of Louisbourg he shall be stopped by the first Sentry of whatever advanced Post he may come to, and the officer Commanding that Post will send the Letter or Letters to the General keeping the Drummer so that he cannot see any of our works or the Camp, till the answer from the General is returned.

If the Governor should send an officer with a letter who may say he is ordered to deliver his dispatches to the General himself and will not give them to any one else. He shall not on any account

whatsoever be permitted to advance through any of our Posts, but shall be kept till he deliveres his dispatches and remain there for an answer ; or if he persists in not sending them he shall be kept at the out Post where he cannot see our Works or Camp, and the officer Commanding at the Post, to send a Report of it to the General.

A Market to be established at the centre of the line in the Rear of Lascelles and Moncktons no Provisions or Liquors of any kind shall be permitted to be sold at any place but at the fixed market.

All officers who make reports of any motions of the Enemy to the General, the Brigadier-General of the Day, or any Superior officer are desired if possible to make it writing, particularly what they see themselves, and specifying any thing they report of what others may have seen and report to them.

Two Deserters from the *Volontaires Etrangers* came into Grand Camp, confirm the Enemys Loss in the Skirmish of the 13th.

Friday 16th. Continuation of the Works, Carried on with all possible Despatch four Mortars with a quantity of Provisions and Stores, sent round from Gabarus Bay. A vessel dispatched from this Post with an officer of each Corps on Board for the Baggage, &c., of this Army.

The Right Still at Work on the Redoubts began the 13th. This day landed Artillery, Provisions &c.

Saturday 17th. The Line employed in the same manner as yesterday.

The Enemy Cannonading and throwing Shells as usual. Two Eight Inch Mortars, and Three Royals sent to this Post. Strong Parties at Work on the Batteries at night.

Sunday 18th. Landing Howitzers. The Echo Frigate of 32 Guns bound to Quebec with Stores and Provisions brought in by the Juno. She got out of the Harbour by favor of a Dark Foggy night, and a brisk Gale which drove Sir Charles Hardy and his Squadron to Sea.

At night drawing Cannon, Mortars, Howitzers and Royals, also Carrying Shott and Shells to the Batteries for the Completing of which Parties were at Work using all possible expedition.

Some 24 Pounders landed on the Right ; the Road for their Artillery, and in the Front of their Line carried on by large working

Parties,—Several of the Transports men made Prisoners by the Indians at the head of Gabereuse Bay.

Orders for the Evening Gun to be Fired this day at Sun setting.

Monday 19th. Sir Charles Hardy returned to their Stations off the Harbours Mouth.—The vessel arrived with the necessaries of this Army.

Between Nine and Ten this night several Batteries of Cannon Mortars, Howitzers, and Royals, were opened against the Island and Shipping in the Harbour.

The Bomb Battery consisted of Two Thirteen Inch, 2 of Eight and 6 Royals, some distance from them were two Eight Inch Howitzers add to these Batteries of 1, 2, and 3 Pieces of Cannon each 12 & 24 Pounders, which with those mentioned before made 7 properly disposed of along the Shore from the Light House.

The whole line marched to sustain these Batteries in case the enemy should Land and Attack them in front. Four Picquets moved half a mile beyond the Left Wing of the Grand Army, Between them and Major Ross' Post Major Scott and a Body of Light Infantry were Posted with orders to secure the communication to the end of the North East Harbour by placing small parties properly: and to be ready to attack and fall on flank of detachments, that might attempt to land, or come out of the Town on that side to attack General Wolfe in Flank, and that on his seeing a Rocket fired on the Hill by the

Wharf which would be answered by one of Sir Charles Squadron, and a third from the Centre Redoubt to light Fires on the Back of the Hills behind the Grand Battery, making all the Shew he could of having a large Body of Troops there, and to inform the officer commanding the Picquets of anything extraordinary that might happen, who was to report it immediately to Brigadier Lawrence who was to support if necessary.

To confuse and draw the Enemy's attention different ways They fired from the Right towards the covered way.

A Road began by the Parties at Grand Camp, by which Artillery Stores &c were to be transported to an eminence called Green Hill conveniently situated for erecting Batteries against the Town.

The fire from the Batteries opened, continued very smart all night, was equally returned from the Shipping, after they had recovered their surprise. The Island added to their cannonade as brisk a Bombardment as two Mortars would allow them

Tuesday, 20th. A Warm Fire on both sides. In the Evening drawing Artillery, At night the Mortar Batteries Played chiefly on the Island the Ships having Warped in 600 yards nearer the Town. The Enemy burnt an old vessel in the Harbour.

The right attack carrying on the Works they began yesterday.

Wednesday, 21st. Bombarding the Island, who returned the fire from Cannon and Mortars, The Ships added a warm Cannonade upon our Batteries, but without any Material effect.

The fired several shot into the left of the Grand Camp, as did the Garrison upon the Redoubts, and into the Right Wing.

The parties of this Camp were employed in Landing Stores &c at night they threw up a Redoubt between those on the right and centre to defend the Road making for the Artillery.

Thursday, 22d. It being ordered that a Battery of six 24 Pounders should be erected at the Light House Point for the entire distruction of the Defence of the Island 400 men under the command of Lieut. Colonel Nale began this work at Daybreak this morning. Foggy Weather gave the Parties on the right an opportunity of finishing the Redoubt began last night. They also continued the Work on the roads and erected a Block house to secure the communication to the Light House.

Friday 23rd. A Grenadier Company used all Despatch in forwarding the Work of the Light House Battery, an indulgence to the 400 men who were volunteers for the erecting of it. Work of another (to play on the Shipping) carried on situated beyond Major Ross' Post in going to the Grand Battery from General Wolfe's Camp, intended for 4 Pieces of Cannon, but never more than a 12 and 24 Pounder were planted in it, a Brisk fire was kept on it by the French men of War, The same from the Island on our Parties going backwards and forwards to the Six Gun Battery.

The Parties of the Grand Camp began the epanlement, a work of a quarter of a mile in length nine feet high and Sixteen Broad for covering and facilitating the approaches to the Town by the Green hill. They had Twelve 24 Pounders and Seven 12's in their Park of Artillery.

Saturday, 24th. Strong Parties still at Work on the Batteries. The Island fired at the Light House Point by Day break, and the Shipping at the New Work beyond Major Ross' Post.

The Right employed as yesterday, found great difficulty in carrying on the epanlment, it being upon a Wet morass they were to make their Road, and throw up this work with Earth brought distant from the Place.

General Orders.

The Officers of the Army on Board His Majesty's Ships Terrible and Northumberland, are ordered to join their Corps and both the Officers and Soldiers are likewise to join their Corps from on Board his Majesty's Ship Captain.

These Detachments went on Board at Halifax before the Grand Armament sailed.

Sunday, 25th. The Light House Battery opened at Break of day with 5 24 Pounders, a Sergeant of Warburtons killed not far from it by a shot from the Ships, another from the Island broke an Iron Piece of ordnance.

The Half Moon Battery at Point Mirepoix and the Men of War kept a constant Fire on the Battery on the Point, but with little success as the distance is great.

Monday, 26th. At one this Morning the Four Grenadier Companies, with the Detachment of Amhersts, and Anstruthers as also Gorhams Rangers marched from the Light House point, and took post to the Westward of the Grand Battery in order to fortify a Camp, and erect a Battery against the Shipping, they having Warped close under the Town, out of Reach of our other Works.

Continued all day in entrenching, and Covering our Camp from the Fire of the Ships, which was very Hot, but fortunately without effect, a Redoubt threw up on the Right, of the Intrenchment and another on an Eminence adjacent.

A Party of the Enemy came out to set fire to the Block House and met with success so far as getting a Barrel of Pitch into it. Its Guard was too weak for resisting so large a Party but being speedily reinforced by Detachments from Grand Camp forced the Enemy to retire.

This night the Right Attack took possession of Green Hill, and a large Party of Workmen were employed.

Tuesday, 27th. Continuing the Work of the Entrenchment and Redoubts. Three Grenadiers of the 47th dangerously wounded by Canon Shot.

The Embrazures of the East end of the Island Battery very much shattered, and by their not firing anything but shells since four in the morning of the 25th gave reason to imagine all the Guns on that side were dismantled.

A constant Fire from the Ships and Garrison on the Working Parties of General Amherst's Camp. A 24 Pounder lost in bringing on Shore. Two hundred Marines landed, took Post at Kennington Cove.

Wednesday, 28th. Finishing our Works, and at night a Battery for Five Pieces of Cannon began, as, also one for Mortars.

It being very Dark and foggy, The Enemy under Cover of it, Sunk four large Ships at the entrance of the Harbour.

Thursday, 29th. Work of the Batteries Carrying on. A Grenadier of the 40th killed in his Tent by a Shot from the Ships whose fire was very Hot, but rather abated towards the Evening, by the explosion of a 13 Inch Shell taking Place in one of them who had kept up the principal Cannonade, Her crew were put into great Confusion, and used all Despatch in throwing her Powder over Board.

A man on the Right killed and Scalped by the Indians who were pursued and two killed.

The Work of the Epaulment much interrupted by the Enemy's Fire particularly from Le Arethusa Frigate Stationed as High up the Harbour as the depth of Water would permit with her broadside towards a low pass by which the troops were obliged to advance.

Strong Parties every night on the Green Hill covered by many Picquets.

Friday, 30th. Sir Charles Hardy sailed in quest of two French Men of War that were seen in the offing.

Some Shells thrown from the Island and cannonading from Point Mirepoix to the Light House at the Parties there.

Drawing Cannon to our New Post this Night.

Brigadier Wolfe's Orders.

When the Batteries begin to Play the Enemy will probly throw Shells into the Camp, the Detachment is therefore to be in readiness to change their situation and to get out of the reach of any mischief.

When the cannon and mortars are placed in Battery The Brigadier

purposes to carry one Establishment nearer to the Town and to take possession of two Eminences not far from the West Gate to shut them close within their Fortifications to Force the Frigate out of its present situation, and to assist in the Attack of the Place, in which undertaking he does not doubt but that the Officers and Soldiers will co-operate with their usual Spirit, that they may have at least their share in the honor of this enterprize.

Saturday 1 July. Two more Vessels sunk at the Harbours Mouth, and the masts of the others cut away. About 6 o'clock this morning 200 of the Enemy came out of the Garrison to get Wood. The Light Infantry with a Detachment of Highlanders (who joined us on our forming our present Camp) marched and soon obliged this Party to give way, retreating from Hill to Hill facing about at times & returning the Smart Fire of our Troops. General Wolfe was in this Skirmish and as usual in the most Danger several men were Wounded but none of any consequence.

At Dusk the General with his Grenadier Companies marched and took Post on the Eminences mentioned in yesterdays orders, within 7 or 800 yards of the West Gate were joined by Brag's, and Webb's Grenadiers, Highlanders and Light Infantry were advanced in front, and upon the Flanks, and Pickets from Grand Camp were formed in rear. Before these things were properly settled it was near break of day, so we covered ourselves from the Enemy's sight by keeping at the bottom of the Eminences and lay on our arms.

Skirmish on the right, a Party of French attempted surprising our Workmen, but were repulsed and drove back with great precipitation to Cape Noir. The Ramparts and Ships kept up a Hot fire all night on the advanced Posts of this attack.

Sunday 2nd. Continued on our Arms all day, Skirmishing between the Light Infantry and Straggling French, each one making a Stone his Breast Work, 10 o'clock at night the Grenadiers began a Semicircular Redoubt on the Commanding Eminence.

A Hundred Marines sent on Shore and Joined General Wolfe's Army.

The Right carried on their Lines, and other Works on the Green Hill with as much dispatch as possible. The Epaulment very tedious on account of the reasons afore mentioned and the incessant Fire of the Frigate, frequent Skirmishes this day between their

advance Parties, and those of the enemy. Several Deserters from the latter within this day or two who were always sent on Board the Ships.

Monday 3rd. By Day break got ourselves pretty well covered, As soon as the Enemy discovered us, they began a most violent Cannonade, from the Ships and West Bastion, and continued the whole day, The Troops went on with their Work and by 10 oClock at night got the redoubt very near finished. It was capable of holding 4 or 500 men, and the Parapet Cannon Shot proof.

In the afternoon The French added to their Fire a Bombardment, but providentially with all not a soul hurt, other Works were carried on by the Highlanders on the left of the Redoubt, for the placing of 17 Chorus, Royals &c. in — Battery which were finished by the Evening, and began playing upon the Frigate, at the same time the Gun and Mortar Batteries at the Grenadier Camp, (The name of that we left) opened, the latter consisted 2 Thirteen, and 2 Eight Inch Mortars. At night Parties employed in thrown up a Redan an the Eminence advanced about 100 yards nearer the Town, than that on which the Redoubt was. Sir Charles Hardy returned to his Station without meeting with any success, Austruthers Detachment moved nearer us since since the 1st July, and had some Works in forwardness.

Very large Parties of Grand Camp were kept at Work, found great difficulty in Landing Stores, occasioned by the constant Surf.

Tuesday 4th. The Work of the Redan continued, a Traverse began in the Redoubt as a prevention against Shells. A Grenadier of the 35th and another of the 45th killed. The Mortar Battery at the Green Camp Played on the Ships. They joining the Town in a warm Cannonade on us, In the afternoon some Shells thrown from the Ramparts.

The Grenadiers being much exposed to the Enemy's Fire General Wolfe thought proper to remove them for which purpose he was pleased to give the following Orders.

Countersign Fondroyant.

The Four Companies of Grenadiers are to Encamp behind the Hills near where the advanced Picquets were Posted.

One Company to be constantly on duty in the Redoubt detaching a Subaltern officer and 20 men to the Redan.

If the Enemy should attack the Redoubt, Lt. Colonel Nale marches with two Companies of Grenadiers more to defend it, and the Highlanders are to reinforce it with 50 of their men. The fourth Company of Grenadiers, marches to the right of the Highlanders, along the bottom to attack the Enemy's Rear, and to endeavour to cut off their Retreat to the Town.

At Dusk they marched and encamped in Compliance to that part of the order, as for the Companies of Brags and Webbs they joined their Regiments on the Right.

A Brisk Cannonade was kept on the advanced Works of General Amherst.

Wednesday, 5th. A Battery of Four 12 Pounds, 1 Howitzer, and 2 Eight inch Mortars, opened upon the Men of War by Day break from the Post Anstruthers Detachment had taken. The Batteries at the Grenadier Camp played at the same time, and the 17 Cohorns, &c., on the left of the Redoubt. About 100 of the Enemy came out towards our advanced Posts, but returned without attempting anything, a Party of Light Infantry Posted at the Foot of a Bridge over the Barrasoy every night to prevent the French from crossing, retired at the dawn. The Fire from the Town and Ships very smart the whole day, and at intervals shells thrown from the former.

A Gunner and Matross killed at the Batteries opened this morning.

The Frigate whose Fire had done so much mischief in retarding the Works on the right and killing many men at the Epaulment, being raked by Anstruther's Party, and a good deal hurt by the others left her station about 8 o'clock this night, and hauled under the Town. Some Sailors taken by the Indians beyond Grand Camp.

Thursday 6th. The Gun Batteries of the Grenadier Camp (where Major Ross now commanded, Captain Sutherland with Warburtons Detachment having taken up his Post at the head of the North East Harbour) Anstruthers Redoubt and Light House Point played off day, the two first at the Ships with great success, and the last at Maripoix. The Bomb Batteries chiefly confined their Fire to the Town, and many shells burst in it. A very brisk return from the

Ships on the Batteries that fired on them joined by a Cannonade from the Ramparts.

In the afternoon a Flag of Truce went out of the Harbour to Sir Charles Hardy, with necessaries for their Officers that were Prisoners.

General Orders.

The Detachment of Forbes Regiment march's to-morrow to join their Corps, all the Highlanders are to join Captain McPherson at their new Post. Captain Sutherland sends an officer and 20 men into the Gun 4 Gun Battery to preserve the Communication, and keep a strict watch at and in the neighbourhood of his Post, that the Enemy's Savages may do no mischief.

The Magazines for Fascines, Tools, Picketts, and Materials for Platforms is to be in the hollow where the Highlanders are now encamped.

As soon as it is Dark, the Highlanders are to draw the two Light 6 Pounders and Place them in a Battery prepared for them upon the Right of the Redan. One of the Artillery and some of the Marines are to serve these two Pieces, and their Amunition is to be deposited in the Redan. The Cohorn Mortars are not to play any more at the Shipping, but the 5 Royals may be employed a day or two in the Redoubts construct by Austruthers and the Marines.

The Marines are to do duty with the Corps of Artillery by that means they will be able to keep their own Batteries in constant repair. The Sappers are to be joined by the Corps of Artillery to be immediately under the directions and order of the Engineers. A List of the names to be given in to Captain Holland.

Two 24 Pounders to be added this Night to the last Battery. Platforms to be prepared for these Guns, so that they may fire to morrow morning.

Friday, 7th. The Batteries very well Served against the Shipping, and some shells thrown into the Town,—The Grenadier Company on duty in the Redoubt and Redan strengthening those works daily by thickening the Parapet, and carrying a ditch round them. The Troops at the Light House under the Command of Colonel Morris of the 17th were employed in forwarding things from them to our different Posts, drawing Cannon, &c.

Orders of this Day.

When Colonel Morris Judges that 3 Picquets are sufficient to move the Stores from the Cove to the Camp, He must join their Corps bringing with them, the Detachment of General Hopsons Regiment.

As the Island is destroyed the Frigate removed, and considerable damage done to the French Fleet so as to make escape difficult if not improbable Brigadier Wolfe proposes to erect one great Battery more which he hopes will ruin the Fortifications in such a manner as to Shorten the Seige. A collection of Fascines, Picketts, Timbers and Platforms, are forthwith to be made, and the work shall be divided to the different Corps as to be easy to all. Any men who choose to be employed in this work out of their turns off Duty, shall receive half a Pint of rum, with one Fish and a shilling each. The Merlins must be made with great care, the Earth well rammed, and proper precautions taken to construct a firm and durable Work. The Admiral has sent 4 32 Pounders on Shore for this Battery, and has ordered his own Ships Company to Draw them to the Blockhouse from whence they will be Transported to the Battery by a machine lately provided for that purpose.

About 9 o'clock a Flag of Truce from the Town with Letters for General Amherst desiring that the Tents in which were the Sick might not be fired on ; But they being in a line with the Battery at Mourepas, it could not have been hurt from the Light House Point, and further They would have had in their power to make a place of safety for their Troops off duty, and receptacle for Magazine Stores, so their request was refused ; but as it never was intended the sick should be molested if clear of the Works against the Town or its defences, offered that they might either put their Sick on Board a vessel, and drop under Sir Charles Hardy's Stern, or on the Island letting our Guard Boats keep round it,—never heard of any answer being sent back to this proposal.

Saturday, 8th. The Fire from our Batteries, The Town and Shipping continued as usual. Parties employ'd Cutting Fascines for a Battery between the Grenadier Redoubt and Anstruthers mentioned in the orders of yesterday.

Orders this Day.

The officers Commanding at the Batteries, either when they are constructed, Repaired or in Working the Guns are not to permit the Soldiers to expose themselves unnecessarily. The lives of such Brave men cannot be too carefully preserved for the Public Service.

The men who worked upon the Merlins yesterday under the Enemy's hottest Fire will receive a little money and some refreshment from the General as a Mark of his Esteem.

Whenever any Dead Bodies are found they are to be Buried by the nearest Detachment, and with that decency that humanity can require.

The Orderly hours in this Camp is 4 o'Clock in the afternoon as the General must send to the Grand Army for the Parol and Orders, it cannot be sooner.

An officer of the Grenadiers, an Officer of Highlanders, and an Officer from the Cove are to attend the Artillery. The Engineers, the Rangers, the Marines, with Austruthers send each a volunteer or Sergeant to take the Orders from Colonel Morris' Adjutant in this Camp.

An Orderly man from each of these Corps is to attend at Head Quarters and remain with the Brigadiers Guard till called for.

A Serjeant and 12 men of the Highlanders to join Lieut. Brown near the Barrasoy at Dusk, and return to their Encampment at Day Light.

If the Commanding Officers of the different Detachments under the Brigadiers Command, thinks that any Tents are crowded the may permit the Soldiers to erect Huts for their better convenience.

The Epaulment on the right pretty near finished their working parties lessend on that account. An Attack intended by the Grand Army but prevented by the Enemy making a Sortie about 11 o'Clock this night from Cape Noir, they passed an advanced Party and carried a Redan, in which were posted the Grenadiers of Forbes' who by the remissness of the Guard advanced were rather surprized.

Major Murray of the 15th Commanded three Companies of Grenadiers to sustain some Work adjacent, detached part of them, who behaved very well forcing the Enemy out of the Redan, which they had began to demolish ; and other Troops coming obliged them

to retreat under the Ramparts from whence they kept up a brisk Cannonade. This Sortie was made by Five Picquits supported by a Detachment of 6 or 700 men, the most of them much in Liquor. Colonel Bastide received a contusion.

Sunday, 9th. At Day Break the Enemy desired a Truce to bury their dead our loss in this affair was Lord Dundonald Captain of Forbes Grenadiers 1 Corporal and 3 Private men killed, Lieutenants Ten wounded and Prisoners 17 Private Men Wounded Captain Bontein, Engineers taken Prisoner, 1 Serjeant and 11 Private men missing.

That of the French Capitaine de Chavelin, and 17 Private men Killed, most of them in the Post they gained: a Lieutenant and 4 Wounded, and brought off Prisoners: many of their Wounded they Carried into Town, an officer among the number who died soon after.

The Fire of all sides kept up with great Warmth the Shipping in particular played without intermission on our Batteries. Materials of all sorts getting ready for New Works intended to be constructed.

Head Quarters of this little Army was above the Grenadier Camp in the centre as near as possible of that of the Light House and the Grenadiers present Encampment. Scarce a night but the Brigadier visited all his Posts, and besides his being indefatigable in the forwarding this attack, he took his Tour of duty on the right. So noble an Example as this General shewed in every Point and each Particular (?) striving to gain his esteem and notice made it very improbable any attempt he undertook should fail of success.

Monday, 10th. Carrying Fascines to the Place where the New Battery was to be erected, no abatement in the Fire from us and the Enemy. At Dusk the Battery began. In the night a small alarm occasioned by a large Fire in the Woods in the Rear of the Grenadier Camp (where Colonel Morris now commanded) supposed to be a Body of Canadians and Indians under the command of Monsieur Boisbierre a French Partizan.

Tuesday, 11th. By Day Brake, the Parapet of the Battery Cannon Proof, which enabled the Sappers to work under cover. The Fire from the Town and Ships on this Work was very Hot. a Waggon taken by Indians between the Block House, and North East Harbour

Orders.

The officers of Artillery that Command at the Batteries are immediately upon any accident happening to their Guns, Carriages or anything under their care to report to Captain Strichy who is without a moments loss of time to acquaint the Brigadier that the necessary orders may be issued for repairing any such damages.

The Officers of Artillery are to take particular notice of the Hurts their Batteries receive from the Enemys Fire and to send word in time to the Generals Aid de Camp that a proper Party may be forthwith ordered to repair the above damage.

Wednesday, 12th. The Enemy still kept a smart Cannonade on the New Battery which was in great forwardness, a Company of Grenadiers worked at it all night, at the same time the Mortars were served against the Town and Shipping against Shipping, and after going through them struck the Town in Ricochet. The Waggoner made his Escape, informed the General of 260 Canadians being in the Woods.

Some Works thrown up this Night by the Right Attack adjacent to the Green Hill.

Thursday, 13th. Fire from the Town and Ships much slackened, Five Deserters from the Island, They were employed in Fishing, three of them intended coming off from their first setting out. We learned by them that the Enemy had not more than three Guns mounted at the Post they left.

Another Battery of 2 Guns began this night, called after Warburtons Company, they having made it.

Four or Five Gun Batteries, 12 and 24 Pounders, also one of Mortars Traced out by the Right Attack.

Friday, 14th. Fire from the Enemy very Slack, our Battery on the left of Anstruthers Redoubt Played on the Ships and Town as usual.

The French threw Shells for the first time out of a Mortar near the West Bastion at our New Battery. Warburtons Grenadiers worked at theirs all night.

The approaches of the Grand Army advanced 200 yards nearer the Town within the two last days.

Orders on the Right.

The Enemy having become Masters of Fort William Henry by virtue of a Capitulation made the 9th of August last, which Capitulation they immediately broke in a most notorious and flagrant manner by Murdering, Pillaging, and Captivating many of His Majesty's Good Subjects, in violation of the said Capitulation, as well as of the Law of Nations. Upon these Considerations, and in Honor and Justice to His Majesty's Arms, it is hereby declared that the said Capitulation is null and void, and that all Officers and Soldiers serving the 9th of August last at Fort William Henry are hereby empowered and Comanded to Serve in the same manner as if no such Capitulation had ever been made. All which Major-General Abercrombie has notified to the Governor-General of Canada, signifying to him at the same time, that if any of His Majesty's Subjects supposed to be comprehended in the said Capitulation may fall into the Enemy's hands and any violence follow thereupon, that he will retaliate on the Persons of the French Prisoners now in his hands, as well as on all such as shall be taken hereafter by Sea or land.

Saturday, 15th. A Serjeant of Marines taken Prisoner by our Light Infantry he was at some distance from his Post without Arms. The French Frigate went out this night, proper Signals by Rockets were made from the Light House Point to the Admiral and she was Fired upon from the Battery at that Point. Sir Charles answered the Signals and gave chase.

The Enemy endeavoured to throw some Shells into General Amhersts Camp, imagined Deserters had informed them of the situation of the Powder Magazine, as they seemed to try getting that distance.

Sunday, 16th. At Day Break Captain Sutherlands' late Major Ross' Post was attacked by some Canadians and Indians, but they soon retired, however upon the Alarm all General Wolfe's detachment stood to their Arms, and some Parties marched to sustain the Post had it been necessary. A Deserter from them that morning told us the before mentioned Boisbere was in the Country with about 300 men, and offered to guide a Party of ours to those who had

attacked Sutherland about 100 in number. But before our Party could get to them they were gone.

In the Evening General Wolfe ordered Lieut. Browne with his Rangers, sustained by Lieutenant Gore with 20 Grenadiers of Otways to pass the Bridge at Barrasay and drive a French Picquet from their Post just on the other side, Some Parties from the right advanced towards them at the same time. On Lieutenants Gore and Browne marching briskly up to the Enemy they soon retired into the Covertway.

To make the Enemy believe no more was intended then attacking their Picquet and returning, General Wolfe did not Order more Troops over till dark, when the four Companies of Grenadiers with other Detachments, marched and took Post, throwing up intrenchments which they effected by day break, within about 250 yards of the West Gate, three Grenadier Companies from the right, soon after we broke ground. The Fire was extremely hot all night from the Town with Grape, round and Shells, they imagining our Parties under Cover of the Dark were retreating as before they must have been greatly exposed to the Fire from the Ramparts, great part of which was directed towards the Bridge and struck some old Boats, &c. aground near it.

The Honble George Edgcomb replaced Sir Charles Hardy's Squadron off the Mouth of the Harbour.

Monday, 17th. Fire on both sides without intermission, the Enemy continued serving their Artillery with the same shot as Yesterday, three men of the Grenadier Company of the 40th killed by Shells. Lieutenant Howe of the Grenadiers of the Royal, by Grape Shot. Wolfe's Battery of 32 Pounders opened this morning at day break, and played against the Spur, West Bastion and Cavalier. The Troops working hard at the Parapet to make it Cannon Proof, resolved to carry on the Parallel from right to left. Sir Charles' Squadron returned without success. At night the Enemy's Fire with Musquetry from the Covert way was extremely hot, had they known our intentions last night, they certainly would have done the same by which they would have killed a great number.

Tuesday, 18th. Continued thickening our Entrenchments, our Batteries well served against the Bastion Dauphine. Enemy fired

as last night from the Covertway. Eighteen officers and men killed their first 48 hours.

Wednesday, 19th. Except from the French Shipping, fire very hot from each Party. Ensign Godfrey Rowe of the 48th Regiment killed. A Deserter from the Enemy to our Trenches, says 20 men were killed, two Guns dismounted and a Mortar rendered useless that same day. Musquetry from the Covertway as usual.

The Trenches relieved by Battalions, fourteen forming three Brigades.

Thursday, 20th. Our Batteries silenced the Spur and damaged the embrasures of the Cavalier very much. One of their Ships Masts knocked down, another Deserter came in. A Branch from the Parallel carried out this night, the Enemy's fire on our Works rather slackened from their Ramparts but that from the covered way continued.

400 Seamen sent on Shore to assist on the Right.

Friday, 21st. A very hot fire from our Batteries, very little return from the Enemy whose Shipping scarce fired a shot—continuing the Work began last night and filling Sand bags for a Battery.

About 2 o'clock there was a great explosion on board the *Entreprenant*, set her on Fire and her flames caught the *Capricieux* and *Celebre* by ten at night, the three were burnt to the Waters edge.

Their confusion as may be well expected was great and ours not a little between satisfaction at the accident and the uncertainty whether they would design to give up the Place had set fire to them, but found afterwards it was a Shot from the Marine Battery Striking an Iron bolt in the *Intreprenants* Powder room,—Execution done by a Field Piece from the left our entrenchment on Boats passing backwards and forwards from the Town and indeed from their own Guns for as they became Hot they went off, and the Shot took place in the other Ships. A fire from our Works of Musquetry on the Covert Way returned by them in short to humanity tho' an Enemy, the Scene was very Shocking.

Lieutenant Murray of the Highlanders Killed in the Trenches by Grape Shot.

Saturday, 22nd. At Day Break two Batteries of Cannon and two of Mortars opened from the right Viz :

One Gun Battery of Eight 24 Pounds another of Five.

A Mortar Battery of one 13 Inch, and two 10 Another of 4—8 in. These joined to those of General Wolfe's on the left attack, made a fire of 37 Pieces of Cannon and 11 Mortars, besides great numbers of Coehorns, Royals, &c.

Gun Batteries.	Weight of Metal.	Mortar Batteries.	Size of the Shell.
1 of 7	32' & 24'		
1 of 6	32 & 24		
1 of 5	24 & 12		
1 of 2	32		
1 of 2	24	1 of 2	13 Inches.
1 of 2	12	1 of 2	8
1 of 8	24	1 of 3	13 & 10
1 of 5	24	1 of 4	8
8 of 37		4 of 11	

About 8 this Morning the Citadel Barracks took fire by a Carcass and burnt with great violence ; all the above mentioned Batteries playing extremely smart the whole time it lasted which was till 5 OClock in the afternoon—At 10 a Signal from Sir Charles Hardy for chasing. A Battery for four 24 Pounders began about 50 Yards beyond the Parallel did not meet with the obstruction we might have expected, the Enemy only firing a Shot now and then and two 8 Inch Mortars with about 17 Coehorns and Royals being placed to play into the Covered way, prevented a fire of Musquetry.

A number of Shells thrown from the right attended with Cannonading from all the Batteries.

The Branch from the first approach carried out a great way towards the right, so as to form a second, the end of it covered by a Redan ; a line of communication to the New Battery made from it.

Lieutenant Wellington of the Royal Americans loosing his way in going his rounds was made Prisoner by the Enemy near Cape Noir.

Sunday, 23rd. Our Batteries served as usual. The Enemy's Fire much decreased, a Shot now and then from the remaining ships.

Lieutenant Campbell of the 15th Regiment mortally Wounded in the Entrenchments, of which he afterwards Died.

A Deserter acquainted us that the Enemy could not stand to their Guns, on account of our Bombs, and that we had killed a good many within these two or three days.

Another Battery for Five 24 Pounders began advanced of that for four Guns, which latter was finished this night and the Cannon drawn up. About 12 the Citadel set on Fire again by a Shell, another fired off one of their Guns, and the shot had like to have killed one of their Officers.—except this, they did not fire more till about 2 o'Clock, when the fire made such a light that they saw our People at work, and began firing Grape very fast, but providentially without other execution, than Wounding a man Slightly.

Monday, 24th. The four Gun Battery opened about 2 o'Clock this afternoon a great explosion from it occasioned by some Cartridges blowing up.

Captain Brown of the 28th Regiment wounded by it. Musquetry fired from our approaches into the Covered Way and Embrasures: returned by the Enemy. The Work of the 5 Gun Battery carried on and finished, an approach made to the foot of the Glacis, Workmen discovered about 12 o'clock, and fired at very Smartly with Musquetry from the covered Way, the Work of the Battery delayed for a while. But the Coehorns added to the small arms from the Trenches obliging the French to retire into Town; our people returned to their Work and the Battery for 5 Guns as has been observed before was finished. A man at this employ and two at the other was wounded.

Deserters acquainted us that they had not above 2000 fit for duty in the Town.—Neither the Fire of the Citadel Barracks nor the Ships was entirely out—Bombarding and Cannonading all night as well as

Tuesday 25, this day little or no return from the Ramparts, small Arms from our entrenchments attended the above. The Prudent set on Fire, and the Beinfaisant towed off to the North East Harbour by the Boats of the Fleet which carried in about 450 Seamen, Marines &c. Commanded by Captains Laforey and Balfour; boarded the Ships without opposition from them, but from the Town, who hearing the noise fired Grape, and Musquetry, did not kill above Seven, and wounded about as many, the Prudent being on ground obliged to set Fire to her, Eleven Officers mostly Marines, and about

122 Sailors out of the two were made Prisoners. Some on Board the Prudent could not be persuaded to come from between Decks ; and day approaching it was necessary for our People to retreat ; but we heard they got on Shore. The Beinfaisant was given to Captain Balfour, the Echo to Capt. Laforey ; Mr. Afflick and Mr. Beckerton who boarded the Beinfaisant got the Atna fireship and Hunter Sloop.

Wednesday 26th. Our Batteries by our late Successes served with more spirit than ever—That of 5 Guns opened.

About 10 o'clock a flag hoisted on the Cavalier a Chamade beat and Monsieur Lopinivux Town Major came out with Letters for the General who finding them treat of terms sent the following.

In French.

En reponse à la proposition que de Je viens de recevoir de votre Excellence, Je nai autre chose à dire sinon, que son Excellence Mons' L'Admiral Boscawen et moi décidé que nas Vaisseaux entrevoient demain dans le Port, pour faire une attayne générale Votre Excellence Scare fort bein la situation de L'Armee, et de la Flotte, ainse que cella de la ville ; mais comme Mons. L'Admiral Boscawen et moi desirou d'éviter L'effusion du sang nous donnou, a votre excellence une heure pour se determiner á faire la seule capitulation que nous voulous accepter que est de vous rendre prisoniers de Guerre, sunon votre Excellence doit se prendre sur elle toutes funeste consequence d une defence inutile.

In English.

In answer to the proposals that I received from your Excellency I have nothing more to say, but that His Excellency Admiral Boscawen and I have determined, that our ships shall enter the Harbour to-morrow, and make a General Attack.

Your Excellency knows very well the situation of the Army and Fleet as well as that of the Town ; but as Admiral Boscawen and I desire to avoid shedding of Blood, we give your Excellency an hour to determine making the only Capitulation we will accept of which is your surrendering Prisoners of War, if not your Excellency must take upon yourself the fatal consequences of an useless defence.

They exceeded the Hour about twenty minutes when they demanded half an hour, a quarter was granted by General Whitmore,

who commanded the Trenches, and took upon him the granting this liberty, at the expiration of Twenty Minutes Mons L'Opinneax returned accompanied by Colonel Antoine, and Several Officers of Rank who all went to General Amherst, having power to settle every point regarding the Capitulation which was as follows,

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

BETWEEN THEIR EXCELLENCIES ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN AND MAJOR GENERAL AMHERST AND HIS EXCELLENCY THE CHEVALIERE DRUCOUR, GOVERNOR OF THE ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON OF LOUISBOURG, THE ISLAND OF ST. JOHN AND THEIR APPURTENANCES.

Article 1st. The Garrison of Louisbourg shall be Prisoners of War, and shall be carried to England in the Ships of His Britannic Majesty.

2nd. All the Artillery, Ammunition, provisions as well as the Arms of any kind whatsoever, which are at present in the town of Louisbourg, the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John, and their appurtenances shall be delivered without the least damage to such Commissioners as shall be appointed to receive them for the use of his Britannic Majesty.

3rd. The Governor shall give his Orders, that the Troops which are in the Island of St. John, and its appurtenances shall go on Board such Ships of War, as the Admiral shall send to receive them.

4th. The Gate called Porte Dauphine shall be given up to the Troops of His Britannic Majesty, to-morrow at 8 o'clock in the morning, and the Garrison including all those that carried Arms, drawn up at noon on the Esplanade, where they shall lay down their Arms, Colours, implements and ornaments of War, and the Garrison shall go on Board in order to be carried into England in a convenient time.

5th. The same care shall be taken of the Sick and Wounded that are in the Hospitals, as of those belonging to His Britannic Majesty.

6th. The Merchants and their Clerks, that have not carried Arms, shall be sent to France, in such manner as the Admiral shall think proper.

Louisbourg 26th July 1758

(Signed) LE CHEVALIER DE DRUCOUR.

Fitt for Duty

Regulars	9921
Artillery.....	328
Rangers.....	564
Total.....	<u>10813</u>

Officers names killed

Captains.	{ Bailey of Frazers	
	{ Earl of Dundonald....Forbes	
Lieuts.	{ Fenton } Royals.	
	{ Howe }	
	{ Nicholson..... } Amhersts.	
	{ Campbell }	
	{ Hart..... } Moncktons.	
Ensigns.	{ Cuthbert. }	
	{ Fraser..... } Frazers.	
	{ Murray }	
	{ Godfrey Roe..... } Webbs.	
	{ Fras. Ceruthers... } Rangers.	

Ditto Wounded

Captains.	{ Paul Rycant.....of Forbes	
	{ Arthur Brown.....Braggs	
	{ — Smith ....Anstruthers	
Lieuts.	{ Don'd McDonald... } Frazers	
	{ — Fitzsimmonds. } Royals	
	{ — Bailie..... } do.	
	{ — Ashe }	
	{ Hamilton } Amhersts	
	{ Fras. Mukins.. }	
	{ Frans. Terr..... } Forbes	
	{ Pierce Butler... } Whitmore	

Officers Wounded.

Lieutenants,	{ John Jermyn }	} Whitmore's.
	{ William Hamilton }	
	{ — Allen }	} Otways.
	{ — Brown }	
	{ — Cockburn }	
Ensigns,	{ Moses Lilley }	Hopsons.
	{ — Hopkins }	Webbs.
	{ Alexander Campbell. }	} Frazers.
	{ John McDonald }	
	{ — Waterson }	Royals.
{ — Moneypenney }	Amhersts.	
	{ — Armstrong }	Otways.

Garrison of Louisbourg's State on Capitulation.

Corps.	Land and Sea Officers.	Soldiers & Sailors fit for duty.	Do. Sick and Wounded.	Total.
24 Compys. of Marines of the usual Garn. and 2 of the Art.....	76	746	195	1017
2nd Bn. of the Regiment of Volontaires Etrangers	38	402	86	526
2nd Battn. of the Regiment of Cambise.....	38	466	104	608
2nd Battn. of the Regiment of Artois	32	407	27	466
2nd Battn. of the Regiment of Burgoyne.....	30	353	31	414
Total of the Garrison.....	214	2374	443	3031
Sea officers, Private men and Marines....	135	1124	1347	2606
Total Prisoners.....	349	3498	1790	5637

The Regiments Bourgoyne, Artois, and Companies of Marines wintered at Louisbourg. Volontaires Etranger came with the Fleet and Cambise arrived the night before the English landed.

List of the French Ships, Burnt, Sunk, taken in, and out of the Harbour of Louisborg, by whom burnt, and taken, and those that escaped.

Ship Names.	No. of Guns.	Burnt.	Sunk at the Harbour Mouth.	Taken in the Harbour.	Taken off the Harbour.	By whom Burnt.	By whom taken.	Escaped out of the Harbour & got to France.
Prudent.....	74	1	"	"	"	The Boats of the Fleet.....		"
Entreprenant.....	74	1	"	"	"	The Marine Battery.....		"
Capricieux.....	64	1	"	"	"	The Entreprenant.....		"
Celebre.....	64	1	"	"	"	do.....		"
Beinfaissant.....	64	"	"	1	"		The Boats of the Fleet.	"
Appollo.....	50	"	1	"	"			"
Arethusa.....	36	"	"	"	"			1
Diana.....	36	"	"	"	1		The Boreas.....	"
Fedelle.....	36	"	1	"	"			"
Chevre.....	16	"	1	"	"			"
Biche.....	16	"	1	"	"			"
Echo.....	26	"	"	"	1		The Juno.....	"
12	556	4	4	1	2			1

Returns containing the Expension of each Article during the Seige.

Cannon and Mortars.

Brass.				Iron.	Mortars.
24 Pounds.	12 Pounds.	6 Pounds.	Total.	24 Pounds.	5½ Inches.
5	2	1	8	5	1

One 8 Inch Howitzer _____

5 Spare Travelling Carriages for 24 Pounds, and 2 for 12 disabled.

3 _____ do _____ for Howitzers _____

Quantity & diff. kinds of Shot expended in the Siege.

Guns Calibre.	Round Shot.	Round Shot Fixed.	Tin Case Shot.
32 Pounds	1200	.....	.....
24 do	9800	.....	300
12 do	1700	.....	110
6 do	1000	156	456
Total	13700	156	766

Grape Shot in 13 Inch Mortars—2 _____ In 10 _____ 6

Number of diff. Sorts of Shells and Carcasses.

Mortars Size.	Number.	Round Carcasses.	Oblong Carcasses.
13 Inch	640	20	"
10	400	"	30
8	800	"	"
5 1/2	700	"	"
4 2/5	800	"	"
Total	3340	20	30

Corned Powder..... 1493 Barrels Mealed Powder..... 500 Pounds

Sand Bags. { 2 Bushels..... 3000
 { 1

6500
 { 1/2..... 30000

Scaling Ladders..... 30

Total.....\$39500

Flannel and Paper Cartridges for Cannon and Howitzers.

Guns & Howitzers Calibre.	Flannel Cartridges.	Paper Cartridges.
24 Pounds.....	630	18040
12	390	9840
6	550	....
8	260	....
5 1/2	520	....
Total	2350	27880

Musquet Cartridges with Ball..... 750,000

Fuzes fixed, { 13 Inches..... 658
 { 10

807
 { 8

2334
 { 5 1/2

3320
 { 4 2/3

7000

Total..... 14119

Intrenching Tools.

Felling axes.	Pick axes.	Hand Barrows.	Wheel Barrows.	Hand Bills.	Shovels Shod.	Spades.	Hand Hatchets.
160	1450	200	500	500	1600	1100	600

Friday 28th July. Affairs settling in Town The 58 and 3rd Battalion of the 60th marched from the Line and encamped on the Glacis.

Saturday 29th. The 4 Grenadier Companies under General Wolfe's Command marched and joined their respective Corps.

Sir Charles Hardy with three or four Ships of War went into the Harbour.

An order given forbidden any of His Brittanic Majesty's subjects buying things of those of the French Kings upon Pain of being deemed Plunderers.

Sunday 30th. More ships went into the Harbour.

Captain William Amherst, the Generals Aid-de-Camp went home express on Board the Shannon, Captain Edgecumbe.

Strong Parties at Work in Town and levelling our Batteries and other works raised in the Course of the Seige.

Monday, 31st. News from Halifax of General Ambercrombie's being repulsed with great loss from the Lines at Ticonderoga, Lord Howe and Colonel Beaver killed.

Saturday, 5th Augt. A Party consisting of 1 Field Officer, 3 Captains 6 Subalterns 8 Serjeants, 8 Corporals and 200 Private Men marched to the Colliery.

A number of Transports entered the Harbour within these past few days.

Tuesday, 8th. A Party of 4 Captains 8 Subs. 12 Serjeants and 305 Rank and File with the Light Infantry of the 22nd 40th and 45th Regiments and 143 Rangers, an Engineer, Overseer & 10 Carpenters, the whole commanded by Lord Rollo of the 22nd Regiment went to the Island of St. Johns,

Wednesday, 9th. The Grenadier Companies of the 40th 47th 48th and 63rd Regiments attended the Embarkation of the French Garrison.

UNIFORM, WHEN RAISED, & COLONELS NAMES OF THE SEVERAL CORPS COMPRISING THE FRENCH GARRISON OF LOUISBOURG.

47th or Artillery. Was raised in 1670 under the name of Fusileers to Guard the Cannon, Louis the 14th gave them the name of Royal Artillery in 1673. This Regiment has hitherto consisted of 5 Battalions, but by an Ordnance of the 8th December 1755, the Corps of Artillery, and that of Engineers, were joined and called the Corps of Royal Artillery and Engineers of France, and by another Ordnance of the 1st December, 1756, His Majesty thought proper to augment the said Royal Corps, one Battalion, a Company of Miners and one of Artificers, which made Six Battalions, Six Companies of Miners and the like number of Artificers, each Battalion consists of Eight hundred men of 16 Companies, 50 men each of which two are Sappers 9 Gunners and Five Bombadiers, making in all 4800 Artillerymen. Each of these Battalions had as their head a Colonel Commandt., a Lieut. Colonel, who has no Company, and qui joissent chaum dans leur grades les mimes prerogatives des Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels enpié d'infantine en suivant le rang du Corps. The Companies of Miners and Artificers were separately or with the Battalions, those of the Miners are each Sixty men, and those of the Artificers are forty, that makes in all 360 miners, and 240 artificers, the Six Eldest Captains of the Battalions, and the eldest Captain of Miners and Artificers rank as Lieutenant Colonels.

Uniform—Blue Coat, lining, Cuffs, Waistcoat, Breeches and Stockings red ; Boot Sleeve, Cross Pockets, Brass Button Gilded. Gold laced Hat, and black Cockade.

31st or Artois. Was raised in 1610 under Henry the 4th it changed rank in 1670, with the Royal raised 1615, which became the 2nd Battn. of Orleans, so called from the Duke of that Brother to Louis 13th being their Colonel *Uniform*—Greyish White Coat Red Waistcoat, Pockets, great escutchion fashion, nine Buttons on them, Brass, Colonel M. Le Chevalier de Brienne.

42nd or Bourgoyne—Has two Battallions, raised by Louis 14th in 1668 called after the Province of Bourgoyne.

Uniform—Greyish White Coat, Brass Buttons worked on Wood, Cross Pockets and Gold laced Hatt, Colonel M. L'Chevalier de Heronville.

62nd or Cambise—Was raised by Marshall de Vivonne in 1676 in Sicily he was its first Colonel, Thyanges in 1688 Mortemart 1702, Laval 1712 Tonny Charante in 1729, Mortemart in 1731 and afterwards Laval, it has 2 Battalions.—Their having Party Colored lace and Buttons is said to be a mark of distinction for good behaviour, whereas it was put on at first for the Contrary.

Uniform—Greyish White Coat, Red Cuffs and Waistcoat, Lace White and Yellow, Buttons Brass and Pewter to answer the Lace, a yellow thread and White thro' the whole Hat, Gold and Silver lace—Colonel M. de Cambis.

Voluntaire Etranger.—White Coat, Green Cuffs, White Buttons.

43rd Royal Marine—Raised in 1669 of Companies franchises of Marines intended for the Sea Service in consequence of which, the Captains quitted their Companies to serve in quality of Lieutenants of Men of War, which many did, so this Regiment was put on Board the Navy and since that has been employed in the land service, it has two Battalions.

Uniform—Greyish White Coat, Cuffs, Collar, & Waistcoat blue, wrought pewter Buttons Silver laced Hat. Officers Silver Buttons on the Sleeves Collar and Waistcoat—Colonel Monsr. De Levi Liran.

Thursday, 10th. The French Sailors Embarked.

Monday, 14th. The following Men of War with Six Transports went for England with the above mentioned Soldiers and Sailors viz. Doublin, Devonshire, Terrible, Northumberland and Kingston.

The same day the Army encamped near the Barrasoy.

Sunday, 20th. The Party from the Collery returned.

Monday, 21st. Amhersts, Braggs and Anstruthers, embarked with some of the Light Infantry under the Command of Brigadier General Wolfe destined for the River Gaspie.

Thursday, 24th. Otways & Lawrences Regiments Embarked for Halifax.

Monday, 28th. Brigadier General Wolfe with his Command Sailed.

Tuesday, 29th. The Regiments intended to compose the Garrison of Louisbourg encamped on the Glacis, Braggs excepted, Those destined for the Continent and Halifax Sailed.

Wednesday, 30th. General Wolfe sailed for Boston.

The Winter Quarters of those Regiments that were at the Reduction of Louisbourg.

1st or Royal	Near Albany	15th or Amhersts	} Halifax
17th or Forbes	Philadelphia	58th or Anstruthers	
47th or Lascellas	Jersey	60th } 2nd or Moncktons	
48th or Webbs	New England	} 3rd or Lawrences	} Louisbourg
63rd or Frazers		22nd or Whitmores	
.....		23rd or Braggs	
.....		40th or Hopsons	} Louisbourg
35th or Otways	Annapolis Royal	45th or Warburtons	

Return of the number of Guns on the Walls of Louisbourg with their different Calibres and the names of the Batteries they are on.

Names of the Batteries	42 Pounders								Total
	24	18	16	12	9	8	6		
Dauphin	12							12	
West Curtain	2							2	
Citadel	12			5	1			18	
Queens	12	2	3		1			18	
Colliers	1	8			6			15	
Old Cavalier				1	1	1		3	
Magazine	1			5				6	
Duke of York	10			5				15	
Dukes	17			2				19	
La Grave	7							7	
Billingsgate			3					3	
Wood Wharf	2							2	
Spur							3	3	
Rochfort Point	11	3		3				17	
14 Total	29	69	2	6	21	9	1	3	140

Guns mounted on the Island Battery.

36 Pounders	8
24	30
12	1
	—

6 dismounted—

Total 39

Detail of the Guards of Louisbourg 10th June 1760.

GUARDS.	Capts.	Subs	Srgts.	Crpls.	Drms.	Privte.	No. of Files.
Main	1	1	2	3	2	36	13.
West Gate		1	1	1	1	21	7-1
South Gate		1	1	1	1	21	7-1
Battery		1	1	1	1	21	7-1
Quay			1	1		12	4-1
East Gate.....			1	1		18	6-1
Grand Hospital			1	1		15	5-1
Rochfort Point				1		6	2-1
Ditch at South Gate			1	1		12	4-1
Orderly.....			2			3	1-
Total	1	4	11	11	5	165	58.2

Return of the Men who went as Volunteers to erect the two last Batteries against Louisbourg with me.

35th or Otways.	40th or Hopsons.	45th or Warburtons.	47th or Lacelles.
Willm. Bethell	Robert Baxter	Maskins	Geo. Ferguson
Richd. Clark	John Peaton	McKinsey	Hugh Lacey
Moses Milligen	Thomas Kimber	Pearce	William Walker
John Walsh	John Alman	Dawson	William Peatreat
Francis Kelly	Willm. Prossor	Dibber	Geo. White
Peter Holland	Mattw. Ford	Hairs	William English
Evan Francis	John Goodey	Ryder	Edmd. Thomas
	John Walker	Hervey	Saml. Squires
	John Ryan	Nelson	John Hardgrove
	John Mathews	Fulton	James Nugent
	John Goffin	Boyd	Thomas Boyd
	James Brooks	Carrell	John Garrison
	Peter Cameron	Burton	Danl. Dukens
	John Collier	Mitchell	John Nigley

The foregoing 50 pages are Extracts of my Fathers Journal.

Eltham 20th August

1830.

H. W. GORDON,

Major R. Artillery.

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	PUBLISHED IN TRANSACTIONS.
1878.			
June	Inaugural address	Hon. A. G. Archibald	Vol. I., p. 18.
Sept.	History of St. Paul's Church, Part I.	Rev. Dr. Hill	do. 35.
Oct.	Autobiography of Revd. Wm. Cochran	Rev. Dr. Cochran	
Nov.	Telegraphy in Nova Scotia and neighboring Provinces	G. E. Morton, Esq.	
1879.			
Jan.	Early settlement of Shubenacadie.	Miss E. Frame	
March	Journal of General Nicholson at Siege of Annapolis	T. B. Akins, Esq.	
June	Translation from the French relating to the religious beliefs of the Indians prior to the discovery by Cabot	Robt. Morrow, Esq.	
Nov.	Journey to Yarmouth in 17— by Mather Byles	Hon. Dr. Almon	Vol. I., p. 59.
1880.			
Feb.	Early Journalism in Nova Scotia	J. J. Stewart, Esq.	Vol. II., p. 63.
March	History of St. Paul's Church, Parts II., III.	Rev. Dr. Hill	Vol. II., p. 17.
April	Governor Cornwallis and the first Council	T. B. Akins, Esq. ..	Vol. II., p. 31.
May	Witherspoon's Journal of the Siege of Quebec	do.	
13	Walter Bromley and his labors in the cause of Education, by late John Young. (Agricola)	J. T. Bulmer, Esq.	
June	Sketches of the Winniett, DeLancy, and Milledge families.	W. A. Calnek, Esq.	

Nov.	11.	Revolutionary Incidents in Nova Scotia, 1776-1778.....	J. J. Bulmer, Esq	
Dec.	3.	Sketch of Brook Watson, by Revd. Hugh Graham.....	do.	
		Brook Watson's account of the Expulsion of the Acadians.	do.	
	1881.			
Jan'y	6.	Early History of the Dissenting Church in Nova Scotia... Biographical sketch of Revd. James Murdoch.....	Rev. Dr. Patterson.....	Vol. II., p. 100.
Feb'y	3.	Biographical sketch of Alexander Howe.....	Miss E. Frame.....	
March	14.	Account of the Manners and Customs of the Acadians, with remarks on their removal from the Province; by Moses De les dernier, 1795.....	W. A. Calnek, Esq	
	1881.		T. B. Akins, Esq	
April	7.	Letter (dated June 25, 1751) from Surveyor Morris to Governor Shirley, with a plan for the removal of the Acadians.....	do.	
May	5.	Extracts from the Boston News Letter, 1704-1760, and from Halifax Gazette, 1752	Miss E. Frame.....	Vol. II., p. 110.
Sept.	1.	Judge Croke (a Biography)	Hon. Sir A. Archibald.....	
Oct.	6.	Chapter from the life of S. G. W. Archibald	Israel Longworth, Esq	
Nov.	3.	Government House.....	Hon. Sir A. Archibald.....	Vol. III., p. 197.
Dec.	8.	Nicholas Perdue Olding (a Biography)	Rev. Dr. Patterson	
		Petitions to the Council of Massachusetts Bay from resi- dents of Yarmouth, and from Council of Cumberland ...	T. B. Akins, Esq	
		Proposal of Capt. John Allen as to capture of Halifax and conquest of Nova Scotia.....	do.	
	1882.			
Jan'y	5.	Who was Lebel?	Jas. Hannay, Esq., St. John, N. B.	
Feb'y	2.	Nomenclature of the streets of Halifax	Rev. Dr. Hill.....	Vol III., p. 13.
March	1.	A visit to Louisburg	P. Lynch, Esq	
July	3.	History of St. Paul's Church. Part IV.....	Rev. Dr. Hill.....	
Oct.	5.	Chapter in the Life of Sir John Wentworth	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,—Continued.

	TITLE.	WHENCE OBTAINED.	PUBLISHED IN TRANSACTIONS.
1882.			
Nov.	2. Edward How and his family	W. A. Calnek, Esq	
Dec.	7. M. S. Journal of Mr. Glover, Secretary to Admiral Cockburn when conveying Napoleon to St. Helena in 1815	Nepean Clarke, Esq	
1883.			
Jan'y	4. The Province Building	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. IV. p. 247.
March	1. Early Reminiscences of Halifax	P. Lynch, Esq	
April	5. The Stone Age of the Micmacs	Rev. Dr. Patterson	
May	4. Newfoundland, past, present and future	E. Hepple Hall, Esq	
July	12. Early life of Sir John Wentworth	Hon Sir A. Archibald	
Nov.	15. Nomenclature of the streets of Halifax, Part II	Rev. Dr Hill	
Dec.	6. Tour with Genl. Campbell, in July and August, 1785, along the coasts of Nova Scotia, by Lieut. Booth, R. E.	T. B. Akins, Esq ..	
1884.			
Jan'y	3. Celebrated persons who have visited Nova Scotia	P. Lynch, Esq	
March	6. Ships of War wrecked on coasts of Nova Scotia and Sable Island in 18th century	S. D. Macdonald, Esq	
May	1. Hon. S. B. Robie (a Biography)	Israel Longworth, Esq	

Nov. 13	Plans submitted to the British Government in 1763 by Sir Guy Carleton— 1. For the founding of a Seminary of learning at Windsor, N. S. 2. For the establishment of an Episcopate in N. S. Samuel Vetch, 1st English Governor of Nova Scotia.....	T. B. Akins, Esq..... Rev. Dr. Patterson	Vol. IV. p. II.
Dec. 4	do.	do.	
1885.			
Feb'y 5.	do.	do.	
March 12.	Exodus of the Negroes in 1791, with extracts from Clarkson's Journal	Hon. Sir A. Archibald.....	
April 9.	Saga of Eric the Red, with an account of the discovery of Vinland. Translated (by Capt. Ove Lange)	P. Jack, Esq.....	
May 7.	Early History of St. George's Church (Part I)	Rev. Dr. Partridge	
Oct. 1.	Old Churches of Cornwallis and Horton	Rev. A. W. Eaton	
Nov. 5.	Letters from Rev. Jacob Bailey to Rev. Mather Byles	Hon. Tr. Almon.....	
Dec. 3.	Letter from Duke of Kent to Dr. Wm. Almon.....	Rev. Dr. Patterson	
1886.			
Jan. 7.	The League of the Iroquois	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. V. p. II.
Feb. 11.	Expulsion of the Acadians, Part I.....		
	Method of the Acadian French in cultivating their lands, especially with regard to raising wheat. Judge Isaac DesChamps, 1785.....	T. B. Akins, Esq.....	
May 13.	Bermuda	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. V. p. 39.
Nov. 4.	Expulsion of the Acadians, Part II.....	do.	
Dec. 2.	Centennial Memories	Rev. Dr. Burns.....	
1887.			
Jan. 14.	Vinland.....	Hon. L. G. Power	
Feb. 3.	Early Reminiscences	P. Lynch, Esq	
March 3.	Early History of St. George's Church, Part II.	Rev. Dr. Partridge	
16.	Acadian Boundary Disputes and the Ashburton Treaty	Judge R. L. Weatherbe	
April 7.	Colonist Plants of Nova Scotia.....	Dr. Geo. Lawson.....	
	Memoir of John Clarkson, by his brother, (the celebrated) Thos. Clarkson.....	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	

PAPERS PRINTED IN THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BUT NOT INCLUDED IN FOREGOING LIST.

An account of Nova Scotia in 1743.....	Vol. I., p. 105.
Trials for Treason in 1776-7.....	I., p. 110.
Diary of John Thomas, Surgeon with Winslow's Expedition against the Acadians.....	I., p. 119.
Papers relating to Acadian French.....	II., p. 129.
Winslow's Journal of the Expulsion of the Acadians, 1755.....	III., p. 71.
do. Siege and Capture of Fort Beausejour, 1755.....	IV., p. 113.
Papers connected with the administration of Mr. Vetch, 1710.13.....	IV., p. 64.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEAR 1887-88.

VOLUME VI.

Halifax, A. S.:

NOVA SCOTIA PRINTING COMPANY.

1888.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Objects of Collection.....	3
Rules and By-Laws.....	5
List of Officers.....	7
" Members.....	8
Introductory.....	11
The Acadian Boundary Disputes and the Ashburton Treaty.....	17
The Loyalists at Shelburne.....	53
Early Journalism in Nova Scotia.....	91
Kings College and Episcopate in Nova Scotia.....	123
Notes on the Early History of St. George's Church, Halifax.....	137

VOLUME VI

Halifax, N. S.

NOVA SCOTIA PRINTING COMPANY

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers, old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the wars of 1776 and 1812; biographical notes of our pioneers and of eminent citizens deceased, and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives and documents relative to the Loyalists, their expulsion from the old colonies and their settlement in the Maritime Provinces.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and all othe. publications relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of Pre-Historic Antiquities, especially implements of copper, stone, or ancient coin or other curiosities found in any of the Maritime Provinces, together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of all such articles to the cabinet of the society is most earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities with their signification and all information generally, respecting the condition, language and history of the Micmac, Malicetes and Bethucks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travels, and biography in general, and Lower Canada or Quebec in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced,—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the best of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliments of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library, where they may be expected to be found always on file and carefully preserved. We aim to obtain and preserve for those who shall come after us a perfect copy of every book, pamphlet or paper ever printed in or about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

11. Nova Scotians residing abroad have it in their power to render their native province great service by making donations to our library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, &c., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our Society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, &c., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.

RULES AND BY-LAWS.

1. This Society shall be called The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country ; the reading at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects ; the publication so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish ; and the formation of a library of books, papers, and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating Historical subjects.

3. Each member shall pay towards the funds of the Society, Five Dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars on the second day of January in each succeeding year, but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of Two Dollars and shall become a Life Member, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission pay to the Treasurer the sum of Forty Dollars in addition to what he had paid before. The sums received for Life Memberships to be invested, and the interest only used for ordinary purposes. Persons not resident within fifteen miles of Halifax may become members on payment of Two Dollars at the time of admission and One Dollar annually thereafter.

No person shall be considered a member until his first fee is paid, and if any member shall allow his dues to remain unpaid for two years, his name shall be struck from the roll.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed at a regular meeting of the Society by a member ; the proposition shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next regular meeting, when a ballot shall be taken ; one black ball in five excluding.

5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of every month, at 8 p. m. And special meetings shall be convened if necessary on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of February of each year, at 8 p. m., at which meeting there shall be chosen a President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. At the same meeting four members shall be chosen, who, with the foregoing, shall constitute the Council of the Society.

The election of members to serve on the N. S. Library Commission, under the provisions of Chapter 17, N. S. Acts of 1880, shall take place, each year, at the annual meeting, immediately after the election of Officers and Council.

7. All communications which are thought worthy of preservation shall be minuted down in the books of the Society and the original kept on file.

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, but at the Annual Meeting in February, when ten members shall form a quorum. No article of the constitution nor any by law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

9. The President and Council shall have power to elect Corresponding and Honorary Members, who shall be exempt from dues; and the duties of the Officers and Council shall be the same as those performed generally in other Societies.

10. The Publication Committee shall consist of three, and shall be nominated by the Council. To them shall be referred all manuscripts, &c., for publication, and their decision shall be final.

OFFICERS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society,

ELECTED 2nd FEBRUARY, 1888.

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Corresponding Secretary.

F. B. CROFTON, Esq.

Recording Secretary,

ALBERT PETERS Esq.

Treasurer.

R. J. WILSON, Esq.

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PETER ROSS, Esq.,

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Commissioners of Library.

(Under Chap. 17, N. S. Acts, 1880.)

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T. B. AKINS, Esq., D. C. L.,

PETER LYNCH, Esq., Q. C.,

HON. MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE.

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INTRODUCTORY.

Now that a full decade of years has passed away since the organization of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, it seems a proper occasion to review its history; to gauge the progress it has made during the first ten years of its existence; to consider the position it has achieved in the estimation of the public; and to inquire as to its prospects of continued prosperity in the future.

The inaugural proceedings took place on the 21st June, A. D., 1878, in the Legislative Council Chamber at Halifax. A large body of citizens attended the meeting, which was presided over by Rev. Dr. Hill. The opening address was delivered by the then Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Archibald. Short speeches were made by the Admiral then on the station, Sir E. A. Inglefield; by Sir Patrick L. McDougall, the General then in command of the Imperial forces, and by several other gentlemen present on the occasion.

The Admiral and the General were both historically connected with the Province. The father of the Admiral had served as Commissioner in the Dockyard for many years, and was well remembered by many of our older citizens. The father of Sir Patrick was a favorite in the society of this city while serving here as Colonel in the Army. It was therefore quite becoming in these high officials to aid by their advocacy the formation of such a Society in a province with which they were thus historically connected.

The objects of the Association, as set forth in the rules adopted at its organization, are, "The collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country; the reading, at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects; the publication, so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish; and the formation of a Library of books, papers and manuscripts affording information and illustrating historical subjects."

These objects have been kept steadily in view.

A very large collection of documents and papers illustrating the early history of the Province has been made. Almost every pamphlet, that has been printed in or about Nova Scotia, is now to be found in this collection. A large number of old records obtained from the descendants of early settlers, or from the family papers of persons that have held prominent positions in the Province have been placed on our files, carefully indexed, and rendered easily accessible to an inquirer. Very many valuable papers, now preserved in this manner, would ere this have perished but for the exertions of our Society.

Meetings have been regularly held from the date of the organization of the Society, once every month, during the winter season of each year, at which papers have been read, and discussions had, on a great variety of topics within the scope of the objects of the Society. The papers have been, with scarce an exception, limited to subjects of a local character, but they have ranged over a considerable variety of topics. History, Biography, Journalism, Provincial Antiquities, Studies of Local Authors and Statesmen; Itineraries and

Diaries, Curious Incidents of Early Settlement; The Character, Manner, and Habits of the French Acadians; the History and Causes of their Expulsion from the Province; the immigration into the country of bodies of negroes from Jamaica and subsequently from the United States, their settlement in the Province and subsequent deportation to the West Coast of Africa—to create on the shores of the dark continent a negro commonwealth of free and enlightened citizens; the Nomenclature of the streets of Halifax and the light which this throws on the men who occupied distinguished positions in the Imperial Service at the time the city was founded; the history of the construction of the principal public buildings of Halifax; the Shipwrecks which have occurred on our Coasts; the question of how far the Northmen extended their settlements on this Continent, and whether Nova Scotia is the place which, in the Icelandic Sagas, is described as Vinland; the reduction of the dimensions of the original Province which took place when the Ashburton Treaty gave away a large tract of what belonged to it; the story of the troubles commonly known as the Aroostock War; the history of the Provincial Settlements illustrated by plants found in the country which were introduced by settlers; the Diary of King's College, Windsor, and the origin of the Episcopal Establishment in Nova Scotia; the early history of St. Paul's and St. George's Churches, and curious records touching the controversies which have occurred therein—these and a great variety of kindred matters have been treated of in the papers read at the meetings and discussed in the conversations which followed.

A large body of information has thus been secured and preserved in a shape that makes it accessible.

Of these papers, six volumes, including the present, have now been published. That the matters treated of have been dealt with in a way to excite attention and interest, is proved by the demand for copies of our transactions, as they issue. The leading libraries on this continent, and some in England, have applied for them as they issue, and now have the different volumes preceding the present on their shelves.

We are glad to know that the Society has made steady progress from the day of its inauguration to the present time. We may well entertain the hope that the same energy and zeal which have carried it over the difficulties incident to a new undertaking, will not fail to be exerted in the future, and will result in a continuance of the progress and prosperity which have distinguished its past history.

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENTS

ASSEMBLY DEBATES

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENTS

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENTS

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENTS

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Of these papers, six volumes, including the present one, have been published. The first volume treated of the history of the United States from 1776 to 1789, and the second of the period from 1789 to 1800. The third volume, which is the present one, contains the history of the United States from 1800 to 1812. The fourth volume, which is the next to be published, will contain the history of the United States from 1812 to 1820. The fifth and sixth volumes will contain the history of the United States from 1820 to 1830, and from 1830 to 1840, respectively.

We are glad to know that the Society has made steady progress in the sale of its publications to the present time. We may well entertain the hope that the same success will be achieved in the sale of the remaining volumes of the series. The success of the series will depend, however, upon the interest which the public takes in the history of the United States. It is to be hoped that the interest will continue to grow, and that the series will be sold in a satisfactory manner.

THE ACADIAN BOUNDARY DISPUTES AND THE ASHBURTON TREATY.

BY THE HONORABLE MR. JUSTICE WEATHERBE.

AFTER the revolutionary struggle in the American colonies was over, the treaty acknowledging their independence necessarily defined the northern limit of the territory to be afterwards controlled by the republican government.

That boundary is now a part of the long line stretching between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, dividing the United States from the Dominion of Canada.

Though the language defining the border line is introduced by a preamble shewing that special attention was given to the possibility of uncertainty, and signifying that the language was chosen to prevent disputes, nearly every part of it, though now perhaps everywhere finally settled, has at sometime been the subject of controversy.

That point in the section of this long line, lying between the Bay of Fundy and the River St. Lawrence, which created the greatest difficulty, was the "North West Angle of Nova Scotia." If this North-West corner of the ancient province of Acadia or Nova Scotia had been marked by a monument or otherwise established or clearly defined, or even understood by the negotiators, the two contending nations would have been spared enormous expense, and the long and tedious negotiations which failed to prevent the two powers from coming more than once to the brink of war.

And yet when we regard the prominent figure which this territory has presented in the history of the new world, does it strike one as remarkable that all its boundaries should not have been well defined,

or that any part of them should have been shrouded in uncertainty? What a vague, undefined and shadowy impression has always been produced on the mind by the mention of the name "Acadia"!

The fact is that ever since the flag of France was raised on these shores, the boundary of Acadia continued a subject of contention and uncertainty first between Britain and France, and afterwards between the new republic and the parent empire.

Previous to the planting of any white settlement in America north of Cape Charles, the commission of DeMonts in 1603 defines Acadia as extending from the 40th to the 46th degree of latitude—that is nearly down to the southern limit of Pennsylvania. On the west it extended beyond the present site of Montreal.

Port Royal, founded in 1605, three years before Quebec, flourished feebly at first, the temporarily deserted settlement having been burnt eight years afterwards by the coarse and crafty Argall from Virginia, to vindicate the claim of England to Acadia. "In this semi-piratical descent," says Parkman, "began the strife of France and England, which for a century and a half shook the struggling communities of North America." Even at this early period 500 French vessels sailed annually for America for the fisheries and in the fur trade.

The next year after the arrival of the Pilgrims in New England, in 1621, this territory of Acadia, the boundaries of which were then set forth, having shrunk to smaller dimensions, was the subject of a grant from the imbecile King James I. to his friend, the Scottish knight and ambitious writer of tragedies, Sir William Alexander, through whose efforts a settlement of Scotchmen was attempted near the present site of Granville, or probably seven miles lower down the river and opposite Goat Island.

Subsequently the Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia created by Charles the First, who confirmed the grant to Alexander, received grants of land within the new territory. According to a literal translation of the grant made to Alexander over two and a half centuries ago, he was to acquire territory by a line "from St. Mary's Bay towards the north into the entrance or mouth of the great naval station which penetrates the interior of the eastern shore betwixt the countries of the Siriquois and the Elchemins to the river, commonly called the St. Croix, and to the most remote source or spring of the same on the western side which first mingles itself with the aforesaid river: from

whence by an imaginary straight line which may be supposed to advance into the country towards the north to the nearest naval station river or spring discharging itself into the great river of Canada."

It is worthy of consideration that, as Mr. Sanford Fleming points out in his history of the Intercolonial Railway, and as was demonstrated by two eminent engineers in a report to the British government, previous to the Ashburton treaty, these words describe a line between the sources of the St. Croix and the Chaudiere, and correspond with the language of and the line contemplated by the framers of the treaty of 1783, and should have placed the boundary of Maine just where Great Britain contended it ought to be.

In 1629, the next year after Port Royal—then a small trading station—had fallen into the hands of the English, Claude DeLatour, who had become one of the knights baronets of Nova Scotia and married a lady of the English court, received a grant of Nova Scotia with the exception of Port Royal from the former grantee, Sir Wm. Alexander.

In 1632 Acadia with Canada and Cape Breton were transferred by the treaty of St. Germain to France. Two years after the treaty grants of land within Nova Scotia were made by the crown of France to Charles Latour, the son of Claude : and in 1638 the King assigned to him, the whole of Acadia or Nova Scotia, west of a line drawn from the centre of the Bay of Fundy to Canseau and south of the 46th parallel of north latitude.

Though the title of France was undisputed for upwards of twenty years after the treaty of St. Germain, during this long period, Acadia, we know, was the theatre of continual and bitter quarrels between Latour and Charnisé—two rival governors—the latter entrenched at Port Royal, the former carrying on a lucrative fur trade in his fortified port across the bay near the site of St. John, New Brunswick.

Everyone has heard of the thrilling incidents of this period—more appropriate than that of any history for the pen of the writer of romance—of the heroic defence of this fort, conducted in person by Lady Latour, of the brutal treatment of her besieger the Seigneur Charnisé which sent her to a premature grave with a broken heart in the absence of her devoted husband in Boston—of the short exile of Latour at Quebec—the death by drowning in the Annapolis river of

Charnisè—and of the settlement of the rival claims to the disputed territory by the marriage of his widow Madame Charnisè to Latour, afterwards.

During this period, according to Bancroft, the French settlements were advanced and an actual boundary established—undisputed by the province of Massachusetts so far as I can discover—as far south as the Penobscot and half-way from the present northern boundary of the United States to Portland.

Nova Scotia is described by Peter Heylin, the cosmographer cotemporary of Milton, in 1652, as containing “that part of the country of Canada or Nova Francia that the French call Acadié or Cadie (being a peninsula or demy-island) with so much of the mainland as lieth between the river Canada (St. Lawrence) and the large bay called the Bay François (Fundy) from the river of St. Croix upon the west to the isle of Assumption on the east.”

Heylin describes a country—Norambega—south of Acadia, but Mr. J. E. Godfrey, in the Maine Historical Society’s papers for 1876, contends that this term was not used after the French and English occupancy of the Penobscot Valley—“both peoples,” he says, “designating the whole territory east of that river (Nova Scotia included) Acadia.”

We are dealing with that area of country which now forms the northern portion of the State of Maine and with which, on the map, we are all so familiar—lying in the interior between the St. Lawrence river and the Atlantic ocean—a wilderness long after the land upon the coast and the river had become studded with the settlements of Canada, Acadia and the proprietary Governments of Northern New England—in part a wilderness yet—that territory, millions of acres, though then scarcely ever trodden by the foot of white man, seldom by the foot of the savage—never surveyed—to the civilized mind of the pioneer from France and England an uninhabitable wild of forest and swamp, which almost from the first—not so much on account of its own value, but by reason of the shores of the great river on the one side and the great ocean on the other—was the subject of interminable controversy and memorable and bloody struggle between the French and English Crowns.

Nine years after the founding of Montreal—in 1651—in the Commission to the Governor and Lieutenant of the King of France,

the boundary of Canada includes on both sides of the St. Lawrence the lands adjacent to that river and the other rivers that discharge therein as far as its mouth.

In 1656, Port Royal having been taken by Sedgewick from LeBorgne, Oliver Cromwell granted portions of Nova Scotia to Charles DeLatour, who formerly a staunch supporter of France scorned the appeals of his father at Port LaTour to yield as he himself had done to English honours; and eleven years afterwards—in 1667—this country again became the subject of transfer without descriptive boundaries, in the treaty of Breda, by which Charles II. ceded it to France against the protests of New England, the French settlers not having been previously disturbed.

The French description in the commission to the Government of Canada of that adjacent province in 1677 confers jurisdiction over the provinces watered by the St. Lawrence and the rivers which discharge into it, and the places that depend thereon in New France.

At this time France claimed and occupied as Acadia the territory from the St. Croix to the Penobscot. Massachusetts at this time acquired Maine, which hitherto had been proprietary disputed soil, by purchase through an agent in England; and, as illustrative of the conflict of jurisdiction in 1689, the borders of the province of Massachusetts which had been by the Imperial authority enlarged to include Maine, stretched away according to the strenuous contention of that province, until they swept the waters of the St. Lawrence, on the north.

Port Royal having surrendered to Phips in 1690, Acadia, by the Charter of William and Mary, was now annexed to Massachusetts the next year.

“Acadia” by name, without boundaries, by the Treaty of Ryswick, was again in the fortune of war transferred to France, leaving Massachusetts (embracing Maine) as adjacent territory.

March, who was sent by the Governor of Massachusetts for the purpose, having failed to capture Port Royal in response to an appeal from New England, Queen Anne sent ships (contributing also money out of her private purse), and the ancient capital was finally surrendered by Subercase the French Governor. This brings us ten years into the 18th century.

Where were now the recognized limits of Acadia, so long previously disputed, and sought for so long a period afterwards?

The fort near the present St. John, across the Bay from Annapolis, remained in the French control. The English had no settlement on that river, though their Governor at Annapolis claimed afterwards a jurisdiction on appeals denied by the inhabitants and the French Government.

Acadia, in 1713, was by the uncertain peace of Utrecht, transferred to Great Britain.

Among the large concessions in America made by France, humbled to the dust and dejected and crippled by the war, was "all Nova Scotia or Acadia according to its ancient boundaries" without further description. The ancient boundaries of Acadia had never been defined. They were entirely unknown, and had been always in dispute for more than a hundred years. Those contentions went on. Meanwhile the great fortress of Louisburg rises, and Paul Mascarene is governing for England under the sheltering hills of Annapolis. The French governor at Louisburg, ignorant in 1744 that France has declared war, disputing nevertheless territory in Acadia, seventy years after the settlement at Grand Pre, destroyed Canso, and sent a force with three hundred Indians, accompanied by the famous LaLoutre by way of the Gaspereau River and Grand Pre, which made an unsuccessful attack on Annapolis. Before another year passes, Louisburg is reduced by the bravery of New England troops under Pepperell.

Five hundred men under Colonel Noble land on the bleak shores of the Bay of Fundy, cross the North Mountain in the dead of winter, and quarter themselves at Grand Pre to protect Annapolis from a threatened attack by D'Anville. I need not stop to describe that extraordinary expedition in February of Coulon de Villiers by the head of Cobequid Bay, so fatal to Noble and many of his comrades. I mention it as one result of the unsettled boundary of Nova Scotia. We pass on to 1748 and the treaty of Aix La Chapelle. All Europe has for four years been struggling in one of the most confusing wars in all history, which results in no gain for either France or England—Cape Breton having been restored to France in exchange for Madras, the powers were each without any advantage to recompense for the struggle.

The boundaries of the English and French provinces were by the terms of this treaty left unsettled, neither party acknowledging the right of the other, either to the basins of the Penobscot or the Ohio. Provision, however, was made for a commission to sit at Paris to settle this dispute. Acadia under the treaty of Utrecht—what was Acadia? This was one of the questions.

If this can be now settled, though so long in dispute between France and England, and though the territory of both the contesting parties is presently about to change hands in a most remarkable manner—if this disputed boundary can be now settled there will in the future be no necessity for an Ashburton treaty.

The boundary commissioners—the humpbacked governor of Quebec the capable Galissoniere, with Silhouette for France, and Shirley with Mildmay for England—were destined to sit long at Paris. Lord Halifax (says the historian) saw the whole frontier rendered uncertain by the claims of France. The agent of Massachusetts in England found in him a willing and an eager minister in preventing the Canadian French from encroaching on the Bay of Fundy, which was a difficult task, considering that most of the inhabitants of the British Acadia were French. Lands were now offered to disbanded officers, soldiers, and mariners in Nova Scotia. This was in March, 1749. In June of the same year fourteen hundred souls were landed in the harbor of Chebucto, almost on the very spot where we are here assembled; and before a single acre of soil was cleared from the interminable forest growth, and before the approach of the coming winter three hundred houses were inhabited.

The menaced encroachments of France upon the English territory of what is now the province of New Brunswick, led thus to the founding of Halifax. The French at Quebec required at this time the same area which we afterwards disputed with Maine, for a winter communication with Cape Breton as we require it now for a short line railway from Cape Breton and the sea, to Quebec. "Act with vigor," wrote Newcastle to Pelham, "to support our right to the extended boundary of Nova Scotia."

A memorial had been presented by Shirley, the head of the boundary commission claiming for the British crown territory east of the Penobscot and south of the St. Lawrence, as constituting the ancient Acadia. On the part of France it was maintained that only

a twentieth of this area, little more than a mere fringe of the southern coast of the peninsula was comprised under the name of Acadia, though formerly the French claimed boundaries as wide as those advocated by Shirley. As they captured or ceded the soil—they enlarged or contracted their definition of its limits.

As the months lengthened into years the commissioners drifted at times into unprofitable altercation, and got further and further away from the likelihood of satisfactory settlement.

A brigantine with a schooner carrying war stores from Quebec to strengthen the French post at St. John, an encroachment upon Acadia, was attacked by an English man-of-war, and after loss on both sides she was captured and condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court at Halifax. This in a time of peace! The boundary war was going on here as well as in the Ohio valley.

The construction of Beausejour was at this time undertaken by LaCorne, whom Jonquiere sent from Quebec for the purpose of holding the isthmus of Chignecto.

Four immense volumes of evidence, statements and counter statements, documents and arguments, were the only results of the commission when it dispersed. The sword was to be substituted for the pen. Shirley returned from Paris to organize in New England the war hitherto waged on paper in Paris.

Moncton's capture of Beausejour and the expulsion of the Acadians, in 1755, became necessary to enforce the English views, of which evidence and argument failed to convince Gallisoniere. Mr. Parkman, in mentioning the commission by which Acadia was granted to DeMonts in a note to his "Pioneers in France," says of Acadia: "This name is not found in any earlier public document. It was afterwards restricted to the peninsula of Nova Scotia, but the dispute concerning the limits of Acadia was a proximate cause of the war of 1755." The English colonies now numbered about three million souls and the French were about 80,000.

The seven years' war had now commenced. It was after the defeat of Braddock and the failure of the incompetent Loudon that the helm of state was grasped by the master hand of Pitt, without the aid of whose genius heaven only knows what would at this crisis have been the fate of the English race in North America. How

different might have been the result if he had been permitted to retain control?

The fall of Louisburg, in 1758—of Quebec the next year—and the capitulation of the French army in Montreal, in the year following, brings us to the end of the boundary dispute between France and England, and the end of French rule in Canada. France by claiming too much lost all. England by firmness and courage obtained more than she at first demanded. When the boundary dispute again arises Great Britain is in this humiliating position,—she has not only met with the irreparable loss of her greatest colonies, but is found feebly negotiating with them respecting the terms of peace.

In 1763 by the treaty between Great Britain and France, Nova Scotia or Acadia with all the possessions of France on the continent was finally transferred to Great Britain.

The proclamation in 1763, after the conquest, describes the province of Quebec as extending south of the St. Lawrence to and “along the highlands which divide the waters that empty themselves into that river from these which fall into the sea, thence along the north coast of the Bay of Chaleurs.”

In the next year was passed by the English Parliament what is termed the Quebec act, which defines that province not materially differently from the terms of the proclamation, so far as they touch the Maine boundary question.

The agent of the province of Massachusetts was in London, and in consultation with the Government and the Board of Trade during the preparation of the Quebec proclamation, and claiming the St. Lawrence as the northern boundary of the state of Massachusetts.

In describing the limits of Nova Scotia in the first commission issued after the conquest, these words are used as they may be found on the first page of the 2nd volume of Haliburton's history :—

“ And to the westward, although our said province hath anciently extended and doth of right extend as far as the river Pentagoet or Penobscot, it shall be bounded by a line drawn from Cape Sable, across the entrance of the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the river St. Croix, by the said river to its source, and by a line drawn due north, from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec.”

We pass now over the period of the revolutionary struggle, and come to the Convention of Peace and Separation. Here is the

language of the treaty of 1783 in the second article describing the boundary, agreed on :—

“ From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz.—that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the north westernmost head of the Connecticut river—thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude ; from thence in a line due west on that latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Catarqui.”

Over these words Great Britain and the United States were in contention for 58 years ; and at the time of the settlement of the dispute the former nation had already spent enormous sums, and had supported twenty thousand of infantry and about twenty men-of-war for two years in North America, ready to act in case of war likely to kindle from this boundary dispute. At that time also six or seven states had by their Legislatures passed resolutions to support the United States contention by force of arms.

Now look at the map. To-day the state of Maine enters like an immense wedge the territory lying on the east of the mighty St. Lawrence, almost entirely splitting off the maritime provinces from the rest of the dominion.

Franklin, Jay and Adams, the American negotiators, were men of mark and ability, but Oswald who acted for Great Britain, while he was kept occupied with matters of little importance, never it seems made an effort to retain any part of the vast and rich territory out of which have been formed the flourishing states of the west, a portion of which might no doubt have been retained by a more gifted and better informed negotiator.

The present St. Croix river became unfortunately a part of the boundary description. Then it extends from the source of the St. Croix to highlands which divide rivers falling into the St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean—thence south along those highlands to the north-west head of the Connecticut river—thence by that river to the 45th degree of latitude—and thence till it strikes the St. Lawrence. It must be borne in mind the negotiators had before them maps of the country, one of which has much to do with my theme.

The chief dispute latterly was as to the place where the line from the St. Croix reached the highlands of the treaty. If that point could have been found, other matters of dispute could have been easily settled. That point was mentioned to be the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, but there never had been any point fixed for this angle, and therefore these words did not afford the assistance they otherwise might—they only added to the difficulty. These words were clear to shew that no part of Acadia or Nova Scotia was intended to be given up by Great Britain, and they were to be read with the other words.

The United States contended that a line due north from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands mentioned, would carry them across the St. John and across the Restigouche, and its tributaries which flowed into the Bay of Chaleur away very nearly to the St. Lawrence, returning by a line nearly parallel to and not distant from that river to the source of the Connecticut.

This evidently would have taken a very large portion of territory long under British provincial jurisdiction since the conquest and under French jurisdiction before. This course would have passed away from highlands, which according to the ablest engineers satisfied the words of the treaty. It would have given the United States land watered by rivers flowing into the Bay of Fundy and the Bay of Chaleur. Certainly, shortly after leaving the St. Croix, there is reached a ridge of land, running directly between the Penobscot falling into the Atlantic ocean, and the Chaudiere falling into the St. Lawrence.

In early times there had always been great uncertainty as to what river was the St. Croix.

When Champlain with DeMonts was exploring the North Eastern Coast of America in 1604, an island was selected—at the mouth of a river, south of the St. John—for the site of a new colony, which was abandoned after the first season, but not before certain buildings were erected. That river was named St. Croix. The name afterwards was lost, and each of several rivers in turn along the coast, was called St. Croix. The uncertainty existed at the time of the treaty of Peace, though the negotiators very likely supposed no difficulty would arise. Fifteen years after the treaty, it was found necessary under the treaty of 1798, to appoint Commissioners to ascertain which river was the St. Croix. The foundations of buildings long since crumbled to dust,

and overgrown by the entangled wild shrubbery of the coast were, says Holmes in his American annals, discovered on an island. This was said to be DeMonts' island, and in this manner were the intentions of the original negotiators reached, and thus was the dispute as to the St. Croix of the treaty set at rest.

Great Britain, in settling this boundary question, was in every way unfortunate. The United States gained a great advantage in getting it settled piece-meal. First, after dispute, the St. Croix was agreed on as the *river*. Afterwards, there being two branches, a dispute arose as to which was the main stream, and which the branch of the river. When the disputes afterwards arose of a mere serious nature, and the whole boundary to the St. Lawrence was disputed, it became evident, I think, that the error commenced in not establishing the entire boundary when the dispute as to the river first arose.

The Charter of Massachusetts shows the river now called the Penobscot, once called the St. Croix, to have been the boundary of ancient Nova Scotia, as in fact it was by settlement long before the revolution; and after the division of Nova Scotia into two provinces, settlers in New Brunswick took up lands upon the Penobscot river.

The Schoodic, however, was selected as the St. Croix of the treaty; and when the dispute arose as to its true source—as to which was the main river and which the branch, the two Commissioners appointed by Great Britain and the United States selected an American as umpire, who decided against Great Britain, adopting the eastern fork as the starting point of the north line of the treaty. At this day it is clear he decided wrongly, and circumstances have arisen to show that he should have known that he was wrongly deciding. It cannot be now disputed that the true source of the river was not selected.

If the Penobscot, anciently the true boundary of Nova Scotia, and embracing the territory over which British jurisdiction had been long exercised, had been chosen, or if the westernmost source of the Schoodic, which was the main stream of the river, had been selected in the earlier stages of the unfortunate dispute, as it should have been, the Highlands of the description would have been reached by a due north line before reaching the St. John, and everything would have satisfied completely the description and words used in the treaty of

1782—3 ; and we should not have had the bed of the St. John river selected as a substitute for the highlands of the description.

If, in the treaty of Peace, the Massachusetts Charter had been referred to, and the Penobscot had been selected as the boundary, this would have given to Great Britain the site of Eastport and the territory on the coast more than half way to Portland.

If Great Britain had secured what she was entitled to, or if, after the war of 1812, she had insisted on holding what she had won, and properly adjusting the boundary fairly, and without detriment to Maine or the United States (many of the people of Maine wanted at that time to join their fortunes to the British Crown), we should long since have had a short line railway to Montreal.

None of these courses were, however, pursued at the time, and the negotiators for Great Britain, ignorant or careless of the mischief likely to follow, became pledged first to the river Schoodic, and afterwards to its eastern branch, nearer the coast by seventy miles than the true source where a monument was set up.

Afterwards other Commissioners were authorized to trace the remainder of the line. It was now too late, when the mistake was discovered, to rectify it. The United States, having obtained their advantage, made the most of it. To satisfy the description of the treaty of 1783, said they, we must now, before reaching highlands on a due north line, go directly between the Maritime British territory and the inland provincial soil, two hundred miles, to the Metis, between Bic and Lake Metapediac, not far from the present line of the Intercolonial Railway near the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Then our republican cousins, having succeeded in extending the base of the wedge towards the Atlantic ocean, not only proposed to lengthen it towards the St. Lawrence, but they insisted on widening further the base of the wedge on the western side. Although the *western* branch of the Connecticut was described in the treaty, they insisted on confining the British to the *eastern* stream.

One would scarcely have supposed that there should have arisen any controversy as to the position of the boundary between the Connecticut and the St. Lawrence River. The 45th degree of north latitude, mentioned in the treaty, at least might be considered a hard and fast line.

In 1818, according to provisions in the treaty of Ghent, that line was laid down by two distinguished and skilful astronomers, appointed respectively by Great Britain and the United States, by astronomical observations, and this gave to Great Britain an important military position of great strength—Rouse's Point—commanding the entrance to Lake Champlain.

The Commissioners appointed under the treaty of Ghent to settle the boundary disagreed, and under the treaty of 1827, which had been preceded by collision on the border, the King of the Netherlands was selected as an arbitrator, to settle the dispute with respect to the rest of this line between the British provinces and the United States. The United States hoped to be able to persuade His Majesty to change the parallel of north latitude, and extend the highlands of the treaty across the valleys of the St. John and the Restigouche. They solemnly disputed the principle of astronomical observation, as applied to dividing the surface of the globe, a preposterous objection which was, however, abandoned; and the contention substituted was that the erroneous line adopted as the division between New York and Quebec in 1722 should be adhered to.

The three points to be decided, were:

1. What line should be agreed to as the 45th parallel of the treaty?
2. Which was the north-western source of the Connecticut River?
3. Where were the Highlands of the treaty?

The King made an award in January 1831 in favor of Great Britain as to the 45th degree, giving, however, a small tract upon Rouse's Point to the United States upon which they had erected fortifications; and in favor of Great Britain as to the head of the Connecticut River. As to the north-western angle of Nova Scotia and the highlands mentioned in the treaty, he decided that, running from the point agreed upon as the source of the St. Croix, the natural features of the territory did not correspond with the language of the treaty, and he recommended a compromise line.

If the wrong river or the wrong source had been already agreed upon, it is easy to understand that the description of the negotiators could not be recognized on the ground. The King was not permitted to review the error made in selecting the river and the starting point.

The British Government, though not satisfied with the decision and the recommendation as to this latter point, considered themselves in honor (and agreed to be) bound by them and so informed the United States. Not till a year and a half after receiving this notification did the United States, in July, 1832, determine to reject the award—a determination which Great Britain in vain endeavored to induce the United States to reconsider.

It had been from the colonial period a recognized rule of surveying in the United States, that when a natural object was called for by a description, the given course should yield to the object, upon the principle that the natural object would be more likely to indicate the intention of the parties than the direction mentioned. By Sir Wm. Alexander's Grant, as stated, the course after leaving the St. Croix was northwardly: in the treaty of 1783 it was due north. In no other respect did the descriptions materially differ. The rule of surveying referred to would, it seems evident now, have secured for Great Britain the territory in dispute, or all that was material. Subsequent explorations, as described by Mr. Fleming, shew that the three water sheds in New Brunswick, which drain the rivers which fall respectively into the St. Lawrence River, the Atlantic Ocean and the Bay of Fundy, converge at the only point which would satisfy the application of this rule in favor of Great Britain and secure a line drawn between the adopted source of the St. Croix and near the head of the Chaudiere. And yet this was the proposed rule submitted and urged by the United States, and pigeon-holed by Lord Palmerston.

The English engineers, it appears to me, went no further than this in their very able report. Notwithstanding this, for the act of publishing such report, the British Government is reproved in the following lively language by the Hon. Israel Washburn, Jun., LL. D., in a paper read before the Maine Historical Society:

"If ever trifling and contemptuousness can be practised by one nation towards another, so far as to become an affront, which by the laws of honor and the duties of self-respect, as they are recognized among civilized nations, would justify an appeal to arms, the making publishing and offering as evidence of title by the British Government of this impudent and insulting report, furnished justification for a hundred declarations of hostilities, such as are settled only on the field of battle."

Great Britain, as a next step, endeavored to negotiate for a conventional line, while the United States still contended that a line might be found to satisfy the words of the treaty.

It was afterwards agreed that the Commissioners should be appointed by the two governments to examine the country and report for their information. The United States, on receiving a draft of convention from Great Britain, to carry this into effect, withdrew from their agreement altogether, and proposed another scheme of settlement—namely three Commissioners to be chosen for each side, four of the six to decide any point—three scientific men to be named by three friendly powers to decide all points undecided by the Commission. No doubt, this was a cumbersome and impracticable scheme; but as soon as Great Britain agreed to it, the United States undertook to attach impossible conditions; and so the matter remained unsettled until the boundary question became a Railway question, and Great Britain had expended £10,000 for a survey for an intercolonial railway. Indeed an intercolonial railway was distinctly projected so early as 1832. It was at the instigation of the state of Maine that steps were taken to stop the survey of a line across New Brunswick after the expenditure had taken place.

The delay secured in the boundary settlement by the United States, turned out fortunately for that country. In 1837–8 Great Britain found herself with a rebellion on hands in Canada. Territory and rights long enjoyed and exercised without disturbance by British subjects on the border, were now challenged and disputed; and the state of Maine raised an armed force, and constructed forts in the disputed territory. The Legislature of that state voted \$800,000 to be used for the defence of the state. General Scott was sent to the frontier to bring about an agreement between the Governments of Maine and New Brunswick for temporary possession of the disputed soil. It was during the Canadian rebellion, as every one knows, that the Legislature of Nova Scotia voted \$100,000 to assist New Brunswick in the boundary war—a vote which was characterized by the unusual demonstration of ringing cheers from the galleries of the popular chamber.

The time had come when the settlement of this question seemed more urgent than ever. The impossibility of any settlement by the Commissioners had become evident. No further suggestion for

arbitration—a conveniently and peculiarly proper mode in the opinion of eminent public writers of disposing of boundary disputes—was made.

Much new evidence had been collected favorable to Great Britain ; and unless a proper settlement could have been secured by negotiations—pursued through the usual sources—arbitration should certainly have been insisted on by Great Britain. It was not even proposed. The mode of action to secure a settlement adopted by Sir Robert Peel was that above all others favorable to the United States. He proposed a special mission to Washington to negotiate a compromise by adopting a conventional line.

Great Britain was determined to have the matter settled once and for all. It naturally seemed to the Government at home that all that was in dispute, was of little or no value to Great Britain. A special mission to Washington, then, if the right man should be selected, whose views coincided with those of the Government, was the most effectual for them, though most unfortunate for the colonies and the future interests of British America.

Lord Ashburton, the man selected, was a younger son of Sir Francis Baring, who founded the great mercantile house of which the son afterwards became the head. He had been for many years in his early life engaged as a commercial agent for that concern in the United States and Canada. He had married in the United States the daughter of a member of Congress. He had been in Parliament first as a Liberal, and then as a Conservative and an opponent of free trade. I think, except in a financial sense, he had never been considered a strong man by any means ; and he was entirely without diplomatic experience. He has almost invariably been called a weak man. He considered it a great sacrifice to cross the Atlantic at that time, and was anxious to return as soon as possible.

I think very little was then known in England of the man with whom Ashburton was sent to negotiate—a man born in poverty, who, having trained himself in the profession of the law, rose by the force of his own genius and character conspicuously above every other man in public life—a man of giant capacity, keen intellect, genial disposition and commanding will—Daniel Webster.

At the time of the inception of the negotiations, Charles Dickens was, with his wife, travelling in the Western States, having called at

Halifax on his way to New York, in the winter of 1842. In his "American notes" the inimitable humorist alludes to the manner in which a certain United States newspaper welcomed the English Ambassador who, in the Atlantic cities and in the capitol, was received and entertained during the whole period of his visit with excessive manifestations of respect.

"We came at midnight to Cleveland," says Dickens. "I entertained quite a curiosity in reference to the place, from having seen at Sandusky a specimen of its literature in the shape of a newspaper, which was very strong indeed upon the subject of Lord Ashburton's recent arrival at Washington to adjust the points in dispute between the United States Government and Great Britain, informing its readers that as America had whipped England in her infancy and whipped her again in her youth, so it was clearly necessary that she must whip her once again in her maturity; and pledging its credit to all true Americans that if Mr. Webster did his duty in the approaching negotiations, and sent the English Lord home again in double quick time they should within two years 'Sing Yankee Doodle in Hyde Park and hail Columbia in the Scarlet Courts of Westminster.' I found it a pretty town, and had the satisfaction of beholding the outside of the office of the journal from which I have just quoted. I did not enjoy the delight of seeing the wit who indited the paragraphs in question, but I have no doubt he is a prodigious man in his way, and held in high repute by a select circle."

Lord Ashburton was, of all ambassadors who ever left England on a special mission under the circumstances, the least likely to return without securing a settlement, however monstrous the demands of the opposing negotiators might turn out to be. And he was, perhaps, the least likely of any man to stand up stoutly for a treaty just and fair to the colonies. It is not, I think, unreasonable to suppose he was selected to some extent on this very ground. It was not then known, however, even by those who sent him with what utter contempt, according to recent disclosures, he regarded the claims of the colonies. On the other hand, it is proper to state that neither he nor his government appreciated with what importance to the welfare of British America in the future the mission was charged.

The 45th parallel, as has been said, had been settled by arbitration in favor of the British side; and so had the source of the Connecticut River. The other question, as to the position of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, was not altogether against Great Britain; and indeed

it was the only question about which, reasonably, any dispute should have been possible. And on this point the British cause had gained and was gaining strength.

The United States government, we have seen, had commenced the erection of fortifications at Rouse's Point, north of the 45th parallel ; and their settlements also had encroached on British territory previous, as they contended, to the discovery of their mistake as to the correct boundary.

They were strongly desirous, therefore, of possessing this territory and the site of the fort. They claimed, in addition, George's Island of twenty-five thousand acres, between Lake Superior and Lake Huron, and also about four millions of acres of mineral lands situated to the westward of Lake Superior, bordering on Rainy Lake, which Great Britain had undoubted grounds for holding as her own possessions.

In the centre of the disputed eastern territory the people of Madawaska were settled on both banks of the upper St. John, a large portion of the settlement being on the south side of the river. This river rises to the southward of and not far from the St. Lawrence, and after flowing to the north with its tributaries, it sweeps by a great bend, and flows southward. Within this extensive loop these people were settled on the southern side of the river. They were settled on both banks of the river, but we have to do now with these embraced by the bend of the St. John. This was a British settlement, and ever since the war of independence the territory was supposed to be British colonial soil. For more than half a century these people had been settled there, continuously paying taxes and voting as British subjects with grants from New Brunswick of their land ; and during that period they had received bounties from the provincial government. To describe the circumstances of these people, it will be well to read the language of Lord Ashburton addressed to Mr. Webster, shortly after entering upon his delicate duties at Washington :

“ The history and circumstances of this settlement are well known
 “ to you. It was originally formed by the French establishments in
 “ Acadia, and has been uninterruptedly under French or British
 “ dominion, and never under any other laws. The inhabitants have
 “ expressed great apprehensions of being surrendered by Great
 “ Britain, and have lately sent an earnest petition to the Queen,
 “ deprecating that being done. Further, this settlement forms one

“united community all connected together, and being some on one
“and some on the other side of the river, which forms a sort of high
“road between them. It seems self-evident that no more
“inconvenient line of boundary could well be drawn than one which
“divides in two an existing municipality—inconvenient as well to
“the inhabitants themselves as to the authorities under which they
“are to live. There would be evident hardships, I might say cruelty,
“in separating this now happy and contented village.”

To the north of the St. John River, between that main stream and one of its forks, there stretched a large uninhabited area which now forms the extreme north-western corner of Maine, nearest to the St. Lawrence—then uninhabited and incapable of cultivation. To borrow the subsequent description of Mr. Webster (speaking in Congress), it consisted of barren mountains and impenetrable swamps, and was intrinsically worthless. In all the volumes of discussion that has taken place, so far as I can ascertain, no one has ever pretended that it was of any use whatever to Maine or the United States, except in the negative advantage of discommoding the British provinces, by separating them as much as possible from each other, and preventing intercolonial communication.

The British ambassador had been invited to Washington to compromise. The United States plenipotentiary was supposed to be authorized to give and take. Rouse's Point was admitted by all military authorities to be the key to Lake Champlain—“the best
“point for the outlet of Lake Champlain, best means of defending
“the ingress into the lake and exit from it.” “I hope,” said Webster, two years after the treaty, “this government will last
“for ever, but if in the judgment of Heaven so great a calamity shall
“befall us as the rupture of this union, and the state of New York
“shall thereby be thrown upon her own defences, I ask, is there a
“single point except “The Narrows,” the possession of which she
“will so much desire.”

The abandonment of the 45th parallel and the substitution of the former mistaken line would take away Rouse's Point from Great Britain and give it to the United States. That change, from the very terms and description of the treaty, would give forty thousand acres of land to the state of New York, and about sixty to seventy thousand acres to Vermont. The United States claimed Halls or the eastern stream as the source of the Connecticut, though the terms of the treaty were clear defining the north-westernmost stream as the

boundary. The abandonment of the true boundary would give 100,000 acres of land to New Hampshire, which an American commissioner, Mr. Van Ness, appointed under the treaty of Ghent, after examining the ground, declared belonged to the British provinces according to the decision of the King of the Netherlands. There were besides several villages on the long strip of land on the north and British side of the boundary.

If Lord Ashburton had desired to save even the barren region north of the St. John and the Madawaska settlement, even though he should give up the rest of the territory south of the St. John River, besides all those other things he had it in his power to offer, there was something else which, though the United States never laid claim to it they strongly desired—namely, the right to navigate the St. John River to the Bay of Fundy. This would give an outlet to the people of Maine to all the valleys of the Fish River, the Allegash, the Madawaska and the St. Francis; and vast quantities of timber, grain and cattle, for which there was then no prospect of transit, could be carried to market.

If the British ambassador had succeeded in retaining all these things which I have enumerated—the mineral lands, island, fort, strip of territory, and branch of the river, and villages, and the continued control of the mouth of the St. John, and if he had obtained no more of the mountains and marshes claimed by Maine than he did secure, he would not have even then made himself immortal as a negotiator; because Great Britain never claimed all she was entitled to. But how came he out of the negotiation with Mr. Webster? He gave away the four million acres of mineral lands. He gave away the island of St. George's. He surrendered the fort and strip of land at Rouse's Point. He abandoned to New York forty thousand acres of soil and over sixty thousand to Vermont. He yielded the villages to the United States, and gave up the source of the Connecticut, and gave a hundred thousand acres of territory to New Hampshire. He sacrificed the Madawaska settlement, and handed those loyal British subjects over to the United States, and abandoned a large portion of territory north of the St. John which I have taken the pains to describe. With all this he was obliged to concede the free navigation of the St. John. Now all these concessions were made to secure what was called a military road—this northern wilderness of rock—

which Mr. Webster afterwards conclusively proved was no military road, and which no one who knows that in the wilderness the military road is in that path by which the strongest army marches, ever before or since could pretend to claim as a military road. He gave up every thing of any value whatever and yielded besides upwards of four millions of acres of territory now under the jurisdiction of the state of Maine, which the United States negotiator had stronger reasons than Lord Ashburton was at the time aware of, as will be presently shewn, for knowing belonged to Great Britain.

This has all the features of a wretched failure. This was the mockery of diplomacy.

Ashburton's skill as a negotiator and diplomatist was afterwards most prominently questioned and criticized in England, anonymously in the press, and in a luminous statement by Lord Palmerston of the facts in the House of Commons, which remains a masterpiece of Parliamentary style. No doubt the British plenipotentiary had struggled against yielding territory north of the St. John. In dealing with his feeble attempt to retain it, and the manner in which his opponent had outwitted him in prematurely having gained every concession in his power to make, Palmerston in his characteristic jaunty and jeering manner, said:—

“Our plenipotentiary had indeed gone over to America with a bag full of equivalents to be used, if necessary; but he was so uneasy under the weight of this burthen that the first thing he did was to throw down his bag and its contents at the feet of Mr. Webster to shake it out clean and to take good care not to leave a single thing at the bottom. Mr. Webster very naturally took up the squandered equivalents one by one as they were thrown down, and put them one by one in his own pocket, in order that they might not be taken back again.”

Had the consent of Great Britain been delayed in determining which was the St. Croix of the Treaty and which also was the source of that river, until the other portions of the boundary were determined, there would have been little difficulty in establishing a claim to the whole of it.

After Ashburton's return to England, although no doubt the English people were inclined to put up with any settlement of the long pending dispute, in certain quarters dissatisfaction was manifested, and a lively discussion went on till the meeting of parliament

took place, when the conduct of the envoy was described by a term which has made it known ever since as the Ashburton "capitulation."

In the meantime a debate—and though it was in secret session a report of it became public—had taken place in the United States Senate, when a remarkable disclosure took place which still further gave cause in England for attack upon Lord Ashburton, and still further provoked criticism of his mission.

Jared Sparks, the American historian, searching in the archives of the foreign office in Paris previous to Lord Ashburton's visit to Washington, had discovered a letter of Franklin, one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Peace, to the Count de Vergennes, referring to a map upon which the boundary was marked at the time of the treaty. In further pursuing his search in the full belief that this line would support the contention set up by his countrymen, he found, to his utter astonishment, the map upon which Franklin had marked with a strong red line the boundary of the United States as settled by the Treaty of 1783, which at once convinced him that the whole of the territory in dispute, and even more than was claimed, belonged to Great Britain.

It appears that Vergennes, the French minister, shortly after the terms of the treaty had been signed, sent a map to Franklin with a request that he would mark upon it the boundary which had been agreed to. The following is the text of Franklin's reply:—

"PASSY, *December 6th, 1782.*

"Sir,—I have the honor of returning herewith the map which your Excellency sent me yesterday. I have marked with a strong red line, according to your Excellency's desire, the limits of the United States as settled by the preliminaries between the British and American plenipotentiaries.

"With great respect,

"I am, etc.,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Sparks, in enclosing the letter to the U. S. Government with a copy of the map, said it was exactly the line contended for by Great Britain, except that it conceded more than was claimed by her. "It is evident," said Mr. Sparks, "that the line from the St. Croix to the Canadian highlands is intended to exclude all the waters running into the St. John."

The information imparted by Sparks, the copy of Franklin's letter and the map were, by Webster, concealed throughout the negotiations from the British ambassador, who only became aware of this extraordinary information after his return to England, when he discovered that the red line map had been used in the United States Congress to persuade the members of that chamber, the representatives from Maine, and the public, to consent to the settlement which had been made.

It appears from what transpired in the debate in the House of Commons, that it was then understood that Lord Ashburton had in his possession in Washington a map from the foreign office corresponding with the one Webster had concealed. From all I can learn it does not seem to have originally been the intention of Lord Ashburton to disclose at home the possession by him on his mission of this map, lest it should make too apparent his purpose of abandoning whatever should have been demanded with sufficient importunity by the United States.

Whilst the press in England was discussing the merits of the mission to Washington and its results, two men in London, much in the secrets of those who were pulling the political wires, and who themselves assisted in some small degree to pull these wires, often sat down at the desk to use language in the sincere effort of recording facts—the one by private and confidential correspondence—the other by privately treasuring some history of his conversations with, and intrigues on behalf of, public men. From the correspondence of Croker, and from the memoirs of Charles Greville, we have recently been put in possession of secrets of considerable interest on this as well as on other historical questions.

I hope no one will suppose that the American commissioners who negotiated the treaty of 1783 did not understand fully every step they were taking during the protracted and difficult proceedings; though I am not able to say so much for Oswald, whom Lord Shelburne selected. Of the three unsettled points over which delay took place—the fisheries, indemnity to the loyalists, and the boundary—the last seemed (till the arrival of Adams to recruit the American commission) the most difficult. Jay and Franklin had agreed to leave the north-eastern boundary to be settled, by commission, afterwards; but Adams, who was armed from the Massachusetts archives

with every scrap of documentary evidence on the subject, over-ruled the others, and, after defining the boundary to their own satisfaction, the British and American commissioners sat down and marked by a strong line on copies of Mitchell's map interchangeably the limits agreed upon.

I have nowhere found that it was disclosed, at the time, in what manner Ashburton obtained his map correctly delineating the limits of the adjacent territories; but after a lapse of forty-five years a chance conversation reported by Greville has been put in print, which throws a ray of light on the subject:

"Lemon, of the state paper office," says Greville, "told me that the foreign office was searching for documents relating to boundary questions. He recollected an old map of North America lying neglected tossed about the office for twenty-five years. He examined it and found a faint red line all across certain parts and pencil lines parallel above and below. It occurred to him that this was the original map lost which was used for marking and settling the boundary question. Experts were employed, who said the red line was old and the others were made since. A messenger was sent to Portsmouth to go to North America with a government steamer. The boundary question was settled soon after."

Perhaps it is worth while to pause for a moment over these memoirs and correspondence to ascertain how the conduct of Webster, the President, and the United States government was regarded at the time.

I am not aware—though it is so contended—that the cunning and subtlety of ancient diplomacy which induced English statesmen formerly to disavow personal contact with it in transacting international business, is entirely abandoned. If so, perhaps we should be able to draw the line at the period when it ceased. It is the pretended boast of some modern writers that, at present, the details of international law and judicial fairness are, to a great extent, the ruling guides in settling international disputes. One might well wish that this may become more and more the practice of international negotiators.

In the ordinary affairs of life the concealment of the red line map would perhaps vitiate a transaction or give ground for reconsideration.

Greville says, at the date, "people cry out lustily against Webster the American for having taken us in, but I do not think with much reason."

Lord Aberdeen, then Sir Robert Peel's Foreign Secretary, in writing to Croker on the 25th September, 1843, says :

"I think we have no strict public right to complain of Webster in the affair of Franklin's map." * * * * "Although we cannot complain of Webster so as to vitiate the agreement, it is a piece of concealment and of disingenuousness, which must inevitably produce an unfavorable impression against him in all honorable minds."

And Lord Ashburton, in writing to Croker in the same month, says :

"The story of the map is undeniable, and has, I believe, been truly told. I shall have much to say about it when I see you, but it is rather an extensive subject and a delicate one."

"The public are very busy with the question whether Webster was bound in honor to damage his own case by telling all. I have put this to the consciences of old diplomatists without getting a satisfactory answer. My own opinion is that in this respect no reproach can fairly be made, but the conduct of both president and secretary (Webster) is most extraordinary in the other matters relating to my treaty."

In another letter a week afterwards he says : "I think my responsibility in this matter stands quite clear. But how stands Webster's case? Was he bound to show up and damage his own position? I think not. And when I interrogate on this subject experienced diplomatists, though they make answer somewhat partaking of their character of diplomatists, I rather collect that they are of the same opinion. The only doubt I have surmised, is whether Webster did not make something of a personal pledge as to the intentions of the parties. I can find nothing of the sort; and, in conclusion, if I am called upon to say anything in the Lords, it will be in favor of my collaborator on this point."

In the usual sense the United States was victorious in the matter of the Ashburton Treaty and the Maine boundary, notwithstanding they gave up five-twelfths of the area in dispute for the concessions I have mentioned—notwithstanding they conceded territory previously claimed, rather than undertake the task of "whipping England a third time or singing Yankee Doodle in Hyde Park." The United States gained a substantial diplomatic victory, which seems to have been creditable enough, according to the veteran diplomatists. Webster had an easy-going, honest Englishman to deal with, and certainly he made the most of his opportunity. Yet I do not know why we should complain of Webster or the United States

because he very effectually disfigured in advance any map that we may ever desire to publish of Canada.

My endeavor is dispassionately to record the correct history of this transaction. Considering the Anglophobia prevailing—the antipathy to the “scarlet courts of Westminster,”—whatever those chambers with the provoking colors may signify,—and the difficulty under the constitutional methods in the republic, of disposing of international entanglements, perhaps there were many temptations to a Secretary of State in dealing with this boundary question to satisfy his conscience, that as trustee for the people at large he was not permitted to disclose the existence of Franklin’s letter and map. One, I know, might conceive of a state of things where public sentiment would be likely to condemn such concealment, but Webster knew the temper of the people he represented.

It must have been most amusing to have heard my Lords Brougham and Campbell in the House of Peers argue the Franklin letter and map like a petty case of *trespass quare clousum* in the Queen’s Bench or on Circuit—Brougham contending that the map could never have been let into the case at all, and Campbell boldly asserting there was a case last term about eight feet of land beyond a garden wall in Glasgow where a map, though not referred to in the contract which had been used at the time, was held to be admissible as evidence by Lord Brougham with the rest. The case, he contended, was on all fours. Except that in the one case, said Lord Campbell, the line was red and in the other it was black, the cases were precisely alike. This was very ridiculous—these distinguished and eloquent men, and this narrowness and hair splitting.

It seems to have been matter for rejoicing in England when the news of the concealment reached that country that Webster had not disclosed the map and letter. It cannot be denied that Lord Ashburton took a most chivalrous view of the great American’s conduct—for though Ashburton was, as we see, not an able man, as his adversary unquestionably was, he was an English gentleman. Most Englishmen were glad—the English government rejoiced, that the United States government had kept the red line map out of sight.

“Lord Ashburton told me,” says Greville, “it was very fortunate that this map and letter did not turn up in the course of this negotiation; for if they had there would have been no treaty at all

“and eventually a scramble, a scuffle, and probably a war; with this evidence in our favor, it would have been impossible for us to have conceded what we did or anything like it.”

And in writing to Croker, Ashburton, about the same time, says :

“Mr. Rivers, the reporter of the Committee of the Senate, to which the treaty was referred, reports that the Committee were unanimously of opinion that the American right was not shaken by this discovery, but nevertheless give their opinion that it would not be safe to go to a new arbitration with such a document against them. The truth is that probably but for this discovery there would have been no treaty; and if the secret had been known to me earlier I could not have signed it. ‘Ainsi tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.’”

Aberdeen, writing to Croker of Franklin's map, says :—“It was most fortunate that it was not discovered by us before the treaty was concluded, for it might not have been easy for us to proceed with such evidence in our possession. We must have gone to an arbitration before the end of which war would have probably ensued. Convincing as the letter and map must be to any impartial man, they have not convinced the Americans who still maintain their line of boundary in spite of them.”

It is an acknowledged principle that a defeated suitor may, upon the discovery of new evidence, obtain a new trial. Imagine the counsel of a disappointed litigant, upon being informed that the lost document, for the want of which an adverse verdict was rendered, was concealed in the pocket of the opposing attorney, saying :—“My dear Sir, it is quite true that but for the missing paper you were entitled to have won; but let us thank heaven it was not produced. If you had succeeded, your adversary would have been annoyed. Very probably there would have been high words and he might have knocked you down. So it is most fortunate that though he has obtained possession of your estate, you are now enabled for the time being to live on friendly terms with him.”

No stronger evidence is required to shew with what satisfaction Webster's concealment of Franklin's map and letter were entertained in England than the debate in Parliament and the vote of thanks to Ashburton, which took place after the fact of the concealment had been made public.

I regret to have to record that more was known in England when that vote was taken than the fact of the concealment in Washington. When the disclosure of the result of Jared Sparks' researches in Paris had been communicated, enquiry on behalf of Great Britain was at

once set on foot in the French archives, and then became apparent a most disgraceful fraud and forgery, perpetrated doubtless by some one in mistaken zeal for the interests of the United States, but whose conduct was too grossly vulgar to reflect in the slightest degree upon the republican government, or to secure the open approbation of any one in America. The original of the map discovered by Sparks was abstracted, and another map substituted with a red line conformable to the contention always set up by the United States !

In a private letter of Sir Robert Peel to Croker, on the 23rd Feb., 1843, he says :

“ Do nothing and say nothing at present about the treaty. So far as any Paris map is concerned we are in the crisis of enquiry, and the present state of it is extraordinary. Canning was at Paris in 1826, and made search for documents relating to the boundary and treaty of 1783, and could find nothing.” “ Bulwer can find no trace of the letter from Franklin : no trace of the map mentioned by Jared Sparks. But strange to say he does find a map of which he sent us the tracing ; a map apparently deposited many years since which follows exactly with a crimson line the boundary claimed by the United States ! ! ”

“ Jared Sparks (continues Peel) cannot have lied so enormously as this discovery would imply. Notwithstanding the failure to find it, there must, I think, be a letter from Franklin and a map just as Sparks describes. I tell you all I know at present. Bulwer is a very clever fellow with great experience in such matters. * * * He writes two letters—one after a short interval, and in the second as well as the first says he cannot confirm the alleged discoveries of Jared Sparks.”

With Peel, with Ashburton, with the people of England generally, a confirmation of the discovery of Sparks does not seem to have been strongly desired. But truth compels me all the same to state that there is no doubt or question about the discovery of Jared Sparks, or the attempted fraud in the archives of Paris. And all this notwithstanding at that time there was uncertainty and mystery, as the following letter of Lord Aberdeen to Croker two days after the one written by Peel, still further reveals :

“ It is a strange thing,” privately writes the Foreign Secretary “ that neither letter nor map are to be found at Paris. At least we have hitherto failed in doing so. But we have found another map altogether in favor of the American claim. I will tell you the particulars of this curious affair when we meet to-morrow.”

Notwithstanding Sir Robert Peel, being attacked, made a bold defence of the Treaty in a sort of way—though he did not deny that British territory had been given away—and notwithstanding the general feeling in England was that any settlement was a blessing, especially as no English interest was disturbed, there was a feeling of annoyance in some quarters at the too apparent fact that the British ambassador had not only been outwitted, but that he had to a large extent laid himself open to this charge by want of zeal in the cause of his mission and incapacity for the undertaking.

Little interest as was taken in colonial affairs at that time in England, there were not wanting those who considered that, as the boundary had been in dispute for so long a period, and as no better settlement seemed possible than that offered to the English ambassador, he should not have finally closed the door against colonial interests, but should have put the settlement off a little longer and returned home for the time being. By which means might have been secured that arbitration—the very name of which aroused the blood of every son of Maine.

As a retaliation for the spirited attack led in the House of Commons by Palmerston, (his colleague Lord John Russell had been changing his mind every week for more than a month it now appears) and as an offset to the attack—without which Ashburton would have gone without thanks—it was resolved to introduce a vote of thanks, a most unusual course, in both houses.

Miss Martineau, in her history of England, justifies the Treaty in some wishy-washy sentences on the ground that “the inestimable good of peace and national amity appears to have been obtained without sacrifice.” She produces the thanks of Parliament as evidence to support her contention. The supporters of this vote of thanks are always trotted out to defend this unfortunate treaty. Therefore, I think, considering that even in Canada this vote of both Houses of the British Legislature has been paraded to vindicate the transaction, special attention is due to the character and opinions of the men selected—or rather who volunteered their gushing services—for this duty.

Two men who figure conspicuously in British history—Mr. Joseph Hume and Lord Brougham—who in their respective Houses of Parliament introduced this motion, represented widely different

classes of English social and political opinion; but one circumstance is of striking significance in relation to this subject, namely,—Brougham and Hume were at one in this, they had both frequently and publicly, and sometimes fiercely, denied that British America was of any service to the British Crown.

I suppose no one imagines at this day, in all Canada at any rate, that the result of that motion or the debates which took place aid us in gathering together the historical merits of the international negotiation. There was then living—I think he was in the Ministry—the bravest and noblest and one of the most honorable souls in the British Islands—who wished to have nothing to do with that vote of thanks—who treated its promoters with silent scorn—namely, the Duke of Wellington.

In all that was said on the side of the government it was assumed or asserted that the mission was conducted in the interests of the colonies, and that there was nothing needlessly sacrificed—that the man selected by the government to conduct the business fully realized and appreciated the importance of the British claim. That was the case put forward in his behalf; and for that he received the distinguished honor usually bestowed upon successful conquerors for heroic achievements!

Palmerston labored hard in Parliament to shew that an unfit selection had been made. Being, like Disraeli, one of those versatile statesmen who sometimes write their own leading articles, he had been slashing away with wonderful effect in the *Morning Chronicle*, to shew the same thing. Ashburton, Aberdeen and Peel, who do not seem to have had the knack of furnishing newspaper literature, were writing private letters to Croker, supplying him with ammunition for the press or the reviews on the Tory side. In one letter, in one sentence, Ashburton, as we have recently discovered, expressed that which, if publicly admitted as his opinion at the time, would have saved much of the discussion, would have justified a great deal that was regarded at the time as severe prejudice on the part of Lord Palmerston, and probably would have put any vote of thanks out of the question.

What a pitiful morsel has been preserved in the annals of literature for the too enthusiastic advocate of Imperial Federation, in the opinion held by our imperial maker of a Canadian treaty of the surrendered territory—which we would rejoice to honorably possess—

which now in the hands of a foreign government almost divides our remaining territory asunder—an unceasing source of chagrin to the Canadian who cherishes longings for the effectual consolidation of the Dominion.

Here in a private note to Croker, on the 24th Nov., 1843, Ashburton writes :

“ I dare say your little farm is worth the whole pine swamp we have been discussing.”

To put beyond doubt the contempt in which he regarded the colonial territory, and which he loved to parade in private, Greville, on the 9th of February, records that Lord Ashburton told him “that after all the matter was a dispute *de luna caprina*—for the whole territory we were wrangling about was worth nothing. So that it is just as well the discovery [of the red line map] was not made by us.”

That pine swamp, which was worth nothing, included the famous valley of the Aroostook and part of the St. John Valley, and contained some of the most fertile land in New Brunswick.

Long before we secured railway connection with Quebec and Montreal, we should have, with this territory in our possession, accomplished that work and at less than half the cost—and what would have been of infinitely more advantage—at an immense percentage in gain of time and distance.

This “pine swamp” is more than one-third in size of the kingdom of the Netherlands, which contains a population about equal to that of the whole of Canada : it is half as large as Denmark : more than half the size of Belgium : about as large as the great State of Massachusetts, and larger than the two States of Connecticut and Delaware together.

The United States, to induce Maine to yield her claim to the smaller portion of it, offered one million two hundred thousand acres of the richest soil in Michigan, which offer was spurned with indignation and responded to by sending a military force to defend the territory.

The people of Maine knew well the value of the territory, and it was not unknown to Webster, who was instructed constantly by commissioners from that State while the negotiations were in progress, and who afterwards stated in Congress that “those lands are valuable

for timber now, and a portion of them are the best in the State for agriculture. The fact has been stated to me on the best authority, that in the Aroostock Valley land is to be found which has yielded more than forty bushels of wheat to the acre."

Much of that soil surrendered by Maine was undoubtedly a worthless swamp, but even for that, besides the free navigation of the St. John River to its mouth, she received upwards of four hundred thousand dollars from the United States treasury, notwithstanding the General Government had the constitutional power to compromise, and notwithstanding the Government was fortified with Franklin's plan, which showed that Great Britain would possibly in another arbitration have been awarded the whole area. With what force the railway view of the case presented itself to our ambassador in that early period, I am not aware. I think the subject was not mentioned in the Parliamentary debates. I was quite struck in seeing Lord Ashburton's name for £800 of stock, four years after the treaty, in an intercolonial railway scheme which came to nothing solely because he had surrendered the only practicable route.

The ablest and most unprejudiced and independent champion among the defenders of the Ashburton Treaty was a Canadian—the late Sir Francis Hincks, who delivered an address in Montreal on the subject a few years before his death. He was acquainted with both Ashburton and Webster, and had paid life-long attention to the subject. He admits the universal opinion in Canada has always been adverse to the conduct of those who took part for the United States, and that the colonial interests were not supported.

I think he has said the best that can be said for the negotiators, and while I must admit he is entitled to vastly more credit than I can lay claim to for magnanimity, I rose from his version of the case with utter astonishment at such an argument from an able man.

Sir Francis admits that the description in the treaty exactly accords with the red line map, which would give Great Britain more than she ever claimed; and he admits that Sparks discovered the genuine map upon which Franklin delineated the boundary for Vergennes. But he thinks the American negotiators made a mistake in the description inserted in the treaty, and he comes to this conclusion because the limits of the adjacent provinces were at the time

of the treaty, he thinks, well defined in the line claimed by the United States.

In the first place there is not a fragment of evidence against the mass of opposing testimony as to the ancient limits. And moreover this is conclusive that the attention of two at least of the negotiators was directed to a dispute in their lifetime respecting the language of the description, and their own testimony shews that they must have deliberately used the language which is found in the treaty. Besides, if the language of the description accorded with the British claim, that disposes of the whole case; for no claim was ever made or ever could be made upon mere wild and loose conjecture to reform the description.

Inasmuch as there is reason to believe that the French minister, at the time of the treaty of peace, was anxious to prevent an agreement between the British and American negotiators, Sir Francis thinks that after the agreement had been signed Franklin was desirous of deceiving Vergennes, and deliberately misrepresented the boundary agreed on. This is a most extraordinary opinion upon such a ground. In the first place Franklin was the last man to have made so inexcusable a misrepresentation, and even if he desired to deceive Vergennes no one could imagine why he should desire to lead him astray on this point. The conduct of Sir Francis in this paper, which must have cost him a deal of labor, is to me a complete puzzle, and the pamphlet may be regarded, I think, as a curiosity of Canadian literature.

Even at the time of the mission to Washington it was evident to one man at least that that part of the disputed area which was worthless to the United States was of importance to British America. He saw then, as became too apparent afterwards, the motive which inspired those who persisted in stripping the English envoy of all the concessions which they surmised he was authorized to make, even that which was of no essential service to the United States. "Why, let me ask," said Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons, "did the Americans insist upon having territories north of the St. John? That district could be of no value to them for any of the ordinary purposes of territory. We have been told by Lord Ashburton, and it was not denied by Mr. Webster, that the territory north of the St. John grows little timber, and that when the timber now upon it shall have been removed the land is ill adapted to cultivation and

settlement. It connects no two portions of United States territory, but is an excrescence jutting out beyond the rest of their frontier. But it has one, and one only value to them; it is a salient point projecting into our limits and interposing between Canada and New Brunswick, by which they will have additional means of *threatening us in case of new differences or of attacking us in the event of war*, and it is precisely on this account that they ought not to have been allowed to have it."

The ever increasing demands of commerce and travel imperatively require in this age the most rapid means of transit. And thus Canada is at length compelled to resort, for commercial purposes of inter-communication, to that now foreign territory which Great Britain abandoned. It has become necessary to appeal to the legislature of Maine. Already we have heard of the detestable operations of the "lobby" to discriminate against Canadian freight in favor of that of the State of Maine. And before the completion of a Canadian short line railway across the State of Maine, the "Fisheries Question" has been made the pretext for threats of those very "new differences" referred to—threats of the stoppage of Canadian railway carriages upon a railway so necessary to our complete development as a nation.

As a last word, I take the liberty of repeating what was said in England at the time of the Ashburton treaty, viz., that a colonial interest was sacrificed to secure peace—that the permanent security of peace is not promoted by any sacrifices—that all international agreements should be fair, and that if unfair, sooner or later they must be rectified.

THE LOYALISTS AT SHELBURNE.*

A PAPER READ BY THE REV. T. WATSON SMITH, APRIL 10, 1888.

- Two events in the history of Nova Scotia might of themselves furnish themes for the historians and poets of a great nation. These are the expulsion of the Acadians and the arrival and settlement of the Loyalists. Longfellow has given immortality to the one: the other has not yet found poet or historian to do it justice.

Few details of the conflict which preceded the arrival of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia are here necessary. The first shot in the war of the American Revolution—"the shot heard round the world"—was fired near Concord, Massachusetts, on April 19th, 1775: the war reached an actual, though not formal, close on October 19th, 1781, when at Yorktown, Va., in presence of the combined French and American forces, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington his army of 7000 men, and retired from a scene on which, throughout, he is believed to have been an unwilling actor.

This surrender called forth the extremes of joy and sorrow. At Philadelphia, at midnight, a watchman is said to have traversed the streets, shouting at intervals: "Past twelve o'clock, and a fine morning. Cornwallis is taken." It seemed as if the words would wake the very dead. Candles were lighted, windows were thrown up, figures in night robes and night-caps bent eagerly out of the windows, and as half-clad citizens met each other on the streets they shouted, laughed, wept for very joy. In New York, bitter tears and despairing groans were caused by the news. That city had been for five years an asylum for the friends of Britain from all the revolted colonies. During those years it had been gay with all the pomp and circumstance of war; foreign amusements and old-world extravagance

* A number of facts appearing in this paper were given several years since by the author in a prize-essay called for by the Governors of King's College, Windsor.

had been freely introduced ; and the volume given to business had been immense. To the vast crowd of Loyalists collected there, most of whom had hoped that absence from former homes would be but temporary, the surrender of Cornwallis seemed like the knell of doom—a doom all the more to be dreaded because undefined.

Two weary years followed that eventful October day—years full of forebodings to these Loyalists. It was soon learned that they had little to hope for from negotiations at Paris ; they had less to expect from their victorious neighbors. The struggle had been long and severe. It had not been precisely a foreign war or a civil war, but in it had been combined features of both. On the battle-fields of the Revolution neighbor often met neighbor, and brother even sometimes met brother. There had been much, too, that was not war, but merely the gratification of a desire for plunder or a spirit of revenge, under pretence of war. The bitter feelings thus awakened, with the length of the contest, had made it evident to both contending parties that they who should finally prove the weaker would have little to expect in the way of mercy from the stronger. Even, therefore, before diplomatic chatter in Paris had resulted in the signature in November, 1782, of articles of peace, which were supplemented by a definitive treaty a year later, many leading Loyalists in New York were anxiously discussing the subject of new homes elsewhere under the British flag.

During the autumn of 1782 one hundred and twenty heads of families in New York entered into an agreement to remove together to Nova Scotia ; and upon the representations, it is believed, of Gideon White, father of the Rev. Dr. White, the present venerable rector of Shelburne, they turned their gaze toward the shores of the beautiful harbor which then bore the name of Port Roseway.* At a meeting held on November 11th, a committee of seven was chosen to make arrangements for removal thither as early as possible in the following

* Gideon White, a native of Plymouth, Mass., had fought as a volunteer on the British side at Bunker Hill. His father, fearing the consequences of this act, had sent him away to Nova Scotia. While on his way from Halifax to Yarmouth he had been captured at Barrington, at the house of John Coffin, by the crew of a Plymouth armed vessel, taken home and thrown into prison. On his release he entered the British service as an officer. In 1783 he retired, with his regiment, to Jamaica, but subsequently settled at Shelburne, where he died.

spring.* Three weeks later, at another meeting, two members of the committee, Joseph Pyncheon and James Dole, were selected by the company and approved by Sir Guy Carleton, the British Commander-in-chief at New York, to proceed to Halifax and lay before Governor Parr the intentions of the associators. These agents at once proceeded on their mission, Pyncheon being accompanied by his family, whom he settled at Lunenburg. Invested with ample powers to determine all matters relative to the proposed settlement, they were instructed to secure adequate grants of land at and as near Port Roseway as possible. These lands were to be free from quit-rents, to be laid out and surveyed at the cost of the government, with the reservation to the settlers of all privileges of "fishing and fowling." They were also to ask for the incorporation of their city, secure assistance in the way of workmen and materials, stipulate for aid in the opening up of roads to other districts, and obtain guarantees against the impressment, "for ever," of any of the inhabitants for naval service. All these advantages were to be sought upon the distinct understanding that satisfaction on any or all points should in no way interfere with their claims upon the British government for compensation for losses and sufferings through the war then just ended.

So cordial was the reception of the delegates by the Governor and Council, and so favorable the statements respecting the farming and fruit-growing capabilities of the proposed place of settlement made by one or two persons who had been in its neighborhood, that the delegates at once sent back glowing reports. The Surveyor-General had assured them that the place selected was the best situation in the province for trade, fishing and farming; both Governor Parr and Sir Andrew Snape Hammond had expressed an opinion that the proposed city would become one of the "capital ports" of the American continent; and Sir Andrew, about to sail for England, had promised to support their enterprise with all his influence. The Governor had also engaged to provide 400,000 feet of boards against

* The members of this committee were Joseph Durfee, a trader and ship-owner of Newport, R. I., captain in a Loyalist regiment, and during a part of the war a pilot, on important occasions, on the King's ships; James Dole, a merchant of Albany, N. Y., whose losses, through loyalty, were estimated at £12,000; Peter Lynch, of Boston, a heavy loser by the war, of whom Peter Lynch, Esq., Q. C., of Halifax, is a grandson; Thomas Courtney, of Boston; William Hill, of Massachusetts, Joseph Pyncheon, and Joshua Pell, a farmer.

the arrival of the spring fleet, to be divided at the rate of thirteen hundred feet to each family. Thus fed with pleasant words, the delegates informed their friends in New York of their belief that the coming city would soon outrival Halifax; and, in private advices, ascribed the conduct of several persons, who had spoken to them of more suitable districts on the Bay of Fundy or the River St. John, to jealousy only.* To protect themselves and their friends against danger from an influence so baneful, indications of which were not wanting, they a little later addressed a communication to the Secretary of State and endeavoured to enlist the services of Colonel Fanning and Sir William Pepperell, then in England. At the same time they put forth all possible effort to establish mills in the neighborhood of the proposed settlement, in advance of the arrival of their friends.

Through these favorable reports the number of associators grew very rapidly. Early in the spring of 1783 about 470 heads of families in New York were making preparations for departure for Port Roseway. A Board of Agency, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Beverly Robinson was President, was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton to apportion among the settlers such aid as the government should see fit to give. The emigrants were divided into sixteen companies, to each of which a captain and two lieutenants were appointed to direct the distribution of provisions and secure an equitable division of lands. A transport was provided for the conveyance of the families in each company, and as many as were deemed necessary for the removal of the heavy baggage and horses. Forty cannon, with the requisite ammunition and military stores, were also furnished by

* In interesting letters from Halifax at this period, Pynchon drew frequent comparisons between the natural advantages of Halifax and Port Roseway, invariably in favor of the last-named place. It is evident from these letters that before the arrival of the Loyalists at Shelburne serious fears of the overshadowing influence of the coming settlement had so far affected the people of Halifax as to render the position of Governor Parr one of some embarrassment. This fear may have been caused in part by unguarded words by Loyalists and others at Halifax who were waiting the arrival of their friends at Port Roseway, with the intention of sharing their fortunes. On February 10th, 1783, Pynchon wrote: "Much talk is here about capital of Province. . . . Halifax can't but be sensible that Port Roseway, if properly attended to in encouraging settlers of every denomination, will have much the advantage of all supplies from the Bay of Fundy and the westward. What the consequence will be time only will reveal. They certainly are sensibly pricked. Many go so far as to say that in a few years it will dwindle, etc. This must guard us against much opposition in private, whilst the public testimony is all for us. Many at Halifax would and have tried to divert our attention to some other parts of the Province, as the Bay of Fundy, the River St. John and the eastward, and even to scatter us." A few years' experience must have convinced Pynchon that the advisers whom he suspected of jealousy were not fairly judged.

the Commander-in-chief. A commissary, an engineer, and a number of carpenters were also sent in the ships. All arrangements having been made, farewells were taken by the emigrants of fellow-Loyalists bound for Britain, the West Indies, and other parts of Nova Scotia and Canada, as well as of those more hopeful spirits who had resolved to remain in New York as long as possible, and then the various families went on board the allotted transports, and on April 27th a fleet of eighteen square-rigged vessels, with several sloops and schooners, all under convoy of two ships of war, sailed from New York for Port Roseway with the flag of Britain at the mast-head.

Let a thoughtful glance be here directed towards these exiles, and to the great body of which they were only an important detachment. Thousands of American Loyalists had already found their way to Britain, or to Nova Scotia, or some other loyal colony, and many thousands more were about to set forth upon their uncertain journey. The returns of Brook Watson, the British Commissary-General at New York at the period of the final evacuation of that city by the King's troops in November, 1783, show that during the previous ten months of that eventful year, nearly 30,000 men, women and children had been sent from New York to the several Maritime Provinces, Canada and the West Indies. Few exiles ever suffered more severely than did the majority of these Loyalists; the character and motives of none have ever been more persistently misrepresented. Of the course pursued by them, and of the motives by which they were impelled, a descendant of one who abandoned friends and lost property and health in taking up arms on the side of Britain may speak with respectful freedom.

To assume that among the immense number who bore the honorable name of Loyalist there were none unworthy of it would be folly. Included in the long list were many who were committed to the support of British ascendancy by official position rather than by choice; others, guided by self-interest mainly, gave their adherence to the party upon whose banners it seemed most probable that victory would finally perch; and there can be no doubt that others—these not a few—to use the words of a witty convict when accounting for his arrival at Van Diemen's Land, "left their country for their country's good." But a very large section of Loyalists was composed of men worthy to be held in grateful remembrance. If, in the light of to-day, we justify the Whigs of the Thirteen Colonies in their

armed resistance to measures calculated to enslave them, we are by no means bound to condemn their neighbors who clung to the hope of preserving their rights as freemen by constitutional means. Up to a certain point many prominent Loyalists were in accord with Whig sentiment. They deprecated, with their Whig neighbors, the madness which had caused the British Government to suddenly reverse its paternal policy of three-quarters of a century, and to seek to crush, by a succession of tyrannical measures, several millions of loyal colonists, whose progress had unfortunately aroused the jealousy of certain English statesmen who saw only danger in the rapid growth of the American Colonies and in the prowess displayed by colonial troops as they fought side by side with British soldiers in western wilds, or advanced alone, as to Louisburg, to attack and conquer the veterans of France. Many of the more intelligent Loyalists, there is reason to believe, also deeply regretted the action of the Governors of Massachusetts and Virginia in precipitating armed conflict, and of the British Cabinet in threatening the colonists with the presence of German mercenary troops. It was not until the Declaration of Independence had been given to the country by the Continental Congress that the line between the Loyalists and Whigs became sharply drawn. That celebrated document, emanating really from only a small majority of the members of an advisory body, having no recognized legal existence, and representing, as Bancroft has remarked, "nothing more solid than the unformed opinion of an unformed people," created widespread surprise. But a few months had elapsed since the subject of independence had—thanks to the fierce words and harsh acts of George III. and his cabinet—received public mention at town meetings, and through a minority of the few colonial newspapers of that day; and since Paine, in his attack on monarchy in America had first voiced the vague wish for independence, felt by a limited number. Under such circumstances many thousands of the best men in the several colonies were quite unprepared to adopt the course proposed by Congress and endorsed by various provincial conventions.* Some

* Lecky, whose judgment of historic facts is generally accepted, has remarked, in his "England in the Eighteenth Century," that "the American Revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love, and leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible to recede." Elsewhere, in the same work, that historian has said: "It is probably below the truth to say that a full half of the more honorable and respected Americans were either openly or secretly hostile to the Revolution."

of these could see only a promise of anarchy in an attempt to form any other than a monarchical government ; and others, a part of whom had fought to maintain British prestige in America, shuddered at the thought of the abandonment of connection with a nation whose name and traditions had been to them a life-long inspiration. Both these classes were aware, moreover, that Lord Chatham and other distinguished British statesmen were still striving by all means in their power to secure for Americans the liberties claimed by them, and that they were doing this in reliance upon the explicit assurance that no attempt upon the integrity of the empire was for a moment meditated. Such men could neither forswear, in obedience to any partisan order, their allegiance to Britain, nor could they break faith with their active friends in the British Parliament, behind whom, it was well known, were the sympathies of the majority of the British people. Still greater was their perplexity when they learned that the Congress was already approaching France, the bitter enemy of civil and religious liberty, and the deadly foe for a century or more of British colonists in America, with a view to an alliance against the mother country. Who can wonder that, in such circumstances, our Loyalist forefathers were unwilling to avow themselves enemies of the nation in which they had gloried, even though a majority of her rulers when asked for bread seemed determined to give them a stone, and for a fish to give them a serpent. Put yourselves in the place of these men—the records of many of them and of their sons and grandsons fill important pages in our provincial history—and you will be slow to say that hesitation was unwarranted. They hesitated, as well they might, but only to find themselves immediately denounced by provincial and local conventions as “enemies,” “rebels,” and “traitors,” and threatened with confiscation of property, and with even severer penalties in case of failure to take a certain proffered oath. Well might Egerton Ryerson ask : “ Was it not a violation of good faith, and hard treatment for men to be declared by a new tribunal criminals in July for maintaining what all had held to be loyal and patriotic in January ? ”

This harsh action on the part of the Whigs seldom served its purpose. Men are not made patriots by such means : they are thus more frequently driven into determined opposition. Some prominent Loyalists withdrew from the country, leaving their property

to be confiscated ; but others awaited the bursting of the storm which here and there permitted one to remain at the cost of untold indignities on his paternal acres, while it forced vast numbers to seek safety in the neighborhood of the British troops, or to take a share in military service. Few of those who decry the sincerity of their Loyalist fathers are aware that about thirty colonial loyal regiments took part in the sad strife of that day. Sabine estimates that, at the lowest computation, 25,000 colonists entered the King's service, of whom nearly one-fifth were killed, wounded or captured. Not a few of the officers of these Loyalist regiments took up arms unwillingly, but when drawn in part by their regard for British institutions, and driven in part by the bitterness of colonial neighbors, they took the field, their names became a synonym for determination and daring, and were long whispered in certain sections of the Republic with bated breath.

Of the treatment of the Loyalists by the victorious Whigs at the close of the conflict a few words may be said. Conciliatory action on the part of the latter would have secured many valuable citizens from the thousands of those who had been opposed to them. Acts of private wrong under cover of warfare might have been punished, but loyalty to a nation, in alliance with which the leaders in both parties had so recently gloried, might have been forgiven by those whose war cry had been liberty. The banishment of a large proportion of the ablest and most highly-educated men of the revolted colonies is now generally admitted to have been a serious mistake. France acted less foolishly when she drove out her Huguenot population—artizans who carried the secret of her finest manufactures to various English and continental cities, bringing them all into competition with the French markets. Many of the Loyalists were men of iron will and indomitable energy. They added a new and vigorous element to the population of Nova Scotia ; they caused the formation of New Brunswick into a separate province ; they settled the immense province of Ontario, and played a most important part in the development of our Dominion. The Republic met them again when they drove her soldiers back to her own territories in the war of 1812 ; she met their descendants during the long and warm controversy respecting the north-western boundary ; and in our own day she has seen them with undaunted front and keen diplomatic skill stand boldly forward

against any trespass upon the ocean preserves of which our fathers took possession.

Let me remind you that John Inglis, the first Episcopal bishop of Nova Scotia ; Sir John Wentworth, governor of this province at the beginning of this century ; Edward Winslow, a member of a distinguished Massachusetts family, whose death at Halifax, in 1784, was followed by funeral ceremonies of unusual distinction ; Sampson Salter Blowers and Ward Chipman, chief justices, the first of Nova Scotia and the second of New Brunswick ; Judge Sewall, of New Brunswick, an early and intimate friend of John Adams ; Foster Hutchinson, judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia ; Jonathan Bliss, attorney-general of New Brunswick, and Benning Wentworth, provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, were all Loyalists, and all, with two exceptions, graduates of Harvard ; that Sir Brenton Haliburton, whose life story has been well told by the Rev. Dr. Hill ; Egerton Ryerson, founder of the well-known school system of Ontario ; Joseph Howe, of whom no Nova Scotian can be ignorant ; and Judge Stewart, of the Supreme Court of this province, were sons of Loyalists : that Sir John Inglis, the brave defender of Lucknow ; Sir Frederic P. Robinson and Sir W. H. Robinson, both knighted on account of their military services ; Lemuel Allan Wilmot, like Joseph Howe, a leader in the struggle for responsible government, and, like him, at one time a governor of his native province ; Sir George Cathcart and Major Welsford, who fell in the Crimea ; Thomas Chandler Haliburton, whose literary reputation is world-wide, and, if I am not mistaken, Sir William Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, were grandsons of Loyalists. The late Sir Robert Hodgson, Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, was also of Loyalist descent. Let me remind you of these and of many others, living or dead, whose names may occur to you, with the suggestion that a study of the history of the Loyalists at large would swell the brief list given to an almost indefinite extent, and you may form some idea of the value of the men and of the descendants of the men who were driven abroad by the bitterness of the Revolutionary victors.

Let us not, in relation to this important historical event, ignore God in history, or forget to be grateful for the happier spirit in which the international strifes of the present generation are treated. The man who reads of the wholesale banishment of our Loyalist fathers in

the light of the past century, will be sure to estimate aright their sacrifices, while he will none the less regard as worthy of honor the great nation whose northern limits form our southern boundary. The prevalent feeling of the American people of this generation was put into words by the late Henry Ward Beecher nearly five years ago, at a meeting held in New York just one hundred years from the day on which the British troops had taken their final departure from that city, when he said of the victors and their severe enactments: "They did not know any better. They had the instincts of the animal-- you bite me and I bite you. That was the instinct of the age." No exception was taken to these words or to other words spoken of the vanquished: "How natural it was that one should love the government under which he had been brought up! Around it was all the literature, all the romance, and all the suggestions of his childhood. I should have been in a strait myself if I had been there. If imagination had dominated, I would have gone with Great Britain: if love of my neighbours I would have stayed here and fought her. It was a piteous thing to drive them into exile. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia received thousands of the noblest of those who were driven out by a spirit of what seemed to be justice by the foes of England."

Would you, in these days of easy attachment to country, cultivate in your children a regard for our institutions which have grown up under the fostering care of Britain? Then take them to the graves of some of these old Loyalist veterans, and tell them of the sorrows and sufferings endured in the development of our country. And, lingering beside the hillock where rests the dust of some one of these heroes, give a thoughtful glance at the grave beside it. Buried there may be material for a tale as touching as that of *Evangeline*, and true withal. Erroneously, we have come to use the term Loyalist as a masculine appellation only. Let us be just. In the sorrow and sadness of that wonderful exodus, and in its earlier sequel on our own shores, the larger share by far must have fallen to the lot of our Loyalist foremothers.

To the more imaginative members of the company bound for the southern shore of Nova Scotia in the spring of 1783 there may have been a certain attractiveness in the name of their destination. That name, however, was only a corruption of the one originally given.

The French had called the harbor Port Razoir. Their settlement near its entrance had been broken up. Once a pirate had killed their cattle, and twice the 'New Englanders had burned their dwellings, and finally the few settlers had fled in consequence of arguments so persuasive. Nearly half a century later, a few other settlers found their way to the deserted spot. The first to reach it was Anthony Demings, by birth a Portuguese, but for many years a resident at Amherst, Mass. Demings had quarrelled with the captain of a fishing schooner, and had asked to be put ashore, with a bundle containing all his earthly possessions, near Cape Negro. Wandering around the coast he came to the ruins of the French buildings, and for years remained there, enduring much suffering. Once he had spent a week on a journey to the New England settlement at Barrington, having crossed from Cape Negro on a raft, to obtain a bag of meal which he carried through the woods on his shoulders. At the end of five years he had been joined by several Scotch-Irish families, whom Alexander McNutt had led thither as pioneers of his intended settlement—New Jerusalem; for which he and his associates had received a grant of one hundred thousand acres bordering upon the harbor, which was escheated just before the arrival of the Loyalists for non-compliance with legal conditions. A family or two had also sought homes on the coast, near the entrance to the harbor. In the meantime the name of the harbor had undergone some changes. By the French it was called Port Razoir; in English documents it was afterwards designated Port Rozea, and then Port Rosaway; and to our Loyalist fathers it was described as Port Roseway.

The passage of the exiles from port to port was a week in length. Then stern fact took the place of fancy. The first land seen by them was Cape Sable, white with snow. Soon after, on the 4th May, 1783, they entered the harbor for which they were bound, and anchored near its mouth. Keenly enough, we may presume, they scrutinized their new surroundings. The most practised eye could discern no spot bordering those calm waters on which to raise even a military tent, except that on which Demings and his few neighbors had taken refuge. In such circumstances the strength and the weakness of human nature were seen in strong contrast. The spirit of mischief, too, could thrust its provoking face among the groups gathered on the decks. A military officer, about to return to England, had, with as much

good judgment as generosity, presented his horses to the wife of one of the Loyalist captains. "Madam," said he, as they looked up and across the harbor, "where do you intend to drive?" The three surveyors, who had already arrived from Halifax, and the few residents near the mouth of the harbor in particular, were everywhere in request. Tales of hardship, as told by the latter, found deeply-interested hearers. "But how came you to stay here?" said an incredulous listener to old Ebenezer Berry. "Ah," said Berry—and his reply was a sadly suggestive one—"Poverty brought me here and poverty kept me here."

As soon as the site of the town had been determined by Mr. Lawson—the engineer, the three surveyors and the committee of the associators, the fleet was piloted up the harbor by Anthony Demings. It was arranged that the town should consist of five long parallel streets, crossed by others at right angles, each square containing sixteen lots, sixty feet in front and one hundred and twenty in depth; and that the space between Water Street and the shore should be cut up by small lanes and divided into small lots, so that to each associator might be given a town and a water lot, and also a fifty-acre farm lot on some part of the shore of the harbor or its neighbourhood. At each end of the town a reservation was made for a common. Parties from the various vessels at once went on shore to cut down the trees and clear the lands, under the direction of the surveyors. As soon as possible tents were pitched and huts erected on the clearings, and a hut or a tent, with arms and ammunition, allotted to each family. So vigorously was the work pushed on that on the 11th July—two months after they had sailed up the harbor—the division of the lands was commenced. On that day the town was separated into the North and South Divisions, the streets received their names, the squares and lots were numbered, and to each of the original associators, and as far as possible to others, were assigned both a town and warehouse lot. Each man could now pilot his family through the rocks and stumps and swamps, and point to some collection of these materials and say "This is ours!" Did not silent tear steal down fair cheeks at the first glance at the spot allotted for the new home? From an old document I learn that the farms were afterwards drawn by lot, with the consent of the deputy surveyor-general and the magistrates: it is altogether probable that the first distribution of lands was made in a similar way.

The new Loyalist settlement received its name—Shelburne—on August 2nd. This name was given by Governor Parr in honor of Lord Shelburne, (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne,) Secretary of State for the Colonies. During this visit, Governor Parr, whose presence was attended by a succession of festivities on ship and on shore, appointed several magistrates. In one important matter the inhabitants were disappointed. They had set their hearts upon the incorporation of their projected city. Their agents had been instructed to press the point with all earnestness, but from the governor, now on the ground, they could obtain no satisfaction. Soon after his return to Halifax, the governor, in a letter to Lord North, expressed an opinion that the people of Shelburne, the number of whom exceeded five thousand, would soon prove a “happy and prosperous” community.

While these five thousand exiles, suddenly set down among the rocks and stumps, were striving to make the best of their new and peculiar position, they were sorely perplexed by the arrival of five thousand others, many of whom they regarded as unwelcome neighbors. Whatever trials the earlier exiles had had to endure, their position had been preferable to that of friends who had remained behind. In August, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton wrote to Washington that the disregard of the articles of peace shown by the newspapers, and by threats from committees formed in various towns, and even in Philadelphia, where the Congress was in session, was such that he was obliged by his relation to his government and by humanity itself to remove all who should wish to be removed. This removal, in view of the approaching evacuation of New York by the British forces, had to be made in haste. On September, 1783, a large fleet with Loyalists and disbanded soldiers—8000 in all—left New York for St. John and Shelburne. One of the vessels bound for St. John was wrecked on a ledge near Cape Sable, with the loss of ninety-nine lives, but all the vessels due at Shelburne reached their destination in safety.

The sudden arrival of five thousand persons in a settlement where five thousand previously on the ground could scarcely find shelter, was a serious event, especially near the end of September. In the emergency the government did all that was possible. Two new divisions were run out on the reservations intended for the north and

south commons, and the long streets parallel with Water Street were increased to the number of eleven. As early as November 11th, the citizen settlers drew their lots and two days later the disbanded troops received theirs. Many of those who had arrived in the autumn spent the winter on the vessels at the cove, and some had a tent as their only shelter. Fortunately, at Shelburne the winter was one of unusual mildness, and therefore much more satisfactory to the settlers there than to their fellow-exiles in New Brunswick. Many of the Loyalists at St. John spent the first winter in log houses, bark camps and tents, and a number of persons died through exposure. At Fredericton, further inland, there was keener suffering. "Women, delicately reared, cared for their infants beneath canvas tents, rendered habitable only by the banks of snow which lay six feet deep in the open spaces of the forests. Men, unaccustomed to toil, looked with dismay towards a future which seemed hopeless; and, as one said who as a child passed through those dreadful days: 'Strong, proud men wept like children, and lay down in their snow-bound tents to die.'" At that place, too, the survivors are said to have narrowly escaped starvation, through the non-arrival of supplies before the closing of navigation. At Shelburne, throughout that winter, rations were issued by the agents of the British government to between nine and ten thousand persons.

During the succeeding spring other lands were laid out and allotted, but the growth of the proposed city was retarded by several causes. In many cases the lots drawn were ill-suited to the business of the owners, and proper sites could only be obtained by exchange or purchase at the expense of delay. With all the effort practicable, it was not possible to secure a sufficient number of workmen nor a satisfactory supply of building materials. But more injurious than all other causes were internal dissensions and general dissatisfaction with the provincial government. The imposition of heavy duties called forth a strong public protest and a demand that the inhabitants should be exempt from the payment of those duties until the town should be incorporated and properly represented in the legislature. Governor Parr, in reply, expressed regret at his inability to relieve them from the payment of duties, but assured them that so soon as the House should have attended to the current business of the year he would dissolve it, and not call another until writs should have

been issued for the return of members from all the new settlements.* Complaints were also made about the delay in the issue of grants, but the arrival of these only increased the dissatisfaction. It was generally remarked that certain influential men seemed to have been singularly favored by the use of the lot. Suspicion in this direction led to bickerings and jealousies which were never allayed. The government appointed a committee of leading citizens to settle disputes, but the difficulties finally led to a riot, the ringleader in which was carried on board the *Mercury*, man-of-war, and impressed as a seaman, which high-handed act called forth bitter feeling toward the captain of the *Mercury*—the Hon. H. E. Stanhope.

The first election, consequent upon the formation of the townships of Yarmouth, Barrington and Shelburne into the county of Shelburne, was a scene of great excitement. No principle was at stake: the issue was in great measure personal. The opposing parties were known as the Blues and the Greens. The friends of Alexander Leckie, Esq., one of the candidates for the county, were known as the Blues; and a few years ago the descendants of his slaves still bore in Shelburne the name of Blue. Any one who has ever found himself almost alone in one of the broad, level streets of Shelburne will be amused when told that King Street was so crowded on that election day that one might have walked on the heads of the people. The contest is said to have been decided by the Blues making their way in a body to the polling place and taking possession of it.

Among the able men who took part in the work of the session noted for the impeachment of Judges Deschamps and Brenton was Isaac Wilkins, the representative then elected for the township of Shelburne. Legislative halls were to him no novelty. The son of a Jamaica planter, he had been sent to King's (now Columbia) College, New York, to prepare for the Episcopal ministry. Having abandoned that purpose, he had settled at Westchester, and had been elected

* In reference to this subject Panton wrote from Halifax to one of the committee in February, 1783: "The present form of government [of Nova Scotia] must and will immediately be changed. The House of Representatives have never yet been changed, and they at present when chosen stand for life. Such a government will never suit a people used to a free and annual representation. I hope Colonel Upham will find his interest to join with you, as it appears to me he well understands the spirit of a people who have been landholders in fee simple. This is the misfortune of Great Britain in respect to the colonies—placing in their own minds the landholders in the colonies upon a footing with those they call peasants in Britain, when really that character is scarcely to be found in the colonies."

representative for that county in the legislature of the colony of New York, as a leader on the ministerial side. Previous to the war he had married a sister of Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, but a vote of thanks to the delegates who had drawn up that celebrated historical paper was defeated in the New York Legislature mainly through Isaac Wilkins's influence. He also used his pen with such effect that his pamphlets were burned whenever they fell into Whig hands. Previous to his departure for England in 1775, he published an address to his friends, in which he declared that all he had done had been with a view to the welfare of his adopted land, and that he was about to leave America because he could not raise his hand against his sovereign, nor would he draw his sword against his country. A year later he returned to Long Island, and in 1783 came with the spring fleet to Shelburne. He was appointed first custos of the county, and on Colonel Beverly Robinson's departure, president of the Board of Agents. Under promise of a grant of land at Shelburne he submitted to an escheat of a tract of five thousand acres, secured in 1770, near St. John, N. B. On his grant of seventy-two acres at Gunning Cove—Carleton village of that day—near the entrance of the harbor, he spent nearly all that he had in the erection of a very fine building, long known as "Wilkins's Folly." An official township list of "Persons absent or immediately on the wing" in 1792, contains the name of Isaac Wilkins. From Shelburne he removed to Lunenburg, and thence, about 1800, returned to Westchester, N. Y., where he became rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a position he continued to hold until his death in 1830. Two judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, both bearing the name of Lewis Morris Wilkins, and both residents of Windsor, were son and grandson of Isaac Wilkins.

The appointment of additional magistrates by Governor Parr on his first visit to Shelburne has been mentioned. The records of the sessions in a town where an immense mixed crowd, recently exposed to all the unhallowed and unsettling influences of a long civil war, had been suddenly collected, present a better view of the legal punishments of that day than could elsewhere be obtained. Pyncheon, one of the first agents, had written to Captain Durfee in reference to rivalry with Halifax: "We must encourage settlers of any denomination, as we cannot all be farmers. And whoever has the human form,

especially sailors and fishermen, must on some part of the harbor have given them a house lot at least to build on." That those who bear the human form may become desperately bad no one can question.

One is startled by learning from these old records what trifling crimes were followed by the penalty of death. Shannon and Doyle, for stealing some money from a vessel at Sandy Point in 1784; Britain Murray, for an attempted theft which secured a few pence; and John Mitchell, for a robbery at Tusket, and one other, name unknown, suffered death by hanging at Shelburne. In pronouncing sentence of death on these poor wretches Shelburne magistrates were acting quite within the lines of British law. English judges were then obliged to pass the death sentence upon men whose gains by crime would scarcely pay for the rude rope put around their necks. It was about that period that Lord Mansfield, the well-known English judge, charged a jury, to the expressed disgust of a plundered jeweller, to find that a stolen trinket was of less value than forty shillings, in order that the prisoner might escape the capital sentence. One can scarcely believe, what nevertheless was a fact, that less than ninety years ago Samuel Rogers, the poet, saw a cartful of young girls on their way to execution at Tyburn. Such was one phase of the "good old times."

The punishment of the lash, which almost equally degrades two men—the man who swings the whip and the man whose back receives it—to say nothing of the spectators, was then freely used. If this did not suffice, the culprit went to the workhouse, where scanty fare and hard work presented small temptation to the commission of crime with a view to a winter's board. The first person who appears to have been publicly whipped was one Diana, a Negro woman, who was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes at the cart's-tail on one Saturday and one hundred and fifty on the next. By way of variety a whipping-post was erected on Stanhope's Hill, and thenceforward the records of the sessions abounded with notices of whippings by the cat-o-nine-tails, at the cart's-tail, the whipping-post and at the street corners. The last sentence of this kind in Shelburne was executed as late as 1826, when a colored woman received twenty one lashes with the cats.

The pillory was then also in vogue. The frame stood at the corner of Water and Ann streets, and was used as early as November,

1784. As pictured in old prints, the frame was composed of two upright posts, with a cross-piece about the height of a man's shoulders; this cross-piece was divided into two parts, upper and lower, in each of which were three semi-circular indentations. The centre one received the head of the culprit, and the two side ones his hands; the upper piece then closed down on his neck and held him in a perfectly helpless position. Thus bound, the victim became, during the period prescribed by the court, a target for all the garbage and promiscuous missiles which the mob might choose to fling at him without danger of serious injury. The low carnival was generally limited to one hour, and was, in most cases, like the lash, an accompaniment to imprisonment. This debasing form of punishment, now happily out of date, was used in Halifax as early as 1770.

The following curious sentence, pronounced by Stephen Skinner Esq., custos, in 1798, is copied from the records of the sessions. It is worthy of the notice of any person disposed to say naughty things about their neighbors: "You, Margaret T. and Eliza B., jr., having been this day convicted of publishing a scandalous and malicious libel; from hence you are both to be put in a cart, with the following inscription on your breasts and backs, viz.: 'Convicted of a scandalous and false libel,' and to be led to the pump in King street, and thence to proceed through Water street as far as the middle of George street, and thence to proceed back to the corner of John street, and thence to be conducted to your respective places of abode." Tradition states that at the conclusion of the ceremony the elder of the two women politely thanked the constables for their elevated view of a section of the town.

Not unfrequently Shelburne magistrates contented themselves with giving culprits "leg-bail." Four men, for instance, lay at one time in the jail under sentence of death, but three out of the four were pardoned by Governor Parr. The three were therefore brought into court, and were there dismissed with the assurance that if caught in the province after three months the original sentence should be carried into effect. Unfortunately this inexpensive expedient worked in two ways. A Captain Napier, who in 1787, had entered into a contract abroad to remove a number of convicts, landed a part of them at Tuskent and the remaining number at Shelburne, where he bound out several as servants. The magistrates, suspecting the real

character of Captain Napier's passengers, and learning that others were on their way from Tusket, seized the captain and examined the crew. They thus learned that their visitors had been put on board by a military guard, under whose charge they had remained until the vessel had sailed. The captain, finding his scheme exposed, requested the magistrates to apprehend all the convicts, and promised to pay all expenses, lodging his papers as security with James Bruce, the collector. While making all possible effort to secure the stragglers the magistrates were surprised to learn that Captain Napier, ready to sail, had demanded his papers of the collector, who had no legal right to hold them, and was preparing to leave the harbor. The civil officers, assisted by men from the 6th Regiment, then in garrison, arrested the captain and threw him into jail while a statement was being forwarded to the higher court. The Supreme Court, however, quashed the order for informality, and Captain Napier sailed away without his previous companions, leaving Shelburne magistrates to learn that the practice of getting rid of criminals by sending them abroad worked in two ways.

Historical order alone has led me to speak of legal affairs at Shelburne in advance of arrangements for the public worship of the Most High. The presence of church buildings is an outward and visible sign of true regard for the King of Kings; and the ministry of the Gospel is one of the most effective departments of police. Shelburne had magistrates before it had a resident minister, and for several years had no permanent churches. The worst omen for the prosperity of the place was not that long remembered—the hoisting of the national flag, union down, on the day when the town was named by Governor Parr; it was this absence of churches. The first sermon known to have been preached was given by the Rev. William Black, grandfather of M. P. Black, Esq., of this city. Mr. Black found accommodation in the tent of Robert Barry, one of the few Methodists of the place. On Sunday he preached three times and on Monday once from a table placed among the stumps on Robert Barry's lot.* The week-day sermon, interpreted by some persons as

* Robert Barry for a time taught school at Shelburne. A little later he entered into partnership with his brother Alexander, of London, G. B. The firm had branches at Dorchester and other places in the Maritime Provinces, and for some years carried on an extensive trade. About 1811 Robert Barry returned to Liverpool, N. S., where, highly esteemed by numerous friends, he died in 1843, at the age of eighty-three. The late John Alexander Barry, a Halifax

an evidence of being "righteous overmuch," drew upon the preacher an attack with stones, from one of the largest of which he had a very narrow escape. From that time Mr. Black and other Methodist ministers, prominent among whom was that staunch old Loyalist, James Mann, gave to the town such attention as was in their power, but no building for the express purpose of worship was erected by the Methodists until twenty years had passed. A large building belonging to Charles White, one of their leading men, was for a time used as a church by themselves, and for a shorter period by the Episcopal ministers.

About two months after the visit of Mr. Black the Rev. Dr. Walter, previously rector of Trinity Church, Boston, reached Shelburne, and soon after him the Rev. George Panton, from New Jersey. The last-named minister remained but a short time, leaving Dr. Walter in charge of the two parishes of St. George and St. Patrick. The government had reserved a site for an Episcopal church, but the leading citizens purchased another deemed more suitable, on which, some time later, they put up a temporary building which was only used in summer, and was never finished. The church now in use was built on a lot owned by Miss Goddard, in lieu of which pew number thirty was granted to the Goddard family forever. It was paid for in great measure by government grants, and was consecrated in 1790 by Bishop Inglis, on his first visit to the town. During the following year Dr. Walter removed to Boston, where, in a few months, he was chosen rector of Christ Church. A son of his remained some time in Shelburne, and a grandson, born there, became the proprietor and first editor of the Boston *Evening Transcript*. The next rector was the Rev. John Hamilton Rowland, previously of Pennsylvania, at whose death in 1795 the parish was placed in the hands of his son, Thomas B. Rowland. On the retirement of the latter the Rev. Thomas H. (now Dr.) White became rector. Of the christian courtesy of this venerable and highly esteemed minister, still a resident of Shelburne, the writer of this paper has pleasant recollections.

merchant who came into prominence in 1829 as a representative in the Provincial Assembly for Shelburne, in which place he was born, was a son of Robert Barry. Mr. Barry, having been ordered into custody by the House for violent and contumacious conduct, was rescued on his way to prison by a large crowd, which hooted and pelted the members of the House. This now celebrated case caused great excitement at the time.

The members of the Church of Scotland in early Shelburne were somewhat numerous. In 1785 Governor Parr granted the site on which the present church stands, where they erected a temporary building which, after several years' use in summer, was blown down. In 1785 the Presbyterians of Shelburne appealed to the General Assembly of the Scotch Church for assistance in the way of a minister and funds for his support, but without success. A petition three years subsequently to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, for a money grant, was equally unavailing. The earliest Presbyterian minister of the place was the Rev. Hugh Fraser, who, during the war, had been acting chaplain to the 71st Highland Regiment, of which Dr. Blair, of Edinburgh, was the regular chaplain. He reached Shelburne some time in 1783, and remained there nearly ten years. In December, 1803, the Rev. Matthew Dripps arrived, and at once entered upon his faithful and successful pastorate. A successor of his was the Rev. Gavin Lang, father of the minister of that name for some years at Montreal.

A small Baptist church was also put up at an early date, as was also one owned by Mr. William Taylor, an English General Baptist. Most of the original Baptists of the place were colored, whose minister was David George. The first baptisms by immersion at Shelburne and Lockport were performed by him. This good man met with no small amount of persecution. At Shelburne and in this city he proved a trusty agent of Lieutenant John Clarkson, and after his arrival at the African colony he secured and retained the esteem of its managers. His parents were native Africans. The Revs. John Craig, Harris Harding, and other Baptist ministers, occasionally visited the Loyalist town. During a visit of Mr. Harding in 1791, a mob created a serious disturbance. Of a church of twenty members, whose names were appended to a "solemn covenant" in 1803, the Rev. John Burton was "minister and acting trustee."

Of occasional visits by preachers, those of Quakers only found notice in the journals of the day. Whether from England or America the Quakers met with a courteous reception. Their religious meetings were held in the court-house, which for some years was used as a place of worship during the winter season by the ministers of the English and Scotch Churches. Owing, in all probability, to the legal disabilities of that day, no references to Roman Catholic services appear in the records and newspapers.

Two cemeteries were marked out. That for the northern district was at the rear of the town ; the southern was near the cove. Twenty-two years ago part of a single gravestone only could be found in the first, where interments had been most numerous ; in the second no trace of hillocks could be observed. Both had been abandoned soon after the opening of the burial grounds surrounding the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, and had become over-grown by tall trees or brushwood. The land for a Methodist cemetery was given by John Hoose, a surgeon in one of the Hessian Regiments, whose dust rests there, beside that of his wife.

The general expectation of the importance of Shelburne seems to have been shared by the military and naval authorities. Important reservations for purposes of defence were made on the shores of the harbor, but the early decay of the place prevented the erection of any extensive fortifications. Large barracks were built on the west side of the harbor. A road was made by the troops around the head of the harbor, and over this road a march of three miles was necessary whenever they attended church. The 17th and 6th Regiments successively occupied these barracks—the latter for five years. Two of its officers, drowned in the harbor on their way to the military post at Carleton Point, are buried in the Episcopal cemetery. On the removal of the 6th the magistrates urged the Governor to use his influence against any reduction of the force, but a single company only of the 4th was sent, and in a few years the military establishment was completely broken up. Field-marshal Beresford, well known to all familiar with the history of the Peninsular war, lost an eye while out on a shooting expedition near the Shelburne barracks.

A large number of Negro slaves reached Shelburne from the revolted colonies. They appeared on the rolls as "servants," but their number, as ordinary servants, was suspiciously large. Stephen Shakespeare was accompanied by twenty, and Charles Oliver Bruff, a goldsmith, by fifteen of them. Isaac Wilkins is also said to have brought a good many. With Captain Andrew Barclay's company of fifty-five men and women and forty-nine children, were no less than fifty-seven "servants," thirty-six of whom, however, were owned by four families. There is little reason to doubt that nearly all were really slaves. The terms "slave" and "the property of" appear almost as frequently in the official records of early Shelburne as one

would expect to see them in those of a southern slave-holding city. A certificate in my possession, bearing date as late as 1800, has reference to the hiring of a slave. In fact, slavery near the close of the last century, had a certain legal recognition in this province. It is not more than a hundred years since a Presbyterian divine in Nova Scotia held a slave and defended his conduct in a long series of letters based for the most part on the teaching of Scripture. It was in 1786 that the excellent Dr. MacGregor, of the same church, agreed to pay £50 for the freedom of a colored girl held in slavery by a member of his congregation, and that he actually paid £20 according to that agreement out of an exceedingly meagre salary. An interesting trial, having relation to slavery, took place at Shelburne during the following year. One Jesse Gray, of Argyle, had sold to William Mangham, of Shelburne, a colored woman called Mary Postill, for one hundred bushels of potatoes. Gray was charged with "misdemeanor," it being alleged that he was not the real owner of the woman in question. Proof having, however, been given that Gray had been her owner in the Southern States, the court at once acquitted him, and the woman became as much the property of Mangham for a hundred bushels of potatoes as would a horse or a waggon for the same consideration. One restriction the law provided—that no one could dispose of a slave outside the province, but on more occasions than one slaves were taken from Shelburne and were sold in the West Indies. It was the harsh treatment of a slave by a Loyalist master, who had carried him to London, that elicited the decision of Lord Mansfield that no master was at liberty to send his Negro-servant from England to a foreign country, or even to any British colony. The result of this decision was a movement to abolish the slave trade; and the union of Clarkson and Wilberforce with Granville Sharpe to effect that purpose.*

A large number of free Negroes also arrived in 1783. About two thousand, who had fled to the British lines and had been set at work on the southern fortifications, were taken thence to New York. Only one Negro corps was enrolled for regular military service—that known

* I have not had time to look for formal enactments of our own legislature on the subject of slavery, but may remark that this "institution," as it has been called by our American neighbors, or the "sum of all villainies," as John Wesley more tersely termed it, was abolished in Upper Canada in 1793 by a decision of Chief-Justice Osgoode. Ten years later—1803—it was also abolished in Lower Canada. In the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, the number of slaves held in 1784 was 304.

as the "Black Pioneers," which served faithfully to the close of the war. At the conclusion of peace the colored people saw with terror their former masters arriving at New York from Virginia and the Carolinas, and seizing their living "property" on the streets or dragging them from their beds, to carry them back to the South. Sir Guy Carleton, refusing to understand the article that Laurens had had inserted in the treaty, prohibiting the carrying away of slaves or other property, as stipulating the surrender of any slaves who had taken refuge under the British flag—a surrender he thought in the highest degree dishonorable to Great Britain, soon relieved the distress of the colored people by a proclamation that all Negroes who had sought refuge from rebel masters within the British lines were free, and by a certificate to that effect given to each former slave. Having caused an accurate list to be taken in view of any demand for indemnity, vessels were soon fitted out, in which they were sent to Burchtown, near Shelburne, where, a few weeks later, they were joined by others who had sailed from St. Augustine for Halifax. About eighteen men of the Black Pioneer corps reached Halifax in the spring fleet. Captains were appointed to attend to the division of the lands and the distribution of the rations, and over the whole Colonel Stephen Bluck, a mulatto, by appointment exercised a certain supervision. Bluck, in 1788, entertained Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., at dinner at his house on the Burchtown road. He was about that time schoolmaster to the colored settlement. Few business men at the present day affix as fine a signature to a document as he did to one now in my possession. What became of him has not been clearly ascertained. Tradition states that an accusation of misappropriation of funds, entrusted to him for the benefit of the colored public, led him to leave home and make his way toward the Bay of Fundy, and that a fragment of his clothing, picked up some time after, led to the belief that he had been destroyed by some wild animal. In this colored settlement at Burchtown John Wesley took a deep interest. In one of his earliest letters to Robert Barry he promised to send them some reading matter, and added: "They shall never want books while I live." In subsequent letters he scarcely ever failed to make inquiries about the same settlement.

There were good men among these Negroes, whose principles were tested at Shelburne, and still more severely at Sierra Leone, and were not found wanting; but the great majority were better known

by the trouble they gave the magistrates and the demands they made upon the overseers of the poor. Among the earliest ordinances passed by the sessions was one enacting "that fifty handbills be printed immediately, forbidding negro dances and frolicks in this town of Shelburne."

The President of this Society having favored the members with a copy of the manuscript journal of John Clarkson, to whom was entrusted the removal of the colored people from the Lower Provinces to Sierra Leone in 1791, only brief notice of that event need be taken here. During the autumn of 1791, Lieutenant Clarkson met the Negroes at Burchtown in the meeting-house used by "Moses," a colored Methodist lay preacher, and read to them the proposals and terms of the company. These were that each married man should have thirty acres of land, and each male child fifteen acres, in the new African settlement. They were to have a free passage, and on their arrival to be furnished with provisions until they could clear a spot from which to secure their own necessary food. After that the company was also to furnish them with any provisions needed, for which produce of the plantations would be received as pay. The majority of those present accepted the terms and asked removal. Their kindred at the westward soon heard of the land of promise and resolved to have a share in it. John Sargent, Esq., of Barrington, met one of the small parties constantly on their way towards Shelburne from Barrington, Argyle and Yarmouth, and asked whither they were going. "Oh, massa, we be going to Sire Leone to be made majesties (magistrates) of," was the reply of the simple-hearted creatures. Two vessel loads of them left Shelburne on December 3rd, 1791, on their way to Halifax, and these, with others gathered from several parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, making in all twelve hundred, sailed from Halifax on January 15th, 1792, under command of Lieutenant Clarkson. In spite of storms which scattered the fleet, all the vessels reached Sierra Leone in safety; but a fever, which had broken out on shipboard, continued for a time to rage so severely on shore that decent interment of the bodies became difficult. In their new homes some of these Negroes remained steady and peaceable, and welcomed the arrival some years later of an English Methodist missionary, but the majority became so unruly and violent that they endangered the existence of the settlement, and even attempted the murder of the

governor. So difficult was the task of keeping them in order, that when, eight years later, the managers of the colony were asked to receive the Maroons, also from Nova Scotia, they only consented in the hope that the one race would prove "a counterpoise to the other."

Three newspapers were published at Shelburne, all weeklies. The *Royal American Gazette* was published by James Robertson, who, with his brother and one Turnbull, had published the *Norwich Pocket*, at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1773. After the British troops had taken possession of New York in 1776, the Robertsons removed thither, and during the war published the *Royal American Gazette*. They came to Shelburne in Captain Barclay's company, bringing with them twenty slaves, and as soon as possible resumed the publication of their paper under its previous name. The subscription list never exceeded one hundred and sixty names, and the last issue bore the date of August 22, 1785. In September, 1787, the *Royal American Gazette* reappeared at Charlottetown under James Robertson's management, as the first paper published in Prince Edward Island. Thirty-five years later a total issue of fifty copies per week sufficed for the demands of the newspaper readers of that colony; it may therefore be presumed that the paper and title, to which the exiled publisher had clung through so many changes of fortune, was finally abandoned at Charlottetown. A committee of the Assembly and Legislative Council was named early in 1788 to solicit the appointment, through Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton), of Robertson as Queen's Printer for the island, but in a list of the inhabitants, drawn up ten years later, his name cannot be found. A final glimpse of this Shelburne citizen is obtained from Sabine, who states that in 1810 he was a printer and bookseller in Edinburgh. His brother Alexander died at Shelburne a short time after the Loyalists reached that place. The second paper was the *Port Roseway Gazetteer and Shelburne Advertiser*. It was a small paper. J. Robertson, Jr., and T. & J. Swords began its publication in the autumn of 1784. It was published only for a short time. The Swords brothers afterwards went to New York, where in 1797 they were printers of the *Theological Magazine*. One of them, at the time of death, was in charge of an Episcopal paper published in the same city. The third paper was the *Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser*, and was published by James Humphreys, a man of some prominence both before and after

his arrival at Shelburne. This paper was the last to be discontinued. It was at first an eight-page paper; in the summer of 1786 it was reduced to half that size, and in 1787 it ceased to be published. The subscription price was twelve shillings per annum, half in advance.

In the columns of these old journals one may read as current news from the latest London papers the speeches of Burke and Sheridan on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In the advertising columns are strange names and associations. Dry and wet goods are both advertised. "Wet goods"—a term now obsolete—was the business word for groceries. The same person announces in the one advertisement Bibles and prayer-books and West India rum. As at the present day, a variety of nostrums was offered to the invalid. Probably but one of these—Turlington's Balsam—could be procured from a Halifax druggist at this date. Other advertisements and notices suggest the fashions of that day. The "tower" head-dress, which, towards the close of the colonial period had obtained colossal proportions, had, it is probable, not wholly disappeared. Frequently, when fully built up, the superstructure, by actual measurement, was an inch longer than the lady's head and face below it. Men at that time wore the queue—the long braid down the back—the head being plentifully powdered with white powder or flour. To such lengths was this practice carried that at a time of scarcity in Nova Scotia a government notice advised economy in breadstuffs in this direction. A comparison between the advertisement columns of that day and our own establish the significant fact—that Fashion in former days used men and not women as fashion blocks on which to display her gayer colors. Far more prominence is given to cloths and bright vestings for gentlemen than to materials for ladies' dress. For the latter the favorite stuff seems to have been "bombazine." Most of my hearers may be aware of the fact that somewhat gay colours in evening dress continued to be used by gentlemen at a much later period.*

* Lord Lytton, in writing of his father's celebrated novel—*Pelham*—remarks: "One at least of the changes which the book effected in matters of dress has kept its ground to this day . . . Till then the coats worn for evening dress were of different colors,—brown, green or blue, according to the fancy of the wearer, and Lord Oxford tells me that the adoption of the now invariable black dates from the publication of *Pelham*." *Pelham*, you will remember, was given to the public in 1828.

How were these thousands supplied with food? Necessity caused the early settlers to seek land communication with other settlements as early as possible, but the roads made scarcely permitted the use of wheels in any direction. Strenuous effort was made for connection with the fertile Annapolis Valley, but when such progress had been made that several persons had passed over the road, the rapid depopulation of the town put a sudden and fatal check upon that attempt. For a time certain staple articles of food were furnished by the British Government. From that quarter for three or four years each man, woman and child, who had arrived from the revolted colonies, received a daily allowance of flour and pork. How good these may have been we dare not say. A Shelburne Loyalist wrote in January, 1785: "We have nothing here but His Majesty's rotten pork and unbaked flour." Possibly the monotony of his table may have made a poor fellow cynical; or contractors for an immense quantity of supplies may have taken cruel advantage. Ration tickets, however, became a kind of currency, and some variety was therefore possible. A certain quantity per day of the articles named was allowed to each person above ten years of age: all under that age received half the quantity. Masters received as much for each adult slave as for themselves. A month's supply was distributed at a time. Edward Brinley, Esq., was superintendent of the commissariat department. To bake "His Majesty's unbaked flour" there were more than a baker's dozen bakeries in the town. The general opinion has limited the government supply of rations to the third year, but there is reason to believe that the much-needed help was given for an additional year. Fish abounded in the harbor: the great want was that of fresh meat. During the session of the Assembly for 1786, Isaac Wilkins moved that in consideration of the circumstances the government should be asked to authorize the importation of cattle into the district of Shelburne, but his motion was negatived. For vegetables the inhabitants were dependent upon the uncertain visits of small coasting vessels.

The hopes of the Loyalist settlers of Shelburne were based in a great measure upon their possession of a harbor of rare beauty and convenience. One of their earliest efforts, therefore, was the creation of a mercantile interest. Wharves were thickly built along the front of the town, but, with white oak and other timber at their very doors,

they poured money into the lap of strangers for vessels, as many of them had done for the frames of their houses. Instead of securing shipbuilders they purchased vessels in Britain ; and others, which had brought cargoes from the West Indies, they bought in their own port. After a time this policy was changed. The passage, near the end of 1785, of an act offering a bounty of ten shillings per ton on all vessels of over forty tons burthen, built in the province, gave a new impulse to shipbuilding at home. Eight vessels of eighty and ninety tons or more were built during the succeeding summer and autumn in the county for Shelburne merchants. The ship *Roseway*, of two hundred and fifty tons, built for the firm of McLean & Bogle, and launched from one of the shipyards of the north division of the town on December 22nd, 1786, is believed to have been the first ship launched in the province after it finally came under British control. A little vessel or boat of only eight tons, called the *Roseway Yacht*, and built in Shelburne, crossed from Halifax to London in 1786, in twenty-eight days. Most of the smaller vessels were engaged in the West India trade.

The lumber trade was at one time quite extensive. Some parts of the shore of Jordan Bay were covered with a fine growth of timber. In June, 1785, the ship *Prince William Henry* took in at Jordan River for London a cargo of squared timber, which the *Royal American Gazette* declared to be the first cargo of Nova Scotia products ever taken to England. From lack of mills, or want of tact on the part of the merchants, the extensive home supply of lumber was only in part depended upon. Vessels were at times sent to the Penobscot, and the lumber re-shipped from them to the West Indies, or transferred from them to larger vessels leaving for Britain.

The shore and bank fisheries, which now furnish Shelburne's principal article of export, were partially overlooked at that day by merchants who turned their eyes toward the more expensive and hazardous whale fishery. A whaling company was established by them in 1784. Of the nine firms constituting the company one belonged to London ; one or two to Halifax ; the others to Shelburne. An agent sent to London to secure the co-operation of the English firm purchased a brig and a schooner, and with these the company commenced the Brazilian whale fishery. After several other vessels had been added to the fleet the venture was found to be a failure.

In 1789 the concern was wound up, when it was found that the company, which had commenced the business with a capital of £8350, had lost about a third of that sum in four years. Among the exports from Shelburne in 1788, were 13,141 quintals dry codfish; 4,192 casks pickled fish; 61 casks smoked salmon; 149 barrels fish oil, and 14,798 gallons sperm oil. Other exports were wholly of lumber.

In 1791 an effort was made by Shelburne ship-owners in a new direction. Newfoundland fish and New England lumber had nearly driven them out of the West India trade; they now turned to the carrying trade between the United States and Newfoundland. The letter of the law was against them. According to enactment no vessel coming directly from the United States could be admitted to entry in Newfoundland. This law had been passed in the interest of English merchants, who at that day did as they pleased with that unfortunate oldest colony of Britain. A license could be obtained, but with difficulty, and seldom for more than one voyage. Shelburne ship-owners evaded the law by loading their vessels in the United States and then entering and clearing at Shelburne for Newfoundland. During 1791 some fourteen vessels were managed in this way. But their owners were soon thwarted in this scheme. The failure of the fisheries to the northward of St. John's; the nearness to Newfoundland of Quebec, in the neighborhood of which harvests had been unusually good; and the vigilance of the English merchants, who soon discovered that they were being undersold, drove Shelburne shipping from the new route. Thus Shelburne business men were at last driven to hope only in what men ought to hate. It was Lynde Walter—a son of Dr. Walter of whom I have spoken, and one of the firm of Cox & Walter—who wrote at that period in a letter-book which I have seen: "War only can keep us on our feet: peace drives us from our homes."

War—that sad alternative—came. England was drawn into conflict with France in 1793, and was soon seen coping, single-handed, with the combined forces of France, Spain and Holland. From that period till the desperate conflict at Waterloo sent England's inveterate enemy to St. Helena to languish and die there, war was the rule and peace the exception in Britain's history. But even war could not keep Shelburne merchants on their feet. Positive harm

was the result. Government measures for defence and frequent visits by His Majesty's ships prevented hostile attack upon the place, but did not prevent privateers from capturing some of the rapidly dwindling merchant fleet. No efforts were at first made by way of reprisals, but on the renewal of the war with France the inducements held out to Nova Scotians by Mr. Dundas, through Governor Wentworth, and the successes of the *Rover* and some other Liverpool privateers, excited some interest among Shelburne folk. In 1800 a number of persons, with a few others belonging to Liverpool, fitted out the *Nelson* with sixteen guns, and placed her under command of Captain Ephraim Dean, of Liverpool. The *Nelson* is said to have been a Spanish vessel, cut out of a Spanish harbor in the West Indies, and sold at Liverpool, and to have been unequalled in speed by any vessel in this part of the world. In spite of all, however, her owners were strangely unfortunate. She made a number of captures, but only a few of these were legally condemned either in Nova Scotia or the West Indies. One vessel, condemned at Shelburne, they were glad to restore to her owners on a mere nominal payment; the owners of another schooner, sent into Tortola, put in a claim for heavy damages through detention, and pressed their claim with such persistence and success that some of the more influential owners of the *Nelson* narrowly escaped the jail. At a later date the unfortunate privateer sailed away as a freight-ship and was never again heard from. It may be added that serious injury was done to the business of the place by the tremendous storm of September 25th, 1798. By it a number of wharves were swept away, which have never been rebuilt. The damage done by that storm to the wharves and shipping in Halifax was estimated at nearly £100,000.

Few sights are more sad than that of a deserted dwelling. Wherever human beings have lived, some heart-fibres seem to cling to the walls and thus connect the departed with remaining ruins. In many long and lonely journeys at night through thinly settled districts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the deep ravine, with its narrow bridge crossing some stream where, as the story went, strange lights had been seen or some headless man had appeared to lonely travellers, has never to me seemed so suggestive as the presence of a forest clearing on which stood a dwelling with doors and windows gone, and its former occupants scattered or dead. When twenty-five

years had passed Shelburne had become a city of deserted dwellings. "The houses," writes an early visitor, "were still standing though untenanted. It had all the stillness and quiet of a moonlight scene. It was difficult to imagine it was deserted. The idea of repose more readily suggested itself than decay. All was new and recent. Seclusion, and not death or removal, appeared to be the cause of the absence of inhabitants."* The same writer thus described the place many years later: "The houses, which had been originally built of wood, had severally disappeared. Some had been taken to pieces and removed to Halifax or St. John; others had been converted into fuel, and the rest had fallen a prey to neglect and decomposition. The chimneys stood up erect, and marked the spot around which the social circle had assembled; and the blackened fireplaces, ranged one above another, bespoke the size of the tenement and the means of its owner. In some places they had sunk with the edifice, leaving a heap of ruins; while not a few were inclining to their fall, and awaiting the first storm to repose again in the dust that now covered those who had constructed them. Hundreds of cellars, with their stone walls and granite partitions, were everywhere to be seen, like uncovered monuments of the dead. Time and decay had done their work. All that was perishable had perished, and those numerous vaults spoke of a generation that had passed away for ever, and, without the aid of an inscription, told a tale of sorrow and of sadness that overpowered the heart." In some of these deserted homes furniture, and even clothing, were left in the rush of departure. A lady was telling me the other day that she, with companions of her childhood, forty or more years ago, would timidly venture upstairs on a bright day to a certain room in one of the old dwellings, and quietly look over the contents of a trunk or two and then carefully replace each article. Not a thing would be carried away, of course, for it was most clearly understood that to be "haunted" would be the penalty for such an act.

The same lady has reminded me that, living among these deserted dwellings, many of the remaining inhabitants became superstitious to an unusual degree. A recent lecturer in this city, could he have interviewed some of the men and women of that place and period, might have extended his single lecture on "Ghosts" into a series.

* "The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony." By the author of Sam Slick, p. 63.

Few old provincial towns have been without a dwelling or two which no child or nervous man would have taken as a gift, on condition of perpetual residence, but the old Loyalist village was rich in such points of interest. Even the harbor once had its mysterious light, which only ceased, it has been said, to be seen when a certain man, after having tramped hard a spot on the shore, as if in conflict with some evil power, had thrown himself into the waters and perished as his wife years before had been supposed to have perished when thrown from a boat by his hands.

The early decay of Shelburne had been foreseen by some of the keener men who first reached the spot. Its remoteness from other settlements; its situation at the head of a long harbor sealed by frost in winter; its lack of farming land, and the presence in great numbers of military men and merchants unacquainted with the methods of settlement in the wilderness, and unable to pursue or to appreciate the value of the fisheries near them, promised poorly for the permanence of the proposed city. However prudent may have been the plans of the original associators, it may well be supposed that the sudden arrival of the thousands whom Sir Guy Carleton found it necessary, contrary to agreement, to pour in upon them in the autumn must have interfered sadly with the wisest designs. Some men seem to have merely looked at the lots granted them and to have left. Joseph Pynchon, one of the original delegates from New York, saved himself from reproaches which must have overwhelmed any sensitive man, by selling his lands eighteen months after his arrival and withdrawing from the place. Even in 1785, notices of houses for sale formed a good proportion of the whole number of advertisements in the Shelburne papers, though widespread reports of the new city and the beautiful harbor caused an immigration which, for a time, counter-balanced the emigration—in point of numbers at least. But even this influx of strangers soon ceased; and in the autumn and winter of 1787, when the government distribution of food had ended, men were treading on the heels of their fellows as they hastened away. The red "G" which Archibald Cunningham, the collector, affixed to numerous names on the rate-book, and the list of absentees' estates, show that in 1788, in spite of a great effort to promote trade, the number of removals had increased at a rapid rate. A year or two later, when the English commissioners for making inquiry into

Loyalist losses and claims had concluded their task, other citizens withdrew.* During all these years, the drink curse was doing its work with deadly vigor. In their presentment for 1786, the Grand Jury said: "The present number of dram shops and houses where they sell spirituous liquors is a grievance of so serious a nature that, if not redressed in time, the total destruction of every virtuous principle in the rising generation will not be the least of the many ill consequences that must result from them." Yet, with a madness too nearly paralleled at the present day, the magistrates went on granting the usual licenses to pauperize and embrate the population. In 1790, the burden of the poor became almost insupportable, owing to the absence of nearly all the once wealthy men. Some relief was afforded during the following year by the removal of the greater number of the Negroes to Sierra Leone. † The assessment rolls for 1792 show that a large part of the taxes was upon the estates of absentees. In July, of that year, Lynde Walter, before quoted, wrote to John Minshull, at New York, respecting some furniture he had forwarded: "You would have had a further quantity by the *Edward*, but she is full of goods appertaining to the different passengers." ‡ Passing on for a few years we note that in 1796, when the war from which improvement had been expected had come, only 125 of the 710 rate-payers of 1786 appeared on the assessment rolls. Allowance must of course be made for those who had been laid away in the quiet cemeteries, but the death rate at that time does not appear to have been at all beyond the average. The rapidity of the decline of the place may be judged from the fact that Governor Parr estimated the population of the district in 1784 at 10,000, of whom much the greater part must have been in the town, while a writer in the *Acadian Recorder* in 1818 put down the population at that time at three hundred. Ten years later, Captain Moorsom, in his

* Colonel Dundas and Mr. Jeremy Pemberton, two members of the Board of Commissioners, were sent out to investigate the losses of the Loyalists who had sought homes in the British American Provinces. The number of claims examined by these gentlemen was 1,272; the amount asked was £975,310; the sum allowed for losses was £336,753. The total sum allowed to petitioners in Britain and abroad was more than £3,000,000. It seems certain that only a part of the Loyalists presented claims for compensation for services or loss of property, and that some of those who presented such claims did not press them. The officers of more than twenty Loyalist corps were placed on the half-pay list.

† John Minshull is said to have had the finest dwelling in the town, built, as some others, on an oak or chestnut frame imported from the old colonies.

“Letters from Nova Scotia,” reported the total number of the inhabitants of the village to be less than four hundred. It is a suggestive fact that of the twenty-one gentlemen named in the *Royal American Gazette* in January, 1785, as the wardens and vestry-men of the parishes of St. George and St. Patrick only one is known to have died near Shelburne. This solitary man died several miles from the town.

Very sad, in more thoughtful moments, must the place have been to those who from choice or necessity clung to it. In all directions were mementoes of the past. On street after street were the vacant residences of once intimate friends. On one street was the site of the Merchants' Coffee House, where Bishop Inglis had been entertained at dinner after his consecration of the church; where the two Masonic lodges had been accustomed to meet and on high days to dine; where gay weekly assemblies had held revelry, or busy men had watched sales by auction; and where the magistrates had sometimes held court, or the captains of companies had discussed public affairs, when a disposition to divide their patronage had not taken them to the second “coffeehouse” or some other tavern. Quite near was “the bridge,” the fashionable promenade of the place, where on summer evenings the military bands had played the rich music of that day. And there, as beautiful as ever, were the clear waters of the harbor, now only occasionally disturbed by stately ships. I caught this spirit of sadness as I looked over the old interleaved almanacs in which for many years Archibald Cunningham recorded the events of daily life, personal and public, of the deserted town. Through these the old Scotch elder, a bachelor but by no means a recluse, speaks with deep pathos. In 1819 he wrote: “Aug. 5, Mr. Braine and family left poor Shelburne,” and in the following year, at the bidding of death, he closed a record which had been monotonous indeed with similar statements.

To say, as some have hastily done, that these thousands, wanderers a second time, went back to their former homes is not to do them justice. Some were ready to return, with Britain's partial recompense for losses in their possession, when assured that they might do so with safety. Others, through business causes, were led near former homes, and, natural feelings triumphing over temporary bitterness, friends once estranged won them back. But many *could* not return. In

some cases the enmity of relatives had only grown stronger with time; in others the homes which had tempted covetous Whigs to secure their confiscation were in the hands of strangers whose interest it was to keep former owners at a distance. The great number *would* not go back. Honored names occur to me of men who struggled long with adversity, but were proof to the end against all persuasion to return to a land which they had left on principle, or whence they had been rudely driven. And of those who through sheer necessity sought another resting place in some part of the American republic, not a few took refuge only on the outskirts. The Methodist Bishop Asbury found Charles White, who has been mentioned in this paper, some time later in the wilds of Kentucky. Years before that interview the bishop had been an inmate of White's pleasant home in New York, but between the two visits the Shelburne rally and dispersion had intervened. Numbers of these Shelburne exiles found their way to Britain, the West Indies and the Canadas, where after their strange vicissitudes their dust sleeps quietly under the shadow of the flag they loved. A larger number probably found homes elsewhere in Nova Scotia and in the other maritime provinces. Stray gleams of sunshine often seemed to fall upon the faded pages of the early Shelburne assessment rolls as I there met with names familiar during years spent in New Brunswick—peculiar names, seldom heard in other parts of the Dominion. But a precise answer to the question, "Whither did these exiles go?" cannot be given. Let it rather be asked: "Where might they not have been found?" Felicia Hemans wrote:—

"Go, stranger, track the deep!

Free, free the white sail spread!

Wave may not foam, nor wild wind sweep,

Where sleep not England's dead."

The list of these world-wide wanderers was largely recruited from the short-lived city on our Southern coast. Thousands met there

"Whose graves are scattered far and wide,

By mount and stream and sea."

Few records of their wanderings and sufferings have been preserved. Their circumstances were most unfavorable to the preparation or preservation of historical data. The Loyalists in general left no songs behind them, nor harpers to chant their sorrows; the best writers upon one of the most marvellously sad events of the new world have

given us only a comparatively few detached incidents, which serve to deepen the mysterious interest of the story rather than to remove it. Sufficient materials must, however, exist for the preparation of one of the most sadly-dramatic, and for the most part heroically-dramatic, chapters in modern history. These fragments—now in numerous scattered receptacles—should be “sought out and set in order” by some writer to whom the labor would be its own reward, and who would put himself in as thorough sympathy with the Loyalist period as Motley was doing with that of the Dutch Republic, when he wrote from Brussels to his friend Holmes: “With the present generation here I am not familiar. The dead men of the place are my familiar friends. I am at home in any cemetery. . . Any ghost that ever flits by night across the moonlight square is at once hailed by me as a man and a brother. I call him by his Christian name at once. . . . Here I remain among my fellow worms, feeding on these musty mulberry leaves of old letters and documents, out of which we are afterwards to spin our silk.” In the meantime let each descendent of a true Loyalist aim to keep fresh and green the memory of that ancestor. . Former generations have not been wholly faultless in respect to their obligation to do this. Their apparent neglect irresistibly reminds us of the line-and-a-half which constitutes not only the last sentence, but the last paragraph of Napier’s matchless “History of the War in the Peninsula”: “Thus the war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veterans’ services.” Farther from the conflict than were the generations immediately preceding us, we may yet do better than they.

I have cherished no harshness of feeling, nor have I forgotten “God in history.” If to a section of the American Colonists of the last century was permitted the important work of laying the foundation of one of the mightiest nations on earth, to another section—that of which I have written—was allowed the no less serious task of taking a very large share in the development of the Canadian Dominion—a most important section of the “Greater Britain” of to-day. Side by side, without departure from the lines which were projected a century since, the descendants of the Whigs and of the United Empire Loyalists may work out their destiny in such harmony as shall secure the smile of Heaven.

EARLY JOURNALISM IN NOVA SCOTIA.

A PAPER READ BY J. J. STEWART, ESQ., DECEMBER 8, 1887.

WHEN, on the 13th May, 1749, the sloop-of-war *Sphinx*, with the thirteen transports that she convoyed, sailed from England to found this good city of Halifax,—to plant the first tender shoots of English Canada,—and, as one of our own poets puts it: “to found a race all time shall trace adown the historic page,” there was one important defect in the outfit of the migrating city. It was, perhaps, not a very conspicuous defect; for probably not one in the company recognized it, and I doubt if even Cornwallis himself would have waited an hour to rectify it, even if it had been pointed out to him. But with the wisdom that comes after the event, the citizen of Halifax of 1887 cannot fail to pronounce it a grave omission. In the expedition under Governor Cornwallis, there were artizans to build the future city; statesmen to govern it; soldiers to protect it; tradesmen to supply its wants; merchants, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, and even actors,—but in the whole outfit of the moving city, the like of which the world has seldom seen,—certainly never seen since, there was neither printing press nor printer. Among all the various classes of artizans represented on board the thirteen transports, there does not appear to have been one working representative of the art preservative of all arts; and among all the agencies that Cornwallis had placed at his disposal for subduing, governing and moulding the destinies of the new land to which he was bound, no one seems to have thought of providing him with what Napoleon Bonaparte is said to have regarded as the most powerful of all human forces—a printer’s plant. The omission was hardly creditable to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, but must be excused, I presume, for a reason I have seen somewhere stated, that in those

days public men learned of the public requirements entirely by attending dinners, and as "the press" was not then as popular a toast as it is now, these worthy men had not the same opportunities of knowing the relative importance of that puissant institution, that public men now have.

Happily the defect was only to be of short duration. England was not then coming to America for the first time. There was already in America a *New England*,—intolerant, greedy and jealous,—at whose instance and in whose interest the new city was being founded by, and at the expense of, the mother land. In less than three years from the time Cornwallis sailed out of Portsmouth for Chebucto Bay, New England supplied the want in question, and had provided the infant city with both a printing office and newspaper. That was New England's contribution, and,—so far as we know—its most important contribution to the new enterprise.

Just one hundred years before the sailing of Cornwallis—to wit, in 1649—an Englishman named Samuel Green had set up a printing office at Cambridge, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. He was not actually the first printer in America, for Stephen Day had preceded him by ten years; but he was essentially the father of American printing. His son, Bartholomew Green, was the first printer of the *Boston News Letter*, the first newspaper published in America. And his son in turn, Bartholomew Green, junior, was destined to set up the first printing office in what is now the Dominion of Canada. It is not often that such honours descend on three successive generations of the same family. Bartholomew Green, *junior*, was born in 1700, four years before the *News Letter* was started. He served his apprenticeship in the *News Letter* office with his father, and, after he came of age, printed for himself, using his father's types and presses. In 1734, or thereabouts, he formed a partnership with two other printers, John Bushell and Bezoune Allen, which firm continued to do business as printers in Boston till 1751. For some reason or other the firm in that year was dissolved, and, in the latter part of August, 1751, Green, with his printing plant, sailed for the new city of Halifax in the sloop *Endeavor*, Robert Motton, master. He arrived here in September, procured a lot of land on the lower side of Grafton Street, a little to the north of where Duke Street intersects it, and on this lot, he—the

grandson of the man who established the first fully equipped printing office in America, the son of the man who printed the first American newspaper—erected the first printing office in Halifax. But it is not certain that he ever did any printing in it. The probability is that he did. But there is no positive evidence on the point. All we know of a certainty is, that in a few months after his arrival here he was taken suddenly ill, and died at the comparatively early age of 52.

Upon news of Green's death reaching Boston, John Bushell, his late partner, sailed for Halifax, and immediately assumed the management of the new enterprise. Why Bushell should have succeeded to the business instead of Green's family—two of whom were then printers, grown to man's estate,—does not clearly appear. The most probable explanation is that Bushell was a partner with Green in the Halifax venture, and was only remaining in Boston to close up their business there, before following him to their new field of operation. Anyway, we hear no more of Green's family in connection with the Halifax printing office. They remained in New England, where several of them attained a fair measure of success in the trade of their father, grandfather and great-grandfather.

John Bushell was, like Green, a Bostonian. Of his parentage and early life little is known. THOMAS, in his *History of Printing*, says of him, (Vol. 2, p. 176), that "he was a good workman, but had not the art of acquiring property, nor did he make the most economical use of the little that fell into his hands." How much truth there was in this judgment we shall see later on; but at first he seems to have taken hold of the business with vigor. He only arrived in Halifax about the end of January, and on Monday the 23rd of March, 1752, he published the first issue of the *Halifax Gazette*, the pioneer Canadian journal. For this was the first newspaper published in what is now the Dominion of Canada,—though the honor has been wrongfully claimed for others,—and twelve years were to elapse before there was a second. (The *Quebec Gazette*, the second newspaper published in Canada, only made its appearance on June 21st, 1764.) Further, the newspaper thus established by Bushell has been continuously published ever since, for over 135 years, still makes its appearance regularly each week as the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, and is by several years the oldest newspaper now published in America.

Hudson, in his *History of Journalism*, (published in 1873,) gives the *Portsmouth (N. H.) Gazette*, first published in 1756, as the oldest newspaper then published in the United States, with the *Newport (R. I.) Mercury*, first published in 1758, as the second oldest. Whether these papers are still published or not I cannot say, (that was fourteen years ago), but in any case our *Gazette* antedates the oldest of them by several years.

And just here let us correct one of Thomas's numerous inaccuracies bearing on this very point. Thomas says, speaking of the *Halifax Gazette* published by Bushell, "that after a trial of some months, publication of it was for a long time suspended; at length it was revived, but not issued at regular periods till about the autumn of 1760." This statement we now know to be incorrect. In the archives of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, there is a file of the paper in question for over three years, till August, 1755, the numberings on which show it to have been published regularly for that time at least. And though we have not the papers for the intervening period between 1755 and 1760, we have evidence that it was published regularly during that time. Our respected townsman and fellow-member, Mr. Akins, has in his library a copy of the *Halifax Gazette* of November 1st, 1760, giving an account of Governor Lawrence's funeral, and on this paper,—following the practice of the time to number from the first issue,—the number is "425." Now, between March 23rd, 1752, and November 1st, 1760—over eight years—there are not many more than 425 weeks, no more than can reasonably be accounted for by holidays falling on the day of publication, the change in the calendar which took effect in September, 1752,* accidents, etc.—such events as, according to the custom of the time, fully justified suspension of publication. Indeed there is no good reason to doubt that the paper was published as regularly between 1752 and 1760 as we know it to have been ever since.

As first issued, the *Halifax Gazette*,—while doubtless like all other papers filling "a long-felt want,"—was not calculated, by either its size or character, to produce much of a sensation in the world.

* The change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar took place throughout the British Empire, September 1752, and by this change eleven days were lost. This, with the change in the day of publication, accounts for two weeks.

Its size was that of a half sheet of foolscap. Its heading was after this style :—

NOVA SCOTIA.	No. 1.
THE HALIFAX GAZETTE.	
MONDAY, MARCH 23RD, 1752.	

There was a wood-cut at each end of the title,—the one at the right hand representing a fowler pursuing game ; the one on the left a ship under full sail.

The imprint read as follows :—“Halifax : printed by John Bushell, at the printing office in Grafton St., where advertisements “are taken in.”

In the first issue the only thing in the shape of editorial, salutatory, or prospectus, is as follows :—

“As many of the subscribers to the proposal for publishing of this “paper may be desirous of knowing the cause why it has been so “long delayed, the printer begs leave to inform them that the gentle- “man who is possessed of the original subscription, whenever desired, “will give them a satisfactory explanation ; and as the letter press is “now conveniently fixed for the printing business, all such gentlemen “and others as may have occasion for anything in our way may “depend upon being served in a most reasonable and judicious “manner by their old humble servant,” JOHN BUSHELL.

The only local matter was comprised in the following paragraphs :—

“By our advices from Chegnecto, the commandant of His “Majesty’s forces, Captain Collier, of the Lacelles regiment, died “there in the beginning of the month. John Gorham died of small- “pox in London, in December. The small-pox being prevalent in “Boston and New York, vessels are to be very cautious not to suffer “infected goods and persons to be brought into the province.”

“The rigour of the season is considerably abated since the “beginning of this month, but the scarcity of fresh provisions is “so much increased that several working cattle have been lately “killed, and the beef sold at 5 pence and 6 pence per lb.”

The balance of the reading matter was exclusively clippings from English papers. These, with a few advertisements, made up the paper. As an indication of the business being done in the city during the third year of its history, the advertisements are perhaps the most interesting department of the paper. Thus we have, in the first few issues of the *Gazette*, such advertisements as the following :—

“ All sorts of bills, bills of sale, bills of lading, bonds, charter parties, contracts, covenants, deeds of sale, deeds of mortgage, indentures, leases, releases, wills, warrants of attorney, writs and processes returnable to any of His Majesty’s Courts, are drawn, at the corner of Sackville Street, by the beach, where constant attendance is given from 1 to 2 and from 3 to 7 in every afternoon, Sundays excepted.”

“ At the sign of the Hand and Pen, at the south end of Granville Street, are carefully taught, by Leigh & Wragg, spelling, reading, writing in all its different hands, arithmetic in all its parts, merchants’ accompts. . . . Sold at the above place quill pens, inks, writing papers, writing and spelling books, and slate pencils.”

“ To be sold by Proctor & Scott, at their store near the North Gate, cheap for ready cash, choice butter by the firkin or small quantity.”

Jackson & Usher, at their shop, “ corner of Duke St., opposite Capt. Cook’s wharf,” advertise “ all sorts of brazier’s ware ; likewise English refined sugar ; also house and lot on Barrington St.”

Choice Hampshire bacon is advertised to be sold by Joseph Rundell.

To be sold by John Codman, at his store, the south corner of Bedford Row, on Sackville St., “ good pork, beef, wheat and rye flour, Indian meal, butter, cheese, mould and dipped candles, rum, tobacco, milk, bread, etc.”

Cornelius Durant, “ at Mr. Shipton’s, near the North Gate,” had for sale “ New England and West India rum, loaf and brown sugars, etc. ;”

And Mr. Samuel Shipton, “ near the North Gate,” also advertises that he has “ just imported ” sashes painted and glazed, 6 x 10, 7 x 10 and 8 x 10 glass, and house frames of 2 storeys, 30 x 18.

“Reading school for children kept, and gold and silver lace “cleaned; and all sorts of silk, also mournings, stiffened, by Elizabeth “Render, near Rev. Mr. Tutty’s new house on Barrington Street.”

To be sold, a house and lot on Carpenter’s Row, belonging to Joshua Churchill, peruke maker.

“At the Academy in Grafton St., young gentlemen are speedily instructed and well grounded in the true art of spelling by rules short and easy, but expressive and comprehensive to almost the youngest capacity. They are likewise taught reading, writing, arithmetic, French, Latin, and dancing. Young ladies, as well as gents, taught dancing by me, HENRY MERITON.”

Nathan Nathans gives notice “that all persons indebted to the estate of the late Isaac Levy, late of Halifax, deceased,” as well as “all persons indebted to the firm of Levy & Nathans,” are to settle with him forthwith.

And in the next issue we read :—

“Just imperted to be sold by Nathans & Hart, at their dwelling “house in Hollis St., opposite His Excellency’s, for ready money or “short credit, by wholesale or retail, groceries, dry goods, and “stationary, hardware, 4d., 6d., 8d., 10d., 12d., and 20d., London “nails, etc.”

Benjamin Gerrish announces that “sheet cork for nets is to be sold by him at his store near the brew-house.”

William Craft, auctioneer, announces that he will sell by auction “at Mr. Cowie’s, four gundiloes in one lot,”—they are to be seen “near the King’s Wharf.”

Samuel Sellon advertises to sell “at the sign of the Spread Eagle,” a two-storey house in the south suburbs; also said Sellon’s dwelling-house, store and wharf.

Francis Martin offers goods for sale “at Mr. Fairbanks’ store, near the south gate.”

Malachy Salter advertises “groceries, hardware, and iron backs for chimneys,” at his store, near the south gate.

Richard Bulkeley warns any one against cutting wood on Cornwallis Island.

Henry O’Brien took in boarders at the “Heart and Crown,” on the Beach. John Sharpe did business “at the sign of the Recruiting

Sergeant, near the parade ;" and Capt Piggott held out at the " Duke of Cumberland's Head."

Advertisements also appear of John Walker, blacksmith ; John Steven, cabinet-maker and joiner, " next door to Mr. Wilkinson's, near the beach ;" William Nesbitt, attorney ; George Taylor, baker ; Henry Sibley, tallow-chandler and soap maker ; Mrs. Tidd, " outside the South Gate," linen draper ; and Kneeland & Tidmarsh, general dealers.

The *Gazette* seems also, I am happy to say, to have enjoyed at its inception a fair measure of government advertising, which Mr. Bushell, having no envious opposition press to contend with, was able to enjoy without any aspersions on his probity or patriotism. Nearly every issue contained one or more government advertisements. Some of these are of historical interest. In the second issue (March 20th, 1752,) there is a proclamation requiring the registration of all " memorials of deeds, conveyances and mortgages." This proclamation not only required the registration of all such documents in the future, but required that any that had ever been made affecting any lands in the province should be registered,—if in Halifax city, before the 30th of April ; if outside the city, before the 30th September, then ensuing.

The next issue contains an advertisement setting forth that at a Council holden at Halifax, April 8th, 1752, it was enacted by the authority of the Governor-in-Council that certain duties shall be laid upon distilled spirits here imported and retailed, and the moneys arising from the said duties are to be disposed of in " bounties for the encouragement of the fisheries, building of vessels, and other useful improvements within said province."

Here are some of the bounties :—

On all lands granted by government, etc., that shall be, in 12 months from date of grant, fenced with a substantial fence not less than 4 ft. high, and be cleared of all underwood and brush, and shall have all the trees thereon felled, (excepting 10 to each acre,) and shall be sowed with English hayseed or any kind of English grain, or with hemp or flax seed, the sum of 20s. per acre.

The sum of 2s. per cwt. upon every cwt. of English hay which shall, within 18 months from the date hereof, be produced on any of the aforementioned lands.

2s. per bushel on wheat, barley, or rye, and 1s. per bushel on oats.

3d. per lb. on every lb. of merchantable hemp, which shall be "bright, well cured, and water rotted, 4 ft. in length and fit for use."

3d. per lb. on flax—ditto, ditto.

The said bounties on hay, grain, hemp and flax, to be paid upon certificates to the treasurer of the Province, the applicants making oath that it is the *bona fide* growth of their own lands. Signed by Benj. Green, Sec'y.

A few issues later there appears the famous, or rather infamous, proposal to build a lighthouse "near Cape Samborough," by means of a lottery. As the full details of this proposal will be found in the Nova Scotia Archives, page 648, I need not enlarge on it here, further than to say that it was a scheme, sanctioned by order in council of the government of this province, to raise £450 for the aforesaid lighthouse by the sale of 1,000 tickets at £3 each, the whole of the £3,000 thus realized to be distributed in 200 prizes, but the prize money to be subject to a discount of 15 per cent., which would make the £450 required. To the credit of the home government, the scheme met with their decided disfavor; and to the credit of the province, the government, ere the summer was over, found itself compelled to abandon the project, and to refund the money so far realized.

There was another class of advertising in the *Halifax Gazette*, of 135 years ago, that the newspapers of to-day do not participate in,—advertisements that indicate an extinct industry. Here is one of them:—

"To be sold by Joshua Mauger at Major Lockman's store in Halifax, several negro slaves, as follows: A woman, aged 35; two boys, aged 12 and 13 respectively; two of 18; and a man, aged 30."

Indeed, for some reason or other, Halifax appears at that time to have been quite a slave mart; for, in the Boston papers of the summer of 1751, there appears an advertisement of "a lot of negro slaves from Halifax," said to be mostly mechanics.

But to return to our narrative. Bushell continued to publish the *Gazette* till 1760; but not, we are sorry to say, with unqualified success. We remember the character given him by Thomas, that, while a good workman, he was careless and unthrifty in business. His career in Halifax, unfortunately, justifies this unfavorable certificate. The records of our courts for that period show that he got

into debt ; and there is evidence that he got into arrears to his grocer, and that the proportion of liquid groceries in his bill was much larger than it should be in any well ordered household. But through all his difficulties—and they appear to have been manifold—he still retained nominal control, at least, of his paper, until the autumn of 1760. At that date, (23rd September, 1760, is said to be the exact date,) he took into partnership with him a young printer who was destined to become one of the most prominent figures in Nova Scotia journalism—one who for the next forty years (with a brief interruption) was to publish the *Gazette*, and to render to the province incalculable service. Anthony Henry was of German parentage, and was born in the province of Alsace, near Montbeliard, in 1734. He seems to have received what, for that time, was a liberal education. He could read, write and speak three languages—German, French and English. He was also a good musician. And, like all Germans of the better class in those days, he had served a regular apprenticeship to a trade, which in his case was that of a printer. At what time he came to America is not known. The first authentic record we have of him is as a bandsman in one of the regiments that constituted Amherst's expedition against Louisburg, in 1758. Thomas says he was a fifer, and tradition has it that the regiment to which he belonged was the Provincials or Rangers. But beyond the fact that he was a native of Alsace, that he left relatives behind in the Fatherland with whom he corresponded in later years, that the Montbeliard people who arrived here before him regarded him as a kinsman, and that he came here as a bandsman in one of Amherst's regiments after the fall of Louisburg in 1758,—but little is known respecting his early life. That in less than two years after his arrival here, a private soldier, we should find him junior partner with Bushell in the publication of the *Gazette*, appears a sudden transition ; but it can be easily accounted for. Bushell was doubtless neglecting his business, and the government needed somebody to do their printing. Furthermore, Richard Bulkeley, who was Secretary of the province at that time, was the editor of the *Gazette*, and to the zeal on behalf of his paper that all good editors should have, would be able to add official influence with the military authorities, and thus could easily secure Henry's transfer from the barracks to the printing office. How it was discovered that he could set type is explained in this way: Upon

the return of the army to Halifax after the fall of Louisburg—holding them here in readiness for next season's operations against Quebec—Amherst adopted the thrifty policy, said to have been suggested to him by Pitt, of allowing the soldiers to earn their own living. A proclamation was accordingly issued that the soldiers should work for the inhabitants, the artificers receiving 18d. a day, and ordinary laborers 6d. a day for their labor. It was doubtless in this way that Henry's early training as a printer become known to the authorities; and that in turn led to his services being transferred from the army to the press. Supposing him to have been employed at the printing office soon after the issue of the proclamation alluded to, he would have been employed there nearly two years before his admission into the partnership. Twenty-six years of age, of good education, of correct habits, a good printer, and with two years' experience in the office, it is easy to see how, in even these conservative times, he should be deemed quite deserving of a junior partnership.

And, as the fates would have it, a very brief season was to elapse between his admission as junior partner, and his succession to the sole control; for in about four months from the formation of the partnership between Bushell and Henry, John Bushell died.* And as nine years previously, we saw Bushell succeeding to the business founded by his partner Green, to the exclusion of Green's family, so now Henry succeeded to the business to the exclusion of Bushell's family; for Bushell, like Green, left a family, who followed the craft of their father. The Bushell family consisted of a son and daughter both printers. The son died in Philadelphia, in 1793, where he had worked at his trade, and kept the "Cross Keys" tavern, for many years previously. The daughter seems to have remained in Halifax. Henry, as we have already explained, shortly after the death of Bushell, assumed the sole management of the *Gazette*. On the first issue in May, 1761, he commenced a new series, and numbered his papers anew. But otherwise he seems to have made little change. The paper had in the meantime grown from the size of a half-sheet of foolscap to the size of a full sheet, and the office of publication had been removed from Grafton St. to Sackville St., but the precise date of neither change is known.

* Bushell died in January, 1761.

In the autumn of 1765, there came to Halifax, and for some months worked in the *Gazette* office, a lad of sixteen, who afterwards achieved considerable distinction. Isaiah Thomas, the future founder of the *Worcester Spy*, the pioneer historian of Printing in America, whose book now sells at fabulous figures, was born in Boston in 1749—the year Halifax was founded. His mother, who was soon after left a widow, indentured him at six years of age to Zechariah Fowle, a noted Boston printer of those days. After serving with Fowle for about eleven years, he determined to go to England to complete his mechanical education,—or, at least, he gives that himself as an excuse for being in Halifax, penniless, in the autumn of 1765. From an independent point of view, it looks very much as if this excuse might not be the correct one; and as Thomas was undoubtedly given to handling the truth rather carelessly, we are under no obligation to believe any more of his story than we see fit. At any rate he was here, and on his own admission, sought and obtained employment from Mr. Henry, though Henry was at that time not in need of assistance. This is how Thomas tells the story:—

“As he (Henry) had two apprentices, he was not in want of assistance in his printing house; but Thomas accepted an offer of board for his services.”

What was probably true, was that Thomas, having run away from his Boston master, and having come to Halifax on the principle of not caring whither he went, sought and obtained board and shelter from Henry on the ground of being a fellow craftsman; and that Henry, not caring to keep him in idleness, set him to work in the printing office. How the young runaway afterwards rewarded his benefactor, how he sought to return him evil for good, by ruining both his business and character, and how even ten long years after Henry's death, Thomas published in his *History* the most abominable mis-statements regarding him and his family,—mis-statements that the amplest charity will not permit us to believe the writer ever suspected of being true,—are very far from being pleasing themes for reflection. But justice to Henry requires that they should be known at least as widely as Thomas' libels.

Thomas' arrival here was almost contemporaneous with the coming into force of the Stamp Act, and in the extremely picturesque account he gives in his *History* of his residence in Halifax, his sayings and

doings in regard to the Stamp Act form the largest proportion. His account is as follows :—

“The *Gazette* was soon after (Thomas’ arrival) printed on stamped paper, made for the purpose in England*. To the use of this paper “the young Newenglandman,” as he was called, was opposed; and to the Stamp Act he was extremely hostile. A paragraph appeared in the *Gazette* purporting that the people of Nova Scotia were generally disgusted with the Stamp Act. This paragraph gave great offence to the officers of government, who called Henry to account for publishing what they termed sedition. Henry had not so much as seen the *Gazette* in which the offensive article had appeared; consequently he pleaded ignorance, and in answer to their interrogation informed them that the paper was, in his absence, conducted by his journeyman. He was reprimanded and admonished that he would be deprived of the work of government, should he in future suffer anything of the kind to appear in the *Gazette*. It was not long before Henry was again sent for on account of another offence of a similar nature; however he escaped the consequences he might have apprehended, by assuring the officers of government that he had been confined by sickness; and he apologized in a satisfactory manner for the appearance of the obnoxious publication. But his journeyman was summoned to appear before the Secretary of the Province; to whose office he accordingly went.”

As we have already explained, Mr. Bulkeley was both the Secretary of the Province and the editor of the *Gazette*. It was, of course, in his capacity of editor that he summoned Thomas before him, if he ever did; but it adds much to the impressiveness of the incident for Thomas to represent himself as being summoned before the Secretary of the Province. The narrative continues :—

“Thomas was probably not known to Mr. Secretary, who sternly demanded of him what he wanted. A.—Nothing, sir. Q.—Why came you here? A.—Because I was sent for. Q.—What is your name? A.—Isaiah Thomas. Q.—Are you the young Newenglander who prints for Henry? A.—Yes, sir. Q.—How dare you publish in the *Gazette* that the people in Nova Scotia are displeased with the Stamp Act? A.—I thought it was true. Sec.—You have no right to think so. If you publish anything more of such stuff you will be

*The Stamp Act came into force Nov. 1st, 1765, and remained in force till March 18th, 1766.

punished. You may go, but remember you are not in New England. A.—I will, sir.

“Not long after this adventure occurred, a vessel arrived in Halifax from Philadelphia, and brought some of the newspapers published in that city. The *Pennsylvania Journal*, published the day preceding that on which the Stamp Act was to take place, was in full mourning. Thick black lines surrounded the pages, and were placed between the columns; a death's head and cross bones were surmounted over the title, and at the bottom of the last page was a large figure of a coffin, beneath which was printed the age of the paper, and an account of it having died of a disorder called the *Stamp Act*. A death's head, etc., as a substitute for a stamp, was placed at the end of the last column on the first page. Thomas had a strong desire to decorate the *Halifax Gazette* in the same manner, but he dared not do it, on account of his apprehensions of the displeasure of the officers of the government. However an expedient was thought of to obviate that difficulty, which was to insert in the *Gazette* an article of the following import: “We are desired by a number of our readers to give a description of the extraordinary appearance of the *Pennsylvania Journal* of 30th of October last, (1765). We can in no better way comply with the request than by the exemplification we have given of that journal in this day's *Gazette*.” As near a representation as possible was made of the several figures; emblems of mortality, mourning columns—all of which accompanied by the qualifying paragraph appeared together in the *Halifax Gazette*, and made no trifling bustle in the place.

“Soon after this event the effigy of the Stamp Master was hung on the gallows near the citadel, and other tokens of hostility to the Stamp Act were exhibited. These disloyal transactions were done silently and secretly; but they created some alarm,—a captain's guard was continually stationed at the house of the Stamp Master to protect him from those injuries which were expected to befall him. It is supposed the apprehensions entertained on his account were entirely groundless.

“The officers of the government had prided themselves on the loyalty of the province, it not having shewn any opposition to the Stamp Act, “but these things were against them,” and a facetious officer was heard to repeat to some of his 'friends the old English proverb, “we have not saved our bacon.”

“An opinion prevailed that Thomas not only knew the parties concerned in these transactions, but had a hand in them himself, on which account a few days after the exhibition of the Stamp Master’s effigy, a sheriff went to the printing house and informed Thomas that he had a precept against him, and intended to take him to prison, unless he would give information respecting the persons concerned in making and exposing the effigy of the Stamp Master. He mentioned that some circumstances had produced a conviction in his mind, that Thomas was one of those who had been engaged in these seditious proceedings. The sheriff receiving no satisfactory answer to his enquiries, ordered Thomas to go with him before a magistrate; and he, having no person to consult or to give him advice, in the honest simplicity of his heart was going to obey the orders of this terrible alguazil; but being suddenly struck with the idea that this proceeding might be intended merely to alarm him into an acknowledgment of his privity of the transactions in question, he told the sheriff he did not know him, and demanded information respecting the authority by which he acted. The sheriff answered that he had sufficient authority; but on being requested to exhibit it, the officer was evidently disconcerted, and showed some symptoms of his not acting under “the King’s authority.” However, he answered that he would show his authority when it was necessary, and again ordered this “printer of sedition” to go with him. Thomas answered that he would not obey him, unless he produced a precept or proper authority for taking him prisoner. After further parley, the sheriff left him with an assurance that he would soon return; but Thomas saw him no more, and he afterwards learned that this was a plan concocted for the purpose of surprising him into a confession”

As I before remarked, we can believe as much of this as we like. There is doubtless an element of truth in it. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the people of Halifax were no better affected towards the new scheme of taxation, than were the colonists elsewhere. The probability, however, is, that Thomas played a much less important part in the anti-stamp act manifestations than he afterwards imagined that he did.

But there was one escapade in which he did undoubtedly figure, and it seems to have had a more serious effect on Henry’s fortunes

than were probably anticipated. Thomas's version of the affair is this :—

“Henry had received from the stamp office the whole stock of paper that was sent ready stamped from England for the use of the *Gazette*. . . . It was not many weeks after the Sheriff already mentioned made his exit from the printing office, when it was discovered that this paper was divested of the stamps ; not one remained ; they had been cut off and destroyed.”

In another part of his History, Thomas tells how the stamps were cut off. He says it was done “with the assistance of a binder's press and plough.” which indicates that book-binding as well as printing was done in Henry's establishment in 1765. Of course the stamps being destroyed, and no more stamped paper being obtainable on this side of the Atlantic, there was nothing for it but to publish the paper without stamps. And that was what Henry did, with the result of being-nearly ruined. We know that in the other colonies the stamp act was virtually disregarded. No one made any pretences of observing it, and the authorities made no effort to enforce it. But the authorities in Nova Scotia were, at that time, not that kind of people. They believed that laws were made to be obeyed, and they believed in punishing those who did not obey them. The law forbade any citizen to publish a newspaper except on stamped paper. Henry had disobeyed that law, and had openly announced in his paper his intention of continuing to do so. So they determined on punishing him, not with fines and penalties, but in a much more effective manner. They determined on bringing another printer to Halifax, and transferring their patronage, and the *Gazette* along with it, to the new comer. In vain did Henry protest his innocence of any intentional wrong. In vain did he dismiss Thomas from the printing office and send him back to Boston,—thus incurring his life-long resentment. The authorities were inexorable. They had resolved on a change, and were not to be turned aside from their purpose. Accordingly, in the early summer of 1766, there arrived in Halifax, from London, Robert Fletcher, a London printer of experience, with an outfit of new type, “and,” Thomas adds, “a valuable collection of books and stationery.” Thomas says further, that “until this time there had been no bookstore in the province”—a statement that we are inclined to doubt. Fletcher commenced

the publication of the *Gazette* on Thursday, August 14th, 1766. He changed its name from the *Halifax Gazette* to the *Nova Scotia Gazette*, enlarged it to a full sheet, crown folio, and commenced a new series of numberings.* The exact means by which the *Gazette* was thus transferred from Henry to Fletcher we cannot say. All we know is that in August, 1766, Fletcher commenced to publish the *Gazette*, and Henry thereupon, though still continuing to own a printing office, ceased to publish it. It may have been that Bulkeley, the editor, had such an interest in the paper as enabled him to control it, and give the publication to whom he liked; or it may have been that when the government withdrew their favor, there was nothing else for Henry to do but to cease publication. The circulation of the *Gazette*, according to Thomas, was, during the time he worked in Henry's office, only three quires, or 72 copies, and we can readily see that to a publisher with a circulation of but 72 copies, it would only require a withdrawal of support of a few subscribers to be equivalent to extinction. At any rate, Fletcher became the publisher of the *Gazette*, and continued to be so for a little over four years. He appears to have been a good printer, and to have known something about how to conduct a newspaper. Within a few months after his arrival, he printed the first consolidated volume of our laws, prepared by Mr. Dupont, for which he received £180 in payment.

For two years and a half after Fletcher took charge of the *Gazette*, Henry seems to have attended solely to job printing, leaving journalism to other hands. But evidently he felt repressed, and in thirty months resolved on once more entering the field from which he had been driven. With the beginning of the year 1769 he determined on what was then a very bold move: it was nothing less than to start a rival paper. Accordingly on Tuesday, January 3rd, 1769, there appeared *The Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, a small-sized eight-paged paper, "printed by Anthony Henry, at his printing office in George Street." While the new paper was very far from being the equal of Fletcher's paper in typographical appearance, it possessed qualities that doubtless made it a formidable rival to the

* The imprint on the *Gazette*, as published by Fletcher, was as follows: "Halifax: Printed by Robert Fletcher and sold by him at his shop near the Parade, where all sorts of printing is executed neatly, correctly and expeditiously. Subscriptions received at twelve shillings a year, or threepence a paper. Advertisements of a moderate length inserted at three shillings each."

Gazette. It seems to have been the first *bona fide* attempt at a newspaper yet made in the province. But the difficulties of publishing a newspaper at that date, in Halifax, are strikingly illustrated in Mr. Henry's salutatory in the *Chronicle and Advertiser*, in which he pathetically remarks: "As the winter already set in will deprive him (the publisher) for some time of the benefit of his British and Foreign Intelligence,—in this situation he will endeavour, by a variety of entertaining and instructive pieces, to please his subscribers."

The fact was, he had nothing, that by the most liberal interpretation of the term, could be regarded as "news." So there was nothing else for it than to fill his paper with "a variety of entertaining and instructive pieces." These "entertaining and instructive pieces" consisted, in a large measure, of official documents, with an occasional political blast from the *Public Advertiser*. But without anything available that in these modern days would be regarded as "news," Henry managed, by a judicious use of the scissors, to get out a paper that constantly gained in public favor. This is made apparent by the increased advertising patronage that the paper received as the months passed on. But in this, the first newspaper war in the province, Henry did not rely alone on the superiority of his paper. He adopted the method known in modern journalism as "cutting rates." The *Gazette* was published at 12 shillings a year. Henry published the *Chronicle and Advertiser* at 8 shillings; and to this fact, probably more than to any other, was due his ultimate success. For he *did* succeed, as we shall see. Fletcher, while a good printer, was evidently more ambitious to succeed as a merchant than at his craft. As already mentioned, he brought a stock of books and stationery from London with him; and the presumption is that he concluded, after four years' experience, that there was more money in selling literature than in printing it. He also probably saw plainly enough that there was only room in Halifax for one paper, and that Henry seemed determined to remain in the arena. So Fletcher abandoned the field to his rival, and, at the close of August, 1770, handed over the *Gazette* to Henry, selling his types, etc., to John Boyle of Boston. Thomas says that after thus disposing of his business, Fletcher returned to England. But this is a mistake. He remained in Halifax and continued to do business here. His advertisements show that from merely keeping books and stationery, he enlarged his

business so that in the *Gazette* of 1781 advertisements of his appear, offering for sale, not books only, but provisions and dry goods as well. Whether it was due to this expansion of his business, or to some other cause, he seems to have made financial shipwreck; for we find the following in the *Gazette* of March, 1782:—

“All persons indebted to Robert Fletcher, of the town of Halifax, are desired to take notice that the effects of the said Fletcher, stand attached at the suit of *Watson & Rashleigh, by virtue of a writ issued out of the Supreme Court of this province, and that payments are accordingly to be made to the subscriber.

WM. SHAW, *Sheriff.*

“*Halifax, February, 19th, 1782.*”

He, however, recovered, and his advertisements appear in the *Gazette* for several years longer.

Henry, on September 4th, 1770, resumed the publication of the *Gazette*, with which he also incorporated his own paper. The title of the *Gazette* under the new management was “*The Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle.*” Tuesday was the day of publication, and the form and size were the same as of the *Gazette* when published by Fletcher. The annual subscription price was fixed at ten shillings, and the office of publication was Sackville Street, to which, by the way, Henry had removed from George Street early in 1769. Thenceforward the *Gazette* and its publisher seem to have enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity unbroken by any untoward event.

Comparing the *Gazette* of say 1772 with its issues of twenty years before, there is admittedly a marked improvement. From a half sheet of foolscap it had grown into a full sheet crown folio, or about trebled in size. Comparing it too with other papers published about the same time, in Boston and other colonial cities, it by no means appears to bad advantage. But still it was about as much unlike a modern newspaper as can well be imagined. Telegrams—the very soul of a modern newspaper—it of course had none. Editorials it had none. Of local news there was but the smallest quantity,—on an average not more than twenty lines a week. Birth and marriage notices, the most interesting to lady readers of the whole

* Sir Brook Watson for many years a resident in this province, and who, after his removal to London, did a large business in this province.

newspaper, were not permitted. For thirty years of the *Gazette*, the only local marriage notice that I can find is the following: "Married, Sunday evening, 10th Dec., 1769, William Allan, Esq., of Cumberland, to Mrs. Jane Slayter, of this town." And as for birth notices, except of Royal or noble parents, they were never thought of. Even death notices were limited to persons of distinction. The correspondents very seldom discussed local or even live matters. On the other hand, the great proportion of the *Gazette* of last century was filled with matter that the modern journalist abhors with a loathing that cannot be uttered. Column after column was filled with articles six and eight months old, clipped from other newspapers or copied out of old magazines. Official proclamations, correspondence, etc., were invariably published *in extenso*, with all their tedious verbosity. And as if to intensify the uninteresting, the spring, summer and autumn poets were actually encouraged, and accorded liberal space! Only two departments the newspaper of a century or more ago and the newspaper of to-day possessed in common — shipping news and advertising. And by these, better than in any other way, do we learn from the *Gazette* of the changes that were taking place in the business and commerce of the city in which it was published. Turning to the advertising columns of the *Gazette* of 1772 and thereabouts, we find scarcely one of our advertising friends of twenty years before. They seem all to have passed away, either out of business, out of the city, or out of life. In their places we have new names that in turn disappear twenty years later on. Among the leading merchants who advertised in 1772 were Joseph Fairbanks, Thomas Cochran, William Allan, John Kerby, Alex. Brymer, Otto William Schwartz, John Fillis, Andrew Cuenod, Robert Fletcher, William Walsh, James Creighton, Thomas Pittman, who says his store is at "Irishtown," and Francis Boyd, "sign of the golden ball." Spanish River coals were offered for sale by no less than three parties, namely, Robert Milward, J. D. Challand, and Ephraim Whiston,—the last named of whom describes his premises as situated "opposite Mauger & Butler's rum store." The price at which the coal was offered was "30 shillings a chaldron." In the hotel line, John Willis announces his occupation of the "Grand Pontac"; William Fury keeps the "Crown Coffee House;" John Rider keeps a billiard table, and it is at his house all the sheriff's sales take place; William Sutherland keeps

a house of entertainment at "The Salutation," opposite the Fish Market; while Samuel Albro informs "all gentlemen, travellers, and others," that he has opened "a house of entertainment for man and horse, in Halifax, at the house lately occupied by Waitstill Lewis." Henry Forster, "of the Royal Artillery," "next door to the printing office, Grafton St.," advertises to teach reading and writing; Edward Broadfield also keeps a school "near McNab's, on Granville St.;" John Bateest Dupocca, calling himself "a native of Quebec," offers to give "lessons in sword exercise, French language, and dancing." Benjamin Phippen is a book-binder and bookseller "on Prince St., opposite the Wheat Sheaf;" John Roach is a tailor in Argyle St., "next door but one to Hon. Richard Bulkeley's"; Richard Holmes keeps a livery stable; Philip Hammon and James Brown are auctioneers,—first in partnership and afterwards separately; John Rea is a shoemaker; John Brooks, a carpenter, on Prince St., and John Gosbee, on Grafton St., a brewer. Then there are country advertisements of which the *Gazette* of 1752 knew nothing. Handley Chipman, of Cornwallis, advertises no less than five lots of land for sale. Francis DeLesdernier, of Windsor, offers for sale "a neat coach, with harness, and two horses"; John Butler advertises that he has opened a shop in Windsor; Christopher Prince, of Annapolis Royal, who "proposes to return to Boston," offers six farms for sale in Annapolis County,—one of which said farms he calls "Mount Pleasant," another—the "Bell Farm," another—the "Belleisle Farm," and another is said to comprise "Goat Island." John Cunningham offers for sale a number of lots on the new road to Windsor; Giles Tidmarsh, "at the victualling office for the army," offers a farm of 1,200 acres in Falmouth, for sale—"the farm" then "occupied by Robert Walker"; while in the early issues of 1773, there is an advertisement of nearly half a column in length, of "Races," to take place "at the Windsor fair," on June 15th and 16th following: one plate of £20, and another of £10 are to be run for,—the competition to be confined to "native bred horses." Joseph Peters offers Cornwallis Island for sale for £1,000 stg.; and there is also offered to be let "an island in the mouth of Northwest Arm, known as Russell's Island," said to be "lately occupied by Nathan Nathans," in the fishing business. Islands known as "Carroll's Island" and "Blois' Island," said to be in the south-east pas-

sage of the harbor were also in the market about the same time.

Probate notices also formed a considerable proportion of the advertisements in the period of which we write. Eleanor Des-Lesdernier, as administratrix of the late "Mr. Paul Prichard and Mrs. Martha Prichard," publishes the usual notice. So also do Richard Jacobs and George Bayers, as executors of John Diel; and Rebecca Gerrish as executrix, and Giles Tidmarsh as her attorney, call for settlement of the business of the late Benjamin Gerrish, as well as of the firm of Gerrish & Gray. Miss Catherine Zouberbuhler and Joseph Pernette give notice as executors of the late Hon. Sebastian Zouberbuhler; and John Creighton administers on the estate of the late Dr. Alexander Abercrombie of Halifax; William Allan on the estate of William Foys; John Lawson on the estate of Daniel Shatford; and Mary Neal on the estate of "Henry Neal, late of Chester." John Fillis and Mary Pierpont, as executor and executrix of the late Joseph Pierpont, in July 1773, publish the following:—

"To be sold by public auction, at the house of Mr. John Rider, "on Tuesday the 27th day of July next, at 12 o'clock (if not sold at "private sale before), all the real estate of the late Mr. Joseph "Pierpont, consisting of a wharf with a large and small store on said "wharf; also his farm lot situate between the Navy Yard and the "Common; also one lot of 20 acres above Mr. Maugers distill house; "and one house lot adjoining to the dwelling-house of Mr. Abraham "Boyer . . . parcel of ox yokes and bows, three large blocks, "some window frames and sashes; also a negro named Prince *to be "sold at private sale!*"

The fact that Prince was reserved for private sale when everything else was being sold by auction, is suggestive. We have seen how, twenty-one years before, Joshua Mauger had no compunctions about selling off a lot of slaves to the highest bidder. But the advertisement quoted indicates that as early as 1773 there existed in certain quarters, and among certain people, a feeling of repugnance to offering human beings at public auction.

In this connection it may be observed that a considerable revenue must have been derived by the newspapers of that time in advertising runaway slaves. To judge by the number of these advertisements,

running away was the principal occupation of the slaves of that period. The following will serve as a sample:—

“Ran away from her master, John Rock, on Monday, the 18th day of August last, a negro girl named *Thursday*, about 4½ feet high, broad set, with a lump over her right eye. Had on when she ran away a red cloth petticoat, a red baize bed-gown, and a red ribbon about her head. Whoever may harbor said negro girl, or encourage her to stay away from her said master, may depend on being prosecuted as the law directs; and whoever may be so kind as to take her up and send her home to her said master, shall be paid all costs and charges, together with *two dollars* reward for their trouble.”

Whether or not poor “Thursday” was ever recovered, we do not know; but if she was, we cannot but feel that she had herself largely to blame, in being so foolish as to attempt her escape in so conspicuous an outfit.

Of government and quasi-government advertisements there was a fair measure. Joseph Woodmas, as Receiver-General, gives notice that he will collect the quit rents for 1772, from the proprietors of lands in the townships named, as follows:—

“On September 29th, he will be in Windsor, at the house of Joseph Wilson; at Falmouth, the 2nd and 3rd October, at the house of Edward York; at Horton, the 5th and 6th ditto, at the house of John Bishop, junior; and at Cornwallis, the 7th and 8th, at the house of Samuel Beckwith.”

Geo. Henry Monk, as “Clerk” of the Supreme Court, gives notice that at Hilary term, A. D. 1773, judgment was given “upon a writ of partition returned from the township of Falmouth in the County of King’s County,” and all absentees are required to take exception thereto within one year, or stand precluded. And Richard Gibbons, junr., “Clerk of Escheats and Forfeiture,” gives notices from time to time of inquisition about to be made or made regarding certain grants. In one of these notices, dated 8th May, 1773, the rights of Thomas Parker as grantee of lot No. 98 in Falmouth, and of Constantine Dogherty as grantee of lot No. 23 in Amherst, are declared escheated to the Crown. And for some cause, the Commissioner of Sewers of that time appear to have experienced considerable difficulty in collecting the rates assessed by them. Notices appear

signed by Eben Fitch, Elisha Freeman, and Simon Newcomb, Commissioners of Sewers for Amherst; by Phineas Lovitt and Henry Evans, Commissioners for Annapolis; and Lebbæus Harris, Robert Avery, Amos Rathbun, and Charles Dickson, Commissioners for Horton, offering for sale lots of land in their respective districts on which the "rates assessed by the Commissioners of Sewers" had not been paid.

Then there are advertisements of a miscellaneous character, not wanting in historic interest. A Mr. Legge* gives notice of his intention "to write a natural and political history of this province upon a plan entirely new and original." He asks for "hints and assistance" from the public. Letters for him are to be directed to "Mrs. Blagdon's, the corner of Turnagain Lane, on the beach." A few weeks later he returns, thanks for the information furnished him, "and would be glad to be favored with the names of the several "governors, lieutenant-governors, and commanders-in-chief, their rank "in the army or navy, the beginning and ending of their respective "governments, of what family descended, and their arms, in the "technical terms of heraldry." From the kind of information asked for, some idea can be formed of "the plan entirely new and original," upon which Mr. Legge proposed to write his history. We should, I think, feel thankful that he never carried out his intention.

The following advertisement shows how they then provided for the poor:—

Halifax, April 10th, 1773.

"For the benefit of the poor of the town, on Friday next will be performed a COMEDY called "The Suspicious Husband," to which "will be added "The Citizen." The play to begin at 6 o'clock. "Tickets to be had at Mr. Willis'. Price 2s. 6d."

And here is another from the *Gazette* of September 29th, 1772, indicative of the troubles incident to publishing a newspaper in Halifax at that time:—

"The printer of this paper hereby informs the public that the "newspapers sent him from England and from different parts of the "continent, having been frequently taken up and detained by some "indifferent person or persons in this town, which has a tendency,

* Spells his name the same as Governor Legge. Was probably a relative.

“not only to suppress articles of intelligence that might be of material consequence to many individuals, if not to the public—but also proves greatly detrimental to this paper, on which his chief dependence lies for a livelihood, that being the source from whence alone he can be supplied. And it is requested as a favor that the person who took up his last packet of papers which came by Capt. Arnold, from Boston, last week, will return it, as it contained matter of consequence to him, exclusive of the newspapers. He likewise begs that for the future no person will attempt the taking and detaining his papers, as he is determined to prosecute every future act of that sort to the utmost rigor of the law.”

Evidently Her Majesty's mail and postal service, with all its defects and delays, would produce a very much worse state of affairs by its withdrawal.

In this connection it may be mentioned that while there was a post office in Halifax as early as 1770 (of which James Stevens was postmaster) there does not appear to have been any regular postal communication between this province and the outside world before 1784, when the old monthly packets between Falmouth and New York, via Halifax, were first established. As to internal postal communication, that came even later.

We have already alluded to the absence of all kinds of local news from the *Gazette* in its early days. From 1772 forward, there was however, a gradual improvement in this respect, though so gradual as to be hardly perceptible. In June, 1773, there appeared the first attempt at an obituary notice, of the modern kind. It is worth reproducing:—“Sunday last, the 20th inst., about twelve o'clock, at noon, departed this life, Daniel Shatford, aged 65. He was many years a schoolmaster in New York, from whence he came to this place about the second year after its settlement, and in a short time after set up a school in this town, which he continued to the day of his death, and in which service, notwithstanding his age and great infirmities occasioned by the severest afflictions of the gout, for a series of years, his assiduity, as well as charity in teaching the poor children gratis—has been equalled by few, and perhaps exceeded by none. He hath left, besides his own distressed family, a great number of scholars, both infants as well as grown people, to lament this public loss.”

About the same time there also appeared the first attempt at what in the modern newspaper is so important a feature, namely, country correspondence. This is a letter from Falmouth, giving an account of the celebration of the Feast of St. Aspinquid at that place the year before, and urging the due observance of the then approaching festival. The writer says :—

“ What immortal honor has Nova Scotia acquired from the due observance of the anniversary feast of the great, the good, the wise, the just, the pious and most exemplary Saint Aspinquid ! The other colonies justly revere his memory and piously keep the festival ; but this can boast of its most numerous converts. Every year produces a great many new votaries to this most excellent pattern of saintship. Here we behold English, Welsh, Caledonians, Hibernians, Gauls, Dutch, Germans, Russians, Swiss, etc., etc., all meeting together on this memorable occasion, perfectly united in principle and sentiment, to celebrate the praises of an American saint. How pleasing the sight ! How happy the day, where his pious and immortal memory is duly and reverently observed according to the rubrick of our American ancestors.”

The writer then proceeds to tell how the previous year, notwithstanding certain adverse circumstances, “ a numerous company ” of the saint’s votaries met “ at Brother York’s in Falmouth and kept the feast in the usual manner.” He then proceeds : “ Now as this is a moveable feast, which always happens seven days after the first new moon in the month of May, and as every one is not furnished with Lilius’ almanac, in which the day is marked in capitals, the brethren are hereby informed that it falls out this year on Friday the 28th inst.”

The letter concludes :—

“ As the number of Aspinquidians is greatly increased, and as the company this year will be too numerous to be entertained at one house, it is determined by the stewards appointed on this occasion that there be two places of resort at Sandwich River : one at Captain Jordan’s, the other at Nathan Ben Saddi Nathan’s, where everything necessary will be provided for the celebration of this grand festival.”

Sandwich River, it may be explained, was the old name of the North-west Arm, where the Aspinquidians had been accustomed for

years to celebrate the festival of their saint. The *Gazette* of three years previously contains an extended report of the St. Aspinquid celebration of 1770. From this we quote: "On Thursday last, " being the 31st of May, the festival of St. Aspinquid was celebrated " at North-west Arm at Mr. Nathan's and Mr. Jordan's, both fisher- " men, where elegant dinners at both places were provided, consisting " of various kinds of fish, etc. After dinner at Mr. Nathan's were " discharged a number of cannon, and at Mr. Jordan's muskets, and " many loyal toasts were drunk in honor of the day; at Mr. Jordan's " the toasts, after the usual manner, were the twelve sachem chiefs " of the twelve tribes who were general friends and allies of the " English."

The facts, as far as ascertainable, connected with the origin of this remarkable myth of Saint Aspinquid, "the grand sachem of all the Northern Indian tribes," the observance of a day in his honor, and the peculiar ceremonies and solemnities connected with the festival, would together make an excellent subject for some learned and painstaking member of our Society to investigate; and a carefully prepared paper on the subject would, I feel assured, be of interest far beyond the confines of this province.

The revolt in the thirteen colonies to the south of us, resulting as it did, brought to this province a large accession of population. Contrary to all historical precedents, the successful faction in that struggle, after the war was over, proscribed and banished those of their countrymen, who, differing from them in opinion as to the best means of redressing existing grievances, refused to join in the movement that has been so well described by the late Hon. Joseph Howe as "falling on the rear of Britain when her front was presented to "hostile Europe in a struggle for the liberties of the world." Not those alone who fought or took an active part against them, but all who were in any way suspected of any loyalist leanings, were deprived of all civil rights, had their property confiscated, and were themselves with their families driven forth into exile,—an exile of which it can be *truly* said, as it could not be truly said in the case of which it was originally written, that it was "without an end, and without an example in story." Among those thus "robbed and spoiled," proscribed and banished for their fidelity to the idea of a united empire, were several whose names will be ever honorably

conspicuous in the annals of British-American journalism. Among these loyalist exiles were Mrs. Margaret Draper, the journalistic heroine, who, inheriting the old *Newsletter* through the death of her husband in 1774, kept that pioneer American journal staunch and firm in its allegiance to the empire until the day when the British evacuated Boston, 17th March, 1776, when she gathered up her presses and types and came to Halifax with them. With her came John Howe, of whom we shall have more to say further on. And with him came his young brother-in-law, William Minns, as well as young McKinstry, one of a family of ten children driven out of Salem, merely because his father, a physician, had dressed a loyalist's wounds! And at the same time came Nathaniel Mills, the grand-uncle of Hon. David Mills, who only anticipated his formal banishment by a few months. After the peace there came to Shelburne the Robertsons, the Swords brothers, *Nathaniel Mills, and, last but not least, James Humphreys, the history of whose persecutions and hair-breadth escapes reads like a romance. It will not be possible, in what remains of this paper, to do more than state, in the briefest outline, the facts in connection with these journalistic loyalists, and their relations to Nova Scotian journalism. It may indeed be doubted whether their careers as newspaper publishers—extending as some of them did well into the present century,—can be regarded as properly belonging to the history of our *early* journalism. However, any treatise on that subject would, in my judgment, be incomplete, were not reference made to some of them.

Mrs. Draper did not stop long in Halifax. She proceeded, in the course of a few months, to England, where she lived for the balance of her days. Her death occurred about 1800. Before leaving Nova Scotia, however, she sold her presses and other plant of the Boston *Newsletter* to John Howe, who was destined to find them employment in Halifax for a great many years.

John Howe was born in Boston, October 14th, 1754. His father's name was Joseph Howe, of whom Thomas says that "he was a reputable tradesman in Marshall's Lane." John was just "out of his time" as an apprentice to the printing trade, when Richard

* The same as came to Halifax in 1776. After coming to Halifax in 1776 he went to England, and from there he returned to New York and became associated with the Robertsons in the *Royal American Gazette*.

Draper died in 1774. After a brief partnership with John Boyle,—who will be remembered as the Boston printer who purchased Fletcher's outfit,—Mrs. Draper made young Howe a junior partner with her in the business, and gave to him the oversight of the printing office. He was in discharge of this duty when the rebels besieged Boston in the autumn of 1775. When the evacuation was determined on, in the March following, Howe took with him Miss Martha Minns, a young girl of 16, to whom he was engaged, and was married to her at Newport on the way to Halifax. What he did during the first three years of his residence here, we do not know. In 1780, however, he occupied a printing office on the corner of Sackville and Barrington Streets—two blocks down the hill from Henry's office, which was at the corner of Sackville and Grafton Street. Here, on Friday, January 5th, 1781, he published the first issue of the *Halifax Journal*—a paper that continued to be published regularly in this city until about 1870. Mr. Howe was its sole publisher until 1793, when he took McKinstry into partnership with him. This partnership only lasted for two years. Mr. Howe then resumed sole management until his appointment as King's printer in 1801, when he associated his sons with him in the business. The *Journal* remained the property of the Howe family until 1819, when it was sold to John Munro,* who continued to publish it until 1850, when he sold out to William Penny. In 1801, as we have already intimated, Mr. Howe succeeded Anthony Henry as King's printer.† After that, for 14 years or so, the Howes appear to have printed both the *Gazette* and the *Journal*. In 1803 Mr. Howe was appointed Postmaster of Halifax, and Deputy Postmaster-General for the province, succeeding Joseph Peters in both offices. And in 1815 he was appointed, with Messrs. Pyke and Liddell, a police magistrate for the

* Mr. Munro was born in Halifax in 1788,—his father, a Scotchman, being at that time connected with the Dockyard. At 12 years of age he was apprenticed to Mr. Minns, and worked in his printing office for nine years. He then became a clerk in the post office under John Howe, Senior. As occasion required he rendered assistance on the *Journal* and *Gazette*, and eventually became a partner with John Howe, Junior, in the business. In 1819 he became sole proprietor of the *Journal*, and continued to publish it regularly until 1850, when he sold out, and was appointed manager of the Merchants' Exchange Reading Room. He died suddenly April 28th, 1863.

† Anthony Henry died suddenly on Monday, December 1st, 1800. His widow, who before her marriage was a Miss Margaret Miller, survived him by 26 years. He had two daughters, only one of whom survived him. She married a Mr. Roxby, and was the mother of Mrs. Stevens of Rockingham.

city. All these offices—King's printer, postmaster and magistrate—he continued to hold many years. His death occurred 29th December, 1835,—a few months after he had seen his youngest son, Nova Scotia's greatest journalist, carried home in triumph by the Halifax populace, after having gained a signal victory on behalf of the liberty and independence of the press of his province. He was in his 82nd year. Of him it can be truly said that he died full of years and honors.

William Minns was a mere lad when he came to Halifax with the other loyal Bostonians. For four years after the *Halifax Journal* was started, he set type for his brother-in-law in the office of that paper. But, on coming of age, he started out for himself. On Saturday, the 28th May, 1786, he published the first issue of the *Weekly Chronicle*, and continued to publish it regularly till his death, over forty years later. The *Weekly Chronicle* completed the trio of papers published in Halifax a hundred years ago; and for a quarter of a century thereafter the three papers,—the *Gazette*, the *Journal*, and the *Weekly Chronicle*,—continued to supply the demand for journalism that existed in eastern Nova Scotia.* There was no "war" among these journalistic brethren, no rivalry, no controversy. It is doubtful if there was even jealousy. The "peace with God and the world," that Longfellow attributes to his ideal Acadian peasants, was truly theirs. It was not indeed, until Anthony Henry Holland entered the arena with his *Acadian Recorder* in 1813, followed by Edmund Ward with the *Free Press* in 1816, that the waters became disturbed, and Halifax journalism began to exhibit its modern characteristics. Mr. Minns died January 17th, 1827, in his sixty-fifth year. He left one daughter, who married Thomas Godfrey, a number of whose descendants are still with us. For several years before his death, he was one of the justices of the Commissioners'

* While the only papers published continuously throughout the period mentioned, the three papers named were not the only papers published in Halifax within the quarter century following 1786. There is reason to believe that Henry published a German newspaper for a brief period during 1787-8, though, so far as I know, no copies of it are extant. Gay & Merlin, who succeeded to Henry's business, started in 1801 a newspaper called *The Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, the publication of which was continued until some time in 1806. The *Novator*, a small literary paper, was also published by James Bagnall during 1809 and 1810. And the *Halifax Telegraph*, published by Charles S. Powell, was first issued on Monday, July 20th, 1807. I have the first number, but cannot say how long it was published. All the three last named papers were printed on Sackville Street.

Court, that met quarterly, and had jurisdiction within the city analagous to the City Civil Court of to-day. People are still living who remember him,—a dignified, portly gentleman, with powdered wig, worsted hose, and silver shoe buckles,—who, whether serving a customer in his little stationery store on Barrington Street, “opposite the north-east corner of the parade,” or as an enthusiastic fireman directing matters at a fire, or as a magistrate of the Commissioners’ Court, was always characterized by the courtesy and honor of a gentleman of the olden time.

It is an interesting circumstance, one that illustrates in a striking manner the vicissitudes to which localities as well as individuals are subject, that Shelburne, which to-day is one of the few shire towns in the province in which no newspaper is published, a century ago supported as many newspapers as Halifax did. One hundred years ago we had in Halifax, as we have seen, three weekly newspapers. And one hundred years ago, Shelburne had exactly the same number. A small volume of these papers, containing a few copies of each, is in the archives of this Society. A few more copies are to be found in the library of the Historical Society of New York. And it is from these sources alone, fragmentary and incomplete, that we derive all the knowledge we now possess of the duration, character, and even the names of these papers. *The Royal American Gazette* appears to have been merely a continuation of the paper of the same name published in New York by James and Alexander Robertson and Nathaniel Mills, during the course of the revolutionary war. The Robertsons were, at the beginning of the war, partners with John Trumbull in the publication of the Norwich, Conn., *Packet*. Trumbull sympathizing with the rebels, and the Robertsons with the loyalists, the partnership was dissolved, and the Robertsons soon after found it advisable to take refuge within the British lines. Retiring to New York City they there established *The Royal American Gazette* in 1776, being joined a year or so later by Nathaniel Mills. After the peace, both the Robertsons and Mills came to Shelburne, where they continued the publication of the *Gazette*. But not for many years. Alexander Robertson died soon after his arrival in Shelburne; Mills returned to the United States before the end of the century; and James Robertson, with Alexander’s son, James junior, went home to

Scotland, and in 1810 both were engaged in printing and bookselling in Edinburgh.

The Port Roseway Gazette and the Shelburne Advertiser was the second paper established in Shelburne. It was first published in October, 1784, and was being published regularly in 1787. It was printed by James Robertson, junior, for T. & J. Swords.* It, and the *R. A. Gazette*, probably both ceased publication when the Robertsons left for Scotland.

The Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser was Shelburne's third paper. It was first issued in April, 1785, and is believed to have been published till 1796 or thereabouts. It was printed by James Humphreys, who, before the war, was the owner of a printing office in Philadelphia, and published *The Pennsylvania Ledger*. His loyalist sympathies led to his office being sacked, his family being imprisoned and maltreated, and himself hunted out of the State. He, like the Robertsons, sought protection within the British lines in New York, whence, after the peace, he came to Shelburne, and, as we have seen, published a paper there for several years. In his old age he returned to Philadelphia, where he died in 1810.

Before the end of the 18th century, the last of the Shelburne newspapers had ceased publication, and their publishers had gone to other lands. So that when the 18th century closed on this fair province, there were but three weekly newspapers published within it, with an aggregate circulation of not more than 2,000. From 2,000 papers a week to 140,000—which is about the weekly output of papers from the various presses of this province to-day—seems a marvellous expansion; but I am convinced that it no more than measures the extent of the combined improvement in the material and intellectual condition of the people of this country in the same period. Nova Scotian journalism from 1752 to 1810 was a small affair, compared to what it has since become; but it probably suited the people and the times just as well as does the journalism of to-day, and the men engaged in it placed the province under too great an obligation for us to permit their names to be forgotten, or their services to the purposes of this Society, to remain unrecognized and unhonored.

* In 1796 "T. & J. Swords" were doing business as printers and booksellers at No. 99 Pearl St., New York.

KING'S COLLEGE AND EPISCOPATE IN NOVA SCOTIA.

PLANS SUBMITTED TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN THE YEAR 1783
BY SIR GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER,

- 1st. *For founding a Seminary of Learning at Windsor in Nova Scotia.*
 - 2nd. *For establishing an Episcopate in Nova Scotia.*
-

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY ON NOVEMBER 12, 1884.

*Copies of the original documents in the Dorchester Collection preserved in the
Library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.*

NEW YORK, October 18th, 1783.

SIR,—The province of Nova Scotia has been an object of great national importance, and as your Excellency's thoughts have been lately and are still engaged about measures to promote its population, prosperity and internal happiness, we flatter ourselves that a proposal which may contribute to the same salutary purposes will meet your approbation. The founding of a College or Seminary of learning on a liberal plan in that province, where youth may receive a virtuous education and can be qualified for the learned professions, is, we humbly conceive, a measure of the greatest consequence, as it would diffuse religious literature, loyalty and good morals among His Majesty's subjects there.

If such a seminary is not established the inhabitants will not have the means of educating their sons at home, but will be under the necessity of sending them for that purpose either to Great Britain or Ireland, which will be attended with an expense that few can bear, or else to some of the states of this continent, where they will be sure to imbibe principles that are unfriendly to the British Constitution. In a case so plain and self-evident we apprehend it is needless to enter on a formal proof of the utility and advantages of the institution proposed, and it is easy to foresee many circumstances of disgrace and unavoidable inconvenience if it is neglected.

The plan that may be proper to adopt for this college, and the necessary regulations to support its credit and insure the benefits which may be expected from it, will require the maturest deliberation, and therefore it would be premature in the present stage of the business, and trespassing on your Excellency's time, to dwell minutely on the subject. Permit us to observe briefly, that so far as circumstances will admit, provision should be made for a president, for able professors in the different branches of science, and for a good grammar school, so that young gentlemen who are educated in this seminary and receive the usual degrees in the liberal arts, may be duly qualified for those degrees and for the professions to which their genius may respectively lead them.

The principal difficulty, and what calls for immediate attention, is to procure and establish funds that shall be adequate to these purposes, and here we conceive that recourse, in the first instance, should be had to government, whose interests will be essentially served, and whose countenance and aid may therefore be reasonably expected in founding and endowing this seminary.

If government should once patronize the scheme other sources of support will not be wanting. There are in Great Britain and Ireland many generous friends of science who, from motives of public spirit, will doubtless contribute to the design. When the business is brought forward it may be presumed that the Legislature of Nova Scotia, sensible of the many advantages which that province must derive from the institution, will afford it every aid in their power, and in the meantime lands might be appropriated there to the use of a college, and located in such a manner that they would rise in value and be productive of an annual income.

These short hints are, with deference, submitted to your Excellency as the best bridge of the steps that should be taken for accomplishing this desirable object, consistently with the enlarged and beneficent views of government respecting that province.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servants,

CHARLES INGLIS,

BENJAMIN MOORE,

H. ADDISON,

CHARLES MONGAN.

JONATHAN ODELL.

To HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GUY CARLETON.

[No. 120.]

NEW YORK, *October 26th, 1783.*

MY LORD,—I enclose a copy of a letter from several clergymen here proposing the institution of a college in Nova Scotia as an object of great importance to the future interests of government and the welfare of the province.

As there can be no doubt but such an institution, wisely planned and well conducted, would contribute essentially to the public benefit, I am with equal certainty persuaded your Lordship will be pleased to take the subject into consideration, and give the design all the assistance of your advice and patronage.

I am, &c.,

RIGHT HONORABLE LORD NORTH, &c., &c.

A PLAN OF RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INSTITUTION FOR THE PROVINCE
OF NOVA SCOTIA.

The influence of religion on political institutions as well as on the moral conduct of men, has been universally acknowledged by the best and wisest of all nations. Without its sanction, the former could neither derive stability, nor the latter subsist, but both would fluctuate as the influence of passion or interest impelled.

Experience has also shown the conformity and eligibility of certain modes of worship to particular forms of government, and that of the Episcopal (abstracted from its antiquity and apostolic sanction) has been thought peculiarly adapted to the British Constitution.

Besides the ample proofs which the history of the nation has afforded of this circumstance, it has been particularly conspicuous in the origin and progress of the convulsions of this country. There was not only a considerable *majority* of loyal subjects in almost every Episcopal congregation from Carolina to Nova Scotia, (a few influences perhaps in Virginia alone excepted), but some were found which scarcely produced *one* disaffected germ of character whilst the clergy were permitted to exercise their functions: and that their influence was not more extensive was owing to causes we presume now sufficiently obvious. It has been also with too much justice observed, that public commotions which are subversive of so many other means of human happiness, have also a very unfriendly influence on religion, to which men ought to have recourse as the best support

under and alleviation of their calamities. The influence of the malignant passions excites an inveteracy, intolerance and ferocity of mind inconsistent with the mild and benevolent and merciful spirit of the gospel. This also has operated the more strongly in this country, from so great a part of it being destitute of the means of early instruction which might impress and confirm the habits of virtue, religion and liberality of sentiment.

It is therefore of the utmost importance to government, or the formation of new establishments or settlements, that the means of religious instruction, as well as of literature, be afforded in as ample a manner as possible ; that the rising generation, especially, may grow up in such sentiments and habits as will qualify them for discharging the domestic, civil and political duties of their several stations, as the only sure foundations of internal tranquility, attachment to government, and political strength and consequence. As several large bodies of people are preparing to emigrate to Nova Scotia, with the prospects of its becoming an important British colony, they merit the attention of government in this respect particularly, that many from the want of early instruction, the living without the ordinances of religion or the influence of civil law, and several from their necessities being led to disorderly methods of obtaining subsistence, cannot be supposed to have a proper sense of its importance.

We therefore, from a deep sense of the duty of our sacred office, and from an unfeigned and disinterested concern for their spiritual and temporal happiness as well as from a conviction of its expediency and utility in a national view, beg leave to suggest the following considerations as promotive of that important end. From a circumstance unexampled in the case of any other christian society,—the religious influence of the Church of England in America has been greatly obstructed by the want of an essential part of its constitution, namely, the means of admission into holy orders, and the superintendence and inspections of its officiating members, and the direction of their exertion in the most beneficial manner :—

1. It is therefore proposed and earnestly recommended, that a superior or superintendent of the clergy be appointed in Nova Scotia for the express purposes above mentioned,—which we humbly conceive can neither interfere with the interests, rights or privileges of any religious denomination whatever, which we by no means wish to be

prevented or infringed, and that such an institution, which can be liable to no rational objection, may be the more readily adopted and rendered effectual, and provision be equally made for the literary as well as religious instruction of that and the neighbouring provinces.

2. It is proposed that in all future appropriations of land, one thousand of every — thousand acres be allotted for the establishment and maintenance of a *parish* church ; and one thousand more, equally divided, be set apart for the support of the superior of the clergy, a public seminary of learning, and a parish school. That three hundred acres belonging to the parish church be located within half a mile of the place of worship, near a public road,—that of the school within the same distance, and the others in such eligible situations, as on the report of the surveyor-general and vestry to the governor and council, shall be judged most proper for accomplishing the object of their appropriation.

3. That for the two considerable emigrations that take place under the direction of the agency for refugees, and the adventurers for Port Roseway, or any other associations that may take place, a church be erected at the expense of government, to be supported afterwards by its respective parish, and in every other district that shall constitute or be denominated a parish (not already settled), that government shall be at one half the expense for the erection of a church and manse or dwelling house, to be afterwards maintained by the parish, and the incumbent of every parish or district shall be appointed by the superior of the clergy on recommendation of the vestry, or twelve of the principal proprietors of the place, or the governor and council of the province ; and as neither the circumstances of those who immediately emigrate, nor who first attempt to colonize an uncultivated country can be supposed capable of affording the means of decent subsistence to a clergyman of respectable character, for administering the ordinance of religion, instructing and improving the people,—circumstances of the utmost importance both to government and themselves.

4. It is proposed that either a stated salary should be allowed by government for a limited time, and to decrease in proportion as the circumstances of the people increase, or, that the revenues arising from the milns or other public works solicited from government (after defraying the expenses of the persons who officiate as millers or

otherwise) should be appropriated for five or seven years to the support of an established clergyman, and one-half of the revenues after that period be reserved for the repairs and rebuilding the same or others that may be judged more eligible.

And, that the use and intention of said milns or public buildings may be effectually extended to every individual of any district in the amplest manner, and that no exactions or burdensome imposts may at any time take place for any supposed expediency or necessity, or for the support of any institution whatever, be it enacted by the Legislature of the Province,—That the rates for use or grist of said mills be settled by a committee of the House of Assembly in concurrence with the sheriff and two justices of peace of the respective district for every three successive years, commencing from their first establishment. And further,—That the community or government shall clear—acres of the lands appropriated to the parish church, contiguous to the dwelling house, for a garden and other immediate conveniences,—and shall clear five acres more each year for three successive years :—and shall afterwards be free from all claims of services of that kind further than what are entirely voluntary.

5. It will moreover be proper, that in the parish church to be erected by government, or the community, or both, the accomodations for attending divine service be indiscriminately extended to every family, except the public officers of government, or such as may choose to qualify themselves at their own expense. But that after three or five years, the pews or plans for pews be let out by the vestry for every three succeeding years, and the revenue arising therefrom be applied to the maintenance of the established clergyman and the repairs of the church and dwelling house of the incumbent.

That after this public provision and means of religious instruction as by law established, every denomination of christians enjoy the full and ample freedom of prosuing such religious instruction as their habits and mode of education, or peculiarity of sentiment may lead them to think most conducive to their spiritual improvement, and that these regulations and establishments have the public sanction of the legislature of the province.

6. It will be also highly beneficial and expedient, both from the present state and the immediate prospect of extensive settlement of that province, that the youth be furnished as soon as possible with

such means of necessary education and liberal instruction as may qualify them for public utility,—filling the civil offices of government with credit and respectability,—inspire those principles of virtue and public spirit, that liberality of sentiment and enlargement of mind which may attach them to the constitution, happiness and interests of their country.

For this purpose a public seminary, academy or college should, without delay, begin to be instituted at the most central part of the province, (suppose at Windsor,) consisting at first of a public grammar school for classical and other branches of education, conducted by a teacher of approved abilities, temper, judgment and sound morals, professing the principles and living in the communion of the Church of England.

That a president be also appointed, being a clergyman of the Church of England, to instruct those whose circumstances, views and genius lead them beyond the common offices of life, in such branches of science as may qualify them for the several literary professions which are requisite in every well governed community. That assistants or professors of particular sciences be added, as the circumstances of the country and the nature of the institution render eligible and requisite, of any Protestant religious denomination, who are gentlemen of approved morals and abilities, securities being always given that no doctrine be inculcated repugnant to the constitution of Great Britain as a monarchy,—the neglect or perversion of which in most of the seminaries in America is known to have proved one of the most obvious and immediate causes of the subversion of that happy system by which the country was so eminently blest, and that any attempt to infringe this salutary regulation shall *ipso facto*, disqualify the teacher and render his appointment null and void.

That the rector of the grammar school and the president of the seminary, shall, in the first instance, be appointed by the governor and council, and in future occasions, both they and the other professors by the governor alone, at the recommendation of the superior of the clergy, and the trustees of the institution.

7. That a building be erected on the most eligible situation for health, containing at first the necessary apartments for teaching and the immediate accommodation of the rector of the schools, the president and a competent number of students; the additional grants to be

afterwards added, according to a regular plan, as the circumstances require. The salaries for the first five years to be paid by the crown, and jointly by the crown and province for ten years afterwards, or so long as shall be judged expedient by the former, from the state of the province or funds of the seminary.

Such is the sketch of a plan of religious and literary institution as seems most agreeable to the state of that province, and the views of government for promoting religion, virtue and reverence for the laws, which are the best and surest foundations for internal quiet and public tranquility—which important objects, whilst it is calculated to secure, it infringes none of the civil or religious rights of any description of professing christians which it is wished may be inviolate whilst consistent with the principles of the constitution, and the order and good government of the province. If on due examination it shall be judged to have such a tendency, the effectual prosecution of it is earnestly recommended to the patronage of those whose influence can render it an object of public attention.

NEW YORK, *8th March, 1783.*

G. P.

NEW YORK, *March 21st, 1783.*

[SIR,—In conformity to your Excellency's desire, we now lay before you the following plan for an episcopate in Nova Scotia, and please ourselves with the prospect of its succeeding under your Excellency's patronage. The plan is simply this, viz :

That a Bishop be consecrated in England and sent to reside in Nova Scotia, to have the superintendence of the clergy, to ordain candidates for holy orders, and to confirm such of the laity there as shall desire confirmation, but not to be invested with any temporal power or authority whatever. In support of this plan we think many strong reasons may be adduced, and against it, as we conceive, no objections of consequence can be made. Permit us to mention as concisely as possible, the following reasons why our request should be complied with.

1. Unless an episcopate be granted, the Church of England will be in a more disadvantageous situation in Nova Scotia than any other

denomination of christians. This has ever been the case of the church in the colonies. Other societies of christians have had their constitution compleat and could reap every advantage of which it was capable in the management of it, while the Church of England could do little at any time without the special direction of her superiors at home, and before their direction could be obtained the opportunity was lost.

2. The proposed episcopate will supply the province of Nova Scotia with a sufficient number of clergymen of the established church, and without it their number will never be equal to the wants of the inhabitants, should they increase in proportion, as other colonies formerly have done.

While orders are only to be had in England, the danger of the sea, the expense of the voyage, and the difficulty of transacting business among strangers, will ever, as it ever has done, discourage the greater part of those gentlemen who would go into orders, if the danger, expense and difficulty attending a voyage to England could be avoided. We do know that many, nearly a fourth part, of those who have encountered this danger have lost their lives in the attempt. We also know that many have been obliged to incur debts on this occasion, which the scanty subsistence they were obliged to return to, has scarcely enabled them to discharge in many years—to this also it has, in a great measure, been owing that while dissenters have had ministers enough to satisfy every demand, and even to crowd into every place where they could possibly support themselves, the church has never had clergymen enough to supply the larger towns, and when any vacancy has happened, it has been so long before another incumbent could be procured, that the congregation has in a manner been dispersed and the labors of his predecessor nearly lost.

3. The fixing of a bishop in Nova Scotia and the consequent supply of clergymen, will strengthen the attachment and confirm the loyalty of the inhabitants, and promote the settlement of the province.

It is a point of great importance in civil society that the people should be attached to the state by means of its religion, for where they find that proper attention is paid to their spiritual concerns by their governors, they will have a stronger affection for that govern-

ment than if they were left destitute of all religious instruction but such as they could provide for themselves.

Particularly with regard to Nova Scotia. It being an object of importance to Great Britain to have that province effectually settled, it must also be an object of importance to retain the inhabitants in their loyalty. To accomplish this end it appears to us absolutely necessary to establish the constitution of the Church of England among them fully by sending a bishop to reside there.

The inhabitants of that country are, and those that shall in future go thither as settlers, will be made up people of various religious persuasions. If the service of the church be made the most convenient for them by supplying them with ministers as fast as they are wanted, they will almost universally become members of the church, and under its influence will be more strongly attached to the British Government than they would be under any other mode of worship.

To this plan of an episcopate in Nova Scotia we think no reasonable objection could be made. Should it, however, be thought exceptionable either as an expensive or an unseasonable establishment, to the former we answer:—That although we wish a decent and permanent support to be provided for the bishop, yet we think it may be done without any burden, either to the people of the province or to the nation, a portion of the unlocated lands in the province may be appropriated to that purpose, which in future time would answer the end, and in the meantime we understand that the society for the propagation of the gospel has a fund appropriated to the support of American bishops more than adequate to the support of a bishop in Nova Scotia.

As to the second objection, that the plan which we propose is unseasonable, while the nation is engaged in war, &c., We beg leave to observe that the clergy of most of the colonies have been soliciting the appointment of American bishops at different times, for many years past, and the answer ever has been that the present time was not a proper one, but a more favorable opportunity must be waited for. But as we apprehend that the nation is now on the verge of peace, we conceive no time more proper can ever present itself for the fixing of such an establishment than the present, and we are sure that the influence of such an establishment will never be more useful than

now, when so large an accession of inhabitants is to be made to that province.

We have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient, humble servants,

CHARLES INGLIS,	ISAAC BROWNE,
SAMUEL SEABURY,	JOHN SAYRE,
JEREMIAH LEARNING,	BENJ.M. MOORE,
H. ADDISON,	JOHN H. ROWLAND,
I. WALLER,	THOS. MOORE,
MOSES BADGER,	GEO. BISSET,
JOHN O'DELL,	CHARLES MONGAN,
GEORGE PANTON,	JOSHUA BLOOMER,
JOHN BEARDSLEY,	JOHN BOWDEN.

To His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, &c., &c.

NEW YORK, *March 26th, 1783.*

SIR,—As we are very sensible that much will depend on good temper, prudence and ability of the gentleman who shall be appointed the Bishop for Nova Scotia, we take the liberty to recommend to Your Excellency's notice the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bradbury Chandler, now in London. This gentleman is an American, and resided in America till compelled by the present commotions to take refuge in England. He is well known and much respected through the continent, and is well qualified to fill any bishoprick with dignity and honour.

We have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient

humble servants,

CHARLES INGLIS,	CHARLES MONGAN,
SAMUEL SEABURY,	ISAAC BROWN,
JEREMIAH LEARNING,	GEO. BISSET,
MOSES BADGER,	JOHN H. ROWLAND,
JOHN BEARDSLEY,	I. WALLER,
JONATHAN O'DELL,	JOSHUA BLOOMER,
JOHN SAYRE,	JOHN BOWDEN,
GEORGE PANTON,	H. ADDISON.
BENJAMIN MOORE,	

To His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, &c., &c.

WHITEHALL, *June 15th, 1783.*

RIGHT HONORABLE LORD NORTH,

TO GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON, K. B.

(*Extract.*)

“The King’s servants have taken into their consideration the letter from the clergy of the Church now at New York, and their plan for an Episcopate to be established in the province of Nova Scotia, contained in your despatch No. 65. But before they finally decide on that measure, it is very desirable that they should be informed of the disposition of the laity, particularly those who intend to remove with them to Nova Scotia for the adoption of the plan, on which account they are anxious that you should endeavor to discover and transmit these sentiments therefrom as soon as may be, that it may certainly be known whether the recommendation of that establishment is according to the general ideas or merely confined to the clergy.”

P. S.—“With respect to the person recommended to fill the office of Bishop of Nova Scotia, His Majesty is so well acquainted with the character, merit and loyalty of Dr. Chandler, and of the very respectable persons who have recommended him, that there will be no difficulty in the choice of the first Bishop, as soon as a decisive resolution has been taken upon the proposed institution.”

“NORTH.”

SIR GUY CARLETON TO LORD NORTH.

NEW YORK, *23rd October, 1783.*

MY LORD,—“The Reverend Doctor Inglis, who has the honor to wait on your Lordship with this letter, is a clergyman whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordships favourable notice. He has been several years the rector of the principal church in this city, and in every stage of the late rebellion has approved himself a zealous loyalist; on which account he has lost a considerable landed estate by confiscation, and is at length obliged to relinquish a valuable living in the Church.”

I am, &c., &c.

The RIGHT HONORABLE LORD NORTH,

&c., &c.

MEMORANDUM.

Doctor Chandler declined the office of Bishop and recommended Dr. Charles Inglis, who was nominated by the King and received consecration in 1787 as Bishop of Nova Scotia, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Newfoundland.



MEMORANDUM.

Doctor Christie declined the office of Bishop and recommended Dr. Charles Inglis who was nominated by the King and received consecration in 1787 as Bishop of York Scotia with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Newfoundland.

The Hon. Board will observe that the said Dr. Inglis was not only a distinguished scholar but also a man of high moral character and of extensive experience in the management of a large diocese. He was also a member of the Society of the Friends of the African Race and a zealous advocate of the abolition of the African Slave Trade. His appointment as Bishop of York Scotia was a great honor to the Society and a great benefit to the African Race.

The Hon. Board will also observe that the said Dr. Inglis was a man of high moral character and of extensive experience in the management of a large diocese. He was also a member of the Society of the Friends of the African Race and a zealous advocate of the abolition of the African Slave Trade. His appointment as Bishop of York Scotia was a great honor to the Society and a great benefit to the African Race.



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NOTES
ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S
CHURCH, HALIFAX.

A PAPER READ BY FRANCIS PARTRIDGE, D. D., RECTOR OF
ST. GEORGE'S, MAY 7, 1885.

ABOUT the year 1749, a Royal Proclamation was issued by the English Government and distributed in various towns on the continent of Europe, inviting foreign Protestants to leave their homes and settle in Nova Scotia. The Proclamation set forth at length the advantages of the country to which these settlers were to be conveyed, and promised 50 acres of land to each adult and ten additional to each member of a family whether wife or children. The government further engaged the services of an agent, Mr. Johann Dick, a merchant of Rotterdam, to make contracts with such families and individuals as were willing to settle in this province, and to arrange for their transportation. The first official record to be found of the German settlers, with whom we are now concerned, is contained in a despatch from Whitehall to Governor Cornwallis, who had arrived in Halifax the previous year, which says, "I am directed by my Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to inform you that the bearer of this, John Spurrier, master of the 'Ann,' from Rotterdam, has on board his vessel 280 foreign Protestants, or thereabouts, procured by Mr. Dick, of Rotterdam. These, your Lordships desire you will receive and dispose of in the best manner you are able, as a means of encouraging others of their countrymen to follow, &c."

Mr. Dick it appears, had engaged to send over 1,000 foreign Protestants on condition of being paid one guinea for each person. But a previous despatch to Governor Cornwallis complains that Mr. Dick had "greatly disappointed" the Lord Commissioners as to the number he had succeeded in sending; and states that although he had sent 280, he only "gives in some hopes" that he may be able to

forward another ship this year. The actual number embarked was 312, who accordingly arrived in Halifax in safety on July 13th, 1750, in the ship "Anne."

In the undeveloped condition of the new colony, the coming of these settlers, in addition to the large number of English emigrants who had previously arrived, was the cause of much embarrassment to the Governor, who found it a very grave problem what to do with them and where to send them. The limits of the town of Halifax were then very circumscribed; the country in the neighbourhood was yet uncleared, and there appears to have been a great scarcity of tools suitable for clearing the land and putting up houses. There is little doubt that emigrants had been allowed to believe that the land was ready for them to cultivate; and bitter was the disappointment of the Germans to find that when they arrived their new homes were but woods and wilderness. The settlement was surrounded by hostile Indians. But a short time after the arrival and disembarkation on the Dartmouth side of the harbour, an attack was made on them by the Indians, and a considerable number were killed and scalped. George's Island was covered with woods, and the town of Halifax scarcely cleared of the trees. There was only one little wharf then built, on the site of the present market wharf; and many of the poorer emigrants were obliged to work out their passage money, which prevented them from applying their wages to their own needs. It will thus be seen that they had many difficulties to contend against. Governor Cornwallis complains in his despatches of this date of the excessive rate of wages demanded by workmen of all kinds; and received instructions from the home government to make use of the emigrant labour. At the beginning of September, it became a serious problem what to do with the Germans for the winter. They could not be sent away to any distance, as there were no troops to defend them from the Indians, and they had no arms with which to defend themselves.

It was now too late in the season to clear land, which if it had been cleared would have been of no productive value till the spring. There was also difficulty about provisions. Hitherto it had been the custom of the government of the colony to provide victuals for *all* settlers, those who had come voluntarily as well as those who had been sent by the Lords of Trade. It now became necessary to restrict

the issuing of victuals to those who had been brought to the country by promise of a maintenance.

It was determined by the Council that "there being now 250 labourers at 2/. a day, besides rum and beer, such of the Germans as are artificers or fit for labour be taken into the King's work at 2/. a day for artificers and 12d. a day for labourers till their freight be paid to the government, and that in the meantime the whole be paid to Mr. Dick, as the Board of Trade directs: "and they that refuse to work at the King's price be struck off the books."

The anxieties of the Germans were not over yet. Soon after this, directions were issued that provisions should be withdrawn from all except the English settlers who had first arrived in the ship "Alderney," which did not reach Halifax till August. Their late arrival put the government to great inconvenience, and the supplies necessary for them had to be withheld from the Germans. But in the meantime a considerable number of the foreign emigrants, and indeed of the English who had come out during the year 1749 with Governor Cornwallis, depending on the receipt of sufficient food for at least one year from the date of arrival, had sent for their families. Having now the task of maintaining themselves with no help from the public purse, they could not build their houses as well. So great was the discouragement and dissatisfaction, that many of them were preparing to return, and were only prevented from doing so by the re-issue to them, and to all who should arrive before December 31st, of the promised provisions. Thus with much hardship and anxiety as to the future, the German emigrants passed their first winter in Nova Scotia.

They appear to have been employed during the following year in public works, especially in the clearing of land, the building of a battery and fort on George's Island, and the construction of palisading round the settlement of Dartmouth.

No more complaints are recorded, and faith seems to have been well kept with them by the Government of Nova Scotia. Doubtless they had many hardships to endure, and found the severity of the climate a cause of great suffering. But they were possessed of a sturdy and manly spirit which forbade them to despair, and they struggled on, hoping for more favourable circumstances.

That they were looked upon by the authorities as a most valuable acquisition to the colony there is abundant evidence. In March of

the following year Governor Cornwallis was informed of the intention of the government to send out 1,000 additional foreign Protestants. It would seem that strong representations had been made as to the necessity of their arrival early in the year: for the Commissioners assured his Excellency that every pains should be taken to send them not later than May, and also that no old and infirm persons should be allowed to come.

Two ships arrived early in 1751 with German settlers forwarded by Mr. Dick. They were younger and stronger men than the last: and were kept upon the Peninsula of Halifax instead of being sent to Minas Piziquid as originally intended, on account of the hostilities of the French and Indians.

In the Autumn of 1751 we find Col. Cornwallis asking permission to resign his position of Governor of Nova Scotia, on the ground of ill health and long service. There is reason to think that his energy was exhausted by the many anxieties incident to the labour of founding and ruling a new colony. From his despatches to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations we see his temper; never probably very even, constantly passing the bounds of strict official propriety. The grants made by Parliament for the service of the colony were inadequate; his drafts were on more than one occasion dishonoured; the constant and late arrival of the settlers taxed all his resources to the very utmost, and with great relief he in August, 1752, handed over the reins of government.

His successor, Colonel Peregrine Thomas Hopson, had been Commander-in-Chief at Louisburg when that fortress was restored to the French under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. He came to Chebucto with the army in 1749, and was immediately sworn in Senior Councillor, and on the resignation of Governor Cornwallis, was considered the fittest person to succeed him.

No sooner had he assumed the government of the colony, than he was confronted with the problem of the settlers, German and Swiss. In his first despatch, dated Oct. 16th, 1752, he says: "Upon my examining into the state of affairs of the Province, I found Mr. Cornwallis extremely distressed by having on his hands in and about the place, all the foreign settlers who arrived in the year 1750 and 1751, whom he had not been able to send out from hence to make any settlement at a distance, this not only through the want of

provisions, arms, tools, implements for clearing and cultivating the land, and materials necessary for building the habitations proper to enable him for so doing, but also on account of there being no place with any sufficient quantity of land near them proper for placing them upon, agreeable to the promises which had been made them by Mr. Dick before they embarked, as appears by a printed paper I now enclose ; and likewise because he had great reason to apprehend that they might have been molested by the Indians wherever they were sent, he not having it in his power to protect them ; the great expense was also another considerable objection.

“ He had likewise about three hundred of the foreign settlers that arrived this year, and was under the same dilemma with regard to them, and since I took the government, the rest being arrived (which I must say I think Mr. Dick contrived to be very late in the season for the purpose intended), I imagine your Lordships cannot but think I must also be under the utmost difficulty to know how to dispose of them, the sending of them out being impracticable for this season, and therefore all I could do was to build boarded barracks for them in the best and cheapest manner, yet so as they might be well covered and sheltered from the severity of the winter. This is done, and in order to their being subsisted (the money which your Lordships were pleased to send from England, designed for paying them their three-pences in lieu of provisions not arriving till so late as the 14th of September,) I found myself obliged to take the following method, viz : I laid the affair before the council for their opinion thereon, and herewith transmit to your Lordships the minutes of the resolutions we came to. I must observe that there was no possibility of sending out the foreign settlers this year to any places distant from Halifax, there being no provision for that purpose in store. For as the season is so far advanced I could not do it without sending with them nine months provisions at the same time ; and it is my sincere opinion that whenever they are sent out, so far from nine months provisions being sufficient for the purpose till they get rightly settled and have raised something of their own to be able to subsist upon, that a further supply of fifteen months more will be absolutely necessary to be allowed them. This I should think they cannot possibly do without, for as most of them are poor wretches that have scarce a farthing of money among them, it is to be feared little provisions or other

necessaries would be carried to them from any of the neighbouring colonies, therefore they must inevitably starve."

There can be little doubt that many of the German colonists were poor, tho' not all. But the miseries of their condition were to a great extent caused by others. They had, in the first place, been deceived by the Government Agent Dick, as to the condition of things in the new settlement. They doubtless expected to find the land cleared at least, and anticipated no difficulty with the Aborigines, and even Mr. Dick could hardly have supposed that a government which held out so great inducements to emigrants, would make no provision for tools and implements, whereby they might build themselves a shelter from the elements. But so grasping does the agent appear in his desire to get as many as possible on board the emigrant ships, that he actually persuaded hundreds of the settlers to sell off everything before they embarked. The consequence was, that not only had they to lie on the bare boards and decks during the voyage, but when they arrived late in the season, and with no idea of what the severity of Nova Scotia winter might be, they were completely destitute of bedding and clothing beyond the barest necessaries. Many died from overcrowding and exposure on the passage; after they had landed on the wished for shore many more expired. In addition to this, numbers of the emigrants sent by Dick were old decrepit creatures, both men and women, who as Governor Hopson very justly says, were "fitter to have been kept in alms houses than to have been sent over here as settlers to work for their board." Several of those who died were reported as having been over 80 years of age.

To quote once more from the same despatch: "The 26th of last month (Sept.,) the last of these settlers were landed, when there were about 30 of them that could not stir off the beach; eight of them orphans, who immediately had the best care taken of them, notwithstanding two of them died after being carried to the hospital. Within about 12 days time there are 14 orphans belonging to these settlers that were taken into the orphan house. These are things which I do not doubt but your Lordships must think are very shocking. I can assure you, my Lords, that I find them so, who am here on the spot, for no mortal that has the least humanity, can do otherwise than feel to the very heart at the sight of such a scene of misery as it is, and the prospect there is of its being a much more deplorable one before the severity of the winter, which now draws nigh, is got over."

We can hardly wonder then that many of the settlers became much discouraged, and that some left shores so inhospitable. "This desertion does not only disgrace and weaken our settlement, but at the same time will strengthen our neighbours, which are things I should be glad to prevent was it in my power. I am earnestly to entreat your Lordships that you may not suffer any more of these foreign settlers to be sent over, for nothing can possibly distress us more than these have already done. And besides many other evils and inconveniences we feel from them, by working for their passage in such numbers they almost deprive our other inhabitants of the means of subsistence. I hope nothing may turn out to prevent our sending out these people in the spring as proposed; but as the Indians whom we have to deal with are such treacherous uncertain tribes, that it is difficult to say what may or may not happen."

A narration of the foregoing circumstances is necessary, not only to give a correct idea of the trials of the early settlers, but to show what the policy of the government was towards them. Of the hundreds who had left their beloved fatherland to seek a new home on a foreign strand, many had died ere they reached the haven, others landed mourning. Orphaned children and aged pilgrims, deprived of their staff and support, mingled tears and lamentations beneath the bare and insufficient board huts given to shelter their poverty by the Provincial Government. But amid all their sorrows and sufferings they bore with them a spirit of manly piety and submission to the will of God which came to their aid when earthly comforts failed. That the German emigrants were as a body, religious in the best sense of the word, may be concluded from the previous history of their nation, and from their own subsequent conduct.

The men whose ancestors had borne the storm of persecution for righteousness' sake, and had laid down their lives in obedience to the deep convictions of their conscience, were not the men to sink down into despair when met by misfortune, or to lose faith in their fathers' God.

In 1753, the greater number of the German settlers were sent to Merliguish, now known as Lunenburg. The original name was in all probability Lüneburg, from the town of the same designation in Germany. The history of the settlement of Lunenburg is one of great interest, and is fully illustrated by the records of early transactions laid up in the Government Archives. Our present concern,

however, is not with the many who settled in Lunenburg, but with the few who remained in Halifax. At the time of the Lunenburg settlement, which was begun in August, 1753, some 20 to 25 families having received grants outside of the limits of the town of Halifax, in the north and south suburbs and on the isthmus, began the work of clearing their grants, and forming a permanent home for themselves. The limits of the settlement then extended only to what is now known as Buckingham Street on the north, and Salter Street on the south. A large tract of land consisting of several acres was allotted to the German families, and received its *sobriquet* of Dutch Town from its first owners. And it is most creditable to these German families that one of their earliest efforts at improvement was directed toward the erection of a house of worship. They had been brought here by promises which those principally concerned in the immigration must have known could not for a considerable period be fulfilled. They had been landed in a foreign country whose climate was most severe, and whose language they did not understand. They had received a bare subsistence, doled out by grudging hands for the first year or two after their arrival, and had been compelled, however their wives and families might suffer from want or proper dwellings, to work out every penny of their passage money.

They were set down in the midst of woods, with little knowledge of woodcraft, to hew out for themselves a log hut and to clear enough land to give them a scanty living by the sweat of their brow. But their brave and sturdy spirits rose superior to every trial and triumphed over all hardships. With resolute determination they began their work, and while they provided for their own needs they did not forget that they were the servants of God.

The earliest record now existing of their spiritual work is found in the first pages of the first account book of the German congregation of St. George's. The narrative tho' simple and unpretending, is most touching in its calm and steadfast faith and hope. A translation of it is here given :

IN THE NAME OF JESUS.

After having, by the goodness of God, so progressed in the work of building, that the common meeting house of the German Lutheran Congregation in the German town of Halifax is so far finished that we can meet together in it to praise and thank God, it shall be our

endeavour as much as possible to still improve it, to keep it in order, and to keep an account of it from time to time in all faithfulness.

It may be of some service to our friends and respective descendants to have a record of the beginning of this church, which in truth to say was humble enough. We had some lumber, belonging to us in common, lying in our churchyard. * This lumber we exchanged with Mr. George Nagel for a house which was placed where it stands at present, by the united efforts of voluntary hands in the year 1756. We voluntarily state the exact amount which each one had done towards its erection, in labour; but what one friend and another has contributed to the collection, which was made by Mr. Carl Hagelsieb, we will report below.

In the year 1758, on the first and second days of Pentecost, Divine Service was held in the Church, in German, by the Reverend Mr. Slater, (Chaplain to the Troops.) His text was Isaiah xlvi, v. 17, 18, and also Hosea ix, v. 12. Service was continued twice every Sunday when building operations would permit, in which case some one read a sermon, and a few hymns were sung. These services shall be continued so long as it shall please God.

In the above named year, in the Autumn, † Mr. Otto William Schwartz, caused the said church to be finished inside. Namely, the walls were panelled, and doors, windows, chairs, and everything belonging to it were supplied, on condition that he be paid without

*This ground, consisting of No. 5, 1, 2 and 3, of the Schwizer lots, had been given to the Germans who first arrived, as a burial ground, and as such is duly registered. The north suburb lots were laid off in 1752. The two blocks between Gerrish and North Streets, and those east of Brunswick St., (then called Gottingen St.,) were allotted to the Germans, and were designated the German lots, measuring 50 feet front by 100 feet in depth. Nos. 1, 2, 3, were dedicated as a burial ground, No. 5 was occupied by a building which belonged to the Church, but afterwards fell into the hands of St. Paul's.

† Otto William Schwartz was a man whose name frequently occurs in the history of the German Church of St. George, and was a person of considerable wealth and position. He was born on the 12th of May, 1716, at Lufland, near Riga. His father was a portrait painter. He was apprenticed to the fur trade from 1732 to 1739, but seems to have early determined to emigrate. After travelling in various directions he finally became one of the number who accompanied Governor Cornwallis's expedition to Chebucto, in 1749, and landed from the ship "Canning," 342 tons, on June 27th of that year, being then in the full vigor of manhood. He married in Dec., 1750, the widow Annie Justine Liebrich, by whom he had several children. At the first election of civic officers he was chosen treasurer. He died on Oct. 5th, 1785, and a handsome tablet was erected to his memory in the German Church, which was afterwards, in 1831, transferred to the Round Church where it still remains. His widow died Aug. 4th, 1786. Some of his lineal descendants remain in Halifax at the present time.

interest, when we were able to do so. This year on the fourth Sunday of Advent, the congregation elected four managers,* with no other object than to keep order and harmony. And as Mr. William Schwartz is the Elder of the congregation, he has been added to the managing committee, which therefore consists of five persons :

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. MR. OTTO WILLIAM SCHWARTZ, (Elder.) | } (Elected.) |
| 2. JOHANN CHRISTIAN PEITSCH, | |
| 3. CARL LUDWIG HAGELSIEB, | |
| 4. GOTTLIEB SCHERMILLER, | |
| 5. PETER BERGMAN. | |

This year the Feast of Holy Christmas was begun by making offerings.

On New Year's Day, 1759, the Lord's Supper was given to about sixty persons by the †Rev. Dr. Breynton and ‡Dr. Wood, ordained ministers of the English Church at Halifax, at which the first mentioned preached a sermon from the text Ezekiel xi, v. 16.

The Elder and committee have thought it expedient to write their brief notes in the preface to their records concerning the origin of this church ; hoping that their friends and respective descendants will not

*Two of those men, Peter Bergman and Gottlieb Schermiller, came out in the expedition of Governor Cornwallis. The other two, Hagelsieb and Peitsch, probably arrived during year 1750 or 1751.

Peter Bergman and wife came over in the ship "Canning," and may have been friends of Schwartz, as Bergman was also a furrier by trade. Peter Bergman having been left a widower and without children, devised a valuable piece of ground fronting on Gottingen Street, to St. George's Church.

Gottlieb Schermiller was a butcher by trade. He arrived in the ship "Charlton," with wife and one child, in June, 1749.

†Dr. John Breynton was Rector of St. Paul's at this time ; a full account of him will be found in a history of St. Paul's church, written by the Rev. G. W. Hill, D. C. L., late Rector of that church, and published in the proceedings of the N. S. Historical Society. Previously a chaplain in the navy, and present in such capacity during the siege of Louisburg, he came in the year 1752 to Halifax as assistant to Mr. Tutty, who had been sent as first minister to the new settlement. Mr. Breynton succeeded in due time to the post of missionary of S. P. G., at Halifax, and was made Rector of St. Paul's Church. His is a name to be revered and honored by the Parish of St. George's, as it was to his energy and unselfishness that the early German congregation was indebted for the first services by a duly ordained minister. His portrait hangs in the Legislative Library.

‡Mr. Wood, (called everywhere he is mentioned in St. George's record Dr. Wood,) was for some time assistant to Dr. Breynton, but afterwards removed by command of the Governor to Annapolis.

despise them, for they have been made with all sincerity and to the best of our ability. We have also thought it fit to keep a record in this book, that our friends and descendants may know of the first foundation of this congregation. We pray God that those who come after us will interest themselves in this church, which has been dedicated to God in all faithfulness and the fear of the Lord, and without selfishness.

May the LORD in whose name the church, as well as this preface was begun, cause this German congregation to flourish and prosper, and bear fruit to the glory of His Name for ever and ever.

IN THE NAME OF JESUS, AMEN.

Written and approved of by the Elder and Committee, Halifax, January 6th, 1759.

(Signed,) PETER BERGMAN.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was from time to time administered to the German congregation in their new church by Dr. Breynton, who appears to have been accompanied on almost every occasion by Mr. Wood. The reason of this may have been that Mr. Wood, who appears to have had a linguistic faculty, and had made himself acquainted with the Indian vernacular, that he might officiate in their own language to the Micmacs, might conduct the service in German. Dr. Breynton usually preached, and the texts of his discourses are duly recorded, with the significant comment: "The sermon was preached in *English*." "N. B.—In the English language."

By the year 1760, the church had so far approached completion that arrangements were made for its formal opening and dedication to the worship of God. The original dimensions of the church were only 29 × 20 feet. An addition had been made of eleven feet, to include a porch or entrance, making the whole length 45 feet, and a spire 45 ft in height added at the close of the year. Before the consecration a bell was put into the steeple, the fund to purchase which had been bequeathed to the congregation by Mr. George Bayer, formerly one of their number. Tradition says that this bell was

brought from Louisburg after the siege. It is made of rich bell metal, and has a highly ornamental Latin cross cast upon it, with the inscription, above the cross, *Bazin ma (sic) fait*. It now hangs in the tower of St. John's Church, Dutch Village. The addition had been begun at the instance of Governor Lawrence, who encouraged the Germans by offering to put it up at his own expense. This he would have undoubtedly done had his life been spared; and after his lamented death, the government, in addition to defraying the expense of a public funeral and voting a sum of money for a monument to his memory, with a consideration which did them honor, discharged the obligation to St. George's Church. The opening was to have taken place on the 27th and 28th of October in that year, and it was expected that Governor Lawrence would be present at the ceremony. But to the great grief of all ranks and classes, this popular and energetic governor died quite suddenly of fever on the 19th of October. This melancholy event necessitated the postponement of the dedication. But in the following year, on the 23rd of March, being Easter Monday, the church was solemnly dedicated to the service and worship of Almighty God, by the name of St. George's Church, by Dr. Breynton, who preached the sermon, taking his text from St. John iv. 21. The Hon. Jonathan Belcher, who had previously served the office of Chief Justice of the Province, but had succeeded to the governorship on the death of Governor Lawrence, was present with his staff and various other distinguished persons. After the sermon, the Lord's Supper was administered to a large congregation. The position of the church and congregation ecclesiastically was somewhat peculiar.

The whole town of Halifax was for a long period the parish of St. Paul, which was constituted by an Act of Assembly in the year 1758, and Dr. Breynton was the rector. The chapel of St. George was of course within the jurisdiction of the rector of St. Paul's, but the congregation were Lutherans. Dr. Breynton appears to have shewn great Christian kindness as well as much tact and shrewdness in his dealings with the German congregation of St. George's.

What services were in his power he gladly afforded them, while they for their part made him for each visit a pecuniary recompense which always appears on the books as "a present to the preacher," or "a present to the Rev. Dr. Breynton."

Of course he would naturally receive whatever fees were customary for the performance of special duties; and there can be no doubt that there existed a very warm and cordial feeling, which does credit to both parties, between the rector of St. Paul's and the congregation of St. George's Church.

Very great interest naturally attaches to this venerable church, which still stands in our midst, a monument to the simplicity and piety of the German settlers. Strong and carefully built, at the intersection of two important streets, amidst their constant din and turmoil, the spire of old St. George's points the thoughts to Heaven. Surmounted by the cock, the "wakeful bird of Peter," which always presents its head to the breeze and symbolizes the attitude of watchful care with which the Christian awaits the attacks of his spiritual foes, its quaint form and picturesque outline carry us back to a period when solidity was studied more than symmetry, and the useful more regarded than the ornamental. The church has several times been repaired, and loving and reverent hands have, within very recent years, renewed the interior at considerable expense.*

As we stand within the humble walls of the building which served for half a century for the simple worship of these forefathers of our Church of St. George, our minds are carried back to early days. The little log hut, (for it was little better when purchased for its sacred purpose), surrounded by the uncleared forest, from which might be heard, at any moment, the war-whoop of the Indian, and liable to have its service of praise and prayer exchanged for the rattle of musket or the ring of sword, is a symbol in its sturdy strength of the manly integrity and unassuming worth of those who worshipped in it. The sound of the guttural psalm still lingers in fancy's ear; the "large congregation" pressing around the Lord's Board to receive their spiritual food at the hands of a foreigner and yet a friend and minister of God, still pass before the eye; while through the sacred building resounds the eloquent tongue of the faithful ambassador proclaiming in no uncertain tones the unsearchable riches of Christ. Dimly conscious as yet of his meaning, yet catching in the very

* The escutcheon of Otto Leonard Lochman (from whom Lockman street takes its name) still hangs in the little church. He was a major in the free service, but had originally been a surgeon. He came with Governor Cornwallis. He died at the age of seventy-two years, and was buried beneath the church in which he had so long worshipped. His burial place shews him to have been a man of considerable distinction.

intensity of their eagerness the encouragement or the consolation for which their spirit thirsted, the earnest listeners drink in the pure water from the wells of salvation, and go forth in the strength of the Lord God to carry into their daily life the lesson so faithfully impressed upon them. Their bodies lie at rest around the church they loved so well ; but their spirit still lives to work for God, under altered circumstances, with unabated zeal. Let us honour their memory and imitate their steadfastness ; and as we pass the building with its century and a quarter of age sitting lightly yet upon it, let our heads be bared and a simple prayer be raised on high that our duties to God and man may be as thoroughly and unaffectedly performed as theirs were.

The poverty of many of the original settlers has been shewn in the foregoing pages. But they were not all poor. And those who were in better circumstances were not unmindful of the needs of their poorer brethren. At an early period of the history of the city, while yet disease and destitution were carrying off their victims both old and young, and the scanty shelter of the board barracks proved the death of even strong men, a society was formed among the Germans which was called the Funeral Fees or Friendly Society. Its purpose was to assist by a grant of money, proportioned to the previously monthly payment, those whose families had been stricken by death, and who by their own unassisted efforts would have been unable to defray the necessary burial expenses. This society was continued until the year 1761, when for some reason it was discontinued ; possibly because the people were now becoming more independent, and were able to bury their dead without help. At the time of the dissolution of the Society, it was a question what to do with the funds in hand. After some discussion, the following note is inscribed upon the church records.

“The members of the Funeral Fees or Friendly Society have, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, dissolved. They have therefore handed over their funds to the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. The sum thus presented by the aforesaid Society is eleven pounds, ten shillings and ten pence. The condition upon which it is given is that a funeral pall should be purchased therewith, to belong to the Church of St. George.

“If the money be not sufficient for the purchase, the Church of St. George is expected to make up the deficiency. The members belong-

ing to the Society at the time of its dissolution, and their families, shall have the use of the pall free of charge.

“It is hoped when all the respective members of this Society shall be removed by death, their friends and respective descendants will strew roses on their graves, for in reality they have been also the founders of the Evangelical German Church. ‘Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy Name give the praise.’”

(Those who are entitled to the use of the pall gratis are Otto Wilhelm Schwartz, Christian Peitsch, Carl Ludwig Hagelsieb, Peter Bergman, Peter Schmidt, Gottlieb Shermiller, Philip Knaut, Friedrich Beeker, Johann Simon Schröder.)

The next event of importance in the history of the church is a “Confirmation,” held on Oct 4th, the 20th Sunday after Trinity, 1761. This was conducted and performed by the schoolmaster, who had been engaged at a salary of ten pounds a year, to read the prayers and a sermon every Sunday, until the congregation should be able to procure and maintain the services of an ordained minister.

There does not appear to have been any ceremony used, either of laying on of hands or any other. It was simply a public profession of their faith, and a determination on the part of the candidates to give themselves to the service of God. The schoolmaster, whose name was Johann Gottfried Torpel, seems to have been a man of earnest piety and the skilful way in which he has broken up the Creed of Christendom into small portions, so as to make it interesting to his pupils, his zeal for the true faith in the presence of heresy and schism, and his fervent prayers for the candidates, are evidence of his wisdom as well as his spirituality. The whole proceedings are so quaint that they are worthy of being preserved, and they are therefore given entire.

First of all, the candidates having assembled in the little church, which we may be sure was filled with an attentive congregation, with the Elder and other officers, the catechism was repeated and explained. After ascertaining that so far as their knowledge was concerned they were prepared for their solemn vow, he next goes on to test them with the following questions:—

I.

I ask you in the name of the Triune God, will you keep His Commandments and do them? *Ans.*—Yes.

II.

Bethink yourselves, dear children ; you promise too much. Not even the regenerate can keep them perfectly. *Ans.*—We will call upon GOD that HE may give us HIS HOLY SPIRIT, that HE may work in us His will.

III.

But the law demands also that the indwelling thoughts and desires shall be subdued, and that we should do right. *Ans.*—What we could not perfectly do, Christ has done for us.

IV.

Will you again enlist yourselves to fight under the banner of your Saviour Jesus Christ, against the sinful pomps of the world and all its wicked deeds and lusts? *Ans.*—Yes.

V.

Do you believe in GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth? *Ans.*—Yes.

VI.

Do you believe that HE is conceived by the HOLY GHOST and born of the Virgin Mary? *Ans.*—Yes.

VII.

Do you believe in JESUS CHRIST, His only begotten Son our Lord? *Ans.*—Yes.

VIII.

Do you believe that HE suffered for you under Pontius Pilate? *Ans.*—Yes.

IX.

Do you believe that HE was crucified for you? *Ans.*—Yes.

X.

Do you believe that HE died for you, was buried, descended into hell, and rose again on the third day from the dead? *Ans.*—Yes.

XI.

Do you believe that HE ascended into Heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty? *Ans.*—Yes.

XII.

Do you believe that HE will come again from thence to judge the quick and dead. *Ans.*—Yes.

XIII.

Do you believe in the Holy Ghost? *Ans.*—Yes.

XIV.

Do you believe in the Holy Christian Church, the Communion of Saints, and the forgiveness of sins? *Ans.*—Yes.

XV.

Do you believe in the Resurrection of the Flesh? *Ans.*—Yes.

XVI.

Do you believe in the Life Everlasting. *Ans.*—Yes.

XVII.

Beloved children, do you subscribe to the Evangelical Creed with heart and mouth? Will you maintain it, order your whole life according to it, and because in these countries so many sects and heresies exist, will you renounce them all, and rather abide by the pure meaning of the word of God, and stand by it for life and death? *Ans.*—Yes, with all my heart, if it please GOD to give me the grace and power of His Holy Spirit.

XVIII.

Do you take the Holy Scripture to be the revealed word of GOD, and will you stand by it for life and death? *Ans.*—Yes.

XIX.

Will you, according to the Apostolic Doctrine, submit yourselves, when not walking after the word of GOD, to the admonitions of those who are placed over you, or of any true Christian, from brotherly love, and listen to them with a meek, submissive mind? *Ans.*—Yes.

XX.

Do you acknowledge that you have not kept your baptismal vow which you made to the Triune GOD? *Ans.*—Yes.

XXI.

Will you now with the Triune GOD renew, in His presence and before the congregation, your baptismal vow and hold fast to it? *Ans.*—Yes.

XXII.

Dost thou renounce again the devil and all his works and ways? *Ans.*—Yes.

XXIII.

Do you promise again to believe, to live and to die, according to the will and word of the Triune GOD, Father, Son and Holy Ghost? *Ans.*—Yes, with all my heart. AMEN.

May our Heavenly Father renew and increase in you, for Jesus Christ's sake, the gift of the Holy Ghost, for the strengthening of your faith, for growth in godliness, for patience in suffering, and for the blessed hope of Eternal Life. AMEN.

PRAYER.

Now, beloved Saviour, Lord Jesus, all things are delivered to Thee by Thy Father ; so also these children and we all are given up to Thee. Thou hast lent them to me for a short time. What Thou in mercy hast given to me I have imparted to them. They are to be witnesses for me on the great day of account, that I have kept nothing back from them which is contained in Thy Holy Word that might tend to Thy glory, and to the welfare of their souls. Now I give them up again to Thee. Lead Thou them, my Jesus, according to Thy Word, and suffer them not to be led astray from Thee through the deceitfulness of this wicked world, but keep them in the remembrance of their baptismal vow, which they have renewed with Thee this day, unto the life's end.

I pray Thee, beloved Saviour, for Thy righteousness sake, because it has cost Thee such bitter pains to redeem each soul, let not one of these be lost, but place us all on Thy right hand on the day of judgment ; yea, let the whole congregation, not one excepted, hear Thy kind voice say : "Come unto me ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom that is prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

Do this my Jesus, for the sake of Thy eternal love. AMEN.

This closes the service ; and although the words and vows are simple and unassuming, we may trust that the young people thus exhorted and prayed for, did indeed receive God's blessing and grace, and were kept steadfast to their lives end. They have all, long since, been gathered to their Fathers, and most of them probably lie under the shadow of the old church. Their names are given and shall be inserted here :

Men.	Women.
1. Johann Aug. Peitsch,	1. Regina Kühn,
2. Caspar Hann,	2. Elizab. Hann,
3. Wilhelm Dennemann,	3. Doroth. Schmit.
4. Michael Silber,	4. Soph. Schmit.
5. Phil. Fullmer,	5. Elizab. Mosser.
6. Mathew Saur,	6. Elizab. Röchl,
7. Caspar Köller,	7. Cathar. Borgeld.
8. And. Baur,	
9. Christopher Schmidt,	
10. Phil. Haass.	



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