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THE ACADIANS AT GRAND PRE

by

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THE ACADIANS AT GRAND PRÉ

From the time the first settlers came to the Grand Pré region from Port Royal in the early 1680's the area grew until by 1701 it had become the largest centre of Acadian population in what after 1713 was Nova Scotia. Grand Pré itself was the heart of a wider area known as Minas or "Les Mines", an area which included settlement on the modern Rivers Pereau, Habitant, Canard and Cornwallis and at times the Avon River. In sorting through the records of the Acadians' years in present-day Nova Scotia, one so frequently finds the term Minas used instead of the names of the individual settlements that it is virtually impossible to isolate them. Therefore this study looks at Acadian history in the Minas area, a history which is commemorated today at Grand Pré National Historic Park, from its beginnings in the 1680's until the expulsion of 1755.

PART I

FRENCH PERIOD

Although several attempts had been made during the seventeenth century to bring settlement to Acadia (or Nova Scotia as the British called it), there were still only about 430 settlers in the area when it was returned to France by England in 1670. Of these, 360 were at Port Royal farming the dyked land along the river, and the rest were scattered throughout the Peninsula. It appears, however, that no white men had yet established settlement in the Minas Basin.¹

The name Minas is derived from the French Les Mines. At the Cap des Mines, Cape Blomidon today, copper was found by Europeans such as De Monts and Poutrincourt as early as 1604², and the Indians probably knew of its existence before that.³ Governor Perrot wrote of Les Mines in 1686

"Elle prend son nom d'une mine de cuivre que
l'on estime qui y est dont on a trouvé de
gros morceaux de fort beau et de bien pur..."⁴

In 1699 Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, sent some settlers to obtain a sample of the copper in order to have it examined.⁵

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1. Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as PAC), MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, part 1, p. 2 ff, Census of Acadia, 1671. This census has been reprinted in PAC Report, 1905, part II, Appendix A, p. 1-6.
 2. Lescarbot, Marc, History of New France, vol. II, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911, p. 233-234.
 3. Herbin, John Frederick, The History of Grand Pré, p. 21.
 4. PAC, MG 1, C11D, 2-1, p. 45.
 5. Webster, J.C., Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century, p. 126, Villebon to Pontchartrain, 27 October, 1699.

Although some use of the copper was made for articles such as spoons and candlesticks⁶, the mines were not extensive. The Minister of the Marine wrote in 1702 that "on m'escrit qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'esperer qu'elle soit fort abondante."⁷

The first settlers of whom we have a record were Pierre Melanson about 1680 and Pierre Terriot about 1682.⁸ Others followed and by the turn of the century Minas rivalled Port Royal as a centre for population. Theoretically Acadia had been divided into seigneuries, but in the area of present-day Nova Scotia the rights to and extents of the grants had long been the subject of dispute. At the time of the first settlement in the 1680's, the Minas Basin was claimed by Alexandre Le Borgne de Belle-Isle by virtue of grants made to his father in 1657 and 1667.⁹ On May 13, 1686 the Intendant Jacques de Meulles of Quebec confirmed Le Borgne de Belle-Isle in his grant in the Minas Basin,¹⁰ and the Census of 1689 of lands, buildings, people and animals in Le Borgne's lands in Acadia includes Minas.¹¹ But the grant was constantly challenged, and between 1699 and 1703 a long review was made of all seigneurial titles in Acadia. The investigation culminated in the royal statement of 1703 whereby the two seigneuries in the Cape Sable region and those of Port Royal and Minas were decided in favour of the La Tour family which had been contesting them for years.¹² We have

6. Macmechan, A.M., (ed.) Nova Scotia Archives, (hereafter cited NS Arch), II, p. 25, Caulfeild to Board of Trade, November 15, 1715.
7. PAC, MG 1, B, 23-2, p. 350, Minister to Bégon, 15 February, 1702.
8. Herbin, op. cit., p. 27, Bernard, Antoine, Le Drame Acadien depuis 1604, p. 139; Arsenault, Bona, Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens, vol. 1, p. 73.
9. See Dictionary of Canadian Biography, I, Toronto, 1966, Emmanuel Le Borgne, p. 433-435, and Alexandre le Borgne de Belle-Isle, p. 435-436, and PAC, MG 2, A¹, liasse 39, "Arret du Conseil d'Etat du Roy Concernant les concessions faites des terres de la Province de l'Acadie dans la Nouvelle France", p. 8.
10. Ibid., p. 8.
11. PAC, MG 1, G 22, 466-1, p. 58.
12. PAC, MG 2, A¹, liasse 29, p. 22.

one reference to Le Borgne de Belle-Isle making grants, (Governor Perrot wrote in 1686 that he drank too much and when drunk often granted the same piece of land to several settlers¹³), but his activities, if there were any in the Minas Basin, were minimal. There is no record of his taking any interest in the progress of the area, and the settlers do not appear to have paid any dues. Des Goutins, Chief Commissary and Magistrate, wrote home in 1702 that the prosperity of Les Mines resulted more from the efforts of men like Pierre Terriot than from anything Le Borgne had done.¹⁴

The appeal in the Minas area for settlers lay largely in the fertile farmland which could be obtained by dyking the marshlands along the shore. This method of farming, which had developed along the river at Port Royal, was characteristic of the Acadians throughout their period of residence in Nova Scotia. The water was held back from the marshlands by log dykes:

"five or six rows of large logs are driven whole into the ground at the points where the Tide enters the Marsh, & between each row, other logs are laid, one on top of the other, & all the spaces between them are so carefully filled with well-pounded clay, that the water can no longer get through. In the centre of this construction, a Sluice is contrived in such a manner that the water on the Marshes flows out of its own accord, while that of the Sea is prevented from coming in. An undertaking of this nature, which can only be carried on at certain Seasons when the Tides do not rise so high, costs a great deal, & takes many days, but the abundant crop that is harvested in the second year, after the soil has been washed by Rain water, compensates, for all the expense."¹⁵

The settlers tended to concentrate on farming these dyked lowlands, often to the exclusion of the uplands. When Charles Morris surveyed the province years later, in 1747, he wrote that the settlers, although they used some upland ground for roots and garden products, had improved "only the salt

13. Collection de Manuscrits Relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France, vol. 1, p. 365.

14. PAC, MG 1, C11D, 4-2, p. 329.

15. Webster, J.C. (ed) The Sieur de Dièreville, Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France, p. 95.

marshes lying on the Rivers and which are in so great an abundance as to supply them with Food for themselves."¹⁶ These dyked lands were still producing ample crops:

"They are naturally of a fertile Soil and produce (communibus annis) about twenty Bushells of Wheat from an Acre English Measure and they are of so strong and Lasting a Nature that their Crops are not Diminished in ten or twenty years Constant Tillage. Their Tillage is performed with much ease being intirely free from stones, that two Yoke of Cattle is sufficient to Plow up their stubble which is usually done in the Fall of the Year, it is Plowed up in Ridges about five feet wide for the sake of Draining of the Water into Trenches which are cutt in the Meddow and inclose about four or five Acres. These Trenches drain of the Water into Channells which were formerly Creeks in the Meddow, and thus in the Ebb of the Tide all the fresh Water is drained into the Sea which without these Trenches and their manner of Plowing would rest upon the Land and render it unfitt for Tillage. The Land thus Plow'd up Lays open to the Winter Frosts and by that means the Gleb is so dissolved and mouldred that in the Spring in the beginning of April they have no further trouble but to sow their seed and Harrow it in and from thence good Crops are produced from year to year, That part of the Marsh which is expos'd to the Inundation of the Tides produces their Hay which they support their Cattle in the Winter Season."¹⁷

With the natural increase in population it was eventually necessary for the settlers at Port Royal to find new areas if they were to continue in their old ways of farming. This search for new lands was the principal factor in pushing settlement up to the Minas Basin, Cobequid and Chignecto. The Sieur Saccardy reported in 1690 that the habitants at Port Royal had farmed

16. Morris, Charles (probably), A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia, PAC, MG 21, F 10, p. 82.

17. Ibid., p. 82.

the lowlands for so long that they knew no other way, "ce qui oblige leurs enfans à quitter la colonie, la maison paternelle et leurs pays et aller chercher à 30 et 40 lieues loing comme ils font, d'autres etablissements et des terres basses, si figurant impossible de travailler aux hautes dans leur voisinage."¹⁸

Although there does not appear to be any documentary proof of the fact, it is generally believed that the first settler in the Minas Basin was one Pierre Melanson who apparently sold his land at Port Royal about 1680 and moved up the coast.¹⁹ This was the Pierre Melanson who in 1671 had refused to answer the questions of Father Laurent Moulin who had been given the task of taking a census²⁰, and in the 1690's this same Pierre Melanson was named captain of the militia by Governor Villebon and through him instructions from the government were conveyed to the habitants. About 1682 a Pierre Terriot from Port Royal set himself up on the St. Antoine or Cornwallis River.²¹

More settlers followed. An unsigned memoire of 1684 says that "Au haut de la rivière du Port Royal et à environ 14 à 15 lieues il y a un village qui s'est formé depuis peu nomé Les Mines ou il y a 100 à 120 personnes, le defrichement y est considerable."²² This figure is, however, probably too high; the census of 1686 ordered by M. Jacques de Meulles, Intendant of Quebec, lists only 10 families totalling 57 people in the Minas area. At that time there were 83 acres tilled, 90 horned cattle and 67 pigs.²³ Gargas,

18. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 2-1, p. 311.

19. See above, note 8.

20. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, pt. 1, p. 12.

21. Arsenault, op. cit., p. 74.

22. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 1-2, p. 398.

23. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, pt. 1, p. 44-5-6.

principal clerk in Acadian in 1687-88, counted 163 people, including 50 Indians, at Minas.²⁴ A Census of 1689 showed 164 settlers, 144 horned cattle, 60 cows, and 46 pigs.²⁵

By the time of the 1701 Census the population of the Minas area was 506 while at Port Royal there were only 456 and at Beaubassin 188.²⁶ The 1701 Census, the first one to do so, breaks down the Minas area into its constituent parts:

Riviere St ^e Croix (probably same as today) (see DeMeulles' map of 1686)	71
Riviere de l'Ascension (probably Lebreau Creek)	103
Riviere de Piziquid	30
Dans la baye de Cobequit (up near Truro)	3
Riviere St. Antoine (probably also called the Habitant (Morris' map, 1749), now the Cornwallis)	75
Riviere des Gasparots	36
Dans la grande Prée (probably along the edge of the marshland between about Horton Landing and Wolfville)	124
Canards	36
Riviere des Vieux habitants (probably present-day Habitant Creek)	<u>28</u>
	506 ²⁷

A 1703 census listed 431 people at Les Mines and 87 now at Cobequit.²⁸ The Census of 1707 counted 588 people at Minas.²⁹ It should be emphasized that these Census figures must be used only as a general guide in tracing settlement patterns and population growth; figures given under different place names at different times may include different areas, and the reliability of the source of the information, often the priest, is sometimes questionable.

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24. Morse, W.I. (ed) *Acadiensia Nova*, p. 144-149.
 25. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, pt. 1, p. 58.
 26. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 200 ff.
 28. *Ibid.*, p. 210-213.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 216-221.

With the growth in population came the need for a church. When Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier of Quebec toured Acadia in 1686 he visited Les Mines where he found "de jeunes gens bien faits et laborieux" without spiritual guidance.³⁰ He spent a day hearing confession, giving communion, etc., and promised to build a church on a piece of ground one of the habitants would donate. When he was leaving they asked him to send a priest and about 1687 there arrived there the Sulpician Louis Geoffroy who had accompanied him on his tour. The parish at Minas was called Saint-Charles des Mines, but when exactly the church was built we do not know. The Census of 1689 records the presence of a priest but no church.

The importance of Minas as a potential source of food supplies was recognized early. A 1686 memorial recommending Port Royal as capital suggests as one reason its proximity to the Minas Basin which could provide it with a large part of its needs.³¹ Governor Villebon in the 1690's sent boats for supplies on several occasions³² and in his reports he referred to the filibuster Pierre Baptiste's visits there for provisions.³³ In a memoir of 1699 he said that there was little fishing at Minas but that "to compensate for this, their lands are very advantageous for crops, such as wheat, rye, peas, oats and all sorts of vegetables, which are found there in abundance."³⁴ On occasion the habitants were able to produce enough grain for trade as well. We have, for example, the statement of an agent of the Compagnie de la pesche Sedentaire de l'Acadie that in the 1690's the New Englanders brought to Minas, Beaubassin

30. Têtu, Mgr. Henri et Gagnon, L'Abbé (eds) Mandements des Evêques de Quebec, Quebec, 1887, A.D., reprinted from Saint-Vallier, Etat Present de l'Eglise et de la Colonie Francoise dans la Nouvelle France, p.

31. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 2-1, p. 119.

32. Webster, J.C., Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century, p. 41, 46, 55, 104, 109, 129, 148.

33. Ibid., p. 45, 56, 75, 101.

34. Ibid., p. 132, translated from PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 3-2, p. 437-8.

and Port Royal trade goods, brandy, sugar cane from Barbados, molasses and utensils which they exchanged for furs and grain.³⁵ Food was not the only commodity produced; the women were always busy making clothes from the hemp they had grown and from the wool shorn from their sheep.³⁶ Also at Minas were a saw-mill, a windmill and seven or eight water mills along the various rivers.³⁷

The settlers at Minas seem to have been relatively free from official direction. Pierre Melanson dit La Verdure was captain of the militia and through him were sent messages to the inhabitants. The extent of the activities of the militia is not known. The engineer Delabat wrote from Port Royal in 1703 that at Minas there were four companies of militia totalling about 126 men,³⁸ but we have no record of what they did. It does appear, however, that relations between Minas and the capital were not close. Villebon throughout the 1690's mentions Minas almost exclusively as a source of supplies, and in one of the few references not connected with provisions, he said that he had "dispatched a boat to Minas and Port Royal to find out in detail the truth of all that had passed between the English and the settlers..."³⁹ This is not fully explained. In June 1694 he sent letters "to the leading settlers whom he could trust" telling them to supply Baptiste with provisions but to create the impression that it was being done under force so that the English would not take it out on the inhabitants if they found out.⁴⁰

35. Ibid., p. 155.

36. Ibid., p. 132.

37. Ibid., p. 132-133.

38. Morse, op. cit., vol. II, p. 2.

39. Webster, Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century, p. 42.

40. Ibid., p. 56.

Villebon's instructions too indicate a distrust of the area on the part of the home government; he was ordered to notify the habitants of his arrival "particulièrement ceulx des Mines auxquels il pourra envoyer un officier pour les commander en cas qu'ils soyent en estat et en disposition de faire quelque entreprise."⁴¹ Villebon's successor, Brouillan, described the Minas settlement in 1701 as a prosperous one but one which could bear watching:

"Toutes les familles qui habitent ce lieu là sont fort à leur aise, ayant une nombre de bestiaux assez considerables, il n'y a mesme point d'année qu'on n'en puisse tirer plus de sept ou huit barriques de bled outre la fourniture des habitans, qui sont sy peu accoutumés a la Domination qu'il n'a paru qu'ils vivaient en vrays republicains, ne reconnaissant ny autorité Royale ny justice.

Il est vray que j'ay trouvé le moyen de les mettre à la raison en chastiant les mutins par quelques légères peines, Monsieur de Bonnaventure qui vient d'y faire un voyage, y a fait exécutter des sentences que le Sieur Desgoutin avoit donné et dont on ne faisoit point de cas, il a aussy réglé quelques differends que je n'avois pu y terminer lors que j'y passay.⁴²

J'avois proposé à ces demy républicains de faire un chemin qui a dix lieues entravers les bois pour venir au Port Royal, ils se sont engagés d'exécutter ce projet d'abord que la recolte sera finie."⁴³

Throughout the French period the Minas area was relatively free from attacks from New England. It escaped the attacks suffered by Beaubassin or Port Royal in 1690, 1696 and 1707, but it was, however, victim of a destructive attack under Colonel Benjamin Church in 1704. The exact dates of this episode vary with the different accounts⁴⁴, but it appears that

41. Collection de Manuscrits Relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France, vol. III, p. 47.

42. Apparently the habitants had been ordered to build a fort to protect themselves but had refused to do so; PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 5, p. 139, 15 July, 1704.

43. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 4-1, p. 97-98.

44. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 5, p. 5-8; Collection de Manuscrits Relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France, vol. II, p. 417-418; PAC, MG 1, Carton #1, #24, fol. 2 and Church, Thomas, Indian War of 1675 and 1676, p. 270 ff.

in the spring of 1704 Colonel Church set out from Boston with three men of war, fourteen small transports and thirty-six whaleboats. The purpose of the expedition was retaliation for attacks made by the French and Indians on New England families.⁴⁵ Church's instructions were to "use all possible methods for the burning and destroying of the enemies houses, and breaking the dams of their corn grounds... and make what other spoils you can upon them, and bring away the prisoners."⁴⁶ The expedition proceeded up the coastline attacking at various points. At Passamaquoddy the fleet separated, the men of war going to Port Royal and the transports, with the whaleboats on board, to Minas under Church.

When the ships reached the Minas Basin they anchored behind a woody island near the town. (This was probably what is now known as Boot Island or Oak Island). The whaleboats were then unloaded and the troops proceeded towards the town. Church sent a messenger to the inhabitants to surrender⁴⁷ and, according to French accounts, to give up their women and children as hostages.⁴⁸ The habitants refused, and a large proportion of them took to the woods. That night the New Englanders were fired upon by the French, 22 or 23 of whom had assembled at one house to try to ward off the attackers.⁴⁹ Early the next morning Church landed all his men and there was considerable fire exchanged between the inhabitants in the woods and the troops. Church tells us that the men found in the houses great quantities of brandy and

45. Church, T, op. cit., p. 254, 272.

46. Ibid., p. 255.

47. Ibid., p. 272-3.

48. Collection de Manuscrits, II. p. 421, and PAC, MG 1, Carton #1, #24, July 7, 1704.

49. Collection de Manuscrits, II, p. 421.

claret which they consumed. This resulted in a certain disorderliness among the soldiers, during which a number of pigs and fowl were killed. Later in the day, Church ordered some of his men to pull down some of the houses and others to get logs to build a "fortification" for the army that night. And, just before night, he ordered the town to be burned. Thus was destroyed "la grande prée ou était le plus fort des habitations"⁵⁰ as well as some buildings along the Gaspereaux River.⁵¹

The next morning Church ordered his men to destroy the dykes and allow the water to flood the crops.⁵² At this time about thirty horned cattle were apparently killed.⁵³ The New Englanders then took their plunder and returned to their ships, creating the impression that they intended to leave for good. This was, however, a ruse, and that night they landed men at the Rivière aux Canards and the Rivière des Habitants, where they burned all the buildings except one, killed cattle, destroyed the gardens and took about thirty people prisoner. The expedition then proceeded farther into the Minas Basin, probably to the Piziquid area, where they did more damage before moving on to Beaubassin.⁵⁴

The Minas Basin seems to have borne the brunt of this attack; Port Royal was threatened but not attacked and although the expedition visited Beaubassin, the destruction there was on a much smaller scale.⁵⁵

50. Collection de Manuscrits, II, p. 418.

51. PAC, MG 1, Carton #1, #24, entry for 8 July, 1704.

52. Church, op. cit., p. 275.

53. Collection de Manuscrits II, p. 421.

54. Church, op. cit., p. 279 and PAC, MG 1, Carton #1, 24, entry for 25 July, 1704.

55. Collection de Manuscrits, vol. II, p. 424.

PART II

THE BRITISH ASSUME CONTROL OF NOVA SCOTIA

In October 1710 a force of about 3400 British and New England troops under Nicholson and Vetch attacked Port Royal where the French Governor Subercase had only about 300 men to support him. After several days of gallant resistance Subercase was forced to surrender, and on the 16th the British occupied the fort at Port Royal, which they now called Annapolis Royal.

The Minas area was not included in the terms of the capitulation but with no French garrison in the peninsula the British were de facto masters of much more than the area within a three-mile radius of Annapolis Royal stipulated in the articles of capitulation. Soon after the French surrender the inhabitants of Minas sent deputies to Annapolis to find out what their status would be with the new government. Captain Paul Mascarene, a Huguenot who had come to England via Switzerland and who could speak French, was sent to Minas in November to tell the inhabitants that "by the fate of War they [had] become prisoners at discretion and that both their persons and Effects [were] absolutely at the Disposal of the Conquerors."¹ On November 12th Mascarene arrived at Minas and ordered the inhabitants to assemble for a meeting with him.² On the 13th he landed and addressed them. Their situation, he said, was three times better than that of "those under the Capitulation [i.e. those at Port Royal] who [had] lost most of what they had." In return for Vetch's having prevented the army from plundering

1. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 3, p. 52.

2. Ibid, p. 56.

Minas they were asked to supply 6000 livres in either money or peltry along with a monthly contribution of 20 pistoles.³ On the 16th Mascarene authorized several deputies, Pierre Melanson, Alexander Bourg, Antoine LeBlanc, and Jean and Pierre Landry, "to be receivers of the Contributions and granted to them the power of making the Inhabitants of Manis contribute proportionably According to Each's Capacity"⁴ This practice of sending deputies from the outlying areas to the seat of government first at Annapolis and after 1749 at Halifax was thus one which was started almost as soon as the British took over the province.

Until the Treaty of Utrecht Minas was not officially in British territory, and the period was one of almost undeclared warfare between the habitants and the British at Annapolis. All was not well for Vetch at the fort there - by June 1711 he had lost 116 out of his 450 men through sickness and death.⁵ And during that month he reported more losses. On June 15 he asked for more troops from New England because since "the last Disaster of a party of about Seventy of the best of our men kill'd and taken", the garrison did not consist "of above two hundred Effective men officers included".⁶ And on the 18th he wrote of another Indian attack in which 19 were killed and 10 wounded and several were taken.⁷ The Indians involved in these attacks were apparently aided by some of the French

3. Ibid., p. 56.

4. Ibid., p. 56.

5. Brebner, J.B., New England's Outpost, p. 56, and PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 3, p. 188, Vetch to Secretary of State, 14 June, 1711.

6. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 3, p. 198, Minutes of Council, 15 June, 1711.

7. Ibid., p. 203, Vetch to Secretary of State Dartmouth, 18 June, 1711.

habitants, although the British at Annapolis placed the bulk of the blame for inciting the Indians on action by the French priests in the peninsula.⁸

The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 gave to England "all Nova Scotia or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and all other things in those parts, which depend on the said lands and islands." The Acadians were free "to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, together with all their moveable effects"; those who chose to remain in Nova Scotia were "to be subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain" and "to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usage of the church of come, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."⁹

In the first half-decade after the Treaty of Utrecht all the problems which would for some forty-odd years plague both the Acadian settlers and the British trying to govern them were clearly revealed. The dates of the "year" during which the Acadians were to be permitted to leave the province were not specified, and although the Acadians insisted that they wanted to depart, they lost their enthusiasm after inspecting the lands of Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean. The British determination that the Acadians who stayed should swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown was the most persistent point of contention. And during the years immediately following the Treaty we see the beginning of complaints that French priests were stirring up the Acadians and that the Acadians were trading with the French at Cape Breton to the disadvantage of the British at Port Royal.

8. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 3, p. 188, Vetch to Secretary of State, 14 June, 1711.

9. Brebner, op. cit., p. 64. The parts of the treaty relating to Nova Scotia have been printed in Akins, T.B. (ed) Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia (hereafter cited as PDNS), p. 14-15, and in The Memorials of the English and French Commissaries concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, p. 3.

It appeared to British officials when Governor Nicholson finally arrived in Nova Scotia in the summer of 1714 that the Acadian exodus might be almost complete. French officers were sent to obtain the signatures of those who wanted to go to Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean and 302 out of 355 heads of families in Minas, Cobequid and Annapolis signed.¹⁰ At that time at Minas there were 873 people, 287 at Grand Pré, 33 at Rivière des Gaspareaux, 336 at Piziquid, 106 on the Rivière des Habitants, 76 on the Rivière des Canards and 35 on the Rivière de la Vieille Habitation.¹¹ The British had been continuing the French practise of drawing on the Minas area for agricultural supplies. In May 1714 Lieutenant Governor Caulfield told Nicholson that more land had been sown at Minas than ever before, and that the area supplied some of the garrison wheat.¹²

Despite the problems which would be posed by an Acadian population in Nova Scotia, the prospect of seeing the province completely depopulated was an even less attractive one for the British. Vetch wrote in November 1714 that the consequences of an Acadian removal would be disastrous: It would leave Nova Scotia

"entirely destitute of inhabitants.... And as the accession of such a number of inhabitants to Cape Breton will make it at once a very populous colony so it is to be considered that one hundred of the French, who were born upon that continent and are perfectly known in the woods, can march upon snoeshoes and understand the use of Birch Canoes, are of more value and service than five times their number of raw men, newly come from Europe. So their skill in the fishery, as well as the cultivating of the soil, must inevitably make the island by such an accession of people, and the French, at once the most powerful the French have in America...."

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10. Brebner, op. cit., p. 64; For a list of the inhabitants who signed at Minas in 1714 see PAC, MG 11, CO 217, vol. 1, p. 226-27.
 11. The Census of 1714 lists the inhabitants of the individual communities in the Minas area separately, but the first community does not have a title. This is presumably Grand Pré. PAC, MG 1, G 22, 466 pt. 1, p. 238.
 12. N.S. Arch., II, p. 7.

And, if they took with them their livestock,

"it will Intirely strip that Colony of cattle of all sorts, and reduce it to its primitive state. To replenish which at the same rate at a moderate computation of freight only for the transportation of such a number of Black Cattle and a proportionate number of Sheep and Hoggs, will cost above forty thousand pounds, besides the long time it will require to stock the country....."¹³

In 1715 the residents of Minas were still maintaining that they intended to withdraw from Nova Scotia. In August 1714 Queen Anne had died. When Caulfeild in March 1715 sent Peter Capoon and Thomas Button to proclaim the new King and administer the oath to the residents of Minas, the habitants replied that although they recognized King George as the British Sovereign, they could not take an oath of allegiance to him because they had "last summer made engagements to return under the rule of the King of France, having given [their] signatures to the officer sent in his name."¹⁴ And in May Caulfeild wrote in alarm to the Secretary of State that "if some other methods be not taken than what lately have been, it will be impossible for this place to subsist the ensuing winter. The french who always maintained this Garrison with corn are most of them quitting the Collony, especially at Mines the only grain plantation, So that in all probability we have noe prospect on their side...."¹⁵ In 1715 the habitants of Minas did not sow their grain - another ominous sign that they were going to leave.¹⁶ And in August it was reported that the French at

13. PDNS, p. 6. Also quoted in Herbin, op. cit., p. 46-7.

14. Collection de Documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amerique (hereafter cited as Coll. de Docs.), vol. 1, p. 111-112, 12 March, 1715.

15. PDNS, p. 8.

16. Herbin, op. cit., p. 48.

Annapolis and Minas were building sloops to go to Cape Breton.¹⁷ Minas, Caulfeild wrote in November, was the most prosperous part of the colony. Its fertile soil produced over 20,000 bushels of wheat, peas, rye and barley, and the inhabitants possessed about 3,000 oxen and cows, 4000 sheep and 2,000 hogs. Furs were brought in by Indians and sold by the French to English traders. The residents had built 30 or 40 small boats which they used for fishing.¹⁸

Although the Acadians insisted that they wanted to leave the country and for this reason refused to take the oath, any real fears the English had that they would be left with an empty province were probably largely unfounded. It seems rather that representatives from both Minas and Port Royal visited Isle St. Jean and Ile Royale and found neither the land nor the climate as attractive as that which they already enjoyed in Nova Scotia.¹⁹ Too, the prospect of clearing new lands and building new homes was an exhausting one.²⁰ By May 1716 Caulfeild could write home that he had "received a Letter from the people of Mines of Their Resolution to Continue in this Government," that they were "making all preparations for improvement as formerly" and that they seemed "impatient to hear what is determined on their behalfs".²¹ They persisted, however, in their refusal to take an unqualified oath of allegiance. When Lieutenant Governor Doucett in 1718 attempted to administer an oath they gave three reasons for refusing. First, they said they were not convinced that their liberty of religion

17. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 7, p. 139).

18. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 7, p. 166-7, described in N.S. Arch., II, p. 24-25.

19. PAC, MG 1, C11A, vol. 35, p. 192, 195.

20. PAC, MG 1, C11C, vol. 7, fol. 226V-227, Felix Pain, Récollet, to Governor of Cape Breton, 23 September, 1713, quoted in Herbin, op. cit., p. 44.

21. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 8, p. 32, Caulfeild to Lords of Trade, 16 May, 1716.

would be maintained. Second, they felt they would be exposed to the rage of the Indians if they agreed to swear allegiance to the British King, and third, their ancestors, when they had been under British rule, had never been required to take an oath like this.²²

It is in this early period too that we find the beginnings of complaints that the Acadians were trading with the French at Cape Breton and supplying them with provisions. A letter of 1718 describes French vessels from the island coming every spring and fall to Minas with wine, brandy and linen which they could obtain more cheaply than could the English, and trading these things for wheat and cattle.²³ If this were allowed to continue, "the Colony [would] feel a very sensible Blow, besides no Trade or Vent for English commodities."²⁴

A frequent complaint by the British concerned the priests permitted to stay in the province in order that the inhabitants might enjoy "the free exercise of their religion, according to the usage of the church of Rome."

Governor Philipps wrote to the Board of Trade that "there will ever remaine a great obstruction to our happiness, whilst the Priests and Jesuits are among us.... Among this Tribe are Pere Vincent and Felix who distinguish themselves for most inveterate Enemyes to the British Interest, and preside in the quality of Governors over Minas and Chignecto, two most considerable settlements in Nova Scotia".²⁵ In many cases this uneasiness was justified. We have, for instance, a French memoir on the habitants of Acadia which describes

22. PAC, MG 11, C 0217, vol. 2, B 71-3, p. 202, reprinted in Coll. de Docs, I, p. 170, Answer of several French inhabitants of Les Mines, 10 February, 1718.

23. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 9, p. 142, Doucett to Lords of Trade, 15 November, 1718.

24. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 11, p. 10, Doucett to Philipps, January 15, 1719.

25. PDNS, p. 16, Philipps to Lords of Trade, 3 January, 1719.

in detail the scene when Père Dominique assembled the habitants of Minas and warned them of all the reasons why they should not trust the British.²⁶

It appears that despite the severity of the problems faced by those on the spot in Nova Scotia, the Board of Trade in England did not devote much serious attention to them until the difficulties involved in straightening out Caulfeild's affairs after his death in 1717 brought home the urgency of the situation.²⁷ Colonel Richard Philipps was named Governor and Captain John Doucett Lieutenant-Governor. In 1719 the Board of Trade issued new instructions. First it was proposed to raise the strength of British troops in the newly acquired territory to ten companies. (This plan was never carried out). Then, in an effort to avoid the sort of problems the British were already feeling in provinces like Massachusetts where an assembly possessed a sizeable amount of power, the colony was to model itself on Virginia.²⁸ Under a system of royal government the Governor was to represent the Crown.

This policy served as a deterrent to British immigration. A system of making proprietary grants was incompatible with royal government, so prospective colonizers were not drawn to the province. To prospective colonists, the political system of the colonies to the south was more attractive than that of Nova Scotia. And the paucity of British settlers did not in any way simplify the task of authorities in the province of persuading the Acadians to take the oath and become British citizens.

26. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 8, p. 78, 1717.

27. Brebner, op. cit., p. 70.

28. Ibid., p. 73.

The Loyalty Question

Doucett, as we have seen, came to the province immediately after his appointment to tackle the problem of the oath. The inhabitants, explaining that the danger of Indian hostility and concern for their religion prevented their swearing allegiance to the Crown, did not co-operate.²⁹

Governor Philipps in 1720 came out to Nova Scotia full of energy and enthusiasm to settle affairs in the province. His instructions were to ask the Acadians "In the most friendly manner by Proclamation otherways, as [he should] think fit, to submit to [his] Government & Swear Allegiance to His Majesty, within the space of four months from the Date of Such [his] Proclamation, upon which condition they shall enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, and be protected in all their Civil & Religious Rights & Liberties so long as they shall behave themselves as good subjects".³⁰ Philipps accordingly set out to deal with the Acadians in a conciliatory manner. Almost immediately he issued his Proclamation at Annapolis, and on April 28 he sent a similar one to Minas. The King, he declared, had demonstrated good will in allowing them the exercise of their religion, and he was providing a good opportunity for them to reciprocate by swearing an oath of allegiance to him. He would await their reply through four habitants and their priest, Père Felix. Unless the habitants wished otherwise, their four representatives would be Alexander Bourg, Jacques Le Blanc, Paul Melanson and Pierre Breaux.³¹

29. See above p. 19.

30. Brebner, op. cit., p. 76.

31. PAC, MG 1, Nova Scotia A, vol. 11, p. 43-44.

As was so frequently the case, the reply of the Acadian habitants was not satisfactory to the British. Although they promised to commit no act of hostility while in British territory, they would not take an unqualified oath.³² The Governor's representative at "the Grand Prez at Minas" described their reaction in a letter accompanying the habitants' reply: Again the Acadians had said that they were loath to leave their family homes, yet "afraid to stay and possess them under the Nomination of English to have their throats cutt by the Indians", and they had declared that the Government could not "charge them with disobedience since they [had taken] the oath to her Majesty Queen Anne, and that they [were] ready and [would] promise to be loyall, and faithful to King George, and obedient to the Government, if that [might] suffice, till things [were] better regulated with the Indians."³³

Faced with an equally unsatisfactory reaction at Annapolis, Philipps wrote home summing up his position:

"It was agreed that whereas my Instructions direct me with the effect of the Proclamation & that I have neither order, or sufficient power to drive these people out, nor prevent their doeing what damage they please to their houses and possessions, and likewise for the sake of gaining time and keeping all things quiet till I shall have the Honour of your farther commands in whate manner to act, That it is most for his Majesty's service to send home the Deputies with smooth words, and promise of enlargement of time...."

32. Ibid., p. 63-65.

33. Ibid., p. 67-70.

At Minas, he said, the lands

"...afford great quantitys of wheat yearly, and the best best farms as yett in the Country, are lyable to be all drown'd by cutting a dyke, which the Inhabitants at goeing off will not want ill nature to do."³⁴

Acadian recalcitrance, he felt, had been further demonstrated when the inhabitants of the Annapolis area had begun "opening a Communication through the Woods to Minas (which was formerly a Road) And had sent to Minas that those People might act the same on their side...."³⁵ The motive he feared was being done "either to molest this place, or to drive off their Cattle & carry thier effects from hence by that way, in order to settle in a body either there, or Shignecto, and stand in defiance of the Government."³⁶ To eliminate these dangers, Philipps ordered the inhabitants of Minas and Annapolis "to desist immediately from any such undertaking."³⁷

In August 1720 a group of eleven Indians at Minas robbed a sloop belonging to one John Alden, a New England trader, within full view of the inhabitants of Minas who refrained from interfering on the grounds that they feared Indian reprisals. Philipps immediately sent a despatch to the inhabitants expressing his disappointment that his good will towards them had not been returned and calling upon the four deputies to give him a better reason for their behaviour than just fear of the Indians.³⁸ The deputies did not appear as requested. Philipps regarded this as one more example of the "little regard" they held for the Government and of how the

34. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 11, p. 91-95, Philipps to Secretary of State Craggs, 26 May, 1720.

35. Ibid., p. 91.

36. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 1, p. 21, Minutes of Council, 17 May, 1720.

37. PDNS, p. 30, Order of 18 May, 1720.

38. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 12, p. 53, 9 September, 1725.

Indians were "made the screen for all their actions." The "Jesuitical frame" of their letter of reply, Philipps wrote, showed it "to be of the Priests composure, there not being one Inhabitant in the Countrey capable of such a performance."³⁹

By now a real sense of disappointment was evident in Philipps' tone. This incident was followed by one in which an officer sent to keep an eye on affairs at Minas was told to return to Annapolis because he could not expect any protection at Minas.⁴⁰ This, Philipps pleaded, demonstrated the necessity for stronger measures to "hasten the securing of the Country under the King's dominion" - a task which was becoming increasingly difficult with the passage of time.⁴¹ Meetings of the principal officers of the garrison and of the governor with the Council both resulted in the recommendation that 600 more men should be sent to the province. Of these one hundred and fifty should be sent to Minas "to build another ffort, in a proper scituation to command the Place, and particularly the ground, called the Grand Pré, which [produced] great crops of Wheat, and other graine, & [was] the Treasure of that Settlement."⁴²

Nothing appears to have come from this recommendation, however, and Philipps became more and more frustrated by his inability to settle affairs for once and for all in Nova Scotia. In 1723 he returned home. Although he hadn't succeeded in administering an oath to the Acadians, he had obtained a promise of loyalty while they remained under the British Crown. And there the question seems to have rested for several years.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 100. Reprinted in PDNS, p. 52.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 106-108, and p. 115.

In September 1726 Lieutenant Governor Lawrence Armstrong again raised the matter of the oath. At that time he summoned the inhabitants of Annapolis to try to persuade them to swear to be true to the Sovereign of Great Britain. The Acadians insisted on a qualification - "a clause whereby they might not be Obligated to Carry Arms" - to which Armstrong, though protesting, agreed.⁴³ Armstrong was now determined to secure an oath from the inhabitants at Minas and Chignecto. When, however, Ensign Erasmus James Philipps was sent to Minas early in the new year, he met with little success. One Mr. Gamkell from England had arrived at Minas and had associated himself "with some Boston antimonarchical traders" and some "Evil intended French inhabitants". He had convinced the inhabitants that Armstrong had no power to administer an oath, and had "instilled such rebellious principles into the Inhabitants of Minas and Beaubassin" that they had resolved "not to take any Oath but to their Notre Bon Roy de France as they [expressed] it."⁴⁴ Bennett reported that they were "to a man Intirely disaffected to the Government of Great Britain."⁴⁵ Armstrong thought that to "Quell the rebellious Inhabitants" it would be necessary either to considerably repair the fort at Annapolis" or demolish it and Erect another fortification at Minas or wherever it [should] be thought most proper."⁴⁶ Another attempt in June to persuade the inhabitants of Minas to take an oath was equally unsuccessful.⁴⁷

43. Brebner, op. cit., p. 88.

44. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 17, p. 97-98, Armstrong to Secretary of State, 30 April, 1727. Reprinted in PDNS, p. 70-71.

45. Brebner, op. cit., p. 90.

46. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 17, p. 99, Armstrong to Secretary of State, 30 April, 1727.

47. PDNS, p. 73, Armstrong to Deputies at Minas &c., June 1, 1727.

In September 1727 Armstrong heard of the death of King George I and the accession of George II. Undaunted by his failure to administer a new oath at Annapolis,⁴⁸ he sent Ensign Robert Wroth with a ship and detachment of soldiers up the Bay of Fundy to proclaim the King and persuade the inhabitants to take the oath. On Tuesday October 17th Wroth arrived at Minas and on the next Monday he proclaimed the King. The deputies and chief inhabitants signed the proclamation and they all "went to Dinner, and concluded the Day with the Mirth...."⁴⁹ On the 26th the inhabitants were ordered to assemble to take the oath. Again they refused. Wroth had already made certain concessions to the inhabitants at Chignecto and the habitants at Minas insisted on the same treatment. He thereupon reaffirmed their right to practise their religion (with sufficient missionaries) and exempted them from bearing arms, and the inhabitants thereupon took the oath.⁵⁰ When Wroth returned to Annapolis, however, the Council declared the concessions "unwarrantable and dishonourable" and declared them null and void.⁵¹

In 1729 Governor Philipps returned to Nova Scotia, once again brimming over with enthusiasm to settle affairs in the province. At Annapolis he gained the confidence of the inhabitants by re-installing in the parish the Abbé Breslay whom Armstrong had driven out, and while the atmosphere of good will prevailed, he persuaded them to take an unconditional oath of allegiance. Then, according to his own account, he treated the Indians

48. Brebner, op. cit., p. 91.

49. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 17, p. 183, Report of Ensign Robert Wroth.

50. Coll. de Docs., I, p. 178.

51. PDNS, p. 78, Minutes of Council, November 13, 1727.

with such "good management plain reasoning and presents....that instead of giving any disturbance they made their own submission to the English Government."⁵² Having dismissed the threat of Indian violence to the Acadians if they took the oath, he then visited the settlements up the Bay of Fundy. In September he reported that he could congratulate the Secretary of State "on the entire submission of all those so long obstinate people, and His Majesty on the acquisition of so many subjects."⁵³

Philipps tone was one of triumph - but unfortunately his successes were not as brilliant as he would have had the home authorities believe. What he had neglected to tell them was that at least at Minas and probably at Chignecto he had promised the habitants that they would not be forced to bear arms against the English.⁵⁴ Although the concession was apparently only verbal - no mention of it is to be found in official correspondence - the Acadians considered their neutral status confirmed.

Minas in 1720

At this point it might be appropriate to stop and quote from a long and detailed report on the state of Nova Scotia made by Paul Mascarene. The report, which includes a description of Minas, was sent to the Lords of Trade by Governor Philipps in 1720:

52. Ibid., p. 87, Philipps to Duke of Newcastle, September 2, 1730.

53. Ibid., p. 86, Philipps to Duke of Newcastle, September 2, 1730.

54. A document to this effect dated 25 April, 1730, and signed by two priests and Alexander Bourg is quoted in Arsenault, op. cit., vol. I, p. 116.

"Manis called by the French Les Mines has its name from the Copper Mines which are said to be about it especially at one of the Capes, which divides the Bay of Fundy, and is called Cap des Mines or Cap Doré. This Town lies thirty leagues by sea and about twenty two by land, East North East from Annapolis Royal, of the same side of the Bay of Fundy. The harbor there, or rather the road, is very wild and unsecure. The vessels trading there, which seldom exceed forty or fifty tons in burthen, take the opportunity of the tide, which commonly rises nine or ten fathoms, and run up a Crick to the Town, where when the tide leaves them, they lye dry on a bank of mud which stretches five or six miles before it meets with low water mark. This place might be made the Granary not only of this Province but also of the neighbouring Governments. There is a plat of Meadow, which stretches along for near four leagues, part of which is dam'd in from the tide, and produces very good wheat and peas.

The rest of the Meadow might be with some labor dam'd in also, and if peopled by industrious Inhabitants, might be of very great advantage, not only in regard to this Province, but as is mentioned above, for the supply of the neighbouring Governments.

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

The Inhabitants of this place and round about it are more numerous than those of the British River, besides the number of Indians which often resort here, and as they never had any force near them to bridle them, are less tractable, and subject to command. All the orders sent to them if not suiting to their humors, are scoffed and laughed at, and they put themselves upon the footing of obeying no Government. It will not be an easy matter to oblige these Inhabitants to submit to any terms which do not entirely square to their humours unless a good force be landed there, and a Fort or redoubt of earth be thrown up, well ditched friezed and pallisaded, till a more durable may be built; this redoubt must have

four pieces of cannon (sakers) and command the meadow, which is their treasure. The force sent for that purpose must be three or four hundred men, the reason of which will appear, when it is considered, when the wildness of the harbor will not make it safe for any Ship of force to remain there to give countenance to such an undertaking, and that even if she could anchor safely, it must be at the distance of near twelve miles from the place where the said redoubt is to be built and that any other vessels, which must be employed to carry the troops, and workmen must lie ashore, dry, sixteen hours at least of the twenty four, and may be liable to be burned, and thereby cut off the retreat of those employed in this work unless they are able to defend themselves and to make head against the Inhabitants and the Indians; who will never suffer it to go on, if not kept in awe by a sufficient force. The redoubt ought to be capable of receiving a hundred and fifty men, which will be enough to curb the Inhabitants till they grow more loyal, or better be put in their stead."⁵⁶

The Land Question

The question of land tenure in Nova Scotia was a very intricate and confused one from 1713 right up until the time of the expulsion. By the Treaty of Utrecht in April 1713, all lands were "yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain", but in June of the same year the Queen granted a special concession to the inhabitants of her new province: those who would stay and become British subjects would be allowed to retain possession of their lands while those who chose to move away could sell their titles.⁵⁷ In fact, little was done by the British to disturb the Acadians in their use of the land, particularly as no significant British colonization developed. But the problem of who had a right to what land was a thorny one. As we have seen, it was not until 1730 that the

56. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 12, p. 133-136; Reprinted in PDNS, p. 45-47.

57. PDNS, p. 15.

inhabitants of Minas and Chignecto were persuaded to take an oath of any kind, so strictly speaking they had no right to any titles of any kind.

In 1729, when Governor Philipps returned to the province, he was determined to bind the Acadians to the government not only by the oath but also by their property holdings. "In order to confirm them in their obedience, and make them entirely dependent," he wrote, "they should hold their Possessions by New Grants from the King."⁵⁸ To accomplish this, the vestiges of the seigneurial grants had to be eliminated. When the authorities in London accordingly reviewed the matter, they found it necessary to consider only one claim, that of Agathe de la Tour of the La Tour family which had been granted the seigneurie of Minas in 1703.⁵⁹ By paying her £2000 for her rights, the Crown considered that it had removed all seigneurial claims, and the King became "Lord of the sev'l Mannors" in the Province.⁶⁰

Under the new system the habitants were to pay quit rents to the King as seigneur⁶¹ and on December 7, 1730, Alexander Bourg of Minas was ordered to collect the quit rents for the Crown.⁶² He was responsible not only for collecting rents but also for such tasks as registering titles, sales, exchanges, wills, mortgages, marriage settlements, etc.⁶³ The problem of finding satisfactory rent-gatherers was an almost unsurmountable one for the British. As long as the Acadians were in Nova Scotia, British settlement was never really significant, and because the vast majority of the

58. Macmechan, A.M. (ed.) Nova Scotia Archives III, Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739 (henceforth cited as N. S. Arch., III), p. 98.

59. See above p. 16.

60. Bell, W.P., The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, p. 69-73, and PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 25, p. 183.

61. N. S. Arch. II, p. 260.

62. Ibid., II, p. 237-38.

63. Ibid., p. 237-238.

Acadian population was illiterate, there was little to choose from among them. At Minas Governor Armstrong removed Bourg in 1737 because, he said, he had been careless and neglectful in carrying out his duties as rent-gatherer. Bourg was replaced by Francis Mangeant, a colourful refugee from Quebec, but Mangeant was apparently no more suitable, for in 1740 Bourg was re-appointed by the new administrator of the Province, Paul Mascarene, to be rent-collector for not only Minas but also the Piziquid (Windsor) and Cobequid (Truro) areas as well. As compensation he was to receive a commission of 15%.⁶⁴

The collection of rents never seems to have operated very smoothly. The amount of dues payable never appears to have been clearly established, nor, judging from the number of land disputes which arose, was the question of what land belonged to what habitant. At Minas disputes between various habitants were frequently taken to Annapolis for settlement, but unfortunately the geographical location of the lands under dispute is not given.⁶⁵ The amount of rent actually collected appears to have been small: an estimate of the rents received for Minas, Piziquid and Cobequid in 1740 shows only 65 $\frac{3}{4}$ bushells of wheat, 43 capons and some cash, all of which was worth 36 pounds, 10 shillings French currency, which was worth considerably less than British.⁶⁶

64. N.S. Arch., II, p. 248.

65. i.e., PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 2, p. 29-30 (1733), N. S. Arch II, p. 187 (1731/2) p. 200-201, (1734).

66. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 2, p. 249-250.

Relations with the Government

As we have seen, the idea of using Acadian "deputies" as intermediaries between the government and the habitants was instituted as early as the fall of 1710. At first the deputies were appointed from among the more prosperous habitants, but after 1732, elections for the office were held on October 11 of every year, on the anniversary of the British victory at Port Royal in 1710.⁶⁷ The habitants of the various areas paid the travelling expenses of the deputies,⁶⁸ and after the election both old and new deputies were required to present themselves at Annapolis for the approval of the administration.⁶⁹ After 1736 however, only one of the old and one of the new deputies were required to appear.⁷⁰ Until 1720 the whole district of Minas sent 4 deputies to Annapolis,⁷¹ but after that the number is uncertain.

As we have seen, Philipps in 1720 ordered the inhabitants to stop building a road between Minas and Annapolis. Some land communication was, however, maintained. In 1730 the route between the two places was described as a cart road,⁷² and in 1731 the inhabitants were ordered to complete the road but apparently failed to do so.⁷³ Each habitant seems to have been responsible for the part of the road passing through his land, and as late as 1734 it was still being "obstructed by some of the Inhabitants who [had] opposed passing through their Ground to the great prejudice of the Service thereby Intended, by cutting off their unreasonable

67. N. S. Arch., II, p. 200.

68. Shortt, Adam (ed.), Documents Relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia 1675-1758, p. 188.

69. N.S. Arch., II, p. 196.

70. Shortt, op. cit., p. 187.

71. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 12, p. 58.

72. N.S. Arch. II, p. 180.

73. Ibid., p. 80.

obstinacy, even all Communication between one Village to another, unless through long round about unknown & almost impracticable paths." On October 29, 1734 they were again ordered to complete the road.⁷⁴

Failure to finish the road was not the only rough spot in relations between the inhabitants and the English. In 1731 Armstrong complained to the Deputies at Minas that they had not sent the bread and pease required by the Garrison although they had sold some to private persons in the town.⁷⁵ The relation of the Indians to the Acadians was also a source of contention. The problem had begun soon after the English captured Port Royal - in June 1711 we saw bands of Indians interfering with parties of soldiers from the fort. Again in 1720 they came to the fore robbing Alden's sloop while the residents of Minas quietly looked on. The period between 1722 and 1726 was one of increased warfare between the English and the Indians. The British seem to have considered the Acadians and especially their priests responsible for the Indian activity. At the time Alden's sloop was raided in 1720, Philipps wrote of the French that "the Indians... are made the Screeene for all their Actions".⁷⁶ In 1724, Père Felix, curé at Minas, was expelled from the parish because of failure to notify the English of what he knew of Indian plans for attack on Annapolis.⁷⁷ And in 1727 the merchant William Winniet testified that the Acadians had "at all times Entertained and Harbour'd the Enemy Indians & as Mines and these other parts (Chiefly the Grand Pré, are their places of rendezvous it may be added that some if not all these inhabitants had in some manner or other advised aided and assisted at their councils & Encouraged them so

74. Ibid., p. 202.

75. N.S. Arch., II, p. 180.

76. See above p. 24.

77. N.S. Arch., II, p. 73.

frequently to Rapine and Murder...."⁷⁸ In March 1731 three residents of Grand Pré were summoned to answer for their behaviour after they had apparently incited some Indians to rescue a naturalized British citizen who had deserted ship and been recaptured. At this time the inhabitants of Minas were declared responsible for the conduct of the Indians "under y^e penalty of being treated as Rebels."⁷⁹ There is little doubt that the Acadians had not actively prevented the Indians from interfering with the British but whether or not they could have controlled them if they had wanted to is probably another question. It is uncertain how much truth there was in their repeated statement of fear of Indian reprisal if they stepped in their way or took the oath to the British. This may have been a convenient excuse or it may have been a legitimate fear; probably there was an element of both in the claim. There are several examples of the Indians being directly incited by the French at Cape Breton.⁸⁰

In an attempt to quell the "Rebellious Spirits" of the people at Minas Armstrong arranged in May 1732 for the construction of a house "on the Grand Pré at Minas". As far as the habitants were concerned, it was to be a granary, and René Le Blanc was to prepare timbers and binders for "a magazine or granary, 26 ft. broad French measure within, and 60 ft. long."⁸¹ To Armstrong it was a building in which "to fix a Company for the better Government of those more remote parts of the Bay of Ffundy"⁸² and "to curb the Insolence of these unruly people."⁸³ Armstrong's public explanation was not, however, satisfactory to everyone - in July three

78. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 17,

79. N.S. Arch. II, p. 180-181.

80. i.e. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 21, p. 96, 15 November 1732, and Collection de Manuscrits, vol. III, p. 164-165.

81. N.S. Arch., vol. II, p. 188-189.

82. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 21, p. 96, Armstrong to Newcastle, 15 November, 1732.

83. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 1, p. 227.

Indians came to Le Blanc's house, insulted René and his brother and threatened René with a dagger because, according to "all the traders", he was going to build a "Fort for the English".⁸⁴ A Major Cope who was there assured them that "there was no such thing or order given at present" and then reported the incident to the Council. The Council decided to continue with the project "in such a manner as not to occasion such a Distrust to these people".⁸⁵ To this effect a proclamation was issued that the house was being erected to house anyone sent on Government business and to serve as a storehouse for provisions and other necessaries "to be purchass'd of the Inhabitants for the Service of this Garrison, or for any Publick Store-House, in time of Scarcity, for the poor Inhabitants of Menis, and for the Indians Residing thereabouts,..."⁸⁶ In November Armstrong was still complaining of the "Rebellious Spirits" among the people at Minas who had been urged on by Governor St. Ovide at Cape Breton,⁸⁷ and St. Ovide himself reported that he had supported the Indians in their belief that it was in their interest to prevent the construction of the fort.⁸⁸ Armstrong wrote of his determination to complete the building, however, and there does not appear to be any evidence that he did not. In 1735 he visited Minas where he dealt with a number of land disputes, etc., and it is possible that he used this building as his headquarters.⁸⁹

84. Ibid., p. 225, Reprinted in PDNS, p. 97-98.

85. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 228. Reprinted in PDNS, p. 97-98.

86. N.S. Arch., II, p. 85-86.

87. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 21, p. 96, Armstrong to Newcastle, 15 November, 1732.

88. Collection de Manuscrits, III, p. 164-5, Report of M. St. Ovide, November 14, 1732.

89. N.S. Arch., II, p. 207.

In 1932 Mr. W.C. Milner wrote in an article on Grand Pré that the remains of the foundation of a building of the same dimensions as the granary were visible in a hill above Horton Landing near what was then the residence of Mr. L.H. Curry and close to the site of the English Fort Montague built about 1765.⁹⁰

Between 1710 and the 1730's the relations between the British administration and the Acadian population may have been strained and confused, but it was a quiet period militarily. By the 1740's, however, wars started in Europe were carried over to the North American scene, and relations between the administration and the habitants were affected strongly by the state of relations between Great Britain and France. It is to that period that we now turn.

90. Milner, W.C. Grand Pré A Chapter in Colonial History, p. 6.

PART III

WAR IN THE 1740's

In 1739 war was declared between Spain and Britain and in 1740 war broke out in Europe over the question of the Austrian succession. Paul Mascarene assumed control of the province in 1740, and as soon as word of the situation reached him, he wrote to the inhabitants of Minas and to the French priest there advising them of the war between Britain and Spain and warning them to behave themselves accordingly when dealing with enemies of the King.¹ For four years Britain and France hovered on the brink of the war which was finally declared in the spring of 1744. The French at Louisbourg heard of the outbreak of war before the British at Annapolis or Boston, and they were able to take the initiative in a successful surprise attack on Canso in May. On July 1 about three hundred Indians descended upon Annapolis but were forced to retreat to the woods when fired upon by the garrison. For four or five days they made small attacks from the woods until the arrival of reinforcements from Massachusetts forced their withdrawal to Minas, where, according to Mascarene, "they lived at Discretion on the French Inhabitants, killing their Cattle and Poultry."²

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1. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 2, p. 236, April 4, 1740, Mascarene to Deputies of Minas, and *ibid.*, p. 238, 4 July, 1740, Mascarene to M. Des Enclaves.
 2. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 26, p. 146-7, Mascarene to Lords of Trade, 27 July, 1744.

In August of 1744 Duvivier, the French officer who had commanded at Canso in May, left Louisbourg with about two hundred officers and men. Later in the month he met at Minas with a large (450 according to Mascarene³) group of Indians, and evidently spent a few days in the area. Orders to various Acadian men were given by the French commander "from the French camp at Grand Pré" between the 24th of August and the 2nd of September.⁴ On the 27th of August Duvivier ordered "the inhabitants of Minas comprising the parishes of Grand Pré, River Canard, Piziquid and Cobequid... to acknowledge the obedience they owe to the King of France." These parishes were then called upon to supply various goods and services: from Grand Pré were to come eight horses and two men, from River Canard the same, and from Piziquid twelve horses and three men to drive them.⁵ Duvivier proceeded to Annapolis but the expedition was unsuccessful and he was forced to withdraw via Minas to Louisbourg. It appears that on his retreat the commander demanded supplies of meat and grain from the habitants. On October 10 representatives of the districts of Minas, Canard, Piziquid and the surrounding rivers replied that they could not furnish the supplies required without reducing themselves to a very serious state of poverty because the harvest had not been good that year. They recognized that by force the troops could secure the provisions but they hoped that consideration for the welfare of the habitants would prompt the withdrawal of both the Indians and troops from the district.⁶ Soon afterwards, the French withdrew.⁷

3. PDNS, p. 131-132.

4. i.e., PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 149, 159, 160, 161 and MG 1, C11B, vol. 26, p.

5. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 160, reprinted in PDNS, p. 134.

6. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 8-1, p. 211, reprinted in PDNS, p. 135.

7. PDNS, p. 136.

In mid-October the deputies of Minas, Piziquid and River Canard presented themselves at Annapolis to declare that the majority of the inhabitants had been true to their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, despite the efforts which had been made to dissuade them from this course.⁸ This was probably true. When they were explaining to the French that they could not comfortably spare the supplies demanded, the habitants added that they lived "under a mild and tranquil government" to which they had every reason to be faithful and from which they hoped the French would not separate them.⁹ Nevertheless some goods and services were provided and some help given. From a French list of amounts due several inhabitants of Minas for various articles we find that the French were supplied with cloth, cord, knives, axes, grain, cattle, and butter and that several inhabitants rented their houses and made trips with supplies in their own small boats from Minas to Annapolis.¹⁰ Amand Bujau and Joseph LeBlanc did Le Maigre were among the remiss and were summoned to Annapolis to answer charges. Both men had been involved in the shipment of supplies to Louisbourg, and both now claimed that they had done nothing voluntarily but only under force.¹¹ The two men were "bound with two substantial Inhabitants as security in the sum of one hundred pounds sterling for their appearance before the commander in chief a President & Council whenever called thereto within the space of a year & a day."¹² At the same time Alexander Bourg, notary at Minas, was dismissed from his post for negligence in failing to publish or enforce the order forbidding the export of grain.¹³ He was to be replaced by René LeBlanc.

8. PDNS, p. 137, Mascarene to Deputies of Minas, Piziquid and River Canard, 13 October, 1744.

9. PDNS, p. 135.

10. PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol. 8-1, p. 190-198.

11. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 123-124.

12. Ibid., p. 130, Minutes of Council for 25 January, 1745.

13. PDNS, p. 130, 27 July, 1744, and PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 130, Minutes for 25 January, 1745.

The next spring an expedition of Canadians and Indians under Paul Marin de la Malgue made an attempt upon Annapolis Royal but after a few days of feeble fighting the expedition withdrew to Minas. Not only had Mascarene refused to surrender but Marin had been summoned to Louisbourg which was about to be attacked by New Englanders. On the 23rd of May the French broke up camp at Annapolis and marched along the Annapolis River towards Minas. On the night of the 25th they reached the Habitant River and the next day covered another three leagues which brought them to the house, probably in Grand Pré, where Marin had set up temporary headquarters.¹⁴ At Grand Pré the expedition halted for two weeks while Marin gathered supplies for the trip to Louisbourg. On June 7th the French troops and their prisoners marched to the Canard River where they boarded four vessels and sailed across the Minas Basin in the direction of Cobequid. At La Paroisse (modern Masstown) they disembarked for the march to Tatamogouche.

How co-operative the inhabitants of Minas were towards Marin's troops we do not know. Our main source of information about the expedition comes from the journal of one Captain William Pote who was captured at Annapolis Royal and was taken to Quebec as a prisoner.¹⁵ However while the expedition was at Minas he was confined to one house except for a forced appearance in church when he displeased the Indians by not crossing himself or using holy water.¹⁶ Therefore he was not in a position to comment on the behaviour of the inhabitants, and there seems to be no other information available.

14. Paltsits, Victor (ed.) The journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., p. 24, 27, and MacMechan, Archibald, Red Snow on Grand Pré, p. 80.

15. Paltsits, op. cit.

16. Ibid., p. 29.

In June of 1746 an expedition of 600 troops under the Sieur de Ramezay left Quebec for the Isthmus of Chignecto to be ready in case either of action around Annapolis or of an attempt to retake Louisbourg which had been captured by the British the previous year. From France a huge naval armada including about half the French navy was sent out to America to help the Canadians retake Louisbourg and perhaps attack Boston.¹⁷ In July de Ramezay and his troops arrived at Baye Verte and almost immediately began to transport supplies across the Isthmus to the main area of settlement around Beaubassin. At Beaubassin it was decided that the whole detachment should march on Annapolis Royal and late in July the major part of the troops departed for Minas. On July 31 de Ramezay followed.

On August 20th, while he was still at Minas waiting for word of the French armada and before any action had occurred around Annapolis, de Ramezay received orders to return to Quebec, leaving some of his men at Minas. Shortly afterward the deputies of Minas petitioned the commander not to leave a detachment of men and Indians with them over the winter because they were not able to furnish adequate provisions.¹⁸ De Ramezay replied that he had been ordered to leave a large detachment under Mr. Coulon and that it was not in his power to change these orders.¹⁹ A second group did petition de Ramezay to leave a detachment to protect them from the Indians.²⁰

17. Brebner, op. cit., p. 115.

18. "Journal de la Campagne du Canada a l'Acadie et aux Mines, en 1746-47", by Beaujeu, Collection de Documents Inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique, (hereafter cited as Coll. de Docs.), vol. II, p. 32.

19. Ibid., p. 32.

20. Brodhead, J.R. and O'Callaghan, E.B., Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (hereafter cited NYCD), vol. X, p. 66.

On September 1st de Ramezay, leaving a detachment under Mr. Coulon, departed from Minas to march back to Beaubassin and by the 4th he was back there trying to make arrangements to provision his men on the return trip.²¹ On the 17th, as the troops were about to leave, word came that the French armada was arriving.²² De Ramezay conferred with his officers and decided to return to Minas with his men. After some delay brought about by his having received further orders to return to Quebec, de Ramezay arrived at Grand Pré on the night of October 8th.²³

Meanwhile Mascarene at Annapolis had heard that de Ramezay and 1600 Canadians had taken up quarters at Minas and were awaiting the arrival of the French fleet,²⁴ and he had sent to Governor Shirley in Massachusetts for help. On October 10th the French expedition of about 300 men and a small number of Indians set out from Minas, and on the 13th de Ramezay called together the deputies at the head of the Annapolis River and ordered them to furnish supplies and not to have anything further to do with the British.²⁵ For the next two weeks there were a few small skirmishes and incidents but no real action while de Ramezay awaited the arrival of the French fleet at Annapolis. On the 3rd he heard the discouraging news that the armada, which had been drastically reduced by sickness and the death of its leaders, had been prevented by bad weather from coming around the peninsula from Halifax Harbour (Chebucto) to Annapolis.²⁶ Under these circumstances and

21. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 33.

22. NYCD, X, p. 70, and Coll. de Docs., II, p. 36.

23. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 39. Note: The dates used in this account of the events of 1746-47, unless marked o.s., are the new style which was used in the French journals. British accounts still used the old style which was 11 days behind the new.

24. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 24, A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia, by Charles Morris.

25. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 40-41.

26. Ibid., p. 48.

with the arrival of reinforcements from Boston for Mascarene, de Ramezay decided to retire. On the 5th an advance party was sent ahead to Minas and on the 8th de Ramezay arrived there, to be followed shortly by the rest of the men.

On the 7th of November a habitant arrived from Port Royal with the alarming news that the British intended to pursue de Ramezay, whereupon de Ramezay decided to retire to Beaubassin.²⁷ After several days of preparations and waiting for favourable winds the expedition departed on November 22.²⁸

Almost immediately after the Canadians left, deputies from Grand Pré and Piziquid arrived before the Council at Annapolis to say that "none of their Inhabitants had offered to take up Arms in Conjunction with the Enemy, that they had been obliged to furnish them Provisions, and Horses as in former times but that however considering the number of the Enemy w^{ch} at one time was sixteen Hundred and Fifty they had not made so much waste in proportion as in former times they having brought a great deal of Flower and Pease with them, That upon the Preparations made here for visiting them at Menis the command^r ask'd the Inhabitants whom he had assembled for that Purpose what their Dispositions were, they answer'd that their Intention was to Continue in their Fidelity to the British Government as they were obliged thereto by their oath....".²⁹ After the deputies had withdrawn Mascarene and the Council agreed that it would be advisable to send a strong detachment to Minas to establish British authority and to deal with those who were known to have aided the French.³⁰

27. Ibid., p. 51.

28. Ibid., p. 53.

29. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 275-6, Minutes of Council for November 24, 1746.

30. Ibid., p. 277.

Mascarene later mentionned a third motive in sending troops: "to consume the Provisions the Inhabitants have beyond there necessary thereby to prevent the Enemy to resort there every Summer, and make it a place of Arms as they have done for these three Years past."³¹

Shortly after the French retreat to Minas Mascarene sent to Massachusetts for more troops, and early in November he heard from Shirley that they would be sent as soon as possible.³² At the beginning of December four hundred "New England" and one hundred and fifty "New Hampshire" troops arrived, and more were expected daily.

Because the season made water travel dangerous, Mascarene sent the first troops to Minas overland. These were a party of 100 men who under Charles Morris set out on December 5th (o.s.). After six days they came to the first settlements at River Canard. There they were warned by an Acadian that de Ramezay was planning to come with a large detachment to prevent their taking up quarters at Minas. Although this report alarmed Morris somewhat, he told his men he didn't believe it. Plans were made in case of an attack, and the party set out for what Morris called Minas, about 9 miles away.³³ This was no doubt the string of settlements known more particularly as Grand Pré.

The day after Morris arrived at Minas two ships with stores and troops arrived at the mouth of the Gaspereau River. These ships brought both artillery and the frame of a blockhouse which was never erected at Minas as intended because frozen ground prevent it.³⁴

31. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 30, p. 24, Mascarene to "My Lord", 23 Jan., 1747.

32. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 33.

33. Ibid., p. 34-35.

34. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 30, p. 99, Mascarene to Lords of Trade, 12 May, 1747. The French account of the expedition suggests that there were 2 blockhouses, but Mascarene only mentions one. (see Coll. de Docs., II, p. 67).

On December 16th (o.s.) Colonel Goreham with a number of Rangers and Captain Prebille with 80 men arrived after a difficult journey overland during which two men froze to death. On the 18th (o.s.) Captain Goldthwait arrived with 100 men and took up quarters in what Morris called St. Anthony's Village on the River Habitant, the modern Cornwallis River. At about this time the British received several hints from various habitants that de Ramzay might come down from Chignecto to drive them from Minas. Most of the inhabitants, however, said that they thought it very unlikely that the Canadians would set out on a journey which would be so difficult and hazardous in winter.

On January 1 (o.s.) Lieutenant-Colonel Noble arrived with 100 men and took command of all the troops. On the 8th he ordered Goldthwait from St. Anthony's Village to Minas, so that all the troops "were now quarter'd almost the whole Length of the Village near two mile & half".³⁵ Morris described the situation:

"The houses in general are so scattered in this Village that our Quarters must have been extended above a mile had we taken up the nearest houses.... our Vessels lay at Gaspero & there was not above half a Dozn Houses there, In the Center of the Town the Houses were thickest, & here were made the head Quarters, Here was a Stone house, a place of good defence for a small Party with Store Houses near hand for Provisions...."³⁶

The winter of 1746-47 was by all accounts one of the most severe in memory. According to Morris it took the men all their time first to cut firewood and haul it to their quarters, which were uncomfortable in any case.³⁷

35. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 37-38.

36. Ibid., p. 38.

37. Ibid., p. 38-9.

The British also encountered considerable difficulty in getting supplies from the habitants.³⁸ Because of some dispute between Colonel Noble and Colonel Goreham, the supplies from the ships had not been unloaded when Goreham with Major Philips and Captain Cobb left for Annapolis on January 29th (o.s.). The next day Noble ordered the supplies brought in to the main guardhouse but because of a heavy snowstorm this was not done. However Noble also transferred his guard to the main guard house to protect the supplies which were expected, and for this reason he was without a guard when the French attack came.

On two occasions during January (o.s.) word had reached British ears that there was a party of the enemy at Piziquid, and Captain Preble had been sent with a detachment to investigate. On both occasions, however, he had found nothing and the habitants had sworn there had been no party there.

Meanwhile the French expedition was well under way. Early in January word reached de Ramezay at Beaubasin that British troops had arrived at Minas and had occupied Acadian houses, but that they were scoffing at the suggestion that the French might attack.³⁹ The Canadian commander met with his officers and it was decided to send an expedition under M. Coulon to chase the British out. On January 23 (n.s.) the long march began. According to the Chevalier de la Corne, about 250 men and 60 Indians started out from Chignecto, and along the way they were joined by some Acadians and Indians so that the total attacking force was probably about 350.⁴⁰ The expedition proceeded from Baye Verte along the

38. Ibid., p. 39.

39. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 58.

40. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 11-12 (De la Corne) and p. 65 (Beauj u).

shore to Tatamagouche then across to the Cobequid (Truro) area. Along the way they picked up a certain amount of helpful information about the British - that they were quartered throughout Grand Pré, that there were about 600 of them, and that the inhabitants had petitioned the British commander to withdraw because they could not supply the required provisions.⁴¹

On February 9th (n.s.) the expedition reached the Piziquid (Windsor) area. The next day it was organized into ten detachments which then marched to the Gaspereau River where that night they occupied the inhabitants' houses. Beaujeu recorded that here they were only half a league from Grand Pré.⁴² At Gaspereau they found a wedding feast in progress, and, to their great good fortune, it included a number of habitants from Grand Pré who were able to provide useful information about British activities. It was then decided that each of the ten detachments would attack one of the ten buildings which contained the largest number of officers and men.

At three o'clock in the morning of February 11th (n.s.) the order was given to march. The snowstorm which had prevented the British supplies from being transported to the main guard house the day before had continued, and it provided a valuable cover for the Canadians who were neither seen nor heard by the British. After the attack was under way the snow provided another problem for the British because they weren't as well equipped with snowshoes as were the Canadians.

41. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 60.

42. Ibid., p. 65.

The attack was a complete surprise and by daylight only one of the ten houses designated for attack had not been taken. The general pattern seems to have been for the sentry to be killed and the houses attacked, in many cases while the occupants were still sleeping. Colonel Noble and his brother were among the first killed, while on the Canadian side Coulon de Villiers was badly wounded almost immediately and command fell to M. de la Corne.

From the houses some of the French detachments moved over to the British supply ships where they found the framework for two blockhouses, although Mascarene reported only one sent.⁴³ Here they seized the ships and took ten prisoners. Meanwhile the British in the houses which had not been attacked struggled to make their way to the main stone house which had not been attacked, apparently by mistake.⁴⁴ There they erected a barricade of firewood and fences and some of the timber from the small buildings near the house which they wished to prevent the Canadians from using as shelter.⁴⁵ About 320 to 350 British troops managed to reach this stone house.⁴⁶ The firing continued between the British and the Canadians, many of whom had joined there with M. de la Corne after they had taken the houses assigned to them. The British made one unsuccessful attempt to retake the house in which Noble had been killed and in which M. de la Corne had now established his headquarters.⁴⁷ The skirmishing continued until about 3.00 p.m. when Captain Howe, commissary of the British detachment,

43. See above, note 34.

44. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 66, 68.

45. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 46.

46. Ibid., p. 46 and account of Captain Benjamin Goldthwait, in The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1855, vol. 9, p. 109.

47. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 47-48 and Coll. de Docs., p. 13.

requested that the Canadians allow the English surgeon to be sent to him and other dangerously wounded British held by the French. De la Corne agreed, and M. Marin was sent with a flag of truce to the British, who sent the surgeon and kept Marin as hostage. At this time arrangements were made for a two-hour cessation of arms - according to British accounts at the request of the French and according to French accounts at the request of the British.⁴⁸ At the British request the cessation of arms was extended until 9.00 the next morning.⁴⁹

During the cessation of arms the British officers considered their situation. They had suffered a large number of casualties, many men had been taken prisoner, the surgeon reported that the supply of medicines was very low, and food supplies were also scarce.⁵⁰ For these reasons, when the cessation of arms was over the British proposed to the Canadians their terms of capitulation:

- (1) The Canadians were to return their prisoners of war and one of the boats to transport them to Annapolis when navigation was free.
- (2) The Canadians were to return to the British all that they had taken.
- (3) The British troops were to march to Annapolis with the honours of war, with a gun, a pound of powder and shot, haversack and six days supplies for each man, and that they would leave the remaining supplies to the Canadians.⁵¹

48. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 47-48, Goldthwaite, loc. cit., p. 109, and Coll. de Docs., II, p. 68.

49. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 48.

50. Ibid., p. 48.

51. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 69.

M. de la Corne replied that he wanted to confer with his officers. This done, he returned with another set of terms for the British to consider and warned Capt. Goldthwait not to tarry in making up his mind because the Canadians were ready to fight again. The following terms were therefore agreed upon and signed:

Capitulation granted by his Most Christian Majesty's Troops to those of his Britannic Majesty at Grand Pré.

1. A detachment of his Most Christian Majesty's troops will form themselves into two lines in front of the stone house occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops, who will take their departure for Annapolis Royal within twice twenty-four hours, with the honors of war, six days' provisions, haversack, one pound of powder and one pound of ball.
2. The British prisoners in the hands of the French will remain prisoners of war.
3. The ships seized by the troops of his Most Christian Majesty cannot be restored to his Britannic Majesty's troops.
4. As there was no pillage except by the Indians their booty cannot be restored.
5. The sick and wounded belonging to the British who are at present in his Britannic Majesty's hands, will be conveyed to the Rivière aux Canards, where they shall be lodged by order of the French Commandant, and supported at his Britannic Majesty's expense, until they be in a condition to be removed to Annapolis Royal, and the French Commandant shall furnish them with Letters of Protection, and they shall be at liberty to retain one of their Surgeons until they be restored to health.
6. His Britannic Majesty's troops at present at Grand Pré will not be at liberty to bear arms at the head of the Bay of Fundy, that is to say, at Minas, Cobequid, Piziquid and Beaubassin, for the term of six months from the dates hereof.

On the acceptance and signing of these terms on the one side and on the other, His Britannic Majesty's troops will bring with them a flag, and march to-day from their guardhouse, of which his Most Christian Majesty's troops will take possession, as well as of Grand Pré, and of all the munitions of war, provisions and artillery which his Britannic Majesty's troops now have.

Done at Grand Pré, the 12th of February, 1747.

(Signed) Coulon de Villier, Commander of the
French Party

Benjamin Goldthwait, Commander of the
English who signed
with 13 others.⁵²

It is difficult to determine the exact number of casualties at this "Battle of Grand Pré", because all accounts differ. At the beginning of the attack there were probably about 500 British at Minas⁵³ and about 350 French.⁵⁴ Of the two British estimates of their own dead, one suggests that five officers and 62 men were killed,⁵⁵ and the second that not more than 100 in all were wounded and killed.⁵⁶ The French estimates of British casualties range from 130⁵⁷ to 140⁵⁸, and about 25⁵⁹ to 38.⁶⁰ All French accounts indicate that there were between 50 and 54 British prisoners taken.⁶¹

52. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 71, and Goldthwait, loc. cit., p. 107-8.

53. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 30, p. 23, Mascarene to "My Lord", Jan. 23, 1747; Beaujeu (Coll. de Docs., II, p. 71) says that according to Captain How there were 525; Morris says that at the end of the battle there were 350 at the stone house and 67 killed, which accounts for 417 men but he does not include any prisoners of war in his accounting. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 49, Charles Morris.

54. See above, note 40.

55. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 49, Charles Morris.

56. Goldthwait, loc. cit., p. 110.

57. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 71 (Beaujeu) and NYCD, X, p. 92.

58. Ibid., p. 13 (de la Corne).

59. Ibid., p. 71 (Beaujeu).

60. Ibid., p. 13 (de la Corne).

61. Ibid., p. 13 (de la Corne), and p. 71 (Beaujeu); NYCD, X, p. 92.

On the French side, casualties were considerably lighter. Three British estimates of French dead are 20, 30, and 43⁶², and for French wounded, 15⁶³ and "several cartloads"⁶⁴. The French themselves reported only 6 to 7 dead⁶⁵ and 14 to 15 wounded.⁶⁶

The day after the capitulation, the British officers invited the French officers to dine with them, and during the course of the evening the French were complimented on their manners and their proficiency in the art of war.⁶⁷ On the same day, the deputies of Minas presented their compliments to the Canadians on the occasion of their victory.⁶⁸ On the 14th the Canadians formed two lines outside the stone house in which the British were lodged, and about 350 officers and men filed past them on their way to Annapolis Royal. The French took possession of the stores which remained, as well as two 4-pounders and three swivels.⁶⁹ Over the next two days the British sick and wounded were transported to Rivière aux Canards to recover there to a point where they could travel to Annapolis.

On the 18th a special mass of thanks was said in the church at Grand Pré. On the 19th, however, the deputies of Minas appeared before M. de la Corne to say that during recent years they had been forced to supply so much by way of provisions to both British and French forces that they had been reduced to a pitiable state and that although they were pleased to have French troops among them, they could furnish supplies only with great difficulty.⁷⁰ The food shortage was already acute. De la Corne

62. Goldthwait, loc. cit., p. 110; PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 50; and English account in The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1855, vol. 9, p. 111.

63. Goldthwait, loc. cit., p. 110.

64. English account, loc. cit., p. 111.

65. NYCD, X, p. 92, and Coll. de Docs., II, p. 71 (Beaujeu) and 14 (de la Corne).

66. NYCD, X, p. 92, and Coll. de Docs., II, p. 71 (Beaujeu) and 13 (de la Corne).

67. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 70.

68. Ibid., p. 72.

69. NYCD, X, p. 93.

70. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 73.

and the officers considered the situation and decided that the force should return to Beaubassin. After a few days of preparation, and after having burned a ship and destroyed what arms they were leaving behind, the expedition left Minas on February 23rd.

Meanwhile for the British the trip back to Annapolis had been a further disaster. According to Captain Morris, the excessive cold, extreme fatigue and other difficulties encountered threw the men "into violent Fevers and Fluxes at their Return by which means [they] lost one hundred and fifty men".⁷¹

After the capitulation the French officers had told the Acadian inhabitants that by virtue of their conquest the Country was once again French and that they were absolved of any allegiance they had sworn to the British.⁷² Now, on March 31, de Ramezay issued a similar statement from Beaubassin,⁷³ and on April 24 he announced that he had been ordered by Governor Beauharnois at Quebec to tell them that they were once again under the King of France.⁷⁴ However as soon as navigation was open in March, Mascarene ordered Captain John Rous to proceed with 300 men in H.M. ship Shirley and two transports to retake Minas. On April 12th they landed, reoccupied the stone house, heard the inhabitants' professions of loyalty, and, after four days, returned to Annapolis.⁷⁵ De Ramezay and most of his men stayed on at Beaubassin until June 1747, and about July 20th the small force he had left behind him departed from the Isthmus. French military activity around the Minas Basin had virtually ended.

71. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 51.

72. Ibid., p. 50.

73. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 30, p. 184.

74. Ibid., p. 185.

75. Ibid., p. 101-102, and NYCD, X, p. 100.

In August of 1748 a quantity of goods was sent to Minas in payment for provisions supplied to the British forces in 1746-47.⁷⁶

The extent of the participation of Acadian inhabitants of Minas is once again not known. We hear that the French expedition picked up Acadians on its long trek to Grand Pré, and we know that the French obtained valuable information from a number of inhabitants who were at the wedding feast at the Gaspereau. Captain Morris reported that the habitants, after telling the British they were too short of supplies, had come forth with provisions for the French.⁷⁷ The fact remains, however, that they were not long in telling the French that they couldn't support them either. Mascarene only called 11 Acadians to present themselves at the court at Annapolis.⁷⁸

Even if the mass of the Acadian inhabitants did not actively support the French in the province, the presence in the province of a large alien population was naturally a source of uneasiness to the British. Mascarene had written in 1746 that "As soon as the Enemy appears, we have no more [Acadian] assistance nor even can procure any Intelligence by their means."⁷⁹ He felt strongly enough to send a British detachment to winter at Minas in 1746-47 to establish British authority, to control those who were known to have aided the French and to consume any extra provisions so as to make Minas less attractive to French troops.⁸⁰ As we have seen, this expedition suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of a considerably

76. Murdoch, Beamish, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, vol. II, p. 121, 125, and Shortt, A. (ed.), Currency, Finance and Exchange in Nova Scotia, p. 274-5, 277.

77. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 51.

78. Arsenault, op. cit., p. 131.

79. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 29, p. 126-127, Mascarene to Duke of Newcastle, 12 Nov., 1746.

80. See above p. 46 and 47.

smaller French force, and the blockhouse was never erected. Now we see Mascarene's mentor, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, taking up the cause more actively. As soon as he heard of the defeat at Grand Pré he wrote to Newcastle of the necessity of building a blockhouse at Minas. This he considered imperative because he was convinced that the Acadians, although they had been courteous to the British, did know an attack was coming. He recommended that detachments be posted at Minas and at the Isthmus of Chignecto, where he proposed the establishment of a second blockhouse, capable of holding 150 men and in a position to survey the countryside and prevent another French invasion.⁸¹

This was not the first time Shirley had thought along these lines. He regarded the preservation of Nova Scotia as a crucial aspect in the maintenance of the British position in North America, and indeed in 1747 called the province "the most important to the Crown of any upon this Continent."⁸² But well before the fiasco at Grand Pré in February 1747 he had written to Newcastle that to better secure the province the King should remove the Acadians known to be sympathetic to the French cause, and "to Cause either two strong Blockhouses (or small Forts) capable of holding 100 Men each to be Built, one in Menis & the other in Shiegnecto, which may be Garrison'd out of Phillip's Regiment when Compleated, or else that at least one Blockhouse (or small Fort) should be Built at Menis capable of holding of 150 men; and a trading house be kept at the Fort of Menis or some other part of the Province well Stock'd with all proper

81. PAC, MG 11, CO 5, vol. 901, p. 184, 187, Shirley to Newcastle, 27 February, 1747.

82. Brebner, op. cit., p. 124.

Supplies for the Indians to be sold or barter'd to 'em for Furr's &c at the most reasonable Rates, and some presents annually distributed to 'em."⁸³ As well as this the French priests should be removed and both English and French Protestants should be introduced into the province to influence at least the younger generation to become British subjects.⁸⁴

In Nova Scotia Mascarene agreed with Shirley that a fort was in order. In October of 1748 we find him writing to the Lords of Trade that "One of the greatest inconveniencies [the Province] labours under is having a large number of Inhabitants who cannot be reckon'd to be attach'd to the British Interest, and tho' they have been kept from joining the Enemy in Arms, it cannot be depended upon, but they may do so at some other time."⁸⁵ He went on to recommend the establishment of a fort at Chignecto and at Canso and at Minas "to support the officers sent to administer Justice and keep good Order amongst the French Inhabitants, it having been impossible hitherto to venture any officer amongst them without a sufficient guard to protect them in the Execution of the commission he was sent upon."⁸⁶ But it was not to be before another year had passed and a new governor with new instructions had been sent out before any results of these pleas could be seen.

During every period of British occupancy of the province the suggestion had been made that transportation of the Acadians might be the solution to the problem they constituted. Each time, however, this proposal had been

83. Quoted in Appendix to Parkman, Francis, A Half-Century of Conflict, vol. II, p. 323.

84. Ibid., p. 323-324.

85. FAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 32, p. 234.

86. Ibid., p. 237.

rejected, largely on grounds of expense.⁸⁷ Now the possibility of establishing Protestant settlers among the French began to appear a feasible alternative. Shirley had been employing since 1746 the surveyor Captain Charles Morris to survey the province. In 1748, Morris, who had been present at the Battle of Grand Pré, was sent to investigate suitable locations for Protestant settlement. In his report he optimistically suggested that four settlements could be established at Minas as well as six at Annapolis and nine around the Cumberland Basin.⁸⁸ At Minas one hundred families were to be placed between the Rivers Canard and Habitant (Cornwallis). Gaspereau and "Minas", by which he seems, from his map, to have meant the district of modern Horton, could accommodate 150 families. He added here that the "great Island on the Marsh", which seems to have been what is now called Long Island, could hold 20 families. In the "Fiziquid" area he suggested placing 60 families on the west side of the present-day Avon River about opposite the point where the Ste. Croix comes out. The fourth area of settlement was far from the main settlements of "Minas". This was on the north side of the Minas Channel around Cape d'Or and Advocate Harbour, and here he proposed to establish thirty families. Besides settling Protestant families, Morris recommended the construction of a fort on the "little Island on Grand Pré" which was apparently at the north east end of the lowlands north of present-day Grand Pré and Horton, approximately opposite but a little south of Boat Island.⁸⁹

87. Brebner, op. cit., p. 122-123.

88. Report of the Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as PAC Report), 1912, Appendix H, p. 79-83.

89. Ibid., p. 80.

In February 1749 Shirley sent Morris' report to England and discussed again his recommendations for the establishment of forts and Protestant settlers at Chignecto and Minas. About the fort at Minas, he felt that it "would not only forward & countenance the new Settlements, but have an absolute Command of all the French Inhabitants situated in the Basin, provided two Companies of Rangers out of W^{ch} the Parties before propos'd to be employ'd in Scouting Marches for the Security of the Settlement^s within this District might be taken; were station'd with the Regular Troops & furnish'd with Whale boats to convey them by Water, when there is Occasion: This Fort to be garrison'd wth 150 Regular Troops & the two Companies of Rangers to consist of 75 men each, and might be built of Timber & Sods."⁹⁰

Shirley's entreaties seem at last to have had some effect in London, for in 1749 when the new governor, Edward Cornwallis, was sent out to the province, he was given orders to have townships surveyed and settlers established in the following proportions: Chebucto (Halifax), 1,200; Minas, 500; LaHave, 300; Whitehead, 500; Bay Verte, 500.⁹¹ However as we will see, the Minas Basin would have to wait until well after the expulsion of its Acadian inhabitants before it saw any British settlement.

90. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 33, p. 148.

91. PAC Report, 1905, Part III, p. 49, Cornwallis' Instructions.

PART IV

MINAS IN THE LATE 1740's

It might be appropriate at this point to quote from the detailed account of Nova Scotia made by Charles Morris in the late 1740's. He had been describing the settlement along the Annapolis River moving east,

River Canard
Settlement

"The next Settlement is the River Canard or Duck River this takes its rise from the Range of Hills bordering on the Bay of Fundy, it is of no great extent its Head being not above fifteen Miles from its Discharge, its Course is northeast and empty's its self into the Bason of Minas, its Banks abounds with Salt Marshes for Six Miles and here is a fine Settlement of accadians which Consists of 150 Familys, they have a Parish Church on the North Side of the River about five miles from its mouth where the Priest is settled --- The Uplands adjoining the River have been Cultivated for the production of Grass and well answer'd their Labour; but not like their Marshes, but much more uplands are here improved than in any other District, next to this is the River called Habitant, seperated from the River Canard by a Point of Land only this is only a salt water River the Tides flow five Miles up this River; its Banks are very large Meddows the Grand Pré is one being on the South Side of the River but this District being Comprehended in Minas I shall reckon the Number of Inhabitants with them.

Minas or
Grand Pré

Minas was among the first Settlements in this part of the Country and altho' Maj^r Church in 1704 intirely cut of (sic) this settlement, burnt and destroy'd all their Buildings, and ruin'd their Dykes: yet are they at this Day, the most numerous of all other Settlem^{ts}, the Village Consists of about 150 Houses scatter'd on several small Hills, about two Miles and a Half in Length, extending by the side of the marsh Called Grand Pré which name is Commonly used for the Settlement. this Marsh Lay's between the Town and the Bason it is near two Miles in Width and in Length extends from Pisgate River to the Head of the River Habitant ten miles but not of equal Breadth ---

Gaspero On the East part of the Village is the River Gaspero a small River arising not far in the Country but by reason of the Tides which commonly flow more than thirty feet is navigable to the Village for Ships of the greatest burthen but they must ground at Low water it has nine feet at it's mouth and the Tides are very Rapid this River Runs thro' the great Marsh; to the District of Minas is to be added the small settlements on the Gaspero and on the Habitant y^e whole are Numberd at two Hundred Familys This Village is made more remarkable to the English from their Misfortune there Their Church is seated about the midst of the Town and the Priest resided here but was removed and orderd to depart the Government as was mention'd before. Minas is not only the largest Settlement but having many settlements around them have the greatest plenty of Provision this made at the general Rendezvous of the Canadians when they enter into this Province

200 Familys

The Passage of the Canadians into the Province thro' the Country

Minas is seated in the midst of the Peninsula being distant from Annapolis by sea thirty two Leagues by Land 70 miles its 30 Leagues to St. John's River twenty five Leagues round the Cape of Chignecto but across from Bason to Bason but ten Leagues. Twelve Leagues to Copegate Settlement both by Sea and Land, and it is 47 Miles as the Roads are Commonly travell'd thro' the Country to Cheignecto, The most numerous Settlement are in its Neighbourhood and a Communication by Water to every one of them for which reasons it would have Conduced much more to have kept the Inhabitants in Subjection to have built a Fort near this Place than at Annapolis for the building of which are many Convenient places that which appears the most Eleigible is a small Island situated att the Mouth of the Gaspero it is at the end of the great Marsh and Call'd an Island because on Spring Tides High Water surround it, it is adjoining to the Bason of Minas This Island Commands a prospect of the whole Bason, so that no Vessell Can Come or go undiscover'd, it has no firm Sand within a mile whereon any regular

Pizzaquid

approach can be made and it can not be attackt by sea without manifest Danger for such Large Ships as would be necessary for such an Attack.... The Next Settlement is Pyzaquid on Pizaquid River and on the River St Croix joins Pijaquid River the whole is Call'd Pizaquid the Confluence of these Rivers is three Leagues from the Bason The Branch Call's Pizaquid and from whence the Village takes its Name and on both sides of which it is seated arises not above four Miles above the Village but the River St^e Croix is much the largest Branch These Inhabitants are well settled having a bundance of Marsh Land both on River Pizaquid and on the River St. Croix. The Principal settlement is on the north side of Pizaquid River where is their Church and where their Priest resides they are settled up the River St^e Croix near two Leagues and have a Chappel of ease there for their use within the Parish or District of Pizaquid one Hundred and fifty Familys are their Computed Number."¹

1. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 85-89.

PART V

NEW ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE AFFAIRS

By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748 the fortress of Louisbourg was returned to the French, and British possessions in modern Nova Scotia were once again restricted to the mainland. But the limits of Nova Scotia were still indefinite, and for this reason a commission was established at the time of the conference to consider the problem. Between 1749 and 1753 representatives of Britain and France searched in vain for a boundary acceptable to both countries. In British eyes the situation was particularly alarming:- the French seemed secure in Canada, Ile Saint Jean and Isle Royale while Annapolis, the only British centre in the province, in no way provided a balance to French strength at Louisbourg.

We have seen how interested and concerned men like Mascarene and Shirley advocated an increase in military strength in Nova Scotia as well as the establishment in the province of Protestant English-speaking settlers who might have a beneficial effect in encouraging at least the younger Acadians to become real British citizens. Now, in 1749, it appeared that something would finally come of these recommendations. In Britain the impetus came from Lord Halifax, the new president of the Board of Trade. In early 1749 advertisements were distributed throughout England with the intention of drawing artisans, farmers and discharged seamen to settle Nova Scotia. Attracted by the prospects of free transportation, land grants and help in establishing themselves under the new civil government which was to be created, 2,576 prospective settlers sailed for the Province in the spring of 1749 and arrived at Halifax harbour in late June.¹

1. Brebner, op. cit., p. 164.

English settlement was not to be limited to Halifax. The new governor, Colonel the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, came out to Nova Scotia in the spring of 1749 with instructions to establish 1200 settlers at Halifax, 500 at Minas, 300 at La Have, 500 at Whitehead and 500 at Baye Verte.² In addition to this he was to cause "proper Store houses" to be erected at "Menis, Bay Verte, or Chignecto, Whitehead, and La Have, or such other as he thought most proper, and that such a Part of our Forces as you shall Judge necessary be posted at each of the said settlements for this purpose."³

The Minas Basin, however, would have to wait until well after 1755 for its English settlers. The settlers of 1749 turned out to be an unproductive lot and many of them actually moved on to more settled areas in New England. "Foreign Protestants" who came to the province in the 1750's were settled in areas like Lunenburg where there was virtually no Acadian settlement. As long as the Acadians were in the province, the British administration never succeeded in establishing British settlers among them.

On the 14th of July, 1749, the new Council under Cornwallis was sworn in. On that day the governor issued a declaration in which he reminded the Acadians of the King's kindness in allowing them freedom of religion and peaceable possession of their lands. This good will had not, however, been returned, but it would be continued provided that they took a proper oath of allegiance to the British King within three months.⁴ On this occasion deputies had appeared from River Canard, Grand Pré and Piziquid to pay their respects. These were given copies of the governor's

2. PAC Report, 1905, Part III, p. 49.

3. Ibid., p. 49.

4. PDNS, p. 165-6.

declaration to take back to their people and were asked to let the deputies of the other settlements know that the Governor wanted to see them as soon as possible.⁵

On the 31st of July there arrived at Halifax the deputies from the various districts including Grand Pré (Claude Le Blanc), Riviere de Canard (Jean Melanson) and Piziquid (Baptiste Gaillard and Pierre Landry). These deputies, who met with Cornwallis and his Council, wanted assurance that they would be allowed to freely practise their religion as well as an exemption from bearing arms. The Council gave them assurances on the former point but the latter point the Council unanimously agreed should not be granted.⁶ On August 1st the deputies again met with Cornwallis and the council and at this time they were warned that if they chose to leave the province rather than take the oath that they would not be permitted to sell or carry off any of their possessions. With this they were sent home with word that anyone not taking the oath before October 15 (old style) would be forced to leave the province immediately.⁷

Governor Cornwallis, however, was no more successful than his predecessors in administering an oath to the Acadians. On the 6th of September the deputies arrived and presented Council with a letter signed by 1000 inhabitants indicating their willingness to take only the oath Governor Philipps had granted - that exempting them from bearing arms - and no other.⁸ Naturally Cornwallis declined to accept this.⁹ The inhabitants did not swear the oath, and in the end Cornwallis did not force them to

5. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 4, p. 18, Minutes for 14 July, 1749, reprinted in PDNS, p. 166-167.

6. PDNS, p. 168-169.

7. PDNS, p. 170-171.

8. Ibid., p. 172-173.

9. Ibid., p. 174-175.

emigrate after October 15th, owing to the lateness of the season. But when, the next April, deputies from Grand Pré, River Canard and Piziquid petitioned for permission to leave the province, Cornwallis replied that unless they returned home to sow their lands so that they would be in the proper condition for that time of year, they could expect no favour from the government, and that after this was done, he would provide a more precise reply to the request.¹⁰ On May 25th the answer came: the British had done everything in their power to make the province an attractive place for the Acadians to live and they were "astonished" that they were thinking of leaving. If they were allowed to depart freely, without passports, great confusion would result, and they would give these passports only when "peace and tranquillity" were re-established in the province. At that time, however, they could grant no leave.¹¹ It appears that once again it had become British policy to try to prevent the Acadians from strengthening the French at Louisbourg, or, by now, north of the Missaguash River in the Isthmus of Chignecto. The problem of the oath was still no closer to solution than it had ever been.

Meanwhile Cornwallis was considering the problem of the safety of the province. As soon after his arrival as July 23 he was writing back to Britain that he felt it was necessary to demonstrate to the Acadians that the British were able "to master them or to protect them" and that he therefore intended to send as soon as possible two companies to Minas where they were to build a barrack and spend the winter. He also proposed sending an armed sloop into the Minas Basin to cut off communication by sea with

10. Ibid., p. 187, Minutes for April 19, 1750.

11. Ibid., p. 189-91, Minutes for May 25, 1750.

the French.¹² As a result, Mascarene, who had spent several weeks with Cornwallis at Halifax, sailed on August 21 for Annapolis Royal with instructions to send 100 men to Minas with a blockhouse and provisions for the winter.¹³ It took some time for Mascarene to organize the party, and it was not until mid-September that it arrived at Minas.¹⁴ At the same time Cornwallis sent Captain Goreham to guard the Minas Basin.¹⁵

To Cornwallis, the Indians, who were probably instigated by the French,¹⁶ presented a menace just as threatening as the Acadians.¹⁷ On October 1 he ordered the commanding officers at Annapolis, Minas and elsewhere to "annoy, distress & destroy the Indians every where."¹⁸ Cornwallis' anxiety appears to have been justified. On the 22nd of November (o.s.) Captain Handfield at the fort at Grand Pré sent out a detachment of about 17 men along with Lieutenant John Hamilton who was to finish surveying and mapping the area around the fort and to enquire of the habitants whether their sleighs had gone for wood. There were about 16 to 18 inches of loose snow, which made walking difficult, but the party made its way to the area Hamilton wished to map and he began his work. Almost immediately the group heard a cry and noise from a nearby height of land and was descended upon by about 150 Indians. The whole group was

12. Ibid., p. 564, Cornwallis to Duke of Bedford, 23 July, 1749.

13. Ibid., p. 576, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 20 August, 1749.

14. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 35, p. 49, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 11 September, 1749, reprinted in PDNS, p. 584.

15. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 35, p. 50, and PDNS, p. 585.

16. i.e. the priest Le Loutre, writing to the Governor of New France, said that he would "do his best to collect [his] Indians and as it was [not] possible openly to oppose the proceedings of the English, [they could not] do better than incite the Indians to carry on war against them." PAC, MG 30, D 37, vol. 2, p. 161.

17. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 35, p. 103, Cornwallis to Secretary of State, 17 October, 1749.

18. PDNS, p. 581, Minutes for 1 October, 1749.

taken prisoner after it had been surrounded and fired upon and two men killed.¹⁹ For a few days the Indians stayed in the vicinity, firing sporadically on the fort, but on December 4th, they moved on, apparently because of a dispute between the St. John's Indians and the Micmacs.²⁰

The extent of Acadian participation in the attack is uncertain. One Honore Gautreol of Grand Pré swore that eleven habitants of Piziquid were with the attacking Indians, and there exists an order signed by three Indian chiefs to the residents of Piziquid, Minas and area to send thirty men to take up arms with them because it was in their interest, and God's, to chase out the English.²¹ But Lieutenant Hamilton, in his account of his capture, makes no reference to Acadian participants, nor does Captain Handfield in his account.

Hamilton and his men remained in captivity for some time. In October of 1751 the Governor received a letter from Hamilton dated August 24 at Quebec. They would be released, he said, on payment of "17651 Livres & 1^{2d} to defray the charge of their Ransom and Maintenance."²² The Governor and Council agreed that this should be paid.

Lieutenant Hamilton had been the only person at the fort who could speak French and thereby communicate with the Acadian inhabitants,²³ so Cornwallis immediately sent one Captain Straburger to replace him.²⁴ And then on 12 March he sent Goreham with his Company to erect a blockhouse at Pisiquid and keep in contact with Captain Handfield so that they could come to each other's aid in an emergency.²⁵

19. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 36, p. 1, John Hamilton to Cornwallis, 5 January, 1750, and vol. 35, p. 173, Capt. Handfield to Gov. Cornwallis, 7 December, 1749.

20. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 35, p. 173.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 183, Declaration at Piziquid, 12 December 1749, (probably new style.

22. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 4, p. 280, Minutes for 15 October, 1751.

23. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 35, p. 173, Handfield to Cornwallis, 7 December, 1749.

24. Murdoch, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 13-24.

25. PDNS, p. 181, Cornwallis to Goreham, 12 March, 1749/50.

The early 1750's seem to have been relatively quiet in the Minas area. Between 1749 and 1751 British and French eyes were directed rather to the Isthmus of Chignecto where by the spring of 1750 the French had declared themselves masters of all that lay north and west of the Missaguash River. In April of that year they had in fact succeeded in repulsing a British expedition under Charles Lawrence who was to "erase" any fortifications erected by the French and chase out any detachments of French forces as well as to establish a British fort at Chignecto. In September 1750 a second expedition under Lawrence landed successfully and by early October Fort Lawrence on a height of land on the east side of the Missaguash was ready for occupancy. Orders for the construction of a French fort were issued in November and in the spring work began on Fort Beauséjour at the end of the Beauséjour Ridge. However for the next few years both the British and the French were more preoccupied with action in the interior of the continent and activity in the maritime regions was at a minimum.

By 1753 it was generally regarded by those in authority at Halifax that the fort at Grand Pré would not, without considerable repairs, be of much use in the future.²⁶ In December, Charles Lawrence, who had become governor in late October, recommended that it be dropped. He wrote

"This Fort was erected very late in the Fall of the first year of Colonel Cornwallis's Government, to prevent the French Inhabitants from driving off their Cattle which at that time they proposed to do, and

26. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 54, p. 181, A Report of the Several Buildings and Repairs Estimated for the year 1754.

keep them as much as possible to their allegiance. As it was then too late in the year to build Barracks they were obliged to enclose three French Houses in a Triangular Picketing with half Bastions. The Situation which they were obliged to take up with on Account of these Houses is upon a low flatt Ground Commanded by a Hill, and so Exposed to the Weather that in deep Snows it has been often Possible to Walk over the Palisades.

The next year Fort Edward was Built, it stands upon the River of Piziquid which Runs into Minas Bason about Two Leagues from the Fort; The Barracks of this Fort are very Sufficient to contain its own Garrison and that of Mines Fort....

I look upon the Union of the Two Garrisons to answer all the Purposes that can be Expected from both, especially if Boats are allowed in Mines Bason which the saving of the repairs of Mines Fort will be a very good Fund to pay for. If the French should relapse again into their former disposition and by that means make it necessary to have some Troops at Mines, there is a place near the present Fort where a little Redoubt might be more cheaply built."²⁷

The Lords of Trade replied in the spring that if Lawrence considered it necessary, they had no objections to his abandoning the Fort.²⁸ On 29 July 1754 the Council at Halifax recommended that the union of the two garrisons be carried out,²⁹ and on August 1 Lawrence ordered one Mathew Floyer to dismantle the fort at Minas.³⁰

27. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 54, p. 225-6, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 5 December, 1753.

28. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 55, p. 61, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 4 April, 1754, reprinted in PDNS, p. 208.

29. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 7, p. 58, Minutes for 29 July, 1754.

30. PDNS, p. 212.

PART V

THE EXPULSION

Although the situation in the province had been relatively quiet during the early 1750's, by the fall of 1754 plans were afoot in Halifax and Boston to remove the French military for once and for all from the Isthmus of Chignecto. Governor Lawrence heard early that autumn of the rumblings of war in Europe, and early in November, Thomas Pichon, a spy for the British at Fort Beauséjour, warned Captain Scott at Fort Lawrence that plans were being made to strengthen the French fort in the spring and that 300 more troops would be arriving from France along with ships and frigates to be stationed in the Bay of Fundy.¹ Right away Lawrence wrote Shirley, who was now Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America, that it was in his opinion "high time" to expel the French forces and that 2000 men should be raised in the spring so that the British could take the offensive before the French struck them - and before the French supply ships arrived.² On the same day Shirley was writing Lawrence that Sir Thomas Robinson, the Secretary of State, had issued some vague instructions which he understood to be orders for them to act together "for taking any advantages to drive the French of Canada out of Nova Scotia."³ When he received Lawrence's letter, Shirley agreed with him that the spring would be the strategic time to strike, and replied that he would do his best to raise the 2000 men.⁴

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1. Webster, J.C., The Life of Thomas Pichon "The Spy of Beauséjour", p. 53, Pichon to Capt. Scott, 2 November, 1754.
 2. PDNS, p. 376-77, Lawrence to Shirley, 5 November, 1754.
 3. Ibid., p. 380, Shirley to Lawrence, 5 November, 1754.
 4. Ibid., p. 393, Shirley to Lawrence, 6 January, 1755.

Meanwhile the Lords of Trade in England had no conception of how far plans had progressed in America. It was not until January that Lawrence wrote that he was aware that he (along with Shirley) had been taking a risk in planning an expedition to Fort Beauséjour without instructions from home authorities, but that he had felt that they would not hesitate to support him. And again he emphasized how strongly he and Shirley felt that as long as French forts and establishments on the north side of the Bay of Fundy were allowed to remain, the province would never be secure.⁵

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monckton was placed in charge of the expedition and he was issued with instructions for the raising of the troops and the execution of the assignment.⁶ The force left Boston on May 23rd and arrived in the Isthmus on June 2. On June 16, after a seige of two weeks, the French at Fort Beauséjour surrendered.

Meanwhile the residents of the Minas area had been affected by the plans for the expedition. In September of 1754 Lawrence had issued a proclamation forbidding the exportation of corn (grain) from the province, because he feared that this produce was going to the French when it was needed in Halifax. In the spring he prohibited the use of boats and canoes, an act which caused very great inconvenience to the habitants who travelled so much by water. And then, as the expedition to and seige of Fort Beauséjour were underway and the British were anxious to prevent any harm being done them by the Acadians, the inhabitants of Minas were deprived of their arms.⁷ A detachment of 100 men from Fort Edward at

5. Ibid., p. 400-1, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 12 January, 1755.

6. PAC, MG 18, T13, Lawrence Papers, p. 117-118, 30 January, 1755.

7. PDNS, p. 249.

Piziquid were sent ostensibly on a march to Annapolis, stopping overnight in the Minas area. Instead, however, of the whole detachment staying in a few barns, it was divided up into groups of two or three and spread out through the houses in all the district. At 12 midnight the men seized all the arms they could lay their hands on, and the next morning met at the site of the old fort at Grand Pré. From there the arms were taken to a landing place and transferred to Fort Edward.⁸ This raid apparently did not turn up all the available arms, for on June 4th an order was issued from Fort Edward in the governor's name requiring the habitants to turn in all their guns and pistols.⁹

The loss of the use of their boats the habitants considered hardship enough, but the removal of their arms, they claimed, was unreasonable. On June 10th twenty five of the habitants of Minas presented a petition to the Governor via Captain Murray at Fort Edward. In it they maintained that their behaviour had always been quite proper and they asked for a confirmation of their old status re the oath. If some refugees had driven cattle or taken provisions to Fort Beauséjour, this did not mean they all had participated, and they all ought not be punished. For this reason they requested that they once again be allowed the use of their boats for fishing and for transporting provisions from river to river. And as for the guns which had been taken from them, they considered them personal property necessary for the protection of themselves and their livestock from wild animals. Possession of arms would not determine an inhabitant's

8. PAC, MG 21, E5, Add. Mss, 19073, Joseph Gray's History of Nova Scotia, vol. 21 - reprinted in Coll. de Docs., I, p. 138-9.

9. PDNS, p. 249.

faithfulness, they said; this was a matter for his conscience. They had received the order of June 4th to bring in all their guns, pistols, etc., but they hoped that on reconsidering the situation, the Council would, on the contrary, rescind the order and return the arms which had already been taken.¹⁰

On July 3rd, well after the capitulation of Fort Beauséjour, the Governor and Council at Halifax met to discuss this petition. The inhabitants who had signed the petition had been summoned to Halifax to explain themselves, and on that day fifteen of them were present, the other ten sending word that they were sick.¹¹ Paragraph by paragraph the inhabitants and the Council went over the petition together. The Acadian claims that the use of their boats and guns was not prejudicial to the British cause were harshly put down and they were "severely reprimanded for their Audacity in Subscribing and Presenting so impertinent a Paper."¹² When they came to the section about loyalty being a matter of conscience, not guns, the habitants were told that "if they were sincere in their Duty to the Crown, they would not be so anxious for their Arms, when it was the pleasure of the King's Government to demand them for His Majesty's Service." Instead of being permitted to renew the conditional oath, "They were then informed that a very fair Opportunity now presented itself to them to Manifest the reality of their Obedience to the Government by immediately taking the Oath of Allegiance in the Common Form before the Council." The Acadians replied that they "were not come prepared to resolve

10. PDNS, p. 247-49.

11. Ibid., p. 250, Minutes for July 3, 1755.

12. Ibid., p. 250-51.

the Council on that head." The Council replied that this was absurd, that they had had years in which to consider the problem and that surely by now they knew their minds on the subject. But the Acadians still felt they could not speak for all the inhabitants without consulting them. This request was denied and the inhabitants were sent out to consult among themselves about a reply. After an hour they returned with the statement that they were willing to take the old conditional oath without consulting the rest of the habitants, but not an unqualified one. This reply was unacceptable to the Council, and the habitants were given until ten the next morning to come to a decision.¹³

When Council met with the habitants the next morning, the habitants had not changed their minds, and Council replied that it "could no longer look on them as Subjects of his Britannick Majesty, but as Subjects of the King of France, and as such they must hereafter be Treated."¹⁴ The deputies were then sent out while the Council considered the situation. It resolved that orders should be sent to the Acadians to choose new deputies to be sent to Halifax with the opinion of the inhabitants about the oath, "and that none of them should for the future be admitted to Take it after having once refused so to do, but that effectual Measures ought to be taken to remove all such Recusants out of the Province."¹⁵ The deputies were thereupon called in again, and, although they now offered to take the oath, the offer was rejected because they had refused before; they were ordered into confinement and taken to George's Island.¹⁶

13. Ibid., p. 254-55, Minutes for July 3, 1755.

14. Ibid., p. 256, Minutes for July 4, 1755.

15. Ibid., p. 256.

16. Ibid., p. 256 and p. 260.

This was not the first time that the expulsion of some of the less desirable Acadian residents from the province had crossed Lawrence's mind. In January of 1755 when orders were issued to Monckton for the expedition to Beauséjour, he had directed Monckton not to give the "revolted" inhabitants of the Isthmus of Chignecto any opportunity to take oaths of allegiance, "as their taking them would tye up our hands and disqualify us to extirpate them, should it be found, (as I fancy it will) hereafter necessary."¹⁷ Lawrence's attitude seems to have hardened when, after the capitulation of the fort, about three hundred Acadians were found within. The French Commandant declared that they had been forced to take up arms, but Lawrence wrote to Monckton that this claim was nonsense and reminded him not to permit them to take the oath or to allow them anything which might later be used as a title to their lands.¹⁸ By July 13 he had made up his mind about the fate of the inhabitants of the Isthmus of Chignecto. Although they had been forced to do so by the destruction by the French or Indians of the villages east of the Missaguash, many of these had left their homes for what the French declared to be French soil west of the Missaguash. Now he wrote that he was determined that they should be removed as soon as Monckton had made all possible use of them.¹⁹ However by the end of July, this sentence had been extended to all the inhabitants of the province and plans were in progress for the general expulsion of the Acadian population.

17. PAC, MG 18, T13, Lawrence Papers, p. 117-118, 30 January, 1755.

18. Ibid., p. 33-35, (Lawrence to Monckton), 25 June, 1755.

19. Ibid., p. 41, Lawrence to Monckton, 13 July, 1755.

On the 25th of July, thirty representatives from Annapolis presented a petition pleading that they had in the past co-operated well with the British and indicating that they would take the old oath but no new one.²⁰ These deputies were told "that they ought very seriously to consider the Consequences of their Refusal, That if they once refused the Oath, they would never after be permitted to Take it, but would infallibly lose their Possessions", and they were given until Monday the 28th at 10.00 A.M. to reconsider their situation.

On the 28th, 203 habitants from Minas and River Canard and 103 from Pisiquid sent deputies to Halifax to say that they too were prepared to take only the oath they had sworn to Governor Philipps.²¹ The Annapolis deputies repeated their previous stand, whereupon the deputies from all the areas were thrown into prison. The Council minutes continue:

"As it had been determined to send all the French Inhabitants out of the Province if they refused to Take the Oaths, nothing now remained to be considered but what measures should be taken to send them away, and where they should be sent to.

After mature Consideration, it was unanimously Agreed That, to prevent as much as possible their Attempting to return and molest the Settlers that may 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 with all possible Expedition for that purpose."²²

20. PDNS, p. 261, Minutes for 25 July, 1755.

21. Ibid., p. 263-266.

22. Ibid., p. 266-7, Minutes for 28 July, 1755.

The expulsion followed quickly on this decision. On July 31st Governor Lawrence wrote to Monckton that because the inhabitants of the Isthmus of Chignecto had taken up arms against the government, they would be the first to go.²³ On August 11th 400 of the male inhabitants of Chignecto appeared before Monckton as ordered and were detained in Forts Beauséjour and Cumberland. For the next month or so Monckton's men were occupied in trying to round up the rest of the inhabitants of the isthmus, and, although they were not completely successful, embarkation on the ships began on September 10th. They sailed on October 13th.

At Minas preparations for the expulsion were begun soon after those at Chignecto. On August 4 Monckton told Lieutenant Colonel John Winslow who had been with the Beauséjour expedition that he would be sent to Minas,²⁴ and on the 13th he was ordered to proceed with four Companies of his Battalion to Piziquid to await further orders.²⁵ On the 16th they embarked and the next day they sailed.²⁶ On the morning of the 18th Winslow arrived at Fort Edward at Piziquid where word was waiting for him that he and his party were to be posted to Minas.²⁷

23. Ibid., p. 267-269.

24. Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (hereafter cited as NSHS), vol. IV, Journal of Colonel John Winslow, p. 221-22.

25. Ibid., p. 236.

26. Ibid., p. 241.

27. Ibid., p. 243.

The next day Winslow arrived at Grand Pré with his party of 313 men. He reported to Major General Shirley:

"have taken up my Quarters between the Church & Chapel yard, haveing the Prest House for my own accomodation and the Church for a Place of Arms am Picquetting in my Camp to Prevent a Supprise".²⁸

Because he was making the church a "place of arms", he "Sent for the Elders to remove all Sacred things to Prevent there being Defiled by Herriticks."²⁹ And then he ordered the "Deputys & Principal Inhabitants of the Several Districts of Grand Pré river Habitants and River Auxcanard" to appear at the Grand Pré church at 9.00 the next morning.³⁰ When they appeared as required Winslow told them that they must supply him with provisions until he received supplies by water.³¹ On the 23rd Winslow received a month's provisions for 400 men³² but demands on the habitants did continue.

On August 24th Winslow reported his progress in setting up camp:

"Pitched my Tents & Lodged my men in them, if my Palasades hold out Shall Finish my Picquetting this Day. There is a Smal House within the Picquetts of which I have Made the Captains Quarters. one thing I Stil Lack which is a Guard room, and have a Frame up & Partly Inclosed and old Boards Sufficent to Cover it."³³

From Winslow's complaints we can derive some idea of life in the camp. On the 26th he reported that the men had developed "Such a Fondness for Playing of Cards that they neglect their Duty and get an Idle Habitt." Therefore it was ordered that no more card playing was to take place in the camp.³⁴ And two days later, on the 28th, he complained

28. NSHS, vol. III, Journal of Colonel John Winslow, p. 71.

29. NSHS, vol. IV, p. 245.

30. Ibid., p. 245.

31. Ibid., p. 246.

32. NSHS, III, p. 75, Winslow to Monckton, 23 August, 1755.

33. Ibid., p. 76, Winslow to Capt. Murray, 24 August, 1755.

34. Ibid., p. 78.

of the playing of quoits in the camp. He observed too that the Soldiers were "not so Exact as Could be wished in regard to Clenliness in the Camp Leaving their Cabbage Leaves, Pease Pods, &c., among their Tents which in a Little time will become noyesome." He therefore ordered the men to cast all their garbage outside the pickets and "not Less than Thirty foot from ye Gate on the Left hand."³⁵

It appears that for some time the inhabitants of Minas did not believe that the arrival of the troops would mean any great sudden change in their lives. In fact it was Lawrence's opinion that Winslow's fencing the area around the church might serve only to alarm the inhabitants who were at the time "in Great Security."³⁶ Winslow reported that he imagined "it is So far from Giving Surprise to the Inhabitants as to their Being Removed, that they Look Upon it as a Settled Point that we Are to Remain with them all winter."³⁷

The expulsion proceeded more slowly at Minas than Winslow had hoped. On August 11th Lawrence had issued his orders:

"That the Inhabitants May Not have it in their Power to Return to this Province, Nor to Join in Strengthening the French of Canada or Louisbourg, it is Resolved that they shall be Dispersed Among His Majesty's Colonies Upon the Continent of America.

For this purpose Transports are Sent Up the Bay to Ship of those at Chignecto And Colonel Monckton will Order those he Cannot fill their unto Mines Bason to Carry oft Some part of the Inhabitants of these Districts; you Will have Vessels Also from Boston to Transport one Thousand Persons Reckoning Two Persons to a Ton.

35. Ibid., p. 78.

36. Ibid., p. 84, Lawrence to Winslow, 26 August, 1755.

37. Ibid., p. 85, Winslow to Lawrence, 30 August, 1755.

Upon the arrival of these Vessels from Boston and Chignecto in the Bason of Mines, as Many of the Inhabitants of the District of Mines, Piziquid, Cobiquid, the River of Canard, &c.; as Can Be Collected By Any Means, Particularly the Heads of Families & Young Men are to Be Shipped Or Board of them at the Above Rate of Two Persons to a Ton Or as Near it as Possible; the Tonnage to be ascertained By Charter Parties of the Severall Transports; which you Will Be Furnished With an Account of From the Masters.

And to Give You all the Ease Possible Respecting the Victualling of these Transports; I have Appointed Mr. George Saul to Acte as Agent Victualler Upon this Occasion, And have given him Particular Instructions for that Effect, which he has Directions to Communicate to you. And to Furnish You With a Copy of upon his Arrivall From Chignecto; With Provisions Ordered for Victualling the whole Transports."³⁸

Five hundred people were to be shipped to North Carolina, one thousand to Virginia and five hundred to Maryland. If there were more than 2000, they were to be shipped in the same proportions.³⁹ The same day Lawrence sent further instructions:

"above all I Desier you would Not pay the Least attention to any remonstrance or Memorial from any of the Inhabitants, whatsoever who may be Desierous of Staying behinde, but Embarke Every Person if Posable according to the Instructions herewith Sent without any further application to me. If you Should Finde there is more People then there is Vessels Provided will Contain, Reckoning Two Persons to Each Tun, you are Immediately to Send an Express to acquaint me therewith, but Make No Delay in the Embarkation upon that account.

Thoh the Inhabitants by your Instructions are allowed to Carry with them their household Furniture yet they Must Not put on Board Quantities of useless Rubbish to Encumber the Vessels; the Inhabitants and their Bedding Must at all Events be Embarked, and if afterwards there is room for other articles Suffer them to Carry what they Conveniently Can."⁴⁰

38. Ibid., p. 79, Instructions to Winslow, 11 August, 1755.

39. Ibid., p. 79.

40. Ibid., p. 87, Lawrence to Winslow, 11 August, 1755.

Winslow did not receive these instructions until Captain Murray from Fort Edward arrived with them on the 30th. The grain had been cut down but the weather had so far prevented the inhabitants from putting it into barns. For this reason Winslow and Murray decided not to meet with the habitants until Friday September 5th.⁴¹ Meanwhile Winslow's men were busy reconnoitering the countryside. On the 3rd a party returned from the Canard River area with word that it was "a Fine Country and Full of Inhabitants, a Butifull Church & abundance of ye Goods of the world."⁴² Other parties were sent to other areas of settlement.

On September 2nd Winslow visited Murray at Fort Edward and together they drew up the proclamation which they would issue summoning the inhabitants of Minas and Piziquid at 3.00 P.M. on September 5th to the church in Grand Pré and the fort at Piziquid respectively.⁴³ On the fourth this announcement was made and on the 5th most of the male population above the age of ten duly appeared at the church. Winslow recorded the scene in his journal:

"Att Three in the afternoon The French Inhabitants appeared agreeable to their Citation at the Church in Grand Pre amounting to 418 of Their Best Men upon which I ordered a Table to be Sett in the Center of the Church and being attended with those of my officers who were off Gaurd Delivered them by Interpreters the King's orders In the Following Words:

Gentlemen,

I have Received from his Excellency Governor Lawrence, The Kings Commission which I have in my hand and by whose orders you are Convened together to

41. Ibid., p. 85, Winslow to Lawrence, 30 August, 1755.

42. Ibid., p. 91, Winslow's Journal, September 3, 1755.

43. Ibid., p. 90, Journal for September 2, 1755.

Manifest to you his Majesty's Final resolution to the French Inhabitants of this his Province of Nova Scotia. who for almost half a Century have had more Indulgence Granted them, then any of his Subjects in any part of his Dominions. what use you have made of them. you your Self Best Know.

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

But it is not my Business to annimedvert, but to obey Such orders as I receive and therefore without Hessionation Shall Deliver you his Majesty's orders and Instructions vizt.

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

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

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

And Gave out the Following Declaration.

GRAND PRE, SEPTEMBER 5th 1755.

all officers and Soldiers and Sea Men Employed in his Majesty's Service as well as all his

Subjects of what Denomination Soever, are hereby Notified That all Cattle vizt Horsses, Horne Cattle, Sheep, goats, Hoggs and Poultry of Every Kinde. that was this Day Sposed to be Vested in the French Inhabitants of this Province are become Forfitted to his Majesty whose Property they now are and Every Person of what Denomination Soever is to take Care not to Hurt Kill or Destroy anything of any Kinde nor to Rob Orchards or Gardens or to make waste of anything Dead or alive in these Districts without Special order. Given at my Camp the Day & Place abovesd.

JOHN WINSLOW.

To be Published Throhout the Camp and at Villages where the Vessels lye.

After Delivering These Things I returned to my Quarters and they the French Inhabitants Soon Moved by their Elders that it was a Great Greif to them, that they had Incured his Majty's Displeasure and that they were Fearfull that the Surprise of their Detention here would Quite over Come their Familys whome they had No Means to apprise of these their Maloncolly Circumstances and Prayd that parte of them might be returned as Hostages for the appearance of the rest and the Biger number admitted to Go home to their Families, and that as some of their Men were absent they would be obliged to Bring them in. I Informed them I would Consider of their Motion, and reporte.

And Immediatly Convened my officers, to advise, who with Me all agreed that it would be well that they them Selves Should Chuse Twenty of their Number for whome they would be answerable vizt Ten of the Inhabitants of Grand Pre & Village & other Ten of the River Cannard and Habitant and they to acquaint the Families of their Districts how Maters where and to assure them that the women & children Should be in Safety in their absence in their Habitations and that it was Exspected the Party Indulged Should take Care to Bring in the Exact Account of their absent Brethren & their Circumstances on the Morrow.⁴⁴

44. Ibid., p. 94-96, Journal for September 5, 1755.

Murray reported to Winslow that he had about 183 men into his "Possession" and that he thought that included nearly everyone.⁴⁵ And Winslow in return announced his success in taking into custody a number he believed to be not much short of 500.⁴⁶ Arrangements were made for the families of the men to bring in food.⁴⁷

By September 7th Winslow could report that the exact number of men taken in on September 5th was 418 but that more were being rounded up every day. And in addition to two groups of ten men each who were allowed to return home for twenty-four hour periods, the millers were permitted to go about their work.⁴⁸

Even once the men were in captivity, however, the process of loading the population onto the ships and sending them off was a long one. The ships for their transport were slow in arriving. On August 30 three transports arrived from Boston, but the ships from the Isthmus of Chignecto did not appear and did not appear. Winslow made several complaints to Lawrence and Monckton but without success. Finally on September 29 Winslow wrote Lawrence suggesting that the transports which were then at Annapolis be moved to Minas and replaced later by others when available so that the task could be completed in at least one area.⁴⁹ This was done, and three ships were sent along to Major Murray at Piziquid. But it was not until mid-October that the first ships sailed and December before the work was completed.

45. Ibid., p. 96, Murray to Winslow, September 5, 1755.

46. Ibid., p. 97, Winslow to Murray, September 5, 1755.

47. Ibid., p. 98, Journal for September 5, 1755.

48. Ibid., p. 104, Winslow to Murray, 7 September, 1755.

49. Ibid., p. 155, Winslow to Lawrence, September 29, 1755.

On September 10th Winslow recorded in his journal that he had found "Some Uncommon Motions" among the Acadians which he did not like. He consulted with his officers and they agreed that it would be in His Majesty's interest to separate the prisoners and that fifty men should be embarked on each of five available ships. Winslow called Père Landry who spoke English and told him of this decision and told him they were going to start with the young men and that the embarkation would start in an hour. When the time came, the young men answered that they would not go without their fathers. Winslow's diary tells the story:

"I Told them that was a word I did not understand for that the Kings Command was to me absolute & Should be absolutely obeyed & That I Did not have to use Harsh Means but that the time Did not admit of Parlies or Delays and Then ordered the whole Troops to Fix their Bayonets and advance Towards the French and Bid the 4 right hand Files of the Prisoners Consisting of 24 men wch I told of my Self to Divied from the rest, one of whome I Took hold on (who oposed the Marching) and bid March. he obeyed & the rest followed. thoh Slowly, and went of Praying, Singing & Crying being Met by the women & Children all the way (which is 1 1/2 mile) with Great Lamentations upon their Knees praying &c.

I then ordered the remaining French to Chuse out 109 of Their marryed men to follow their young People (the Ice Being Broke) they readily Complyed and Drew up in a Body as said the number who upon Capt Adams return I ordered of under a Guard Commanded by Capt Osgood..... but when he Came to put them on board the Vessels Found them but 89 Instead of 109. So that the Number Embarqued was but 230 and Thus Ended this Troublesome Jobb, which was Scheen of Sorrow. After this Capt Adams with the Transports Fell Down from Gaspereau and anchored in the Mouth of that river and Piziquid."⁵⁰

50. Ibid., p. 109-110, Journal for September 10, 1755.

Arrangements were made for the women and children to bring food for the men each day.

Meanwhile, on shore, the Acadian women and children were helping British soldiers to finish with the harvest and put the grain into the barns. There was some difficulty in acquiring enough bread because the water in the streams was very low and the mills weren't able to grind enough flour.⁵¹ Winslow considered his own situation somewhat precarious; on the 19th he wrote:

"We have in Confinement here Two French men to an English man, Since the Parties I am ordered to Detach are Sent out Nothing but our Musquetry to Protect our Selves & Secure them. have 507 men in Custody which with their wives & Children Included amount to more than 2000 People in my Districk. Exclusive of the Out Portes & Several from Piziquid, near 6000 Meat Cattle 8000 Sheep, 4000 Hoggs & 500 Horses..."⁵²

On the evening of the 7th of October twenty four young Acadians escaped from two of the ships although there was an eight-man guard on duty at each ship.⁵³ When he investigated the escape the next day, Winslow concluded that they had escaped in women's clothes⁵⁴ and that one Francois Hebert "was Either the Contriver or abettor" of the affair. Hebert was ordered ashore, his house and barn were burned before him, and the population was warned that if the escapees did not surrender their friends would be treated in the same way and their household goods would be confiscated as well.⁵⁵ Apparently this word reached the men,

51. Ibid., p. 127, Winslow to Lawrence, September 17, 1755.

52. Ibid., p. 133, Winslow to Joshua Winslow, September 19, 1755.

53. Ibid., p. 165-166, Journal for October 7, 1755.

54. Ibid., p. 169, Winslow to Lawrence, 11 October, 1755.

55. Ibid., p. 166, Journal for October 8, 1755.

for on the 11th they replied that if they would be forgiven they would return that night. Winslow agreed and hoped "for once to have them perform their word."⁵⁶ They did not, however, come immediately; on the 12th, two of the fugitives were shot at as they were trying to escape from a search party,⁵⁷ and it was not until the evening of the 13th that the other 22 returned quietly to the ships.⁵⁸

As we have seen, Winslow was impatient for the transports from the Isthmus to arrive and had written on September 29th suggesting that the ships from Annapolis be sent to him. Lawrence agreed and on October 1st sent orders to this effect via Winslow to Major Handfield at Annapolis.⁵⁹ Plans for the embarkation now progressed. Winslow and his officers decided "that as many of the Inhabitants of Each village as Could be Commodod Should Proceed in the Same Vessel & that whole Familys Go together, and Sent Orders to the Several Familys to hold them Selves in readiness to Embarke with all their Household Goods." But even now, Winslow recorded, he could not make the people believe he was in earnest.⁶⁰ On the 8th, even before the ships from Annapolis arrived (which was on the 10th) the embarkation began on the available ships. Winslow recorded in his journal:

"began to Embarke the Inhabitants who went of Very Solentarily and unwillingly, the women in Great Distress Carrying off Their Children In their arms. Others Carrying their Decript Parents in their Carts and all their Goods Moving in Great Confussion & appeared a Screen of woe & Distres. Fild up Church and Milburry, with about Eighty Familys...."⁶¹

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56. Ibid., p. 169, Winslow to Lawrence, 11 October, 1755.
57. Ibid., p. 170, Journal for October 12, 1755.
58. Ibid., p. 173, Journal for October 13, 1755.
59. Ibid., p. 162, Lawrence to Winslow, October 1, 1755.
60. Ibid., p. 164, Journal for October 6, 1755.
61. Ibid., p. 166, Journal for October 8, 1755.

And on the 13th the captains of nine transports which were to sail from Minas were given their instructions. They were to proceed to Maryland, Virginia or Pennsylvania (those which had been directed to North Carolina in the instructions of August 11th having been re-directed to Philadelphia on September 30th⁶²) where they were to "make all Possible Dispatch" in unloading their passengers. The instructions went on:

"you are to take Care that no arms or offensive weapons are on Board with your Passengers, and to be as Carefull & Watchfull as Possible During the Whole Corse of your voyage to Prevent the Passengers from Making an attempt, to Seige your Vessel by allowing only a Small number to be on the Deck at a Time. and using all other Necessary Precautions to Prevent the Bad Consequences of Such an attempt and you are also to See that the Provisions be regularly Issued to the People...."⁶³

The inhabitants of Grand Pré and the River Gaspereau were the first to be put aboard the ships. The men who had already been embarked were taken off so that they could travel with their families, and then they were re-loaded.⁶⁴ To speed up the loading process at Minas Winslow sent Captain Adams to "Budrot Pointe" between the Habitant and Canard River where the inhabitants of those Rivers and the Pereau were ordered to be ready. On the 19th the available transports went to Budrot Point to collect their passengers. Here Winslow was counting on the arrival of three ships which Monckton had promised him on the 7th,⁶⁵ but they failed to appear. Winslow consulted with his officers and they decided to send as many of the inhabitants as possible on the available ships. By the 21st all the transports had been filled and were ready to sail. But Winslow's job had not been completed. He wrote:

62. Ibid., p. 160, Lawrence to Winslow, 30 September, 1755.

63. Ibid., p. 172, Instructions to Thomas Church, Commander of the Schooner Leopard.

64. Ibid., p. 166, Journal for October 9, 1755.

65. Ibid., p. 177-8, Monckton to Winslow, October 7, 1755.

"And altho. I put in more than Two to a Tun & the People greatly Crowded yet remains Upon my Hands for want of Transportes the whole Vilages of Antoine and Landry & Some of Cannard Amounting to 98 Familys & upwards of Six Hundred Souls, All of which I removed from Budro Pointe to Grand Pre, Where I have at Present Set them down in Houses Nearest the Camp and Permit them to be with their Familys upon their word of being at any Call ready to Imbark and answering to their names upon the Roll Calld at Sun Set in the Camp."⁶⁶

On the 23rd of October Winslow was able to provide an account of the transports which had sailed:

<u>"Vessel Names</u>	<u>Masters</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Where Bound</u>
Hannah	Adams	140	Pensilvania
Swan	Hazlum	168	Ditto
Sally & Molly	Purrington	154	Virginia Total 364
Mary	Dunning	182	-----
Prosperous	Bradgton	152	-----
Encheere	Stone	166	-----
Industry	Goodwin	177	Total 831
Leopard	Church	178	Maryland
	Milbury	186	Ditto
			Total 364
			(1583)
			<u>1498"</u>

And Captain Murray had sent to join these transports four ships holding more than a thousand people in all.⁶⁷

Now that the bulk of the deportation had been completed Lawrence ordered Winslow to send a detachment to help Major Handfield at Annapolis. Those troops not needed were to be sent to Halifax.⁶⁸ Winslow accordingly sent a detachment to Annapolis and wrote Lawrence that he believed a party of 130 men left at Grand Pré would be sufficient to deal

66. Ibid., p. 179, Winslow to Lawrence, 27 October, 1755.

67. Ibid., p. 178, Winslow to Messrs. Apthorp & Hancock, 23 October, 1755.

68. Ibid., p. 181, Lawrence to Winslow, 27 October, 1755.

with the remaining Acadians. He reported as well that he and Major Murray had agreed that all the villages in their districts except Grand Pré should be destroyed immediately, and that Grand Pré should be destroyed after the last of the inhabitants had been shipped off.⁶⁹

On November 13th Winslow and those of his Troops who were not needed in the area set off for Halifax,⁷⁰ leaving a detachment at Grand Pré under Captain Osgood. On the 18th and 20th of December Osgood reported that all the Acadians left in his care had now been shipped off in four vessels bound for Connecticut, Boston and Virginia.⁷¹ And on the 19th Winslow wrote that Osgood and his men were still at Minas but that they were expected daily.⁷² Winslow believed that the expulsion from the area had been complete.⁷³

Winslow included in his papers a tally of all buildings burned and people transported:

1755 Buildings Burnt by Lievt Colonel Winslow in Districts of Menis &c.			
	Houses	Barns	out Houses
Nov. 2 at Gaspereau.....	49	39	19
Nov. 5 at Cannard. Habitant, Pero &c.	76	81	33
6 at Cannard & Habitant.....	85	100	75
7 at Do.	<u>45</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>28</u>
	255	276	155
Mills on Different Days at the)		Barns.....	276
several Places.....11		Houses....	255
		Mills.....	11
Shipt by Winslow1510		Mass House <u>1</u>	
Osgood <u>732</u>			698 74
	2242		

69. Ibid., p. 182, Winslow to Lawrence, 31 October, 1755.

70. Ibid., p. 190, Winslow to Shirley, 19 December, 1755.

71. Ibid., p. 188, Osgood to Winslow, 18 December, 1755 and p. 192, same to same, 20 December, 1755. The total figure given in the table of buildings burned and people shipped is 732 for this lot, but the totals for each ship (120, 112, 114, 236) comes to only 582.

72. Ibid., p. 190, Winslow to Shirley, 19 December, 1755.

73. Ibid., p. 182-183, Winslow to Monckton, 3 November, 1755.

74. Ibid., p. 185.

This chart does not include the buildings of Grand Pré proper, which, if in fact they were destroyed, would have been burned by Osgood before his departure. Virtually nothing remained of what had been the largest concentration of Acadian population. The Abbé LeGuerne, who had served the missions at Tantramar, Memramcook, Chipody and Petitcodiac for three years, reported in March of 1756 that from Minas there remained only ten or eleven habitants who had escaped to the woods and who were trying to escape to modern-day New Brunswick.⁷⁵ This estimate was probably on the small side; during the few years after the expulsion the British were forced to leave a garrison at Fort Edward to keep an eye on the area. By the fall of 1761 there were 231 Acadians held prisoner at Piziquid, and in June 1762, 282.⁷⁶ Between June 1763 and March 1764 the average number at the fort was 343, with a high of 400.⁷⁷ After 1764 the British stopped feeding these prisoners, and many of them resettled or left the province, but in any case the Acadians never regained the position of dominance they had once held around the Minas Basin.⁷⁸

75. Coll. de Docs., II, p. 154, M. L'Abbé LeGuerne to M^r le Ch^{er} de Drucour, Gouverneur, 10 March, 1756.

76. Martell, J.S., Pre-Loyalist Settlements around Minas Basin 1755-1783, p. 163.

77. Ibid., p. 164.

78. See Ibid., p. 167-8.

PART VII

THE CHURCH AT MINAS

The date and place of construction of the church at Minas, St. Charles des Mines, is uncertain. In 1686 the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, toured Acadia and wrote of his visit to Minas:

"This is a settlement which is so named because of the proximity of a rock where, from all appearances, there is a copper mine, which was pointed out to us as we passed. The inhabitants are sturdy and hard-working young people who came from Port Royal, as did those of Beaubassin, whose example they followed, to dyke the marshland. I spent an entire day satisfying their needs; in the morning I was busy encouraging them, hearing confession and giving them communion at mass, and after dinner baptising several children and settling some quarrels and cases.

As I was leaving they urged me to give them a priest, and they promised me not only to feed him but even to build him a church and a house on an island belonging to one of them...."¹

But who owned this land and where exactly it was situated remains a question. Placide Gaudet suggested in 1922 that the donor was Pierre Theriot, one of the first settlers of the district. Although Gaudet said that everything pointed to this conclusion, he cited only one source, a letter which the Sieur De Goutin wrote to the Minister of the Marine that "the said Pierre Theriot is the principal resident of Minas of which he is virtually the founder, having led almost all those who came to live here, his house having been a refuge for all the widows and orphans and needy people...."² This would seem to me to indicate that Theriot was the sort of person who might have provided the land, but not necessarily that it was he who did it.

1. Translated from Saint-Vallier, op. cit., p.

2. Translated from quotation in Gaudet, Placide, Le Grand Dérangement, p. 51, also quoted in Rameau de Saint-Père, Esme, Une Colonie féodale en Amérique, II, p. 333.

After Saint-Vallier's tour of Acadia a priest was sent to Minas. According to Placide Gaudet the first priest was l'abbé Jean Beaudoin who spent a few months there in 1688 before going to Beaubassin, and he was succeeded by the Sulpicien Louis Geoffroy in 1689.³ Others suggest that Geoffroy, who had accompanied Saint-Vallier in 1686, was the first priest.⁴ Whenever he came, Geoffroy was succeeded by l'abbé Buisson de Saint-Cosme (1692-1699), l'abbé Guay (1699-1702), l'abbé Leveyer (1702-1703), and Père Bonaventure Masson (1703-1715).⁵

Exactly when the church was built is also unknown. Gargas' census of 1687-88 says that at Les Mines there was either a church or a house used as such,⁶ but the census of 1689 records the presence of a priest but no church.⁷ The church was therefore probably built in 1689 or later.

L'abbé de Saint-Cosme seems to have been the subject of complaints on the part of Governor Villebon and Des Goutins at least, and probably by many members of the community as well. The complaints revolve mainly about an incident in which Saint-Cosme expelled from the church one of M. Theriot's nephews for having caused some sort of scandal involving M. Theriot's wife. Villebon and Des Goutins both considered that St. Cosme had entered into the temporal sphere in this and other episodes, and both complained to the home authorities on the subject.⁸ Saint Cosme was replaced in September 1699 by another priest of the Seminaire des Missions Etrangères, l'abbé Guay.

3. Gaudet, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

4. Bernard, Antoine, *Le Drame Acadien depuis 1604*, p. 162.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 214-215.

6. Morse, *op. cit.*, I, p. 151.

7. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466 pt. 1, p. 58.

8. Des Goutins to the Minister, September 1694, quoted in Rameau de Saint-Père, *op. cit.*, II, p. 333, and PAC, MG 1, B 17-2, p. 120-21, Minister to Villebon, 16 April, 1695, and p. 145-6, same to Bishop of Quebec, 16 April 1695.

The Récollet Father Bonnaventure Masson served the Minas area from 1703 until the time of his death in 1715.⁹

In 1704 the church at Minas suffered at the hands of the expedition from New England under Benjamin Church. The next year the authorities in France ordered Governor Brouillan to use some of the money being sent for the church at Port Royal to replace the vessels etc. stolen from the church at Minas.¹⁰ And so in November of 1705 Bonnaventure was sent to Minas with the required religious objects.¹¹

By the Treaty of Utrecht the Acadians who remained in the province were "to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome", and to comply with this article the British naturally had to allow priests from Quebec or France to be present in the province. But these priests, the British came to feel, were frequently as active in the political as the religious sphere. As Governor Philipps expressed it in 1720:

"....there will ever remaine a great obstruction to our happiness whilst the Priests and Jesuits are among us, for it is not to be imagined with what application they encourage the French, and the Indians, against submitting to His Majesty's Government and even their Sermons are constant Invectives against the English Nation, to render it odious to the natives.

Among this Tribe are Père Vincent and Felix who distinguish themselves for most inveterate enemies to the British Interest and preside in the quality of Governors over Minas and Chignecto, Two most considerable settlements in Nova Scotia. The people pay them a willing obedience and are growne so insolent as to say they will neither swear allegiance nor leave the country."¹²

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9. PAC, MG 9, B 8, 12, Registres de la paroisse St. Charles des Mines à la Grand-Prée, 1707-1748, deaths, 16 February, 1715.
10. PAC, MG 1, B, 27-2, p. 342, Memoire du Roy to M. de Brouillan.
11. PAC, MG 1, C11D, 5, p. 184, Bonnaventure to Minister, 30 November, 1705.
12. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 11, p. 2-3, Philipps to Lords of Trade, 3 January, 1720.

These fears were frequently justified; in 1713 for example Père Felix, who was at that time at Beaubassin but who between 1715 and 1724 served Minas on a fairly regular basis,¹³ was being reminded by the French Minister of the Marine that he was in a strategic position at Beaubassin because he could easily receive communications from Cape Breton. And he urged Père Felix to encourage the inhabitants to move to French territory because he feared they would not do so on their own initiative.¹⁴

The early 1720's were years of Indian attacks on various settlements, traders and fishing vessels. By 1724 the British authorities at Annapolis were convinced, partly by the testimony of another French priest, that Père Felix at Minas had been instrumental in organizing some of the Indian attacks, and therefore he was ordered to leave the province forever. Père Isidore Colet at Piziquid was ordered to take charge of the Minas parish as well as his own.¹⁵ Between 1724 and 1730 there seems to have been a stream of priests administering to the inhabitants of Minas. In November 1724 the abbé Antoine Gaulin who had been active in stirring up Indian activity was permitted by the Council at Annapolis to remain in the province if he would go to Minas¹⁶ and for several years Gaulin appears from the parish records to have officiated for varying periods in that parish. During those years the parish was also served at various times by le Père Pierre Verquaille from Cobequid and l'abbé Jean-Baptiste Brauet.

13. See Parish Registers, PAC, MG 9, B 8, 12.

14. PAC, MG 1, B, vol 3-5, p. 184, Minister to Felix Pain, 29 March, 1713.

15. N.S. Arch. III, Minutes of Council, 29 August, 1724.

16. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 1, p. 99-100, Minutes for 24 October, 1726.

In April 1730 l'abbé Charles de la Goudalie took charge of the parish. An "Estat de l'Acadie pour le gouvernement Ecclesiastique" of 1731, which should be regarded only as a guide and not as the gospel truth, suggests that in the 2 parishes of Minas and Rivière des Canards there were 168 large families. Rivière des Canards was four leagues from "la grande pre" and the distance was easily covered either by sea or by land.¹⁷ In 1732 it appears that the Council under Lieutenant Governor Armstrong decided that de la Goudalie should be ordered out of the province "for his... Insolent Crimes and misdemeanors, and for perverting one of his Majestys Subjects to the Popish Religion.... and for stiling himself the Bishop of Quebecs Viccar".¹⁸ But the priest seems to have stayed. It was he who signed the parish records between March 1740 and June 1742 while he visited France and briefly served at Port Royal. During the years he was away from Minas the post was filled by l'abbé Jean-Baptiste Desenclaves in 1740-41 and by l'abbé J.L. Laborest in 1741-42.¹⁹

In 1748 a report was sent back from Louisbourg on the state of the church in Acadia. At la Rivière aux Canards there was no priest, M. de Miniac having returned to France on account of his failing eyesight. This parish covered about four leagues and contained 500 communicants. At Grand Pré, where there were at least 1000 communicants, there was no priest either; the British had expelled M. de la Goudalie for treasonable activities. At Piziquid there were two churches, served by only one priest.²⁰ Another report of the same year estimates that at the parish

17. PAC, MG 1, C¹¹A, vol. 107, p. 100.

18. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 1, p. 209, Minutes for 19 June, 1732.

19. Gaudet, op. cit., p. 55.

20. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, French Documents Relating to Acadia, vol. 3, #57.

of St. Joseph at Rivière des Canards there were 600 communicants, at Grand Pré at Saint Charles des Mines there were 150 families and 1200 communicants and at the parishes of Assumption and the Sainte Famille at Piziquid there were 1800 communicants.²¹ Both memoirs indicate that on occasion the name Les Mines applied to all three together.

After de la Goudalie had been expelled, l'abbé Claude Jean-Baptiste Chauvreulx, who had been at Piziquid, went to Minas.²² In early August 1755 Lawrence ordered the arrest of the three remaining French priests in the province, and on August 4 l'abbé Chauvreulx was arrested at Grand Pré and taken prisoner to Halifax. In October he was sent to England, and from there proceeded to France.²³

As we saw in the section on the expulsion, Lawrence's orders for the expulsion were read to the inhabitants of Grand Pré and district in the Grand Pré church on September 5, 1755. While he was organizing the deportation there, Winslow used the church as a "place of arms". After shipping off the majority of the inhabitants and burning the buildings at Gaspereau and on the Rivers Pereau, Habitant and Canard, he departed for Halifax leaving Captain Osgood in charge of the 600 or so Acadians who could not be accommodated on the available ships. This last group, which had been lodged in the vacated houses around Grand Pré, had been shipped by December 20th, and Winslow wrote that Osgood and his men were expected daily at Halifax.

21. PAC, MG 1, C¹¹D, vol. 10, p. 151-52.

22. Gaudet, op. cit., p. 56 and Coll. de Docs. Inédits, III, p. 71.

23. Gaudet, op. cit., p. 56 and Arsenault, op. cit., p. 162.

How much if any burning Osgood accomplished before he left is uncertain. Placide Gaudet in 1922 suggested that Osgood did no burning and quotes from an article in the Kentville Chronicle of 1885 to the effect that when the first English settlers came to the area in 1760 and 1761 many of them moved into the deserted Acadian houses and that among the buildings they found standing was the church.²⁴ And in a speech at the time of the laying of the cornerstone of the memorial church at Grand Pré Park, Gaudet said that the key from the church had been brought from St. Mary's Bay by the late Father André T. Bourque to the museum of St. Joseph's College at Memramcook, N.B.²⁵ Documentary proof of the fate of the church seems, however, to be lacking.

24. Gaudet, op. cit., p. 50.

25. University of Moncton, Centre for Acadian Studies, Placide Gaudet papers, Box 20, #20.

PART VIII

SETTLEMENT AT MINAS

As we have seen, the name "Minas" was often used to cover all settlement near the Rivers Pereau, Canard, Habitant, Cornwallis, Gaspereau, Avon and Ste. Croix. Because references to individual settlements were infrequently made, however, the task of reconstructing on a map all settlement in the Minas area is impossible. We know enough from general descriptions to indicate generally where the population was centered, but unfortunately we cannot pinpoint the exact location of such important structures as the church at Grand Pré.

Rivière Ste. Croix

The first reference which indicates settlement on the Ste. Croix River came in the 1701 census which showed 71 people living there.¹ From the De Meulles map of 1686 it appears that the Ste. Croix River was the same one which is today known by that name.² In 1748 Charles Morris reported that the inhabitants were settled two leagues up the Ste. Croix River and that they had a "chapel of ease" there.

Rivière de l'Ascension

The Rivière de l'Ascension was marked on the De Meulles map of 1686 at about the same place as the modern Lebreau Creek. The 1701 Census shows 103 people at Rivière de l'Ascension, but this figure seems questionable in view of the fact that this is the only census in which

1. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, part 1, p. 200.

2. Morse, op. cit., vol. II, Appendix C, De Meulles map, 1686.

the Rivière de l'Ascension appears, yet in 1701 it was the second largest population centre. It may be that many of these habitants lived along the Piziquid (Avon) River near the mouth of the Rivière de l'Ascension, because in the 1701 census there were only 30 people listed on the Rivière de Piziquid whereas in 1714 at the Rivière de Piziquid there were 336 people, a very great rise in population for a 13-year period.

Rivière de Piziquid

The Rivière de Piziquid is the modern Avon River. As we have seen, the 1701 Census counted 30 people there whereas the 1714 Census listed a population of 336 people.³ It is possible, however, that the 103 people listed in 1701 at the Rivière de l'Ascension were in fact living at the junction of the Lebreau Creek and the Piziquid and were counted at Piziquid in 1714. Charles Morris in 1748 reported that "The Principal settlement is on the north side of the Pizaquid River where is their Church and where their Priest resides",⁴ and on his map of the same year he showed French houses on the highlands on both sides of the Piziquid River and a church at about the same point as the modern Falmouth.⁵

Rivière St. Antoine or Habitant

De Meulles in 1686 showed the Rivière St. Antoine along the modern Cornwallis River, but during the Acadian period of residence it seems most commonly to have been called the Habitant River.⁶ The 1701 Census

3. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, pt. 1, p. 240.

4. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 88.

5. PAC Report, 1912, Appendix H, map inserted between p. 78 and 79.

6. See Morris map of 1748, loc. cit.

showed 75 people along the Rivière St. Antoine⁷ while the 1714 census showed 106 at the Habitant River.⁸ In his account of the battle of Grand Pré in 1747 Charles Morris reported that in mid-December troops coming to Minas under Captain Goldthwaite took up quarters for a few days at St. Anthony's Village on the Habitant River about six miles west of Minas.⁹ This must have been a short distance inland along the river. In his general description of Minas, however, Morris mentioned the Habitant only as a salt river where the tide flowed five miles up the river. He included the inhabitants in his description of Grand Pré because the Grand Pré marsh reached the south side of the river.¹⁰

Gaspereau River

The 1701 census lists 36 people on the Gaspereau River and the 1714 showed 33.¹¹ In 1748 Charles Morris reported that there were small settlements along the Gaspereau but he did not enumerate them.¹² In 1755 Winslow's men visited the "Village Melanson" on the Gaspereau;¹³ there is a Melanson village on the Gaspereau today, but unfortunately we do not know whether or not it was on the same site, nor do we know the exact sites of the other villages.

Grand Pré

The term Grand Pré was sometimes used instead of Minas, but it in fact referred more particularly to both the marshland north of present-day Grand Pré and to the string of settlements which ran along the south side of the marshland from about Horton Landing west. The marshland

7. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, pt. 1, p. 203.

8. Ibid., p. 241.

9. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 37.

10. Ibid., p. 86.

11. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466, pt. 1, p. 203 and 239.

12. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 86.

13. NSHS III, p. 91, Entry for September 3, 1755.

included most of the area between the mouth of the Cornwallis River on the west, Long Island on the north, the mouth of the Gaspereau and Horton Landing on the east and the Dominion Atlantic Railway line on the south.

The 1701 Census, which was the first to break down "Minas" into its constituent parts, counted 124 people at Grand Pré; this was the largest centre of population in Minas at the time. When Colonel Church in 1704 attacked "the town of Minas" it was probably the area of settlement known as Grand Pré, as it appears to have been more concentrated than the others. In addition, the church was looted and we know there was a church at Grand Pré. When he arrived at Minas, Church anchored his ships behind a wooded island where they couldn't be seen,¹⁴ and it is quite possible that this could have been the modern Oak Island or Boot bland. As we saw, his men destroyed much of the settlement and made off with a considerable amount of booty, including the religious ornaments from the church.

The 1714 Census lists 287 at Grand Pré.¹⁵

The engineer (and later administrator) Paul Mascarene made a detailed description of the province to be sent home to the authorities in London in 1720. At that time he wrote that

"The houses which compse a kind of scattering Town, lies on a rising ground along two Cricks which run betwixt it and the meadow, and make of this last a kind of Peninsula."¹⁶

This description is somewhat confusing. Modern maps do show two very small creeks running into the south side of the marsh, one just north of

15. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466 pt. 1, p. 238-9.

16. PDNS, p. 46.

the Dominion Atlantic Railway on the west of the peninsula and the other just north of Horton Landing on the east. These are, however, very small and it may or may not have been these that Mascarene saw almost 250 years ago. The Gaspereau is the only larger river to the south of the marshes but it is well to the south and has its own marshlands along its shores.

In 1732 orders were given for the construction at Grand Pré of a building 26' wide within and 60' long, of timbers 14' long and 8 or 9" in diameter.¹⁷ It seems likely that the building was erected,¹⁸ but where we do not know. W.C. Milner wrote in 1932 that the remains of a building of a corresponding size were visible in a field north of Horton Landing near the residence of one Mr. L.H. Curry.¹⁹

As we saw earlier, Grand Pré was the scene of an encounter in the winter of 1746-7 between the British troops quartered in the district for the winter and the French Canadian troops who had struggled overland from the Isthmus of Chignecto. Charles Morris recorded that in early January a detachment which had been stationed on the Habitant River was ordered into "Minas". He continued

"We were now quarter'd almost the whole Length of the Village near two mile & half, the reasons assign'd for this bad situation are as follows. The houses in general are so scattered in this village that our Quarters must have been extended above a mile had we taken up the nearest houses in the thickest part of it unless they had been drawn together as I had formerly propos'd,

17. N.S. Arch. II, p. 188-9.

18. See above, p.

19. Milner, op. cit., p. 6.

Our Vessels lay at the Gaspero & there was not above half a Dozn Houses there, In the Center of the Town the Houses were thickest, & here were made the Head Quarters, Here was the Stone House, a place of good defence for a small Party with Store Houses near hand for Provisions, It was therefore thought best to extend the Partys from thence to the Sloops this was certainly an unhappy situation....²⁰

In a description of the area later in the same report he used slightly different terms:

"the Village Consists of about 150 Houses scatter'd on several small Hills, about two Miles and a Half in Length, extending by the side of the marsh Calld Grand Pre which name is Commonly usd for the Settlement. this Marsh Lay's between the Town and the Bason it is near two Miles in Width and in Length extends from Pisgate River to the Head of the River Habitant ten miles but not of equal Breadth.... Their Church is seated about the midst of the Town and the Priest resided here but was removed and orderd to depart the Government....²¹

Morris' map of 1748 shows the church on the highland at about the modern Grand Pré or a little to the west of it.²²

There are two other buildings at Grand Pré to which particular reference has been made, but again we know virtually nothing about them. One of these is a large stone house and the other is the "Vieux Logis".

During the "Battle of Grand Pré" in February 1747 the British forces rallied around this stone house as the fight progressed. It had been intended to use the house as a store house but a bad **snowstorm** the day before the battle had prevented the transfer of supplies from the ships. The stone house seems to have been the largest building in

20. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 37-8.

21. Ibid., p. 86.

22. Morris' map of 1748, inserted between p. 78 and 79 in PAC Report, 1912, Appendix H.

the area, and from both French and English accounts there were about 350 men there at one time; the accounts do not specify whether they were inside or out but the inference is that they were in. One Otis Little who described Nova Scotia in 1749 reported that at Minas there was a stone house which was safe against small arms, and although it was built on an "eminence" that commanded much of the town, it was overlooked by high land on three sides and so would be very exposed during an attack.²³ Archibald MacMechan writing in 1931 said that the "stone house" was a large octagonal French-built fort, but he gave no source for his information.²⁴

The second building mentioned by name was the "vieux logis". Beaujeu in his account of the battle of Grand Pré refers to his detachment of men going to "vieux logis, où étoient les Bâtimens des Anglois pour les prendre...."²⁵, which would indicate that it was somewhere on the east side of Grand Pré, because the British ships were anchored in the bay off the mouth of the Gaspereau. In December of 1752 orders were sent from Governor Hopson to "the officers Commanding the Fort at Vieux Logis and Fort Edward."²⁶ (Fort Edward was at Piziquid). From this it would seem possible that "Vieux Logis" formed part of the "fort" at Grand Pré. In the fall of 1749 Governor Cornwallis had sent a detachment of men with the frame of a blockhouse to Minas to keep the local populace under control. The exact location of this fort is also a matter of surmise, and in any case the blockhouse seems not

23. Little, Otis, The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies with a description of Nova Scotia, p. 72.

24. MacMechan, Archibald, Red Snow on Grand Pré, p. 32.

25. Coll. de Docs. II, p. 67.

26. PDNS, p. 197, 15 December, 1752.

to have been erected. Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade in December 1753 that he and various officers in the province thought the fort was of no particular value and that its garrison could be put to more effective use if it were combined with that of Fort Edward. The British forces had arrived at Minas late in the season, he wrote, and so "they were obliged to enclose three French Houses in a Triangular Picketing with half Bastions. The Situation which they were obliged to take up with on Account of these Houses is upon a low flatt Ground Commanded by a Hill, and so Exposed to the Weather that in deep Snows it has been often Possible to Walk over the Palisades."²⁷ We don't know what three French houses made up the "fort" so the possibility that "vieux logis" was one of them is not ruled out.

When "vieux logis" was built, and therefore why it was called by that name, we do not know. It would seem conceivable that it was the storehouse Armstrong had constructed in the 1730's, but we do not know. W.C. Milner in 1932 suggested that it had been "on the northern side of a large field owned at that time by Mr. Scott Trenholm, easterly of the road leading from Crane's Corner to the Railway Station - where the planters were able to count the cellars of fifteen houses."²⁸ This is a different location than that he suggested for the structure built in the 1730's, but, as he says, the site is a matter of surmise.

27. PAC, MG 11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 54, p. 225, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 5 December, 1755.

28. Milner, op. cit., p. 5. To find out where Crane's Corner is one would probably have to consult modern maps of the 1930's.

Grand Pré, the major centre of population in the Minas district, was then a long string of houses and buildings, but unfortunately we do not have any exact data on any of them.

Rivière des Canards

At the time of the 1701 census there were 36 people at the Rivière des Canards²⁹ and by 1714 this figure had doubled to 76.³⁰ Charles Morris described the settlement in 1749; The Canard River, he wrote,

"is of no great extent its Head being not above fifteen miles from its Discharge, its Course is northeast and empty's its self into the Bason of Minas and here is a fine Settlement of Acadians which Consists of 150 Familys, they have a Parish Church on the North Side of the River about five miles from its mouth where the Priest is settled.... The Uplands adjoining this River have been Cultivated for the Production of Grain and well answer'd their Labour; but not like their Marshes, but much more uplands are here improved then in any other District."³¹

In 1755 Winslow's men toured the River Canard on one of their exploratory excursions and found it to be a fine country, full of inhabitants and possessing a beautiful church and a great abundance of provisions.³² But once again we have no details on the location of the settlement.

Rivière des Vieux Habitans

The Rivière des Vieux Habitans was probably the modern Habitant Creek, although it was called Rivière des François in De Meulles map of 1686. At the time of the 1701 Census there were at the "Rivière de la Vieille Habitation" 35 people.³³

29. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466 pt. 1, p. 205.

30. Ibid., p. 242.

31. PAC, MG 18, F 10, p. 85-86.

32. N.S.H.S. III, p. 91.

33. PAC, MG 1, G 22, vol. 466 pt. 1, p. 243.

Pereau River

We have no records of settlement on the Pereau River, but there must have been some population there because it was one of the districts in which Winslow's men burned houses and barns in November 1755.³⁴

We have seen how throughout the Minas settlements it is impossible to pinpoint the exact location of settlement. Unfortunately the first English settlers were able to provide us with little help, because most of the Acadian buildings were burned in 1755. In Winslow's Journal there is a statement that on the "Gaspereau, Canard, Habitant, Perreau, etc" a total of 698 structures (houses, barns, outhouses, mills and one church) were burned by the Colonel's men.³⁵ The houses and church at Grand Pré itself were not burned at that time as they were being used to house the Acadians. Winslow had not been able to load on the transports available to him. Captain Osgood shipped off these habitants in mid-December but we have no record of how much burning he did, if any. As we saw in the section on the church, the noted Acadian scholar Placide Gaudet believed that many of the buildings, including the church, were still standing in the early 1760's.³⁶ There are records of the remains of some Acadian houses and barns being allotted to the first New England settlers along the Piziquid, in the West Falmouth and Fort Edward districts.³⁷ But on the whole we have no record that the first English-speaking settlers found many traces of the Acadian population which had inhabited the area for about seventy-five years.

34. N.S.H.S. III, p. 185.

35. Ibid., p. 185.

36. See p. 101.

37. Martell, J.S. Pre-Loyalist Settlement around Minas Basin, 1755-1783, M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1933, p. 82-3.

PART IX

A MEMORIAL PARK AT GRAND PRÉ

In 1908 an Act of the Nova Scotia Legislature, "An Act to incorporate the Trustees of the Grand Pré Historical Grounds" was passed to ensure that the lands be safeguarded as a memorial to the Acadians who had farmed them.¹ The ground which today forms the central part of the Grand Pré National Historic Park seems, however, to have been privately owned. In April 1907 Mr. John Frederick Herbin, a Wolfville jeweller who was the author of a number of books and poems on Grand Pré, acquired the 14-acre property from Mrs. Mary Bowser.² Herbin, who was of Acadian descent through his mother, was extremely interested in keeping alive the memory of his Acadian ancestors, but he was not personally able to finance much development nor was he able to attract any Acadian group to help in the project.³ The Dominion Atlantic Railway, whose tracks ran along the south side of the property, would not allot money for the improvement of the lands unless it owned them. Herbin himself erected a stone cross to indicate the site he believed to be the Acadian burying ground and he had also cleaned out the old well, the origins of which are uncertain.⁴

In November 1911 the Dominion Atlantic Railway, which by now formed part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, secured an option on the property, and in December of 1916 the General Manager, George E. Graham, wrote to

1. Smith, Charles Thompson, The Dominion Atlantic and Nova Scotia, M.A. Thesis, Acadia University, 1965, p. 110.
2. Letter of Mr. J.C. McCuaig to Mr. E.A. Côté, 20 September, 1956, National Parks Branch file, GP 2, vol. 1.
3. Gaudet, Placide Le Grand Dérangement, p. 67.
4. Ibid., p. 67.

the new president, Sir George Bury, advising that the railway buy the property.⁵ Herbin was willing to sell on the conditions that the railway develop the park to preserve its historic importance and that the Acadians have the right to build a monument to their ancestors. He also thought a monument should be erected to the poet Longfellow whose "Evangeline" had been so effective in telling the English-speaking world of the expulsion.⁶ In March 1917 the Dominion Atlantic Railway acquired the property from Herbin for \$1650.00.⁷

Almost immediately, officials of the Dominion Atlantic Railway approached a group of influential Acadians of the Société l'Assomption in Moncton to see if they would buy the small parcel of land they (and Herbin) believed to be the site of the original church at Grand Pré.⁸ Negotiations went on for two years, and on May 28, 1919, the Société l'Assomption as the representative of the Acadian people bought for \$1.00 a lot of 9,600 square feet on which the Société was to erect a church. The church spire was to be in a direct line with the stone cross and the old well which Herbin had cleared out. The Société l'Assomption was to have the privilege of constructing any other building or monument it considered desirable, and the Acadian people were to have the right to assemble on the whole 14-acre Dominion Atlantic Railway property. The cost of building the church was to be borne by the Acadian people, who were also to pay \$1,500 for the construction of a permanent fence around the entire property; they were also responsible for the upkeep of the old well and the stone cross.⁹

5. Smith, op. cit., p. 110.

6. Gaudet, op. cit., p. 67.

7. See deed, quoted in letter of McCuaig to Côté, 20 September, 1956, GP 2, vol. 1.

8. Gaudet, op. cit., p. 62 and GP 2, Grand Pré file, January 10, 1955, Minutes of Meeting of Historic Sites and Monuments Board, statement of Dr. Fergusson.

9. Gaudet, op. cit., p. 65.

On September 21, 1921, representatives of the Société l'Assomption and the Dominion Atlantic Railway met to discuss plans for the church. It was to be 60 x 40 feet with a vestry 12 x 15 feet, of seventeenth century Norman style, and built from native New Minas stone.¹⁰ On August 16, 1922, the cornerstone was laid in the presence of a large number of Acadians, many of whom had come from New Brunswick and the "French Shore" area of Nova Scotia and other places farther away. Several notable Acadians addressed the gathering, and mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Saint John, Edward A. LeBlanc. The church building was, however, intended to be a memorial and as such was never dedicated for use for religious services.

The exterior of the church was completed in 1922,¹¹ and the interior was finished with the help of the Dominion Atlantic Railway under an Indenture of May 31, 1929. The loan was partly repaid, and in April, 1951 the Indenture was cancelled with sale ownership of the building passing to the Société l'Assomption.¹² The museum was opened to the public in 1930.

The statue of Evangeline, the heroine of Longfellow's poem, was commissioned by the Dominion Atlantic Railway and unveiled by Lady Burnham on July 29, 1920, during the course of the Imperial Press Tour.¹³ It was designed in 1918 and 1919 by Philippe Hebert, a well-known Canadian sculptor of Acadian descent. Hebert created a model in burned clay (this model is now in Acadia University Library) but before the project had been completed he died and his son Henri saw the work through. The statue

10. Smith, op. cit., p. 111.

11. Ibid., p. 112.

12. Letter of J.C. McCuaig to Jean Lesage, 16 May, 1955, in GP 2, vol. 1.

13. Part of her address is quoted in Smith, op. cit., p. 114-115.

was sent to Paris to be cast in bronze, and in 1920 it was placed in its present setting in the park.¹⁴

In 1928 the Dominion Atlantic Railway built a one-and-a-half storey gatehouse in Norman style on the east entrance to the Park.¹⁵ This structure, which included a kitchen and a souvenir shop, was removed by the Federal Government in 1962 and replaced by the building now standing across the road. The Railway also built a railway station near the south entrance, the Park being one of the principal tourist attractions along the Dominion Atlantic Railway route. This log station was taken down in 1961.

To make the site more picturesque, the Dominion Atlantic Railway set out various gardens and shrubs, and the park became one of Nova Scotia's major tourist attractions. For many years the Dominion Atlantic Railway's efforts paid off because a large proportion of the visitors came by rail. However as roads improved and as more and more families owned cars, the railway accounted for a smaller and smaller percentage of tourist arrivals.

By 1955 the cost of maintaining the Grand Pré Park had become too onerous for the Dominion Atlantic, and its officials began casting about for some other body to take it over. In January of that year the Premier of Nova Scotia, the Honourable Henry D. Hicks, talked informally with the Honourable Jean Lesage, then Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, about the possibility of the Federal Government's acquiring the site and operating it as a National Historic Park. In March, Mr. J.C. McCuaig, manager of the Dominion Atlantic Railway, wrote

14. Ibid., p. 112-113.

15. McCuaig to Lesage, 14 March, 1955, GP 2, vol. 1.

to Mr. Lesage that the operation of the park was no longer profitable to the railway and that, bearing in mind its historical significance, the Company was hoping to interest either the Federal or Provincial Government in its acquisition. The Railway was not interested in making a large profit, and would be willing to sell for \$5,650, which represented the original cost of the land (\$1,650) and the cost of the gatehouse building erected in 1928 (\$4,000).¹⁶ Lesage replied that the Department might be interested, but that the proposal would have to be submitted to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board before any definite reply could be made.¹⁷ When the Board met from May 30 to June 3 it ruled that Grand Pré "possessed historical features which would make it eminently suitable as a National Historic Park."

The main stumbling block to the Department's acquisition of the park was the parcel of land owned by the Société l'Assomption in the middle of the park. The National Parks Act made no provision for privately-owned property within a National Historic Park, and on June 10, 1955, Lesage wrote to Mr. M.A. Savoie of the Société Nationale l'Assomption to see if the society would be prepared to transfer the church and church property to the Crown, and if so, on what terms.¹⁸ It was some time before a reply was received. In the meantime the public received its first word of the proposed transfer.

In August 1955 almost 10,000 Acadians from all over North America gathered around Grand Pré park to mark the 200th anniversary of the deportation of

16. McCuaig to Lesage, 14 March, 1955, GP 2, vol. 1.

17. Lesage to McCuaig, 2 May, 1955, GP 2, vol. 1.

18. Lesage to Savoie, 10 June, 1955, GP 2, vol. 1.

Acadians from the province. (It was at this time that the bust of Longfellow, which was donated by the Nova Scotia Government, was unveiled.) On August 15, during the course of the celebrations, Lesage addressed the gathering. At that time he announced that negotiations were underway between the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company and the federal government. He explained, however, that the National Parks Act did not permit the inclusion of privately-owned property within a park, and disclosed that if the Société Nationale l'Assomption could be induced to sell the church and church property, he would be prepared to recommend to his colleagues the acquisition of the park which would become a National Historic Park.¹⁹

The Société was, however, extremely slow in answering Lesage's letter of June 1955 and negotiations were virtually slowed to a halt as a result. In mid-September, the Dominion Atlantic Railway announced that it could not continue to spend the \$10,000 it had annually spent on the Grand Pré Park and that during the 1956 season the gatehouse would be closed, the flower beds discontinued and all maintenance except the cutting of the grass would be stopped.²⁰ In December of 1955 Lesage again wrote to Mr. Savoie of the Société to ask whether the organization had considered the matter of the transfer and if so to inquire what the outcome had been.²¹

19. Copy of address by Jean Lesage, August 15, 1955, GP 2, vol. 1.

20. Halifax Chronicle, Sept. 15, 1955, p. 1, and editorial in same paper, Sept. 19, 1955, in GP 2, vol. 1.

21. Lesage to Savoie, 8 December, 1955, GP 2, vol. 1.

On January 16th Lesage wrote to McCuaig that he still had had no reply from Savoie, McCuaig having written to ask if the Department had included any money in its estimates for the purchase of the park, because the Dominion Atlantic Railway was planning its 1956 maintenance program and the information would be a help.

Finally, on February 17, 1956, Mr. Savoie wrote that the Société was in a state of confusion because it was in the process of being reorganized. On the matter of the sale, however, he said that he had sounded out many people, and that it really seemed "that the Acadians would greatly hesitate to part with this property which [had] for them a sentimental value which [could not] be estimated."²² He suggested that perhaps the transfer to the Société of a narrow strip of land from the Société land to the park boundary might overcome the difficulty, but after the proposal had been investigated by departmental officers, Lesage replied that the federal government would have to control any land in any way enclosed so this was not a feasible alternative.²³ As a result, Lesage informed Mr. McCuaig of the Dominion Atlantic Railway that the federal government could not take over the park and that the railroad should feel free to negotiate with the Nova Scotia Government on the matter.²⁴

On Friday June 22, however, the general council of the Société Nationale l'Assomption decided to cede to the federal government the chapel and the land on which it was situated.²⁵ Lesage wrote to the Dominion Atlantic Railway asking it to keep its offer open, and it agreed.²⁶ The Société's selling price would be \$6,657.70, the estimated value of the memorial chapel and the land.

22. Savoie to Lesage, 17 Feb. 1956, GP 2, vol. 1.

23. Lesage to Savoie, March 19, 1956, GP 2, vol. 1.

24. Lesage to McCuaig, 27 March, 1956, GP 2, vol. 1.

25. Telegram, June 29, 1956, Euclide Daigle to Lesage, GP 2, vol. 1.

26. Lesage to McCuaig, 23 July, 1956, and McCuaig to Lesage, 25 July, 1956, GP 2, vol. 1.

On December 14, 1956, the Société Nationale l'Assomption submitted a deed to the Federal Government, and on the next day the Dominion Atlantic Railway submitted its deed which contained the condition that the park be kept "as a public park and maintained, ornamented and developed in keeping with its historical associations."²⁷ And in addition to the original selling price the Dominion Atlantic Railway wanted \$300 for the restoration of flower pots and shrubs, etc. which had been undertaken at the request of the department in the fall. On January 14, 1957, the Cabinet met and recommended that the two properties be purchased and that the park and chapel be declared a national park and be maintained as such.²⁸ In February the deeds were searched and on March 7, Lesage recommended to the Governor General in Council that he authorize the purchase by the Crown of the Dominion Atlantic Railway and Société properties. This was to comprise

"All that lot or parcel of land situate at Grand Pré in the said County of Kings comprising a block of fourteen acres, more or less, including the old Acadian well and Willows, so called, and lying to the north of the railway station and bounded on the east by the road to Long Island, on the north by the dyke road, known as the "Shore Road", on the south by lands of the said Dominion Atlantic Railway Company, on the west by lands of the Estate of W.A. Woodman, deceased."²⁹

27. Deed, December 15, 1956, GP 2, vol. 1.

28. Note for file, Jan. 31, 1957, GF 2, vol. 1.

29. GP 2, vol. 1.

On March 28 an Order-in-Council was issued authorizing the purchase³⁰ and in late May cheques were issued to the Dominion Atlantic Railway and the Société Nationale l'Assomption.³¹ On June 1st the museum was opened to the public.³²

While these transfers were being completed, the Department was already acting with a view to acquiring the land to the east of the park opposite the main entrance. The object here was to prevent undesirable building from taking place so close to the park and to develop a car-park, workshop and concession area. For a time the possibility of constructing a custodian's residence was considered, but the idea was abandoned. As early as February 1957 the Minister wrote to Mr. Eric Balcom of Wolfville to inquire who owned the land and what he estimated its value to be.³³ By June Mr. Sidney Laird, the owner, had agreed to sell the land for \$2000.³⁴ The deed was a difficult one to search and differences arose with Mr. Laird over the property, negotiations dragged on for a long period of time, and it was not until May 1960 that the deal was closed.³⁵ The area, which sold for \$2,000, comprised 5 1/2 acres and was bounded by the railway line on the south, the road to Evangeline Beach on the west and the Shore Road on the north. The lease of Miss Mary Eaton who operated "The Forge" gift shop on the property, was not renewed.³⁶ The building was removed and the present building constructed.

- 30. Assistant Deputy Minister of Justice to Deputy Minister of Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, March 29, 1957.
- 31. Department of NANR to Eric Kinsman, May 21, 1957, GP 2, vol. 1.
- 32. Smith, op. cit., p. 188.
- 33. Lesage to Eric Balcolm, 8 February 1957, GP 2, vol. 1.
- 34. Memo of J.A. Hutchison to Deputy Minister, 25 June, 1957.
- 35. Kinsman to Department of Justice, 2 May, 1960, GP 2, vol. 2.
- 36. Herbert to LeBlanc at Grand Pré, 3 June, 1960, GP 2, vol. 2.

On April 20, 1961, the area was officially declared a National Historic Park.

The addition of two other smaller properties brought the Grand Pré Park to its present dimensions. On December 31, 1964, William Gordon Woodman and his wife sold to the Federal Government for \$750.00 about 7 acres of land bounded on the east by the Park, on the south by the Dominion Atlantic Railway tracks, on the west by Mrs. Nellie Macdonald's property and on the north by the Shore Road.³⁷ And on the 10th of December it had acquired from Mrs. Nellie Macdonald for \$200.00 approximately 1.12 acres which formed the triangle bounded by the Dominion Atlantic Railway, the Shore Road and Mr. Woodman's property.

With these two acquisitions, Grand Pré National Historic Park took on its present dimensions. The Park is open year-round, and continues to stand as a memorial to the Acadians who farmed the shores of the Bay of Fundy until just over two hundred years ago.

37. Deed, December 31, 1964, GP2, vol. 3.

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