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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.

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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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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 narrate 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), Pisiqid (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 necessaries 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 Pisiquid 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, Pisiquid 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 peacable 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 Pisiqid—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, Pisiqid 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 Pisiqid, 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 Pisiqid, 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 Còbequid 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 existencè 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 Straights 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 nôrint!"

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 foreseen 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, Isle 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 iége 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 *Geo. 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 protegè 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 Pisiqid 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 disaffected 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. DeBougainville, 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 mœurs."

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 Compte 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.	Regiments.	Battalions.	Colonels.	Lt.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Qr. Masters.	Surgeons.	Surg ns. Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
	Lieut.-Gen'l James St. Clair.....	1	2			1	7	20	9	1	1	1	1	1	38	18	854
Lieut.-Gen'l Jeffrey Amherst.....	15		1	1	1	88	18	7	1	1	1	1	1	35	19	763
Brig'r-Gen'l John Forbes.....	17		1	1	1	7	10	9	1	1	1	1	1	29	20	660
Brig'r-Gen'l Edward Whitmore.....	22		1	1	1	88	17	17	1	1	1	1	1	37	20	910
Lieut.-Gen'l Philip Bragg.....	28		1	1	1	7	9	8	1	1	1	1	1	30	20	627
Lieut.-Gen'l Charles Otway.....	35		1	1	1	5	12	6	1	1	1	1	1	30	14	566
Major-Gen'l Per. Thos. Hopson.....	40		1	1	1	7	16	6	1	1	1	1	1	30	16	550
Lieut.-Gen'l Hugh Warburton.....	45		1	1	1	6	17	6	1	1	1	1	1	38	19	864
Lieut.-Gen'l Per. Lascelles.....	47		1	1	1	5	15	8	1	1	1	1	1	38	18	857
Colonel Daniel Webb.....	48		1	1	1	7	16	8	1	1	1	1	1	38	20	932
Colonel Robert Anstruther.....	50		1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	26	15	615
Hon. Colonel Robert Monckton.....	60	2d			1	6	20	7	1	1	1	1	1	39	20	925
Brig'r-Gen'l Charles Lawrence.....	60	3d	1		1	6	16	7	1	1	1	1	1	35	17	814
Colonel Simon Frazer.....	78	2d	1		1	10	22	10	1	1	1	1	1	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. Edgecombe
	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.											
24 Prs.	12 Prs.	6 Prs.	3 Prs.	Total.	32 Prs.	24 Prs.	6 Prs.	Total.	13 Inch.	10 Inch.	8 Inch.	5½ Inch.	4 ² / ₅ 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 pounders.

25 Ditto Ship Carriages for Iron 24 pounders.

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 Pounders	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 pounders, 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		
5½ "	6200		
4⅔ "	30144		
Total.....	41762	100	100

4000 Grenades.

The Shells for the 8 and 5½ Inch Mortars served the Howitzers
 Corn'd Powder, 4888 Barrels; Meal'd ditto, 500 pounds.

Sand Bags—	{	2 Bushel.....	5000
		1 "	15000
		½ "	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 Pounds.....	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 commission 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 repairs 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 to 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 too 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 Batterys 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.

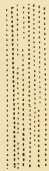
ORDER OF LANDING AT LOUISBURG,
8TH JUNE, 1758.

BRIGADR. GENL. WOLFE

Major Murry Col. Fletcher

15.	22.	17.	1.

Grenadier Companies
Irregulars &
Light Infantry.



63	Frazers		
40.	47.	45.	35.
58.	60.	60.	48.

Grenadier Companies
The Left and Successful
attack.

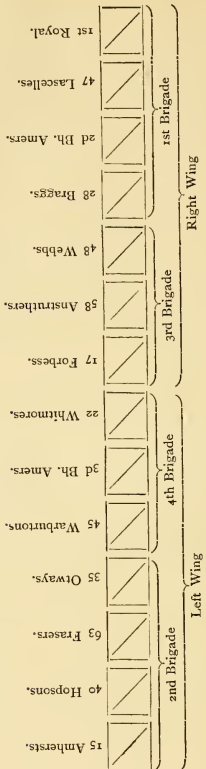
BRIGR. GENL. LAURENCE

COLONEL HANDFIELD,

COLONEL WILMOT,

COLONEL FOSTER,

COLONEL BURTON.



The 63rd Frazers, & 28th Braggs are put in the line to shew their Brigades, tho' the former was on the Left attack as seen by the above, and the latter with their Grenadiers were gone on other service as mentioned in the Journal.

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 Enemy'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.	Sergants.	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 preceded 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 Ponders 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 Enemy's 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 Ponders 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 Intrinchment 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 Stragglng 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 Pounders, 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 Higherlanders 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 Captaine 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 Boisbiere 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 Commanded 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 Pounds 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 *Entreprennant*, 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 *Intreprennants* 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 Pounders 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 losing 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 LOPinneax 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.

No terms were allowed to Deserters, Canadians, nor Indians.

It being late before all these things were settled on, The Troops remained in the Trenches.

More Batteries were ready to open had not the Enemy Capitulated this day.

Thursday 27th. The West Gate taken possession of by the three Grenadier Companies Commanded by Major Farquhar, General Whitmore (afterwards Governor) went at the same time in order to post the proper Guards and see the Garrison lay down their Arms, to receive which with eleven stand of Colours, Waggon were sent.

Of the English Troops in this Seige killed & wounded

	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Captains	2	4
Lieutenants	8	16
Ensigns	2	3
Sergeants	3	4
Corporals	7	3
Drummers		2
Privates	146	315
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	168	347

Killed *Wounded*

Colonel Bastide Wounded

	<i>Artillery</i>	
Corporals	1	1
Gunners	1	1
Matrosses	3	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4	5

Total killed of the Troops 12 offrs. 10 Non Comd Officers—Drumrs. 146 Private do. Wounded 23 7 2 315

Total killed & Wounded 35 17 2 461

Drummers	2
N. C. Officers	17
Officers	35
Artillery	9
	<hr/>
Total	524

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. } Frazers.	
	{ 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..... }	
	{ — Brown..... } Otways.	
	{ — Cockburn..... }	
Ensigns,	{ Moses Lilley..... } Hopsons.	
	{ — Hopkins..... } Webbs.	
	{ Alexander Campbell. }	
	{ John McDonald..... } Frazers.	
	{ — Waterson..... } Royals.	
	{ — Moneypenny..... } Amhersts.	
	{ — Armstrong..... } Otways.	

Garrison of Louisbourg's State on Capitulation.

Corps.	Land and Sea Officers,	Soldiers & Sailors fit for duty.	De, 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	I	"	"	"	The Boats of the Fleet.	.....	"
Entrepenant.....	74	I	"	"	"	The Marine Battery.....	.....	"
Capricieux	64	I	"	"	"	The Entrepenant.....	.....	"
Celebre.....	64	I	"	"	"	do.....	.....	"
Beinfaisant.....	64	"	"	I	"	.....	The Boats of the Fleet.	"
Appollo.....	50	"	I	"	"	.....	.....	"
Arethusa.....	36	"	"	"	"	.....	.....	I
Diana.....	36	"	"	"	I	.....	The Boreas.....	"
Fedelle.....	36	"	I	"	"	.....	.....	"
Chevre.....	16	"	I	"	"	.....	.....	"
Biche.....	16	"	I	"	"	.....	.....	"
Echo.....	26	"	"	"	I	.....	The Juno.....	"
12	556	4	4	I	2	.....	.....	I

An account of the Guns, Mortars, Shot & Shells found in the Town of Louisbourg.

38	97	23	16	10	28	6	218	Total.	45.	65.	85.	125.	185.	245.	36																																															
Pounders.																																																														
Iron Ordnance mounted on Standing Carriages with Beds and Coins.			Brass Mortars with Beds.			Iron Mortars with Beds.			Round Shot.			Grape Shot.			Case Shot.			Double headed shot.			Shells.			Musquets with accoutrements.			Powder whole Barrels.			Musquet Cart-ridges.			Musquet Balls																													
38	97	23	16	10	28	6	218	Total.	45.	65.	85.	125.	185.	245.	36	1607	36	Pounders.	1658	24.	4000	12.	2336	6.	9601	Total.	139	36	Pounders.	134	24.	330	12.	130	6.	733	Total.	33	24	Pounders.	243	24	Pounders.	153	12.	398	Total.	850	13	Inches.	38	10.	138	8.	27	6.	1053	Total.	7500	600	80,000	13
Return of Muskets, Accoutrements, Powder, Musquet Cartridges & Balls.																																																														

Return of Lead, Iron, Entrenching Tools, &c., &c.

7	tons.	5	tons.	6	tons.	600	760	900	822	22	12	42	18	36	36	18	12
Lead Pig.	Lead Sheets.	Iron of all Sorts.	Wheel Barrows.	Shovels, Wood.	Shovels, Iron.	Pickacks.	Large Iron Crow's.	Small do.	Iron Wedges.	Hand Maules.	Masons Trowels.	Hammers.	Adzes.	Pin Maules.			
7	tons.	5	tons.	6	tons.	600	760	900	822	22	12	42	18	36	36	18	12

Those two last returns are according to those sent home by General Amherst, but more was expected to be found.

Returns containing the *Expension of each Article during the Siege.*

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 2/3	800	"	"
Total	3340	20	30

Corned Powder.....1493 Barrels Mealed Powder....500 Pounds
 Sand Bags. { 2 Bushels..... 3000
 { 1

{ 1/2.....30000	Scaling Ladders.....30
-----------------	------------------------

Total.....\$39500

Flannel and Paper Cartridges for Cannon and Howitzers.

Guns & Howitzers Calibre.	Flannel Cartridges.	Paper Cartridges.
24 Pounders.....	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

Intrrenching 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 joinssent 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 Tonnay 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 franches 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	} Halifax
48th or Webbs	New England	} 3rd or Lawrences	
63rd or Frazers		22nd or Whitmores	} Louisbourg
.....		23rd or Braggs	
.....		40th or Hopsons	
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 Pounds								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 Pounds	8
24	30
12	1

6 dismantled—

Total 39

Detail of the Guards of Louisbourg 10th June 1760.

GUARDS.	Capts.	Subs	Srgts.	Crpls.	Drms.	Privts.	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 Lancelles.
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 Peatreap
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 23.	Inaugural address	Hon. A. G. Archibald	Vol. I, p. 18.
Sept. 5	History of St. Paul's Church, Part I.	Rev. Dr. Hill	do. 35.
Oct. 3.	Autobiography of Revd. Wm. Cochran	Rev. Dr. Cochran	
Nov. 7	Telegraphy in Nova Scotia and neighboring Provinces	G. E. Morton, Esq.	
1879.			
Jan. 2.	Early settlement of Shubenacadie.....	Miss E. Frame.....	
March 6.	Journal of General Nicholson at Siege of Annapolis	T. B. Akins, Esq.....	Vol. I., p. 59.
June 5.	Translation from the French relating to the religious beliefs of the Indians prior to the discovery by Cabot.....	Robt. Morrow, Esq.....	
Nov. 6.	Journey to Yarmouth in 17 — by Mather Byles.....	Hon. Dr. Almon.....	
1880.			
Feb. 5.	Early Journalism in Nova Scotia.....	J. J. Stewart, Esq.....	Vol. II, p. 62.
March 11.	History of St. Paul's Church, Parts II., III.....	Rev. Dr. Hill	Vol. II, p. 17.
April 1.	Governor Cornwallis and the first Council	T. B. Akins, Esq	Vol. II., p. 31.
May 6.	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 3.	Sketches of the Winniett, DeLancy, and Milledge families.	W. A. Calneq, Esq....	

Nov.	11.	Revolutionary Incidents in Nova Scotia, 1776-1778.....	J. J. Bulmer, Esq	.....
Dec.	3.	Sketch of Brook Watson, by Revd. Hugh Graham..... Brook Watson's account of the Expulsion of the Acadians.....	do. 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.				
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, 1704-1766, and from Halifax Gazette, 1752.....	Miss E. Frame.....	Vol. II., p. 110.
Sept.	1.	Judge Croke (a Biography).....	Israel Longworth, Esq	.....
Oct.	6.	Chapter from the life of S. G. W. Archibald.....	Hon. Sir A. Archibald.....	Vol. III., p. 197.
Nov.	3.	Government House.....	Rev. Dr. Patterson.....	.....
Dec.	8.	Nicholas Perduc Olding (a Biography)..... Petitions to the Council of Massachusetts Bay from resi- dents of Yarmouth, and from Council of Cumberland... Proposal of Capt John Allen as to capture of Halifax and conquest of Nova Scotia.....	T. B. Akins, Esq	.....
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	2.	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. Pattison	
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.	T. B. Akins, Esq. Rev. Dr. Patterson	Vol. IV, p. 11.
Dec.	4.	Samuel Vetch, 1st English Governor of Nova Scotia.	do.	do.
1885.	5.	do.		
Feb'y	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. Dr. Almon	
Dec.	3.	Letter from Duke of Kent to Dr. Wm. Almon.	Rev. Dr. Patterson	
1886.		The League of the Iroquois		
Jan.	7.	Expulsion of the Acadians, Part I.	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	Vol. V, p. 11.
Feb.	11.	Method of the Acadian French in cultivating their lands, especially with regard to raising wheat. Judge Isaac DesChamps, 1785.		
May	13.	Bermuda	T. B. Akins, Esq.	
Nov.	4.	Expulsion of the Acadians, Part II.	Hon. Sir A. Archibald	
Dec.	2.	Centennial Memories	do. Rev. Dr. Burns.	Vol. V, p. 39.
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. Mémorial of John Clarkson, by his brother, (the celebrated) Thos. Clarkson.	Dr. Geo. Lawson.	
			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.







