NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT REPORT NUMBER 29

ACADIAN HISTORY IN THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO

by

Margaret Coleman

January 1968

NATIONAL AND HISTORIC PARKS BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

ACADIAN HISTORY IN THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO

by

Margaret Coleman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I FRENCH PERIOD 3

II THE BRITISH ASSUME CONTROL 20

III WAR IN THE 1740'S 48

IV THE PRELUDE TO THE EVENTS OF 1755 58

V THE EXPEDITION TO FORT BEAUSEJOUR 77

VI THE EXPULSION 86

VII SETTLEMENT IN THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO 98

Beaubassin 100
Pointe Beauséjour 102
Nappan 103
Macan 104
Minudie 104
La Pointe des Hebert 105
Veschotk 105
La Bute 105
La Planche 105
Baye Verte 106
Fort Gaspereaux 108
Butte de Portage 108
Pont à Buot 109
Butte à Roger 110
Butte à Mirande 110
Ile à la Vallière 110
Le Lac 111
La Coupe 111
Prée des Bourgs 112
Les Richards 113
Tantramar 113
Veskak 114
Vetshekakis 115

APPENDIX A Report of the Intendant Jacques de Meulles, 1686 116

APPENDIX B Description of Nova Scotia, 1720 Paul Mascarene, Engineer 121

FOOTNOTES 123

BIBLIOGRAPHY 147

The Isthmus of Chignecto

The Isthmus of Chignecto, the link connecting the present-day provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, has been the scene of considerable activity since the time of its first settlement by French and Acadian settlers in the early 1670's. Between 1670 and 1710 the French controlled "Acadie" and the Isthmus saw the third largest concentration of settlement in the province. Settlement continued there, and even grew, after the British assumed control of what they called Nova Scotia in 1710. As tensions between England and France grew up in the 1740's and 1750's the Isthmus assumed a new more strategic importance. With the exact limits of the province left uncertain by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1713, the French were able to become de facto masters of all that lay north of the Missaguash River and to attract to this territory Acadian families uneasy under British rule. This period witnessed a considerable jump in population figures for the Isthmus, particularly north of the Missaguash after 1750. In June 1755, however, the French fort built on the southwest point of the Beauséjour (Fort Cumberland) ridge surrendered to British forces under Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monckton. The organized removal of the Acadian population from the province followed soon afterward. A large number of Acadians from the Chignecto region managed to escape the expulsion and found their way to the Saint John River, more northern parts of New Brunswick and Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island). The Isthmus was no longer a centre of Acadian population and eventually the lands were filled by settlers of British and Protestant origin. This paper examines the history of the Acadian people who inhabited Chignecto

from the 1670's until their dispersal in the mid-1750's.

1 FRENCH PERIOD

The first recorded visit by a white man to the Isthmus of Chignecto was that of the Jesuit Father Biard and the Sieur de Biencourt in 1612. Biard reported that at Chignecto there were "many large and beautiful meadows, extending farther than the eye can reach....the country was for the most part, agreeable, and... would be very fertile if it were cultivated."[1.] For the next sixty years, however, no-one tried to farm these lands. Settlement was concentrated for a short time in the 1630's around La Have but until about 1700 the main centre of population was Port Royal. At the time of the 1671 Census, of the approximately 430 settlers in "Acadie", about 360 were at Port Royal and the rest were scattered throughout the Peninsula and the northern shore of the Bay of Fundy. No white men were counted in the Isthmus of Chignecto.[2.]

It was not until 1672 or 1673, shortly after the 1671 Census, that the first settlers appeared at Chignecto.*

* The exact date of the first settlement is uncertain. Most secondary sources give 1672, (i.e. Arsenault, Bona Historic et Généalogie des Acadiens, vol. 1, p. 63) but it would appear from a list of habitants of Port Royal present at a meeting to discuss the building of a church in June 1673 that Bourgeois and his followers were still there. (Public Archives of Canada, MGL, E, 277, pt. 1, June 18, 1673.)

Jacques Bourgeois, who had come to Acadia in 1640 as a surgeon and who had stayed on to become one of Port Royal's wealthiest farmers,[3] saw the marshlands of Chignecto while engaged in the coasting trade with the Indians. He returned there to settle with his two sons, Charles and Germain, his three sons-in-law, Pierre Cyr, Germain Girouard and Jean Boudrot, and their families. Others followed - Jacques Belon, Thomas Cormier, Pierre Arsenault and their families. It has been suggested that Bourgeois and his followers established themselves on the south bank of the Missaguash River near the edge of the Fort Lawrence Ridge.[4.] On the map made in 1686 by the Intendant Jacques De Meulles, settlement is shown in that area, but the occupants of the houses are not named. Documentary evidence that this was, in fact, the site of the Bourgeois settlement seems to be lacking.

The Bourgeois group was not alone at Chignecto for long. On October 24, 1676 Michel Le Neuf de la Vallière was given seigneurial rights to an area called Chignectou by the Indians and Beaubassin by the French.[5.] The seigneury, which was held in homage to the Chateau at Quebec, extended across the isthmus and covered an area of about ten square leagues. There was one important limitation among the terms of the grant: La Vallière was not to interfere with the habitants who had already established themselves there.

Michel Le Neuf de la Vallière was a gentleman from Three Rivers

who had studied in France and returned to North America where he had served on expeditions to places as far apart (in those days) as Hudson's Bay, Cape Breton Island and Cataraqui.[6] During the summer of 1676 he had been sent by Frontenac to investigate the activities of the Dutch and any other enemy of the French who might try to interfere with French fishing and fur trading.[7] He saw the lands at Chignecto and established a fur trading post there. Now, after receiving a grant to the area, La Vallière decided not to restrict himself to trading but also to engage in agriculture. He soon established his retinue and his family of seven children on Ile à la Vallière, a raised piece of ground later known as Tonge's Island in the marsh on the west side of the Missaguash River. La Vallière brought with him a number of families from Quebec - the Cottards, Labarres, Legacés, Merciers, Mignaults, the Mirandes and one Michel Haché dit Gallant.[8] These adopted the Acadian methods of dyking the marshlands and farming the fertile lands which resulted.

La Vallière continued to trade. He owned a small sailing ship, the St. Antoine, which he used to coast along the shores of Acadia trading with the Indians.

For a decade La Vallière was one of the leading lights in Acadia.[9] In 1678, after the death of the Seiur de Marson, La Vallière was named commandant in Acadia. In 1681 Frontenac wrote to Colbert that La Vallière was doing all he could but that the size of the province made it impossible for him to extend royal influence everywhere.[10] He

suggested that La Vallière would make a good governor "etant un gentilhomme qui a toutes les qualités d'esprit et de courage pour bien s'acquitter d'un tel emploi".[11] On August 5, 1683, La Vallière was named governor by the King. Others in Acadia did not, however, share Frontenac's favourable opinion of him. After the establishment in 1682 of the Compagnie de la Pesche Sedentaire de l'Acadie with headquarters at Chedabucto (Guysborough), he was involved in almost constant conflict. In its Charter the Company had been given sole rights to fish along the coasts of Acadia.[12] La Vallière had become accustomed to sell to New England fishermen permits to fish along the coast.[13] Now the Sieur Bergier of the Company complained that La Vallière's granting of licenses infringed on the Company's grant, and that the New Englanders were spoiling the fisheries for others by throwing back into the sea the fish heads and entrails. The presence of these apparently discouraged other fish from coming near.[14] As a result on April 4, 1684, the King named M. Perot governor to succeed La Vallière.[15] On April 10, 1684, La Vallière was expressly forbidden to allow foreign vessels to fish in Acadia or to exert in the future "aucun fonction de Commandant dans le Pais et côte d'Acadie."[16]

The extent of La Vallière's activities in Acadia after this time is uncertain. He was there when the Intendant of New France visited Beaubassin in 1685-86 and later in 1686 when the Bishop of Quebec arrived. The Intendant, Jacques de Meulles, spoke very highly of him. He had, he said, induced many habitants to live there, he had built a mill at his own expense and while he was in command "many deemed it a pleasure

to take up lands in his Seigniory because he [had] always given assistance as far as he was able and still [continued] to do so".[17] In 1690, however, he was captain of Frontenac's guards in Quebec and he appears to have been occupied elsewhere during the 1690's.[18] His name does not appear in the Censuses of 1693 or 1698. Around the turn of the century a question arose of the limits of his seigneury and whether or not it included the inhabitants who about 1698 had established themselves at Chipoudy and Petitcodiak.[18a] La Vallière, acting through his son-in-law Villieu, was trying to persuade these inhabitants to recognize him as Seigneur.[20] In March 1701 the Minister wrote to the Chief Commissary and Magistrate at Port Royal for a memoir on the subject,[19] and the next May the Minister wrote to La Vallière that the authorities did not intend to take away the land he held in Acadia but only wanted him to produce his title to the land and show that he had fulfilled the conditions of the grant.[21] An edict of March 20, 1703, confirmed the habitants of Petitcodiak and Chipoudy (Shepody) in their holdings[22] and stated that the authorities intended to investigate further La Vallière's claim.[23] In 1704 La Vallière went to France to push his claim, and on June 2, 1705, the original grant was reconfirmed along with the proviso that he not dispossess "les habitants de ladite Province qui se trouveront en possession des terres et heritages....conformément audit arrest du vingt mars mil sept cent trois."[24]

La Vallière's connection with his seigneury had not in recent years been a close one. Des Goutins, Chief Commissary and Magistrate, had written in 1702 that La Vallière had not lived in the province for about

fifteen years and that improvements which had been made in the area had been made largely by Jacob Bourgeois or through trade with the English.[25] How much, if anything, he exacted from the habitants is uncertain. And after taking the pains to go to France to have his succession reconfirmed he never returned to Acadia. He died in July, 1705, probably during the crossing from France to Canada.[26] We hear nothing of his descendants trying to take up the seigneury until the early 1750's, and then only briefly.

It is possible that there was a priest at Chignecto before 1678 but it is not until that date that there exists documentary evidence of a priest's presence there. In that year, on September 8, 1678, La Vallière granted to the Récollets a concession of six arpents on the Rivière Brouillée (Tantramar River) "vis-à-vis la pointe de Beauséjour en montant au Nord-Est et des terres qui se trouveront dans la profondeur depuis ladte pointe jusquesà moitié chemin des habitations des nommes Martin & La Vallée."[27] The Récollet Father Claudius Moreau was Beaubassin's first priest, and sometime before 1686 a chapel was built.

In 1686 the Bishop of Quebec, M^{gr} de Saint-Vallier visited Beaubassin on his tour of Acadia. He found there a small chapel built out of sod and stones and covered with straw. Fearing that the chapel would not last much longer, he urged the habitants to build a new one along with a house for the priest. He also urged the establishment of a new cemetary to replace the existing one which was across the river from the church.[28]

The habitants had been served up to that time by Father Moreau, but he had been recalled to Quebec so Saint-Vallier left the priest Trouvé with them. Trouvé remained at Beaubassin until 1690 when he was replaced by l'Abbé Beaudoin. Beaudoin left Beaubassin in 1694 when his health failed and Trouvé returned. How long Trouvé stayed is a question. In October 1699 Governor Villebon complained that there was no priest at Beaubassin although the settlement was large enough to merit one.[29] In 1700 M. de Villieu wrote that a Récollet had arrived at Beaubassin but that he had said he could not remain there without the supplement granted by the King to priests in areas where the tithes were worth less than 50 écus.

The behaviour of the priests at Beaubassin was not always satisfactory. In 1690 we find de Goutins complaining of M. Trouvé's harsh treatment of a young man who had fathered an illegitimate child.[30] And Governor Villebon laid several charges against Beaudoin in a letter of 1693 to Count Pontchartrain: he had urged the habitants not to accept the authority of the Sieur de Perigny whom Villebon had sent to Beaubassin; he had told Villebon on his visit to Beaubassin in 1692 or 1693 that he was about to go to the woods with the Indians because the settlers were too troublesome to be with; he kept no regular hours for masses; the habitants had complained that he had left them to go with the Indians for six months at a time after he had received his provisions and that he was showing no respect for the King's wish that there be a missionary at Beaubassin. The habitants considered that he should be able to live on his allowance, yet he demanded of them beef, wheat, pork,

butter, tallow for making candles and all the wood he needed. And, they complained, he had taken the side of the Indians against them when disputes arose over the Indians' killing of their cattle.[31.]

Meanwhile settlement in the Isthmus had been developing. Jacques Bourgeois built a flour mill and saw mill for which he obtained parts in Boston,[32.] and it was reported that La Vallière had also built a mill.[33.] About 1684 Roger Kuessy (Caissy or Quessey), a young Irishman who had established himself at Port Royal and married an Acadian girl, brought the first fruit trees to the settlement.[34.]

The first detailed account available of progress in the Isthmus was that of the Intendant De Meulles who spent the winter of 1685-86 with M. de la Vallière at Beaubassin while on his way to tour the rest of Acadia. De Meulles arrived at Beaubassin on the 23rd of November, 1685, and was forced by the weather to spend the winter there "bored to death".[35.] He had landed at Baye Verte and had crossed the peninsula via a portage and the Missaguash River which opened "into French Bay at Chignecto, this portion being known as Beaubassin."[36.] Around the bay at Beaubassin he found "extensive meadows which [were] capable of feeding 100,000 head of cattle." Back a bit from the water were two wooded ridges (the Fort Lawrence and Fort Cumberland ridges) where "more than twenty-two farms" could be seen. Most of habitants had "three or four buildings suitable enough for the country" and "from twelve to fifteen or even twenty cattle, ten or twelve pigs, and as many sheep." The women made linen and the cloth for their clothes as well as their socks, and they wore Indian moccasins for shoes. Every

year a few English vessels came to trade the "few remaining necessities" for furs which the habitants obtained from the Indians. De Meulles was alarmed by the extent to which the New Englanders had developed trade with the Acadians and urged the construction of a canal through the portage between Beaubassin and Baye Verte as a means of making Acadia more accessible to Quebec traders.[37.]

While he was there De Meulles took a Census of the Chignecto area and found 127 people, 102 guns, 426 arpents of land cultivated, 326 horned cattle, 111 sheep and 189 pigs.[38.]

In 1686 the Governor of Acadia, M. Perrot, described Beaubassin in terms similar to those of De Meulles. He added, however, that the land was more suitable for feeding cattle than for growing grain because of the heavy fog in the summer.

The Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, also visited Beaubassin during 1686. He found about 150 people in the colony - about 23 more than De Meulles. Life was becoming more comfortable and settled now that the marshlands had been dyked and were under cultivation. According to Saint-Vallier the inhabitants had obtained their cattle from Sable Island where the Commander de Razilly had let them go wild in the 1630's. It had taken some time to domesticate these but by now they were an asset to the settlement. Besides farming, the settlers also engaged in fishing for salmon in the Bay of Chignecto and for cod further afield. If any vessel were to come from France bringing more cloth and other supplies it could return filled with wood, planks and salted salmon.[39.]

In 1687-8 we find the first reference to the cultivation of anything other than the dyked lowlands. M. de Gargas, Principal Clerk in Acadia, wrote that it was "only recently that [the habitants] have cultivated some of the higher ground and there the grain [grew] very well."[40.] Gargas took a census of the region of "Chignitou" at the same time. He found one priest, 13 men, 12 boys over 15, 28 boys under 15, 14 women, 13 girls over 12, 21 girls under 12 and 21 Indians for a total of 122 people. These possessed a church, 15 houses, a mill, 5 wigwams, 4 horses, 2 colts, 226 horned cattle, 125 wool-bearing animals, 25 guns, 3 swords, 2 pistols, 40 acres of marshland cultivated and 16 acres of upland cultivated.[41.] This is the first reference we have to horses in the vicinity. One should not, however, place too much trust in this Census (or any other Acadian census for that matter.) It is unlikely, for instance, that the amount of land under cultivation should have decreased so drastically between the time of De Meulles' visit in 1686 and Gargas' report in 1687-88. Gargas does not give the source of his information and whereas in describing some settlements, he says "I visited this place", he does not say it in connection with Chignecto.

It appears that the settlement at Chignecto did not grow much during the 1690's. A Census of 1693 showed a total of 119 habitants, 309 cattle, 272 sheep, 142 pigs, 157 arpents under cultivation and 21 guns.[42.] This decrease in population may be due to the departure of La Vallière, who no doubt took some of his family and followers with him when he left. The next Census was that of Governor Villebon in 1698,

two years after the settlement at Beaubassin had been almost completely destroyed by New Englanders in 1696. Villebon counted 178 people and 5 domestics, 352 cattle, 178 sheep, 160 hogs, 298 arpents of land cultivated, 33 fruit trees and 33 guns.[43] Villebon wrote that since the English attack the habitants had been living in great poverty,[44] and while there appear to be increases in people, cattle, hogs, guns and acres under cultivation over the 1693 Census, it is actually a decrease in the number of sheep and hogs per inhabitant.* In 1699 a general crop failure in Acadia affected Beaubassin.

In 1700 another Census showed 196 people, 340 cattle, 228 sheep, 149 pigs, 367 arpents of ploughed land and 42 guns.[45] This does not represent a great change from 1698 in livestock and land relative to the number of inhabitants,** which had not increased by much.

In 1701 the Sieur de Bonnaventure, then commander of the King's ship Envieux, visited Beaubassin. He found only one habitant farming

---

* The ratios were approximately 2.58 cattle, 2.25 sheep, 1.17 pigs and 1.33 arpents of land per inhabitant in 1693 and 1.94 cattle, 1 sheep, .88 pigs and 1.66 arpents of land per inhabitant in 1698.

** Now the ratios were approximately 1.73 cattle, 1.15 sheep, .75 pigs and 1.85 arpents of land for each inhabitant.

the upland, but he was the only one who regularly reaped a good harvest, proof that the uplands were not as inferior as most of the habitants believed. The inhabitants assured him that they could furnish masts as fine as those of Port Royal, but swarms of mosquitos prevented him from going into the woods to see for himself.[46.]

According to the last Census taken before the British assumed effective control of Acadia in 1710, in 1707, there were at Chignecto 271 people, 510 cattle, 500 sheep and 328 pigs.[47.] This indicates not only an increase in population but probably also a small increase in prosperity judging by the number of animals relative to the number of habitants.[***]

Up until about the turn of the century Port Royal represented the largest concentration of Acadian population. After that time the settlements at "Minas" took the lead. Beaubassin was always the third largest centre.

Beaubassin never seems to have had a particularly close relationship with the capital of Acadia which was, except for a period on the St. John River in the 1690's, at Port Royal. In 1692 Frontenac wrote to the Minister of the Marine that if Acadia were to remain French, the French authorities should send munitions to the habitants of Minas and Beaubassin "pour empescher que l'abandon ou ils croiroient estre sy on ne les se couroient, ne les contraignit de se donner aux anglois."[48.]

[***] The ratios now were approximately 1.88 cattle, 1.84 sheep and 1.21 hogs per inhabitant.

In October 1697 Governor Villebon wrote to France for sacred vessels and other church ornaments to replace those stolen or destroyed during the New Englanders' raid of 1696.[49] And earlier in the same month when he feared that Minas and Beaubassin were threatened by the English, he ordered powder and shot to be sent for distribution among the residents.[50] It appears that some time before 1702, probably in 1701, that a militia was organized at Beaubassin at the order of Governor Brouillan.[51] Villebon visited Beaubassin occasionally during the 1690's but he didnot report what he did there. Other than these few examples of official participation in life at Beaubassin there seems to have been little communication between the settlement and the government.

On the other hand, the inhabitants seem to have had at least as much to do with New England traders as with French authorities. We have already seen how De Meulles in 1686 was worried by this trade. He wrote:

> "The trade which the English have developed with the Acadians gives them the opportunity to catch and dry fish in the roadsteads belonging to the King of France. Thus they profit to a very considerable extent, while the Acadians are forced to serve as laborers under the English, to whom most of them owe very considerable sums. It is to be noted, moreover, that the English, through the trade which they have developed, by drawing the Acadians into their employment, thus tend to take them away from their farms, and so,

> on all the English coasts, are found Frenchmen who have been attracted by the good pay and the advantages afforded to them."[52.]

Jacob Bourgeois, as we have seen, obtained parts for his mill at Boston. Although illegal, the trade continued, and not without the knowledge of the authorities. Governor Villebon himself records an occasion on which word arrived while he was at Beaubassin that two New England vessels were coming to trade. He knew that the settlers needed supplies but he could not sanction illegal trading, so he made a quick trip to Minas so as to be absent when the trading took place.[53.] In 1697 an agent of the Compagnie de la pesche sedentaire de l'Acadie wrote that "Every year the English bring [to Beaubassin, Minas and Port Royal] trade-goods, brandy, sugar cane from Barbadoes, molasses and the utensils which are needed, taking in exchange pelts and grain, which has been a great boon during the recent years of famine in Boston."[54.]

The occasional Acadian residing at Beaubassin seems also to have engaged in trade. Germain Bourgeois, the son of Jacques, is the obvious example here. He appeared on several occasions carrying messages between the Saint John and Cape Breton and trading along the coast.[55.]

Despite the trade which seems to have developed between New England and the inhabitants of Beaubassin, contact with New Englanders did not always have a happy outcome. In 1690 New Englanders under Sir William Phipps arrived at Port Royal, disarmed the garrison, burned several homes and

forced the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the King of England. They then proceeded to take possession of Chedabucto (Guysborough). In the Nova Scotia State Papers there appears a document of submission signed by fifteen of the inhabitants of Chignecto to the British.[56] There is, however, no record that Phipps visited Chignecto. Will R. Bird says that after Phipps captured Port Royal Germain Bourgeois "journeyed thither and declared that Beaubassin would be obedient to English rule. Thereupon Phipps gave him a written pledge that the people of Beaubassin would never be molested while under British protection."[57] Bird is certainly not infallible as an historian, and he gives no source for his information, but his would seem to be the most plausible explanation of the document.

In September 1696 the settlement at Beaubassin suffered the worst set-back of its history. On the evening of the 20th there arrived in the basin ships bearing Colonel Benjamin Church of Massachusetts with about 250 New Englanders and about 150 Indians; they were on a mission of retaliation for attacks on New England towns by groups of French and Indians and for the French capture of Fort William Henry in August 1696. The next morning when they landed most of the settlers took to the woods in fright. According to Church, Germain Bourgeois had come out to try to talk to him. He refused, however, to give details about the Indians living among the French, so Church gave orders to chase the "enemy", killing Indians and bringing in French prisoners.[58] Bourgeois himself said that he had run out to show Church the document by which the inhabitants had sworn allegiance to the British King in 1690.[59]

Both Bourgeois and Church agree that Church ordered his men not to kill livestock but that they had disobeyed these orders and had in fact killed all their cattle, sheep, hogs and dogs. The next day Church sent word via some prisoners that if the inhabitants came out of the woods they would be well treated. Few trusted him enough to do so and those who did were threatened by the Indians with roasting and scalping. Church warned the settlers that if they allowed any more Indian attacks on New England that these Indians would return and really scalp and roast them. He then had the houses and barns of those who did not appear destroyed. The church was spared for two or three days but it was eventually burned because an order from Frontenac relating to trade had been posted on it and this order was regarded as a symbol of the habitants' dealings with Quebec.[60.] According to Bourgeois, the settlers whose houses were spared were not really left much better off than the others. Before sailing off to the Saint John River, the English stayed for nine days, living off the land, leaving the settlers "with empty houses and barns and nothing else except the clothes on their backs."[61.]

It took the inhabitants of Beaubassin some time to recover from this blow. In October 1698 Villebon sent home for church ornaments to replace those which had been lost.[62.] In August 1698 he visited Beaubassin and reported that he "found that Seigniory much changed since the last invasion of the English."[63.] Later in the year he wrote that the attack had left the inhabitants in poverty and that he had promised them some

help from the King in the form of gunpowder to be used in hunting.[64] This, along with a few axes and some shot, was delivered to Germain Bourgeois in November to be distributed to the habitants.[65]

In July 1704 Beaubassin suffered a second attack at the hands of Church. Again he was on a retaliatory mission for Indian raids on New England families. After almost completely destroying the settlements at Minas, a part of the expedition under Church proceeded to the Isthmus of Chignecto. They were met by a few Acadians and Indians who fired a few shots, and then, seeing that they were hopelessly outnumbered, retreated to the woods. According to a French account, the New Englanders burned the twenty houses farthest from the woods, and killed 120 horned cattle and many sheep but spared the wheat.[66] According to Church's records, the French had had some warning of the attack and had already hidden a good part of their possessions in the woods before their arrival. The men, says Church, searched the woods with no success, then returned to the town where they took what spoil they could and then withdrew to Passamaquoddy.[67]

Beaubassin does not figure in the correspondence between 1705 and 1710 of either the Canadian or Acadian officials. In September 1710 an expedition of British and New England troops appeared at Port Royal and after an admirable defence Governor Subercase was forced to surrender on October 16th. The British became <u>de facto</u> rulers of Acadia until the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 made their possession official.

11 The British Assume Control

When the British took Port Royal in 1710, the terms of the capitulation made them masters only of the area within a three-mile radius of the Fort, now renamed Annapolis Royal. With no French garrison remaining in the Province, however, the British were de facto rulers of as much of the Province as they could control. But the garrison left under Samuel Vetch at Annapolis was weak, and for the inhabitants of the more remote Isthmus of Chignecto the change in government made little difference. While the inhabitants of Minas almost immediately contacted the British to determine their position under the new government, the residents of Chignecto did not follow suit and it seems that it was not until after the Treaty of Utrecht that official communication began. In November of 1711 Vaudreuil reported to his Minister in France that the inhabitants of Beaubassin appeared to be remaining loyal to the French.[1]

With the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 France ceded 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 land and islands." The Acadians were free "to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they /should/ think fit, together with all their moveable effects." If any chose to remain, however, they 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 Rome, as far as the laws of England /did/ allow the same."[2]

The Oath Question at Chignecto

With the Treaty of Utrecht the Acadian population was given a choice of remaining in Nova Scotia and becoming British subjects or of leaving the Province to settle wherever they wished. During the summer of 1714, the Governor of Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island) sent two officers to visit the Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia to notify the inhabitants that they could be granted lands in French territory at Ile Royale or Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island) and to help in arranging their removal should they decide to go. In August we find Governor Nicholson ordering the inhabitants of Minas, Cobequid and Annapolis to meet with these officers. At these three areas an overwhelming majority indicated a desire to emigrate.

Despite the problems which would be posed by the presence of a French and Catholic population if they were permitted to remain, the prospect of their removal was not a happy one for the new British administration. Colonel Vetch wrote to The Lords of Trade in England that it would leave Nova Scotia

> "....intirely destitute of inhabitants...And as the accession of such a number of Inhabitants to Cape Bretton, will make it at once a very populous Colony; (in which the strength of all the Country's consists) So it is to be considered, that one hundred of the French, who were born upon that continent, are perfectly known in the woods; can march upon snow

> shoes; and understand the use of Birch Canoes are of more value and service than five times their number of raw men, newly come from Europe. So their skill in the Fishery, as well as the cultivating of the soil, must inevitably make that Island, by such an accession of people, and the French, at once the most powerful colony, the French have in America .....
>
> ...As to the number of cattle...there may be about five thousand black Cattle, besides a great number of Sheep and Hoggs, in that country, the greater part of all which, no doubt, they will carry off if permitted."

And this, as Vetch saw it, would reduce the colony "to its primitive state."[4.]

The "year" stipulated in the Treaty of Utrecht passed in 1714 and confusion continued to surround the question of an Acadian removal. In England little attention was devoted by the authorities to the problems of the new province and in Nova Scotia the authorities were unwilling to actively assist any removal. The Acadians in early 1715 still gave every evidence that they intended to move to French territories - about the same time that the Lords of Trade in England were deciding that an Acadian removal was undesirable.[5.]

Queen Anne died in August 1714 and the next January Mr. Peter Capoon and Ensign Thomas Button were sent to the outlying Acadian settlements

to proclaim George 1 the new King. At the same time they were to administer an oath of allegiance to him. When Capoon and Button assembled the habitants of Chignecto, they met with a flat refusal to take the oath.[6.]

Despite their refusal to swear allegiance to Britain and despite British unwillingness to let them go, it gradually became obvious that the Acadians were not anxious to leave Nova Scotia. A few did go but the vast majority of habitants stayed. Père Felix, curé at Beaubassin, wrote that when residents of the three main settlements had visited Cape Breton Island and Ile Saint Jean, they had found the lands inferior to those they already possessed in Nova Scotia. And whereas in Nova Scotia there were ample meadows for grazing cattle, in the new territory they would be faced with the unattractive prospect of clearing the lands.[7.]

With the refusal of the inhabitants to take the oath in 1715, the question seems to have been laid to rest for a few years.

In 1717 Colonel Richard Philipps was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia and in 1720, armed with new instructions, he arrived in Nova Scotia full of enthusiasm for settling the problems of the province. He was to invite the Acadians "In the most friendly manner by Proclamation otherways, as /he should/ think fit, to submit to His Majesty, within the space of four months from the Date of Such /His/ Proclamation, upon which condition they /should/ enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, and be protected in all their Civil & Religious Rights & Liberties so long as they /should/ behave themselves as good subjects." Because the

"year" stipulated in the Treaty of Utrecht had long since elapsed, anyone who emigrated rather than take the oath was not to be allowed to take his belongings or to destroy his property.[8.]

Almost immediately upon his arrival in the province, Philipps issued his Proclamation. He reminded the Acadians first of the King's good will towards them in granting them free exercise of their religion and their civil rights, and then offered them the opportunity to show their appreciation by swearing an oath of allegiance. And to the inhabitants of Chignecto he granted what he considered a particular favour; there had been a shortage of seed in the Isthmus that year so he permitted the bearer of the Proclamation to take fifty hogsheeds of grain from Minas to Chignecto without going to Annapolis on the way.[9.] Once again the inhabitants refused to take the oath. Their exact reply has not been preserved, but it was probably like that of the inhabitants of Minas who replied that they were loath to leave their homes "yet afraid to stay and possess them under the Nomination of English (sic) to have their throats cutt by the Indians."[10.] Philipps felt thoroughly frustrated. He thought that many of the French inhabitants could be persuaded to take the oath were it not for the French priests who could convince them that the British would not give them religious freedom. And until the authorities in Britain sent him more support, he feared that "the people of Minas & Chignecto know very well that they are out of my power."[11.]

Philipps growing sense of helplessness and frustration increased with two incidents in August at Minas. First a sloop owned by a New

England trader was robbed by a group of Indians while the residents looked on and did not interfere for fear of Indian reprisals. And then an officer sent to supervise affairs at Minas was told to return to Annapolis because he could not be afforded any protection at Minas.[12] By September Philipps wrote home that his attempts to be conciliatory towards the Acadians had been fruitless and that it was high time that stronger measures were taken "to hasten the securing the Country under the King's dominion."[13] In September meetings of both the principal officers of the garrison and of the governor with the Council resulted in a recommendation that six hundred more men to be sent to the province. The French inhabitants were persisting in their refusal to swear an oath of allegiance, yet they were plowing their fields and building new houses and generally creating the impression that they intended to stay. For this reason men and officers were needed "to raise redoubts, forts or intrenchments to secure the Garrisons, till more durable /could/ be built for the defence of the several settlements."[14] Forts should be built not only at Minas but also at Chignecto where it was necessary "the more to have a considerable strength in regard that the trade is clandestinely carried to Cape Breton."[15] Philipps recommended further that at least one hundred and fifty men should be left to garrison the fort there. His pleas fell on deaf ears, however, and no help came. The governor became increasingly discouraged until he finally left the province in 1723.

The oath problem once again lay dormant until 1726 when Lieutenant-

Governor Lawrence Armstrong raised it again. In September of that year he persuaded the inhabitants of Annapolis to take an oath of allegiance, although to do so he had to add a clause exempting them from bearing arms.[16] Encouraged by what he considered to be success, Armstrong sent Ensign Philipps and Captain Bennett to Beaubassin and Minas early in 1727. At Beaubassin the inhabitants refused to swear allegiance on the grounds that if they did they would suffer at the hands of the Indians; in any case, they said, they wanted "tousjours estre fidels à Nostre Bon Roy de France."[17] Armstrong attributed his failure at Beaubassin and Minas to one Mr. Gambell and his "Boston antimonarchical" friends, and to the French priests "who instill an inculcated hatred into both Indians and French Inhabitants, against the English."[18] Shortly thereafter Governor Philipps recommended that "two Barracks be erected at the Head of the Bay, the one at Minas for two companys, the other at Chignecto for fifty Soldiers, so scittuated as to countenance the settling of naturall born Subjects (who in time may teach them their duty) & also to be a check on theire behaviour and theire Traffick& Correspondence with the neighbouring ffrench Colonys ...."[19]

In September 1727 another opportunity presented itself for Armstrong to administer the oath throughout the province. Word came that George 1 had died and had been succeeded by George 11. Despite failure at Annapolis, Armstrong was determined to succeed elsewhere, and in October sent Ensign Robert Wroth with a detachment of soldiers up the Bay of Fundy to deal with the habitants there. Wroth, it appears revelled in pageantry and was willing to grant unauthorized conditions

to the Acadians to persuade them to take the oath and participate in the ceremonial activities which accompanied his visit. At Chignecto he was greeted by three of the deputies, spent the night at the priest's house and the next morning proclaimed the new King. The next day the inhabitants assembled at the flagpole near the Church, where, after a certain amount of toast-drinking and celebrating, they signed the proclamation. The problem of the oath was more difficult. That evening the inhabitants told Wroth through one Vero, the only one who could read and write, that they would take the oath if three conditions were granted. These conditions were 1) exemption from bearing arms; 2) assurance that they would be free to retire from the province, and 3) a guarantee that they would be free to exercise their reliogion, served by a sufficient number of priests.[20] Wroth sent the habitants home, saying that "the most favourable construction [he] could conceive was the Lyquor had prompted their Imprudence". But when they still insisted on their terms the next morning, Wroth "seriously weigh's them" and "not judging them Repugnant to Treatys, Acts of Parliament and Trade,"[21] granted them. When he submitted his report of his activities at Chignecto and Minas, however, the Council at Annapolis considered that the reaction of the inhabitants, particularly those of Chignecto, was "full of Insolence and contempt". The conditions they declared "unwarrantable and dishonourable"[22] and therefore "null and void".

In 1729 Governor Philipps returned to Nova Scotia, once again eager to settle affairs in the Province for once and for all. Soon after his arrival at Annapolis in November 1729, he re-instated in the parish

of Annapolis the Abbé Breslay whom Armstrong had driven out. In the resultant atmosphere of good will, Philipps was able to prevail upon the inhabitants to take an unconditional oath of allegiance. The following spring he visited the settlements up the Bay of Fundy, and in September reported to the Duke of Newcastle "the entire submission of all those so long obstinate people". And as for the Indians, who usually acted to obstruct the British, Philipps said that he had dealt with them with such "good management plain reasoning and presents...that they made their own submission to the English Government."[23] The only exception to this "complete submission" were "about Seventeen" of the inhabitants of Chignecto and nineteen at Chipoudy.[24]

The picture, however, was not as rosy as Philipps painted it. He reported home one change in the oath from "Obéirai Vrayement" to "Nous Soumettrons Véritablementà Sa Majesté"[25] - a change which he considered left the oath substantially unaltered.[26] But he very probably made another change which he did not disclose - an exemption from bearing arms. A document has been discovered in France which indicates that at Minas the habitants agreed not to bear arms against the English in return for a promise that they would not be required to bear arms against the French.[27] It is very likely that similar terms were granted at Chignecto. In 1744, for example, the deputies of Chignecto told Governor Mascarene that they would "adhere to the promise" that they had made "to take up arms neither for nor against the King of Great Britain." Mascarene now explained to them that "If

in taking this oath of allegiance, the government was kind enough to say to you, that it would not compel you to take up arms, it was out of pure deference, and more than had been stipulated for you."[28.] At what point in time the British authorities found out that the Acadians had some basis for their claim to neutrality is uncertain. Mascarene in 1744 was saying "if" the government granted exemption...etc. In 1748 he wrote to Shirley in Massachusetts that he had heard from those who were at Minas that the exemption had been granted.[29.] British officials knew by 1749, for in that year the President of the Board of Trade wrote that when the Acadians took the oath in 1730 it was "not without an exception that they should not be obliged to bear arms."[30.]

In any case, whether or not the British authorities and the Acadians were agreed on what exactly the latter had promised, the oath question seems for official purposes to have been considered settled until 1749.

French Priests in Nova Scotia

As we have seen, the British at Annapolis Royalfrequently attributed the habitants' failure to take the oath to the influence of French priests in the province. By the Treaty of Utrecht the Acadians remaining in the Province were "to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome", and this naturally involved the presence of priests from France or Quebec. And these, the British feared, were acting not only in the religious but also in the political realm.

Governor Philipps put it this way in 1720:

> "...there will ever remaine a great obstruction to out 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 Pere 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 alleigiance nor leave the country."[31.]

In the case of the priests, British apprehensions were frequently justified. In 1713, for example, Père Felix at Beaubassin was being told by the Minister of the Marine in France that he was in a strategic position because at Beaubassin he could easily receive communications from Cape Breton Island. The Minister doubted that the habitants would move to French territory on their own initiative and so he urged Père Felix to encourage them to do so.[32.]

Because the priest was often the only person in a community who could read and write he could naturally become a central figure in the community. It was often the priest who read to his parishioners proclamations from either the French or English and it was often the priest who wrote out the replies which the habitants signed with their marks.

A policy gradually evolved of the individual priest's being approved by the Council at Annapolis before he was sent to his parish. In 1726, a dispute arose between the habitants of Beaubassin and their priest, Père Ignace. Père Ignace claimed that the habitants refused to pay their tithes or recognize him as their priest and had "in Contradiction to the Governor's Orders, Signed for a Nother."[33] The Council ordered the habitants to pay their tithes from the date of Père Ignace's arrival.[34]

During the 1730's the priest at Beaubassin, M. Desenclaves, does not appear to have been a great source of anxiety to the British. Problems arose, however, when he left because of old age. In 1740, word arrived at Annapolis that Mons. St. Poncy had been sent to Chignecto, St. Poncy had been in Annapolis and about 1739 had gone to Louisbourg. There, according to Mascarene, he had told the authorities "how much he had gained over the minds of the inhabitants...in prejudice to the English Government" and had thereupon been sent back to Nova Scotia.[35] The Council decided that he should be quickly expelled from the Province, and that "an order be sent to the inhabitants of Chignecto signifying their contempt to this His Majesty's Government, in daring to receive the

said St. Poncy, or any other missionary Priest, without first applying to this Government and obtaining leave for one."[36] Expelling St. Poncy did not turn out to be a simple matter of ordering him out. The next April the habitants of Chignecto wrote Mascarene that when M. Desenclaves left they had requested a new priest but that they had not received one. For this reason they asked that St. Poncy be allowed to remain with them until a new priest was appointed. The Council agreed that a new priest was in order but not that he might be St. Poncy.[37] In March 1742 a new set of regulations for the assignment of priests was established to remove any doubt about procedure,[38] but it seems that St. Poncy did not actually leave until sometime in late June or early July of that year.[39]

The problem of providing Chignecto with priests acceptable to the British was not over. The famed Abbé Le Loutre, who was by now working actively against the English,[40] passed through the Isthmus on various occasions, and reported in 1746 that there hadn't been a priest at Beaubassin for four years.[41] In that year Père Germain was sent from Quebec. As we will see, as tension mounted in the 1740's and 1750's between the English and the French, both Père Germain and Abbé Le Loutre were busy promoting the French interest in the Isthmus.

Trade

Another feature of what the British regarded as the continued Acadian association with the French was the trade pattern which developed in the Isthmus of Chignecto. As early as 1718 complaints were being

voiced that every year the French from Cape Breton came to Minas and Chignecto bringing wine, brandy and linens which they could sell for less than could the British traders. And, in the other direction, cattle were being driven up to Chignecto, over to Baye Verte and thence to Cape Breton. This, the Lieutenant-Governor wrote, was "not only of Great Detriment to Our Traders who Can't sell their goods but will raise the price of provisions and impoverish the colony, or at least make it of more benefit to France than to us."[42.]

In 1720 Governor Philipps complained of traders from the Minas area who sold their cargo of cattle or grain at Cape Breton and then returned home via Baye Verte and Chignecto, bringing French commodities.[43.] With such a small garrison at Annapolis, however, he was helpless:

> "...the people of Minas & Chignecto know very well that they are out of my power & in spite of any thing I can do to obstruct carrying on a clandestine trade with Cape Breton, wch. they supply yearly with corne and cattle in exchange from the wollen & linnen manufacturers of France."[44.]

A report of 1720 by Paul Mascarene again laments the "continual intercourse" between the residents of the Isthmus and Cape Breton. To stop the inhabitants from carrying "most of their Furs", grain and cattle to trade at Cape Breton, he recommended the establishment at Chignecto of a fort garrisoned by 150 men. This was all the more necessary because the French were planning to establish a fort and settlement on Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island) from which, it

was feared, they could command the trade on the Bay of Fundy side of the Isthmus as well as the Baye Verte.*[45.]

The problem of trade with Cape Breton Island was a continuing one for the British. Years later, in 1741, we find Madcarene, now administrator of the province, complaining that although he could control exports from the area immediately around Annapolis, the French from Cape Breton were still coming to Baye Verte "where by means of a communication by land with the settlements of Manis and Chignecto they drew from those places whole droves of Cattle and other provisions, in which they were assisted with the French Inhabitants."[46.] A list of ships from Acadia arriving at Louisbourg in 1741 includes one from Chignecto and one from Baye Verte. Their principal cargo was beef but they also carried some furs, oats, fowl and sheep.[47.]

Trade from the Isthmus of Chignecto was not confined to the French at Cape Breton. New England traders, whose interests did not always coincide with those of the British at Annapolis, visited there often. It was reported to Begon in Quebec in 1715 that the previous year there had been a scarcity of food at Annapolis because supplies

---

*

This recommendation was also made by the Governor and Council and the principal officers of the garrison but nothing came of it.

from Boston were so expensive and because the Acadians preferred to sell their produce to New England traders who were coming in increasing numbers to Beaubassin and Minas and who paid them better than did the officials.[48] And in the same year Begon reported that English traders often took on Acadians as interpreters and mentioned in particular one Arseneau of Beaubassin.[49]

In 1741 when Mascarene was worrying about the French trade at Cape Breton he expressed the fear that the inhabitants "were supported by our English Traders, whom the desire of gain prompted to this unlawful, and at this juncture so pernicious a Trade."[50] In 1748 the French received news of an English vessel coming to Beaubassin to trade salt and other merchandise for grain.[51]

The Land Problem

The question of land tenure by the Acadians is a very confused one from 1713 right through to the time of the expulsion. By the Treaty of Utrecht, April 1713, all lands were "yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain". In May the Queen granted a special concession to the inhabitants of her new land: 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.[52] But the question of who had a right to what land was not easily established. As we have seen it was not until 1730 that the majority of Acadians were persuaded to take an oath of any sort, so strictly speaking they had no right to any titles anyway until that time.

British colonization was not a significant factor in Nova Scotia. When a new set of instructions were established for the province in 1719, a system of royal government was set up with the Governor representing the Crown. To avoid the problems the British authorities were already feeling in colonies like Massachusetts where the assembly possessed a considerable amount of power, Nova Scotia was to be modelled on Virginia. A system of making proprietary grants was incompatible with royal government, so prospective colonizers were not drawn to the province. And to prospective colonists the political system of the colonies to the south was much more attractive than that of Nova Scotia.

On his first visit to Acadia in 1720 Governor Philipps had recommended that the Acadians "hold their lands of the King by a new Tenure, instead of holding them (as at present) from Lords of Manors who are now at Cape Breton where at this day they pay their rent..."[53] In 1729, upon his return, he was determined to bind the Acadians to the government not only by an 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."[54] The problem now arose of disposing of the vestiges of Seigneurial grants. When, however, the authorities in London reviewed the problem, they found it necessary to consider only one claim, that of Agathe de la Tour. By paying her 2,000 pounds for her rights to the Crown considered that it had extinguished all seigneurial claims and had itself become grand seigneur.[55]

The British conception of the situation is illustrated by Mascarene's remarks in 1742; he reminded the deputies of Chignecto that the King was "Lord of the sev[1] Mannors in this Province since the year 1731 that His Majesty made a Purchase of the said Seigniories from those who from those had a right to them."[56.]

Yet some traces of the French system did remain. In September 1734 the Board of Trade set forth a ruling whereby such of the French who had remained in the province after 1713 and who had taken an oath of allegiance had "a right to keep what they were legally possessed of before that time".[57.]

Under the new system, the habitants were to pay quit rents to the King as seigneur. For some reason it was not until 1736 that a rent-gatherer was appointed for Chignecto. In December of that year, one James O'Neal was named "to be Gatherer & Collector of all his Majesty's Land rents, Quit rents, ffines of allienation & all other Debts, Dues or Demands as were wont to be paid in former times to their Seigniors, in the District of Chicanecto & the Places adjacent."[58.] O'Neal, an Irishman who had studied medecine in Paris and who had practiced for three years in Canada before he came to Acadia via Louisbourg in 1731, was to keep careful records of his transactions and for his trouble he could keep three shillings in every pound. As well as rent-gatherer, he was appointed notary public, there being no other suitable candidate in the area.[59.]

The amount of the quit rents was apparently not large. According to Mascarene they "seldom amounted to more than one bushell of wheat and a couple of Capons for every plantation."[60] The rent-gatherer received the dues in kind, then sold them in order to convert them into money or notes which he could send to Annapolis Royal via the merchants trading up the Bay.[61] (For several years the rents from Chignecto were carried by the famous trader William Winniett who had married an Acadian and settled in the province.)

At Chignecto, as at the other outlying settlements, the collection of dues was not a simple matter. For one thing relations between the habitants and O'Neal were not smooth. Hard feelings over a grant to O'Neal on La Vallière's Island may have been at the root of the conflict,[62] or it may have been uneasiness among the inhabitants about O'Neal's honesty. And it is quite likely that there was just a general disinclination on the part of the habitants to pay dues to anyone. When several of the inhabitants complained about O'Neal and refused to comply in the matter of rents, the Council ordered them to pay up.[63] On the other hand, O'Neal was admonished to "treat them [the habitants] with Civility, Tenderness and good Nature in the Execution of [his] Duty."[64] In May 1739, however, after the conflict had continued and had even resulted in the occasional physical clash,[65] O'Neal was officially replaced by the Acadian Pierre Bergeau or Bergereau.[66] It appears that O'Neal had not remitted to the government all that he had collected by way of rents, for in 1740 Bergeau was asked to make a statement of what O'Neal still owed to the King.[67] But the collection

of dues does not seem to have been much more efficient under Bergeau,* and to the problem of administering a system when there was no-one but unlearned Acadians in the various settlements an adequate solution was never found.

One of the problems in organizing a new system of quit rents was obviously that of establishing who had a right to what lands. If it could not be proved that a certain lot had been granted under the French, it became Crown land; this meant that a large number of people with no written proof that they had held the land for years were now considered squatters. And with the increase in Acadian population many habitants had spread out onto Crown lands to which they had never had any title. In the Isthmus of Chignecto, where there were expanses of marshland requiring no clearing, this phenomenon was particularly prevalent.

As in other fields, the weakness of the government at Annapolis was a handicap to the British in administering land policy. Mascarene wrote in 1741 "The want of instructions how to dispose of the increase of the Families of these Inhabitants is of no small perlexity. It being impossible .... to hinder them from settling on the unappropriated lands,

---

* In 1741 Mascarene was still complaining that the inhabitants of Chignecto were not paying their dues. And because Bergeau's accounts were in such confusion, Mascarene sent him a model to follow.[68.]

and as our weakness manifestly appears by our not being able to hinder them, it makes the several repeated orders to be more and more unregarded..."[69.] In 1742 the problem at Chignecto was brought to the attention of the Council when some land was apparently sold "before the Government had given any assurance of possession" and some other inhabitants had petitioned on the subject. Mascarene wrote the deputies of Chignecto asking for exact lists of the habitants and their status vis-à-vis the land. Those who had deeds or grants dating back to the French régime would not be interfered with. As to those who were established on lands for which they had lost their deeds of concession but who could prove that they had possessed their lands under the French, the Government would "insure them in their possessions". Those who had been given permission by the Government to mark out land but who were awaiting further permission to improve them would be given preference if the government allotted out new lands. Then there were two categories of habitants who had no right to any lands: those who had appropriated Crown lands for their own use without any permission and those who had established themselves on lands marked out by others.[70.] In May 1742 Mascarene wrote the Deputies that he had received this statement, but, unfortunately, no trace can be found of it now. The Council intended to consider the problem further. Mascarene observed also that a great many even of those inhabitants who had a good title to their lands were not paying their dues, and so he reminded them that paying dues was a condition on which they held their land.[71.] They were "to pay their annual rents on a certain day that is on the feast of St. Martins." If there were

more than one family in the house, they were to decide upon the head of the household and send him to Bergeau with the rents.[72.]

In July the habitants of Beaubassin apologized to Mascarene for not having paid their rents. About their lands, they explained that although some of their deeds had been lost forever they had thought that by taking the oath they had been confirmed in their holdings. For this reason they asked the members of the Council to present their case to the Crown, and also that of the poor families who had established themselves on ungranted lands and who would like to secure titles to them.[73.] In reply, however, Mascarene repeated his statement of the terms of land-holding and reminded those occupying ungranted lands that they were "in an act of Disobedience & ought to expect little or no favour."[74.]

The matter of land titles had obviously not been settled, but here it appears to have rested. By the mid 1740's relations between France and England had reached a crisis point and it was this which no doubt occupied the minds of officials both in Nova Scotia and England. When the matter came up it was talked of in abstract terms and nothing concrete seems to have been attempted in the way of straightening out the tangles in the province.

The Deputies

Up to this point frequent references have been made to the use of Acadian "deputies" in the dealings of the government with the habitants. This practice of employing representatives of the French population to act as go-between the government and people began as a

measure of convenience soon after the British take-over. At first the deputies were appointed by the Governor from among the more prosperous Acadians but in 1732 the office became elective. At first the government had the inhabitants divided into eight divisions[75.] but this number was later adjusted to six. These six districts were Annapolis, Grand Pré, River Canard, Cobequid, Piziquid and Chignecto.[76.] The Council at Annapolis ruled at the same time "that the annual Day for the Election of New Deputys shall be always hereafter on the Eleventh of October, in Commemoration of the Reduction of this Place, Provided that it be not on the Lord's Day, Commonly Called Sunday, and that then it Shall be on the Munday following..."[77.] Before the election the habitants were to make provision for the travelling expenses of their deputies.[78.] The new and old deputies were then to appear at Annapolis to receive the approval of the Government.[79.] From the district of Chignecto there were four deputies elected annually, but in 1736 the ruling was altered and only two deputies, one old and one new, were required to present themselves at Annapolis after the elections instead of all eight.[80.]

It was the duty of the deputies to represent the Acadians "and in their Names, to answer, propose and give an Account of all such Matters & affairs as at any time may Relate to them, & anyways tend to the Interest of the Province."[81] They were to arrange for the annual election of new deputies and report to the government the names of those who failed to vote.[82.] Proclamations from Annapolis were transmitted to the inhabitants via the deputies and they were generally agents of the government in the local communities. When difficulties arose between

different habitants, the deputies were often asked to investigate and report back to Annapolis.[83.]

*

Life at Chignecto

The principal occupation of the residents in the Isthmus of Chignecto was cattle farming, although some grain was raised and a significant fur trade was carried on with the Indians. The first description we have of Chignecto after 1710 was that of Lieutenant-Governor Caulfield writing from Annapolis in 1715:

> "Skekenectoe is Cituate North about Thirty Leagues distant from us, A Low Country and is mostly Applyed for the raising of Stocks of black and white Cattel, from which place in our necessity wee were Supplyed with about Seventy barrels of Extraordinary good Bieff.
>
> Tis the greatest resort of Penobscot and St. Johns Indians, who dispose of to the french great quantities of furrs and feathers for provisions.
>
> Oxen and Cows, about One Thousand
>
> Sheep, about one Thousand
>
> Hogs, about one Thousand
>
> Corn, about Six Thousand Busshells mostly wheat."[84.]

Paul Mascarene, then an engineer at Annapolis, described the settlement in 1720:

> "Chignecto is seated upon the Westermost branch of the Bay of Fundy almost at the upper end of it. The inhabitants are numerous having much increased of late

---

*
A more detailed discussion of Acadian social life can be found in a separate paper on the subject.

> years, and are about seventy or eighty families. This place is about twenve leagues distant from Manis having a communication by a river /River Hebert/ which discharges itself into Manis Road.
>
> This place produces good store of grain and abounds in Cattle more than any other...The Inhabitants are more given to hunting and trading than those of the other settlements, which is partly occasioned by their being so conveniently seated for it. There being a small neck of land of two leagues wide, which parts the Bay of Fundy from the Gulph of St. Lawrence, by this last they have a continual intercourse with Cape Breton, carrying most of their furs that way, and supplying it with provisions, of grain, cattle &c. and bringing for returns linens and other goods, to the prejudice of the British trade and manufactories."[85.]

Both Caulfield and Mascarene mentioned coal at Chignecto, and Caulfield added that this coal was used by the Garrison.[86.] This coal was not strictly speaking at Chignecto. It was rather on the south shore of Chignecto Bay at present day Joggins. The French knew of the presence of coal at least by 1707, for in that year we find the Minister in France writing to Begon that he should have investigated the report on of one Alain of abundant coal at Chignecto. When Robert Hale of Beverly visited in 1731 he reported that coal had been dug there for thirty years. At that time the coal was being taken out by a Major

Henry Cope and his associates from Boston who had been granted 4,000 acres in the area, subject to certain lenient terms.[88] Now they had established there a Serjeant and six soldiers from Annapolis and were employing 10 or 12 Acadians to dig.[89] The Company, however, was only in operation for two years; in 1733 it defaulted on wages and was brought to an end.[90]

In 1713, when Robert Hale visited the Isthmus of Chignecto, settlement had begun to expand north. He found three or four houses at "Whorschcock" (Westcock) on the Tantramar River, and there was cordially greeted by the French. Hale then proceeded to the largest town, "Meshequesh" which was about three quarters of a mile up the Missaguash River from Beaubassin Bay. He described the town which we know as Beaubassin proper:

> "There are but about 15 or 20 Houses in this Village, tho' it be the largest in the Bay, besides 2 Mass Houses or Churches, on one of which they hang' out Flagg Morning & Evening for Prayers, to the other the Priest goes once a day only, Habited like a Fool in Petticoats, with a Man after him with a Bell in one hand ringing at every door & a lighted Candle & Lantern in the other."[91]

While he was in the town, Hale stayed with William Sears, the Tavern Keeper, but he dined once at an Acadian home "upon roast Mutton, & for Sauce a Sallet, mix'd with Bonnyclabber Sweetned with Molasses."[92] On this occasion he was surprised to observe the members of the family on their knees praying before bed. The woman he found of dark complexion

as a result, he thought, of living in houses filled with smoke in summer to keep away the mosquitos and in winter to keep them warm. Their clothes were "good enough" but they looked as if they had been "pitched on with pitchforks, & very often y^r Stockings [were] down about their heels." Their houses, which consisted of one main room, an attic and a cellar, were sparsely furnished.[93.]

Chignecto continued to be a centre for the raising of cattle and grain and some trading of furs. Mascarene wrote in 1748 that at Chignecto grain and cattle were abundant "and from the intercourse they have with the Indians on the Western parts of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, those on the river St. John's and other tribes on the south side of Canada or St. Lawrence River, carry on most of the Fur trade dealt for in this Province."[94.]

In 1748 Captain Charles Morris made a survey for Governor Shirley of Massachusetts on the lands in Nova Scotia suitable for the establishment of Protestant settlers. At that time he found the village of "Old Chiegnecto" at the west end of the Fort Lawrence Ridge to consist of about fifty houses, a church for the French Inhabitants and a Chapel for the Indians. Around the Basin lay the best marshes of Nova Scotia, and on his map he showed French settlement on the Fort Lawrence and Fort Cumberland Ridge, up the Tantramar River, along the Maccan River and at the mouth of the River Hebert.[95.] He wrote

> "There are several Villages in different parts of the Bason settled upon the Upland adjoining the Marshes - and some of the Settlements are seven miles within the

> Land from the Bason towards the Bay of Vert for so far do the Marshes run, great part of these Marshes have been improv'd and fenced in Contrary, to the orders of English Government.
>
> All these Villages and Settlements are comprehended in the District of Chignecto and are altogether Computed at 200 Familys."[96.]

For the majority of Acadians, their way of life did not change much in the forty or so years after the British assumption of "Acadie". Confusion existed about the oath and the legal status of their land titles but this does not seem to have caused any great interference in their lives. They occupied the lands they had always held, expanded onto new ones, and generally continued to live as they always had, farming the land and perhaps engaging in a little fishing or fur trading on the side.

blank page

"no assistance, no obedience to any authority that does not emanate from his Britannic Majesty" and that they had "the strongest reason for abstaining from giving any assistance to his enemies."[4]. The Deputies, however, were probably truthful in saying that they had not assisted Duvivier. In the French correspondence there is a declaration on the part of the French officers that the expedition to Port Royal had had great difficulty obtaining supplies from the Acadians.[5].

In January 1745 an expedition of 100 Acadians and Indians was sent under the Sieur Marin overland to Acadia to either give assistance at Louisbourg or to go to Annapolis. In April Marin was at Beaubassin where he received instructions to proceed to Minas to await further orders,[6]. but after a few ineffectual attempts around the fort at Annapolis in May, he was called to Louisbourg.

Again the question arose of the role of the inhabitants of Chignecto in assisting a French force. Jean Teriot and Jean Potier, Deputies at Chignecto, appeared at a Council meeting at Annapolis in late June 1745 and explained that they had been preparing to come earlier in the year when Marin had arrived and had forbidden them to come, "on pain of corporal punishment,"[7]. But apparently some habitants had been sent to Minas for grain and had not told anyone of the presence of the French at Chignecto. The deputies were therefore ordered to return home, find out who had assisted the French, expel anyone who had not (or whose father had not) sworn an oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and return in a month to give an account of the situation in the Isthmus.[8]. In Mascarene's opinion, it was the custom

of the Acadians in the 1740's not to join the French in arms but to be "tolerably obedient" to them. "As soon as the Enemy appears", he wrote in 1746, "we have no more of their assistance nor even can procure any Intelligence by their means."[9]. On August 7, Teriot appeared as ordered, but unfortunately the Council Minutes do not give any details of any information they may have provided.[10].

In June of 1746 an expedition of 600 troops under the Sieur de Ramezay left Quebec for Chignecto to be ready in case of action around Annapolis or an attempt to recapture Louisbourg, which had been taken by the British the year before. From France there had set out a huge armada under the Duc d'Anville. In July de Ramezay's troop landed at Baye Verte and began to unload the ships and to transport supplies via the portage across the Isthmus to Beaubassin. The only major problem the troops seem to have encountered in landing in the Isthmus appears to have been forest fires.[11]. At Beaubassin a decision was made to proceed to Port Royal, and in late July an advance party set out for Mines. De Ramezay followed in early August. On August 14, however, before any attempt was made at Port Royal, de Ramezay was ordered back to Quebec with about half of his troops. By September 4th he was back at Beaubassin trying to secure enough provisions for his men on the return trip. He sent his officers to the small settlements in the Isthmus to seek out provisions and to order the inhabitants to send in their horses for the transport of supplies to Bay Verte. The habitants could not provide enough supplies, although it has been recorded that the

farmers there were more inclined to co-operate with the French than were those at Minas.[12]

Arrangements were being made to let some of the men make their own way up the St. John River to Quebec to be reimbursed there when word came that the French armada was arriving. After conferring with his officers, de Ramezay decided to return to Minas immediately with his men.* From Minas he approached Port Royal. Now word came not only that the great hope for the recovery of Acadia, the French armada, had been drastically reduced by bad weather, sickness, and death of its leaders but also that the remnants of the fleet were prevented by bad weather from coming around the peninsula from Halifax harbour to Annapolis. With this news and with the arrival of a 250-man reinforcement from Boston, de Ramezay was forced to withdraw. On November 7th information came that the English were on their way to chase the French out of Minas, and, with this incentive to move, de Ramezay departed on the 22nd for Beaubassin. There on December 1 he ordered that the various companies be assigned to winter quarters in the environs of Beaubassin where they would be in a position to observe the English should they make any attempt on them. Thus M. le Chevalier de la Corne remained at Beaubassin with his Company, M. de la Colombière was sent two leagues away "au lac", M. de Repentigny "à la pointe de Hébert", M. Mercier to "planches Chaskok, Mincanne et Nappan" and M. de Gaspé "à la coste gelée

---

* It should be noted that Beaubassin was always the base camp for French efforts and all communications from Quebec were sent to the Commanding Officer there to be forwarded to de Ramezay if he were absent.[13]

et la prée des Bourgs".[14]

On January 8th an Acadian messenger arrived from Minas with word that the British had sent almost five hundred troops to Minas and that there they were being quartered in the fairly widely spread habitants' houses of Grand Pré. De Ramezay saw his chance and sent off some of his own forces and their Indian allies. After a hard journey overland in winter the expedition completely surprised the English while sleeping and after a day and a half of fighting a truce was called. Shortly thereafter the English capitulated and withdrew to Annapolis. A week later, on February 19th, the habitants met with the Chevalier de la Corne and explained that they were almost out of supplies and had been reduced to a pitiful condition. For this reason the French troops withdrew once again the Beaubassin, arriving on March 8th. By then de Ramezay had been ordered to send back several of his officers, and almost immediately, La Corne, Beaujeu and Mercier left.

De Ramezay stayed on at Beaubassin and in fact issued from there two proclamations to the inhabitants of Minas that by virtue of the French victory at Grand Pré they were once again subjects of the French King and should do nothing to co-operate with the British.[15] (In fact, on April 12th the British reoccupied Grand Pré with no French opposition at all.) In May and June de Ramezay sent several dispatches to Quebec telling the authorities there that he would soon be forced to leave Acadia unless provisions arrived because supplies at Beaubassin were very short. The Intendant did send a

supply ship to Beaubassin, but it did not arrive until a day or two after de Ramezay had departed, leaving only the Sieur de Repentigny with a small force.[16] De Repentigny himself left Beaubassin about July 20th.[17]

With the departure of de Repentigny French military activity in the Peninsula virtually ended for the duration of the war. In the summer of 1748 a small expedition was sent via Beaubassin to Ile Royale under Marin but it was cut short with peace in the autumn.[18] By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Louisbourg was returned to the French, much to the astonishment of the British in North America.

After the withdrawal of the French in 1747, however, a great uneasiness persisted. We have, for instance, an unsigned memoir of December 1747 apparently written by an Englishman that the French and Indians in effect controlled all of the Province except for the small area covered by the canons of Annapolis.[19] And Charles Knowles at Louisbourg wrote in late June 1747 that he feared for the safety of that fort "Monsr de Ramezay having settled at Baye Verte with 5 or 600 Canadians and Indians and built a Fort of 9 Guns.....".[20] By then de Ramezay had in fact left the Isthmus. This reference to a fort is an odd one. Mascarene and Shirley both mention this fort of nine guns but it is probable that they were repeating what they had heard from Knowles.[21] The only other independent reference we have to a fort was made by one Stephen Coffin who had been taken prisoner at Minas in 1747. He said that he had spent two months at "a French settlement called Beaubassin, where the French had a wooden

Fort then garrisoned with twenty-five men."[22]. If a fort were built it is strange that there is no mention of it made in any of the French papers, and it is highly improbable that Knowles ever saw the fort about which he wrote. As for Coffin, he made questionable statements about other areas, a fact which makes his description of Beaubassin open to doubt. Orders for the construction of the French Fort Gaspereau at Baye Verte were not given until 1750.

The French authorities at Quebec were in close touch with happenings in Acadia even after the departure of the troops. From Beaubassin there was a constant stream of information from Père Germain who had contacts elsewhere in the Province. In the spring of 1748, for instance, he was writing that he had not had any news from Port Royal since December "which [led] him to think that nothing of interest [had] occured there, for he [had] reliable people at Minas, who [were to] inform him of every movement."[23]. In September 1748 Père Germain visited Quebec to make arrangements for the winter, and warned the authorities that unless they sent flour for the support of the Malecites and other Indians in Acadia they might go over to the English. As a result the Intendant sent to M. Maillard, the Indian missionary, considerable supplies of flour, powder, shot and blankets.[24].

The priest Le Loutre too was active in and around Beaubassin at various times in the late 1740's. The inhabitants were reprimanded in 1745 when they admitted that Le Loutre had been with them for a time, had stayed in the priest's house and had said mass in their chapel.[25]. Le Loutre's activities will come in for more comment in the early 1750's.

The Need to Secure Chignecto in the late 1740's

The fact that several expeditions from French territory had either passed through Beaubassin or used it as their Acadian base naturally led to suspicion on the part of the Annapolis authorities towards the inhabitants of Chignecto. Mascarene, always more inclined to be conciliatory to the Acadians than his superiors either in Boston or in England, wrote in 1748 that "the greatest inconveniences" faced by the government in Nova Scotia was the "large number of Inhabitants who cannot be reckin'd to be attach'd to the British Interest, and thô they may have been kept from joining the Enemy in Arms, it cannot be depended upon, but they may do so at some other time."[26.]

Once again suggestions were made that a fort should be erected on the Isthmus. For a while there seems to have been some official interest in the suggestion. Governor Shirley in Massachusetts, who regarded the securing of Nova Scotia as of supreme importance and who was in close contact with Mascarene throughout his administration, was apparently ordered by the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State, in the winter of 1748 to erect a fort there if he thought it adviseable.[27.] Shirley did think it was adviseable; he had been urging Newcastle for at least a year to establish forts at Minas, Chebucto, Canso and particularly Chignecto where a large detachment should be stationed to guard the Isthmus against French encroachments.[28.] The construction of a fort would, however, have required a large detachment of men

from Louisborug and while the Governor there agreed with Shirley that a fort would be desirable, the garrison was too weak to release the men. As a result nothing was done. Shirley, Mascarene and the chief Engineer in Nova Scotia agreed in April that the danger in building a small fort was too great to risk. A small fort might be easily taken by the French who could use it as the barrier to the Province. [29.] This is not to say that Mascarene and Shirley now considered a fort unnecessary; in 1748 and 1749 both of them repeated their opinion that a strong fort was necessary but with the funds and forces available for Nova Scotia only a second-rate one could be built.

Removal of the inhabitants of Acadia had been suggested at various times as a possible solution to a situation in which an almost entirely non-British population occupied a British province. This, however, had been rejected, mainly on the grounds of the expence which would be involved in transporting them and replacing them with English or Protestant settlers.[31.] In the late 1740's the suggestion was again made, this time by Governor Shirley who proposed the removal of the most troublesome of the Acadian inhabitants and the establishment of French Protestant ministers, English settlers and English schools in the hope that the young people at least could develop in a British mould.[32.] The Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, replied that this project would not be adviseable at that time when the "French Emissaries" were trying "to alienate the minds of the Inhabitants from their Allegiance to His Majesty", because the move would be represented by these emissaries "as a certain and undeniable Proof of a Resolution taken to

deprive the Inhabitants of the whole Province of their Possessions and Settlements."[33].

British colonization had never been significant in Nova Scotia but now it was beginning to appear as a feasible alternative. Governor Shirley was the prinicpal exponent of this idea. In his eyes the presence of English settlers could not fail to have a beneficial effect on the province. In 1748 he sent Captain Charles Morris to Nova Scotia to survey the province for the possible establishment of Protestant settlers. Morse surveyed the peninsula and optimistically suggested that six settlements might be made at Annapolis, four at Minas and nine around the Cumberland Basin. These would be south of the La Planche River, along the Fort Lawrence Ridge near "Old Chignecto", along the Fort Beausejour Ridge (two), along the Tantramar, around Minudie Point and at Chipoudy, Memeramcook and Petitcodiak.[34]. Shirley's proposals appear to have been heard in England, for when the Governor, Edward Cornwallis, was given his instructions in 1749 he was told to have townships surveyed and to send settlers to the various areas. Five hundred were to go to Bay Verte.[35] As we will see, however, British or Protestant settlement was never effectively established until well after the expulsion of the Acadian population in 1755.

PART IV THE PRELUDE TO THE EVENTS OF 1755

By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748 the fortress of Louisbourg was returned to the French and British possessions in present-day Nova Scotia were limited once again to the mainland. Yet the limits of Nova Scotia were still indefinite. A commission was therefore established at the time of the Treaty, and between 1749 and 1753 representatives of England and France searched without success for a boundary acceptable to both countries. While France seemed secure in her possession of Canada, Isle Saint Jean and Isle Royale, a strong Louisbourg was in no way balanced by any strength at Annapolis. In concerned British and New England eyes this was intolerable and a counterbalance was badly needed on the Atlantic coast of the Province. Not only was an increase in military strength necessary but also the establishment of English-speaking settlers; these, planted among the Acadians, might have a useful effect in transforming them into real British citizens.

1749: A New Civil Government is Established

The great proponent of stepped-up action in Nova Scotia was Lord Halifax, the new President of the Board of Trade. In early 1749 advertisements were sent throughout England with the intention of attracting discharged seamen and artisans and farmers to settle Nova Scotia. Encouraged 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 in Halifax harbour in late June.[1.]

English settlement was not to be limited to Halifax. The new governor, Colonel the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, was instructed to cause "Proper Store houses" to be erected at "Menis, Bay Verte, or Chegnecto, Whitehead, and La Have, or such other as you shall think 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." He was also to have townships surveyed and to send out settlers in the following proportions: Chebucto (Halifax), 1,200, Minas, 500, La Have, 300, Whitehead, 500, and Bay Verte, 500.[2.] In these orders the hand of Shirley is evident; in May of 1749 he was still exhorting the Lords of Trade to built a fort on the Isthmus and make English settlements there in order to secure the areas for the British.[3.]

On July 14 the new Council under Cornwallis was sworn in. That same day the governor issued a declaration reminding the Acadian population of the kindness of the British King in allowing them freedom of religion and free possession of their lands. This kindness, he said, would continue if they took a regular oath of allegiance within three months.[4.] On July 31st there arrived from the various districts deputies including Pierre Doucet and Francois Bourg of Chignecto and Alesander Brossart of Chipoudy; these met with Cornwallis and requested exemption from bearing arms. "It was the unanimous Opinion of the

Council that no Exception should be granted them...."[5]. At a second Council meeting of August 1st the deputies were warned that if they chose to leave the province rather than take the oath they would not be permitted to sell or take away any possessions. They were then sent home with word that anyone not taking the oath by October 15th would be forced to leave the province immediately.[6].

This attempt to administer an unqualified oath was no more successful than any of its predecessors. On the 6th of September the deputies returned with a petition offering to take no other oath than that of Governor Philipps who had granted an exemption form bearing arms.[7]. Naturally, to the Council this was unacceptable.[8]. When the habitants did not swear the oath by October 15th, however, Cornwallis did not try to force them to emigrate because of the time of the year, and the problem lay no closer to solution than it had before.

Military Activity Begins

Meanwhile the groundwork was being laid for all the military activity that would take place in the Isthmus of Chignecto in the 1750's. In the summer of 1749 the Comte de la Galissonière, administrator at Quebec, had sent Charles Des Champs de Boishébert to establish himself at the mouth of the Saint John River to prevent any English settlement there. Now, later in the season, the Chevalier de la Corne was delegated to establish posts at Chipoudy, Memramcook and Petitcodiak in order to prevent the English from establishing themselves there.[9]. On his arrival he administered an oath of

allegiance to the French King and formed three companies of militia, one on each river.[10.] Settlement in these areas, particularly Chipoudy, had been growing for some time but numbers had increased more rapidly in recent years. This was due in large part to the exhortations of the priest Le Loutre who was active in trying to draw habitants to the north and west side of the Missaguash River, the territory the French now claimed as theirs. Le Loutre and Father Germain may have been working from fundamentally religious motives but they were certainly not unaware of the political assistance they could provide for France. La Jonquière, Governor of New France, wrote to the Minister in October 1749 that their work among the Indians was very profitable to the French and that they would act at all times in concert with La Corne and Boishébert, with whom they would maintain close contact.[11.]

In late 1749 and early 1750 Indian activity against the English reached a peak. Le Loutre wrote to La Jonquière: "I will do my best to collect my Indians and as it is not possible openly to oppose the proceedings of the English, we cannot do better than incite the Indians to carry on war against them.... Such, Monseigneur, is the course I will take for the good of the State and of religion; and I will do my best to make the English think that this design originated with the Savages, and that I have nothing to do with it."[12.] In September a band of Indians took 20 prisoners at Canso. In November about three hundred Micmac and St. John Indians surprised a detachment from the fort at Grand Pré, took about 19 men prisoner and returned to the Isthmus of Chignecto.[13.] Throughout the fall and winter

Cornwallis expected an attack by the Indians whom he had heard had been assembled at Chignecto.[14] In January of 1750 he ordered Captain Sylvanus Cobb to apprehend Le Loutre and deliver him up to the nearest English fort, and "as all the Inhabitants of Chinecto, thro' his instigation, [had] harbored and assisted the Indians" he was to take as many of them as he could "to remain as Hostages of their better behaviour."[15] Word of the expedition leaked out, however, and Cornwallis cancelled the mission. But the Indian menace remained. Cornwallis wrote home on March 19 that the French around Halifax had seemed sure an Indian attack would come in February and any who were working for the English had left by mid-January. The attack did not come, but, Cornwallis wrote, if he could have spared three hundred men he would have sent them to attack the Indians at Chignecto.[16] At the same time he wrote again to the Duke of Bedford of necessity of securing the Isthmus by a fortress as soon as possible.[17] No settlers had been assigned to the Isthmus in 1749 but the London authorities still intended to act in 1750. It was the belief of the Lords of Trade that settlers there would not only have the effect of providing a good example but would also serve as a check on the illegal trade with Louisbourg.[18]

On March 30, Cornwallis announced to the Council that the situation was critical and that he intended to secure possession of Chignecto immediately if forces could be provided. On April 4 he issued instructions to Major Charles Lawrence to proceed to Chignecto where he was to "erase" any fortifications the French had erected

and chase out any detachments of French forces. And, to make the British stand clear, he was to "chuse the most advantageous situation for a Fort at Chinecto and throw up what works [he could] for the present to secure it."[19].

Lawrence arrived at the mouth of the Missaguash River on the 21st of April and immediately sent a smaller boat up the river to the town.[20] When the envoy returned to the ship, he reported that most of the houses in the "Lower Town" had been burned to ashes that day.

The next day the entire expedition sailed up the river and disembarked on the marshes on the north side of the town. An envoy from La Corne soon appeared requesting an interview. Lawrence had by now observed that the dykes on the otherside of the river were lined with Indians from the sea to the woodland and decided that it would be rash to attack. It soon became evident that they were "strongly surrounded on every side." A small expedition sent to reconnoitre reported that the town of Chignecto "by this time was deserted and reduced to ashes, the Mass-House not excepted, though there were about a dozen houses standing to the right of it."[21].

At this stage La Corne arrived and Lawrence went to meet him for an interview. When Lawrence inquired by what authority he was there, La Corne replied that M. Jonquière had ordered him "to take possession of Cheppodie, St. John's River, Memramcooke, Pitcodiak and all that Country up to the River on the Right, as being the property of the French King, or at least that he was to keep it and... defend it, till the Boundaries should be settled by Commissioners appointed for that Purpose."[22]. As for the burning of Beaubassin, he said

that the Indians had done it and that he knew nothing of it. Lawrence repeated Cornwallis' order to the French to retire immediately, but he was convinced that La Corne "was determined in his purpose, and had collected a force very sufficient to maintain himself against a strength very superior to [that of the British]".[23] As Lawrence moved away from La Corne "the enemy set fire at once to every house that remained" on what the French were "pleased to call British ground." The inhabitants and their cattle had all been driven over to the "French side". Lawrence was convinced that any engagement with the French would be fatal, and so, in the face of this and bad weather, the British expedition withdrew to Minas.[24]

There is some question about who was responsible for the firing of Beaubassin. Most accounts state that it was Le Loutre. Louis de Courville, who would later be notary at Fort Beauséjour, stated that "Le Loutre, having joined the inhabitants not eager to leave their homes and settle on the French side of the river, himself set fire to the Church and made others whom he had gained to his side burn the houses."[25] Placide Gaudet quotes the spy Thomas Pichon in saying that it was Father Germain who ordered the destruction of the church and some of the houses, but that the job was completed by Indians sent by Le Loutre for that purpose.[26] No matter who was responsible the fact remains that after the destruction of the houses there was no shelter for the habitants on the east side of the Missaguash River, the side the French allowed to the English.

The general situation appeared grave in British eyes. Not only

had the French gained effective possession of the territory north of the Missaguash River, but also, Cornwallis wrote,

> "Numberless Messages and threats have been sent by La Corne and Loutre to all the Inhabitants of this Province to prevail upon them to Evacuate - they have prevailed upon them so far that the Inhabitants unanimously resolved to do so and sent their Deputys to me to ask leave to retire with their Effects, not one of them wou'd sow the Land, they make no scruple that this proceeding is entirely against their Inclination, but that La Corne and Loutre threaten them with a General Massacre by the Savages if they remain in the Province." [27].

Unless strong steps were taken, the governor feared that the entire province would fall to the French, and, most important, he felt that "there [was] an absolute necessity of having a Considerable Force at Chiconecto."

Despite Cornwallis' gloomy view of the situation, all was not smooth sailing on the west side of the Missaguash. Shelter had to be found for all the Acadian families who had lived west of that river. A few Acadians from Beaubassin had emigrated to Isle Saint Jean in 1749 but in 1750, with the burning of the town, this movement quickened. By July 200 refugees had arrived and by November there were over 800 of them.[28] But this did not account for all the refugees; on August 15 Le Loutre wrote the Intendant Bigot for provisions for the subsistence of the many families needing help. He was expecting in addition to those already there about sixty families from the Beaubassin area (some of the families in the settlements east of Beaubassin had remained there in the spring while the men had gone ahead across the Missaguash), one hundred families from Cobequid and some from Minas

if they could get away.[29].

On June 14th the Lords of Trade finally responded favourably to pleas for the establishment of a fort at Chignecto. They wrote to Cornwallis that, as soon as a particular regiment had arrived from Ireland, he was to send force to take and fortify the Isthmus of Chignecto, and, with this accomplished, to establish a settlement.[30].

Armed with instructions to this effect, Colonel Lawrence left for Chignecto at the head of another expedition on the 19th of August. Cornwallis wrote:

> "they carry with them three large Barrack frames, two blockhouses and all necessary materials. Tis likewise proposed to carry one hundred French Artificers to assist in erecting the, and the French Shallops are to be employed to supply the three Forts with firewood or Coal from the Chinecto cliffs." [31].

On September 12th the seventeen vessels connected with this expedition appeared in Chignecto Bay and on the 13th anchored off Weskak. On the 15th part of the forces tried to land at Beaubassin but were obstructed by fire from Indians and Acadians behind a dyke which had been built by Le Loutre and which ran from the La Plance to the Missaguash River. British fire however soon forced the French and Indians to retire, despite the exhortations of the priests Germain and Le Loutre, and the English landed. They now proceeded to build their fort, which was ready for occupancy early in October. [32].

Captain Louis Le Neuf de la Vallière described in his Journal the scene in late September:

> "On September 23, the families of Les Planches,

> Wiskok, Mencan (Maccan), Nampan (Nappan), River Hébert and Menoudy (Minoudie), whose men were already at Beausejour Point, left their homes and came to our territory.
> The houses and barns with their contents were burned causing a great scarcity, so that the people had to be supported at the expense of the King. Most of the cattle were lost, and the remainder could not be kept through the winter as there was not enough salt to preserve the meat."[33].

The English fort was built but the second part of the plan, the establishment of English settlers, did not materialize; the detachment from Ireland had arrived too late in the season to both fortify the Isthmus and help construct shelter for settlers. As a matter of fact, the Isthmus would have to wait until well after 1755 for its first successful English settlement.

The establishment of the English at Fort Lawrence and the influx of more refugees to the French side of the Missaguash naturally did not relieve the already serious situation in French territory. De la Corne returned to Quebec in early November and reported that there were on French soil about 1500 Acadian refugees who had been able to bring very little with them and who were in great need both of food and clothing.[34]. When M. de Saint-Ours, Commander of the French forces in the Isthmus of Chignecto, assembled the habitants to ask for help in providing winter quarters, they replied that this was not possible. Saint-Ours thereupon decided to leave 20 Acadians as a guard at Point Beauséjour and 10 men at Pont à Buot on the Missaguash River and retire to winter quarters at Le Lac "where barracks had been made, covered with hay, in order that the troops might be within reach of wood and water." [35].

To English eyes the situation was now progressing more satisfactorily. Cornwallis wrote to the Lords of Trade in late November that the fort had been completed, barracks erected and supplies laid in for the winter. [36] The only serious upset that autumn was the murder by some Indians of an English officer, Edward How, as he approached a party from Beauséjour carrying a white truce flag.[37]

On November 8th orders were sent to M. de Saint Ours to build a fort on Beauséjour Ridge as well as a smaller fort at Baye Verte. Saint-Ours received the instructions at some time during the winter, and ordered the habitants to provide the necessary stakes and transport them to the site. This they did but they refused to work without compensation, Saint-Ours would not hire them, and when their own work began in April, the habitants and the Commander parted company.[38] In April a detachment of troops arrived from Canada and work began on the fort.[39]

A further indication that already all was not well between the French military officers and the Acadians came that spring. On April 12, 1751, the Governor at Quebec sent word that within eight days every Acadian had to take an oath of allegiance to France and enrol for the militia or be treated as a rebel and be expelled from the new lands.[40] The "neutral" French were not to be allowed any more "neutrality" on the French than on the English side of the border.

Le Loutre wrote to the Governor of Ile Royale from Au Lac on May 8 that the refugees had managed to survive the winter but that they

needed help soon. They had brought 150 cattle from Cobequid but had lost some of the beef because of a lack of salt; and to add to their difficulties high tides had broken down some dykes and less land could be sown that year.[41.] This problem was accentuated in late July when the English managed to destroy the dyke on the French side of the Missaguash.[42.]

Work continued on the fort throughout the summer and considerable progress had been made by the time the French engineer Franquet visited the site in August.

Franquet toured the military establishments in the Isthmus and in his report made some very interesting observations on the general conditions in the Isthmus. He landed at Fort Gaspereaux and described the various buildings there. Between the fort and Baie Verte he found eighteen houses recently constructed by the refugees and occupied by 142 Acadians.

From there he then proceeded to Fort Beauséjour. First he followed a very bad road for about a mile along the Baye Verte Creek, where there were eight bridges along the way, constructed of logs on stones. At the hill at the end of the portage he found a royal storehouse and two houses for 21 Acadian refugees.[42a.]

He continued by canoe through the lakes and rivers which flow into the Missaguash River. At Pont à Buot* Franquet found a small post with 30 men stationed there under M. de Semblin. It was at this point

---

*
J.C. Webster says that Pont à Buot was actually at present-day Point de Bute, and that the course of the river has been changed.[43.]

that a transfer was made from water transportation to land. Two roads ran between Pont à Buot and Fort Beauséjour. Both ran back a bit from the river where it was safer at a time when the British occupied the opposite bank, but one skirted and ridge while the other went through the woods to the fort.

In describing the area around Fort Beauséjour Franquet observed that the British had destroyed the dyke along the river on the Fort Beauséjour side on the pretext that the Indians were using it as a cover. Now the land between the river and the Fort, which used to produce much grain, was soggy and not arable. This included the area around the Ile à la Vallière, where the French kept a guard at night to watch the movements of the English.

In his report Franquet provided an account which he had obtained from Le Loutre of the origin and number of Acadians who had taken refuge on the French side of the Missaguash:

Villages	Men	Women	Children	Total
Minoudy	29	26	114	169
Riviére des Mines ou des Heberts	20	21	71	112
Riviére de Maintane	12	13	61	86
Riviére Nampanne	18	20	104	142
Veschotk	17	19	79	115
La Butte	14	13	59	86
Les planches	11	6	39	56
Mezagouêche ou beau bassin	32	30	128	190
Des Mines, Cobequit and other places	25	23	107	155
	178	171	762	1111

Franquet reported, as had Le Loutre, that the scarcity of food had been in part due to the high consumption of the Indians who managed

to get more than their share by frightening the inhabitants and killing and carrying off their cattle. [43a.]

The year 1752 seems to have been a relatively quiet one on the Isthmus of Chignecto. There was a brief flurry of activity at Fort Beauséjour when word came that an English attack was imminent, [44.] but the report was false and no attack materialized. At the fort itself construction proceeded under the direction of the French artillery officer, Jacau de Fiedmont. But both the English and the French were more preoccupied with the interior of the continent than the Maritime regions, and activity in the Isthmus was at a minimum.

In 1752, three accountings of the habitants in the Isthmus were prepared, probably by Le Loutre. The first, dated January, is a "Rolle Général des Habitans de la Cadie francoise". The second is a "Rolle Général des familles Refugiés". From this I would conclude that the first enumerates those who had been in the area west of the Missaguash since before 1749-50 while the second lists those who had recently arrived. The third list names the villages from whence came the refugees. The totals of the first two lists are worth reproducing:

(1) Rolle Général des habitans de la Cadie francoise [45.]

La Baye Verte	5
Port Buot	5
Veskak	64
Pré des Bourgs	24
Les Richards	40
Tintamarre	152
La Coupe	39
Le Lac	83
Beauséjour	178
Memeramkouk	270
Petkoudiack	392
Chipoudy	511
	1763

(2) Rolle Général des familles Regugiées [46.]

Gasperaux	83
Baye Verte	127
Portage	18
Le Pont a Buot	92
La Coupe	15
La Pointe Beauséjour	93
Weskak	27
La Prée des Bourgs	37
Les Richards	24
Tintamare	120
Mameramkouk	46
Shipoudy	8
Petcoutiak	1
	1113

The third list names the families who had come from Menoudy, Riviére des Mines, Riviére de Mécan, Riviére de Maupan, Vechkok, La Butte, Les Planches, Beaubassin, Les Mines and Cobequid. [47.]

The year 1753 seems to have been as quiet as 1752 as far as Anglo-French strife in the Isthmus was concerned. For many of the Acadians, though, it was a very unsettling time. Apparently many refugees were waiting for the results of the boundary commission in the hope that they might be able to return to their old lands; this meant that in the meantime they were not going out of their way to establish themselves in any permanent fashion. This was a source of anxiety to the Minister of the Marine in France who wrote in July that because the habitants could not be relied upon to aid the French unless they were permanently settled, no effort was to be spared to persuade them to build their own houses.[48.] The restlessness of many refugees was illustrated by a petition signed by about 80 men and sent to the

Council at Halifax. These Acadians wanted to be permitted to return to their old lands under the same conditions as Wroth had granted them in 1727, i.e. exemption from bearing arms and freedom of religion.[49.] The Council replied that their lands would be restored (except land on which Fort Lawrence now stood) if they took an unqualified oath before Mr. George Scott at Fort Lawrence.[50.] When Le Loutre heard that some of the habitants were considering returning to British territory, he was furious. In the words of Louis de Courville, he

> "entered the pulpit and spoke with more fury and passion than in a religious spirit. He launched the thunderbolts of the church and publicly chastised those among the people whom he knew to have been the first to have made these proposals."[51.]

In any case, with or without Le Loutre's influence, the habitants felt they could not take an unqualified oath and therefore would not return to their former lands.[52.]

Food supply was a constant problem at Fort Beauséjour and in the surrounding villages. As we have seen the English destroyed the dyke along the Missaguash from the mouth of the river to a point about opposite the fort. On the other side of the Fort Cumberland ridge were large areas which would be arable if the Tantramar and Au Lac Rivers did not flood over them at high tide. In December of 1752 Le Loutre went to Paris to try to persuade the French court to grant him 50,000

livres to use in the construction of aboiteaux to reclaim the land.* The cultivation of this land, he claimed, would eliminate the necessity for the French government to supply food to the area.

The court granted Le Loutre the money but required that the engineer de Fiedmont direct the operation and that complete plans be sent to France for inspection before work began.[54] Therefore on December 14, a detailed memoir was sent to the court describing the proposed aboiteau. It was to be on the Au Lac River, a long structure about 446 feet long (70 "toises"), higher in the middle and sloping at either end so as to make a bridge for crossing the river. To complete the project regular dykes would have to be built to keep out the sea water along the Au Lac between its mouth and the aboiteau.[55] Estimates of the cost had by now risen to 85,120 livres,

---

* J.C. Webster writes

"Aboiteau, Aboteau, Aboideau.... consisted of a dyke across a river, made of timbers and earth, with a sluce containing a valve-like clapper which opened under pressure of fresh water brought down the river, but closed by pressure of the tidal sea-water impinging on its lower surface. In this way the sea was automatically kept out.....

The particular aboiteau which Le Loutre first built was on the river Du Lac, some distance above the point where the river La Coupe joins it. The site is now spanned by a bridge on the highway which runs west from Point de Bute through Jolicure towards upper Sackville."[53]

35,170 more than the Court had granted. When Le Loutre returned to the Isthmus, however, he persuaded the habitants to make up the difference by providing materials and transportation.[56] He says in his autobiography that he organized over 300 habitants in working on the aboiteau, working night and day between tides, and transporting cartload after cartload of stones and timbers. Three months after work began a strong tide broke down all the construction and it was necessary to start the work over again. When the English captured Fort Beauséjour in June 1755 there remained only about three months' work to be done.[57]

1754 too was a quiet year militarily. Some work was done on the fort, a road was built between Gaspereau and Baye Verte and the road between Beauséjour and Baye Verte, which had fallen into disrepair, was improved.[58] The fact that so many Acadians were employed on Le Loutre's aboiteau was regarded by both de Fiedmont and M. Vergor du Chambon, Commandant at Beauséjour, as one of the chief reasons who the fort was not defensible in June of 1755; while Le Loutre was using most of the available Acadian manpower, they were left with only a small number of workers.[59]

Le Loutre was not completely occupied with the aboiteau. It was reported by Thomas Pichon, "the spy of Beauséjour," that he was also travelling through the French villages in the Isthmus, acting on a power of attorney given him by M. de la Vallière, Captain of troops at Louisbourg. La Vallière, a descendent of the original seigneur of Chignecto, claimed to have inherited the seigneury which had in fact

lapsed with the British conquest, yet Le Loutre now gave "concessions" to the settlers and laid down the conditions upon which they were granted. Among these conditions he included "so many days of unpaid labour which these unfortunate people [were] obliged to provide for his church, for his aboideau and for the seignior, etc."[60].

Generally speaking, however, little occured in the Isthmus of any long term significance. After the frantic activity of 1750 and 1751 when so many refugees had crossed the Missaguash to French territory and when Forts Lawrence and Beauséjour were begun, the next three years were relatively peaceful. But the truce was not to last forever and within a year the French were to be expelled from the Isthmus and many of the habitants scattered throughout the British colonies to the south.

PART V THE EXPEDITION TO FORT BEAUSEJOUR 1755

1754 may have been a quiet year in the Isthmus of Chignecto but late in the season plans were being made by British authorities to remove the French military from the region. Thomas Pichon, a spy for the British in Fort Beauséjour, warned Captain Scott at Fort Lawrence early in November that plans were being made to strengthen the works of the French fort in the spring and that 300 more regulars would be arriving from France, along with ships and frigates to be stationed in the Bay of Fundy.[1] Almost immediately Lawrence, now Governor of Nova Scotia, wrote his mentor, Governor Shirley, now Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America. In his opinion it was "high time" to drive out the French, and he suggested that 2000 men be raised in the spring so that the British could take the offensive before the French struck them - and before French supply ships reached them.[2] He recommended that Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monckton, the bearer of the letter, be entrusted with the expedition. At the same time Shirley was writing Lawrence that Sir Thomas Robinson, the Secretary of State, had given him some vague instructions which he had taken to be orders for them to act together "for taking <u>any</u> advantages to drive the French of Canada out of Nova Scotia".[3] Shirley agreed with Lawrence that the spring would be the strategic time to strike, and conveyed this opinion to Robinson. He stated his views:

> "... if Nova Scotia should be lost by any sudden blow the Eastern parts of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and the whole Province of New Hampshire... together with

> the Rivers of St. John's Pentagoet and Kennebeck, and all the Sea coast as far as Merrimack River with the whole fishery to the Westward of Newfoundland must soon fall into the possession of the French most likely in the same spring ... " [4].

And to Lawrence he wrote that he had had word from an escaped prisoner from Quebec that an expedition from there was heading for the Isthmus in the spring. An attack was definitely in order, and he would do his best to raise 2000 men.[5].

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 to say that he was aware that he (along with Shirley) had been taking a risk in planning an expedition against Fort Beauséjour without instructions from home authorities, but that he felt that they would not hesitate to support him. And he went on to emphasize how strongly he and Shirley felt that as long as the French forts and establishments on the north side of the Bay of Fundy were allowed to remain, the province would never be secure.[6].

Instructions were thereupon issued to Monckton about the raising of troops and the execution of the expedition. When he arrived in the Isthmus he was to issue a declaration to the habitants "acquainting them with their fate if they [were to refuse] to make the submission required of them which for the present [was] no more than that they [were] to deliver up their arms and remain totally quiet within their own habitations." Lawrence added an interesting note:

> "The Oaths of Allegiance .... I would not have proposed to any of them, 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." [7.]

The expedition to the Isthmus of Chignecto left Boston under Lieutenant Colonel Monckton on May 23rd and landed on June 2. On June 16th, after a siege of two weeks, the French surrendered. That evening the British took over the Fort and the next day the French troops departed for Louisbourg.*

In March 1755 the Vicar-General, the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, was given a list of 2897 habitants in the region of Fort Beauséjour and was told that there were 746 men and boys capable of bearing arms.[8.] With this manpower in mind, du Chambon called for 600 men from the nearby villages to come to the fort as well as sending to Quebec and Louisbourg for help when word was received on June 2nd that a British fleet was approaching.[9.] When the English on June 4th marched down the Missaguash to Pont à Buot, crossed the river, captured the redoubt there and made their way up by Butte à Roger and Butte à Mirande, there were, according to De Fiedmont, about a hundred Acadians in the district. De Fiedmont says he had tried to persuade the habitants to build several redans so as to make the post more defensible, but that "the habitants refused to work fearing that if the enemy should cross the river, their retreat might

---

* A detailed account of the siege can be found in report #250 on Fort Beauséjour.

be cut off. They preferred to build a weak entrenchment of stumps and branches farther up the hill on the edge of the forest."[10]. And when the British put out of commission the guns in this entrenchment, the Indians soon retreated, followed by the Acadians.[11].

As the English advanced as far as Butte à Mirande (a little over a mile from the fort), du Chambon and Le Loutre ordered that all the houses, including the church, in the neighourhood of the fort, be burned.[12]. At Pont à Buot the buildings suffered the same fate.[13].

De Fiedmont described the behaviour of the Acadians at the fort in damning terms:

> "Very few habitants could be induced to work in the fort. They busied themselves trying to look after their own effects. In the evening, M. de Boucherville took a party of fifty Acadians to reconnoitre; they left him and went to their homes at Le Lac. Those belonging to Baie Verte also retired to their homes, and thus there remained in the Fort less than half of the force of 600 Acadians who should have been there (220 in all). Only a few of these would work with me on the defences, along with about thirty artillerymen. Consequently, progress was very slow. I again applied to the Commandant asking that more men be forced to labor. M. de Bourcherville was sent to Le Lac to collect a large number, but he returned with only six men, stating that the rest had refused to come and had discarded their arms and ammunition, saying that they did not intend to run the risk

of being hanged, as the English had announced that this would be their fate if they took up arms."[14]. *

---

* J.C. Webster tries to balance De Fiedmont's judgement of the Acadians:

"Peaceful peasants like the Acadians cannot be turned into disciplined soldiers in a sudden emergency. Only stern training under brave and competent officers can inure men to face cold steel or gun-fire even when they are themselves armed. It is an even greater ordeal to make them work steadily as non-combattants, under constant shell-fire. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Acadians shrank from the exposure which work on the defences necessitated, and that they preferred the shelter of the casemates. Also... they were much troubled as to their status. Both residents of Chignecto and refugees knew that Great Britain claimed all Acadia... and they were aware of recent proclamations in which the Governor at Halifax had threatened extreme punishment to all Acadians who might take arms against the British." [15].

On the seventh and eighth a party of Acadians and Indians which was sent out in hopes of taking English prisoners returned with only one.[16] These two groups were also used in attempts to harry the enemy. But on the 14th, when word came from the Governor of Louisbourg that he could send no help, "the habitants, who had been led to believe that help would be sent became demoralized, and about eight left the fort."[17] On the 15th "The Acadians in the Fort...represented to the Commandant that as there was no hope of help they did not wish to remain and sacrifice themselves uselessly."[18] The next day, the 16th, after a bomb had pierced a casemate which had been considered absolutely safe and the habitants had threatened "to turn their arms against the garrison" if it did not capitulate , the Commandant and his Council of War surrendered. Monckton reported that at the time of the surrender there were about three hundred habitants within the fort.[19]

In the articles of capitulation suggested by the French commandant he claimed that the Acadians had been forced to take up arms, and as a result one of the terms granted by the English was that "The Acadians inasmuch as they have been forced to take up arms under pain of death shall be pardoned for the part they have taken."[20]

On June 19th a British detachment marched across the Isthmus and took possession of Fort Gaspereau. They were ordered in particular to search Le Loutre's papers but they found that both he and the Abbé Maillard, missionary at Baie Verte at the time, had departed with all their effects the day Beauséjour had surrendered. About the town of Baie Verte, Lt. Col. Winslow, commander of a battalion on the expedition,

wrote:

> "This Vilage Contains about Twenty-five Houses a Chaple and Priests house well Furnished, and the Inhabitants of this Vilage Live in better form and more after the English Manner than Any I have Seen in this Province and have an open Communication with the Island of St. John and the Inhabitants of Cape Briton whome the (sic) Furnish with Lumber Indian Goods &c. from whome they receive all the Conveniencys of Life in Return."[21.]

On June 18th, as the British forces were cleaning up the fort to make it habitable again, Monckton issued orders to the habitants to bring in their arms, and on the 20th three hundred turned them in.[22.] On the 21st and 22nd settlers from the more distant rivers arrived and surrendered theirs.[23.] French military occupancy had come to an end and the Acadians were once again on British soil.

The awkward position in which the Acadians had been placed in the Isthmus should not be forgotten. Not only were they faced by the physical discomforts resulting from the influx of a large number of habitants to an area which wasn't ready to support them; there were other disturbing elements in the situation. They had left British territory in many cases because they objected to taking up arms, not just for the British but for anyone, yet here they, the "neutrals", were required to belong to the militia and obey the French military commander in a crisis. Nor was the military the only interference in their lives; Le Loutre forced them to work on his aboiteau and

constantly threatened them that "if they went over to the other side they would no longer have priest or sacraments, and they would die as outcasts."[24]. In September of 1754, 83 of the habitants sent two to Quebec to try to obtain permission to return to British soil because they had not been able to obtain good farm land on French territory. As Pichon described it, their lot was not an enviable one; he wrote "They have not been released from the oath to the King of Great Britain, and, therefore, if they are captured on the French side, they would be liable to criminal punishment", yet Le Loutre kept warning them that they could not hope for heaven "nor for the sacraments to take them there" unless they remained loyal to the French.[25] And their project was not warmly received in Quebec; Duquesne wrote Le Loutre that he did not believe that "the two rascally deputies" would soon recover from the fright he gave them.[26].

Le Loutre was not alone in threatening the refugees with spiritual punishments. Père Germain, for instance, was officially on the Saint John during this period but he made frequent trips to the Isthmus to confer with Le Loutre. Pichon reported to the British at least one occasion on which he preached to the inhabitants and called them "knaves and liars." [27].

Some of the refugees from the Beaubassin area maintained a connection with their old lands during the years of truce. At this time some of them still collected their hay and pastured their cattle on the English side of the Missaguash, and, indeed, some trade was conducted with the English at Fort Lawrence.[28]. In the autumn of

1754, however, this came to an end when the French Commandant ordered that after the hay had been harvested and the cattle brought back, anyone attempting to cross the river would be shot.[29.]

Some of the refugees may have been content now that they were under the French flag once again but it would appear rather that the majority found conditions less satisfactory than they had been on British soil. But the ticket across the Missaguash was not for a round trip and once they had arrived in French territory it was virtually impossible to return to their old more fertile lands.

PART VI THE EXPULSION

We have seen that Lawrence in January 1755 considered the possibility of ridding Nova Scotia of those Acadians living on the west side of the Missaguash River. At that time he ordered Monckton to warn them that unless they made their submission and delivered up their arms, they would be treated as rebels, with military execution.[1.] But, he continued, they should not be allowed to take an oath of allegiance as this would tie British hands if it should be found necessary to remove them, as he thought it would.[2.] It appears that Lawrence's thinking on the matter was hardened by the discovery of a large number of Acadians in Fort Beauséjour at the time of the capitulation. He wrote to Monckton on June 25th that the claim that the habitants had been forced to take up arms was a ridiculous one and therefore reminded him not to permit them to take an oath of allegiance and not to give them anything which might serve to give them any title to their lands. And this included the inhabitants of the more distant settlements at Chipody, Memramcook and Petitcodiak because habitants there could more easily give the French intelligence about English movements.[3.] By July 13 Lawrence's mind had been made up vis-à-vis the habitants of the Isthmus. He wrote to Monckton that he was determined that they should be removed as soon as Monckton had made all possible use of them. For this reason he urged him to become familiar with every detail of the district, "particularly the Villages that lye at the greatest distance which I know upon the least

encouragement from Canada will be always ripe for Rebellion if they are suffered to remain."[4].

Up until the end of June Lawrence had talked in terms of deporting the "deserted "or"revolted" habitants only. But in his letter of June 25th he intimated that the idea of removing all the Acadians had at least crossed his mind.[5]. The possibility of this type of action had arisen before, but, as we have seen, it had been dismissed on the grounds of expense or the danger of strengthening French colonies. In July, however, the suggestion became more widely entertained. When the inhabitants of Minas petitioned for the return of their arms and the use of their boats, both of which had been removed earlier that spring, they also asked for a renewal of the conditional oath. However the Council replied that this was a good opportunity for them to take not a conditional but an unqualified oath.[6]. On July 25 and 28 deputies speaking on behalf of the habitants of the Minas and Annapolis areas refused to take any but a qualified oath. The Council Minutes continue the tale:

> "As it had been before 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 prupose."[7].

Action followed quickly on the decision. On the 31st Lawrence wrote Monckton at Fort Beauséjour, now called Fort Cumberland, that because the inhabitants of the Isthmus had taken up arms against the government, they would be the first to go. He was warned not to let the inhabitants know of the plan but to devise some scheme for getting the men into his control and detaining them until the boats arrived. Without the men it was unlikely that the women and children would try to escape and carry off their goods and cattle. While on board ship the inhabitants were to be allowed one pound of Flour and half a pound of bread per day and one pound of beef per week.[8].

On August 11, Lawrence issued Monckton more detailed instructions. Eleven transports were to be sent to Chignecto, and the inhabitants were to be loaded on at a ratio of two persons to a ton. Once full, the ships were to sail for Georgia, South Carolina and Philadelphia. Lawrence feared that a number of the inhabitants would escape and that the number of ships would be more than enough. If this were the case, surplus ships were to be sent to Minas to take on habitants from that area. But before he sent them on, Monckton was to burn the villages and destroy anything which might provide shelter to any escaped habitants, thus driving any such refugees into the open.[9]. Monckton

was particularly cautioned against considering petitions from any Acadians who wanted to remain in the country.[10.]

Monckton received Lawrence's notice of July 28 on August 5. The next day he sent Captain Willard and a detachment of 100 men to destroy the villages of Cobequid, Tatmagouche and Ramsack (now Wallace) and to bring in the inhabitants and cattle.[11.]

On the 10th of August the inhabitants of the villages in the Isthmus were summoned to appear the next day at Fort Cumberland to have the orders of Governor Lawrence read to them. According to the Abbé Le Guerne, his pretext was that of making arrangements for the land.[12.] The next day over 400 of the men appeared, and although this was not as many as there should have been,[13.] they were detained in both Forts Lawrence and Cumberland. Colonel Winslow describes the day:

> "This day was one Extrodenary to The Inhabitants of Tantramar, Wescoat, olake, Bay of Verte Beauséjour and Places adjatent. The Male Inhabitants or the Principal of them being Colected togather in Forte Cumberland To hear the Sentence which Determined their Property from The Govr & Council of Halifax, which was that they were Declared rebels. There Lands Goods & Chattels Forfitt to the Crown and their Bodys to the Imprisones. upon which the Gates of the Forte was Shut & they all Confined to the amount of Four Hundred men & upwards.
>
> Majr Preble Capt Speakman & the Party with them

ordered to Wescoat, Tantemar &c. to secure all males in those Places upwards of sixteen.

.....

Capt Cobb Saild yesterday from Forte Cumberland to take the Male Inhabitants of Shepody but returned without Effecting anything they all being Fled into the woods." 14.

The Abbé Le Guerne, who had served the missions at Tantramar, Memerancook, Chipody and Petitcodiak for three years, reported that he was at Chipody when word came of the detention. He exhorted his parishioners to take to the woods and suffer any fate rather than go over to the English. And, he reported with satisfaction, only a very few momen who were surprised by the English were taken from Chipody.[15].

The prisoners at Forts Lawrence and Cumberland were apparently told at first that they were to be deported to Louisbourg but soon found out that it was not to be to French territory but to the American colonies.[16]. The prisoners themselves petitioned without success for permission to go to tell their families who had heard nothing from them since their detention. And not having come to the forts prepared to stay, they were also anxious to obtain blankets, etc.[17]. Monckton made no reference to the petition in his journal and it is highly unlikely that any attention was paid it.

On the 12th an expedition to Au Lac returned with eleven prisoners, and on the 12th, Major Prebble returned from the Westcock-Tantramar area with only three prisoners, the rest of the men having fled to the woods.[18].

On the 26th Captain Willard arrived at the fort bringing with him only a few prisoners but having burned the Acadian settlements in the Tatamagouche and Wallace areas and having carefully observed the situation in the Cobequid area and on the north shore of the Minas Basin.[19.]

Monckton continued his work of trying to bring in the settlers on the Isthmus. On the 28th of August he sent out Major Frye with 200 men to destroy Chipoudy, Memeramcook and Petitcodiak. The party burned 181 buildings on the Chipoudy River and then on the 3rd sailed up the Petitcodiak River, spending the morning burning buildings on both sides of the river. Shortly after one o'clock, however, as a detachment of about 25 men was about to burn a church, they were descended upon by a party of about 300 French and Indians under M. de Boishebert. The English party, being fewer in number than the French, was forced to retreat, "after Burning 253 Buildings with a Large Quantity of Wheat Flax, &c." [20.]

On September 3rd Captain Gilbert brought in several women and children from the Baye Verte region, where he had burned the buildings.[21.] On the 17th Willard recorded that he went to Fort Gaspereau in an expedition under Major Prebble. They burned some buildings about a mile and a half from the fort, marched to a village about two miles past Au Lac, burned about 70 buildings and returned to Au Lac to set fire to 120 buildings there. From there they marched on their way to Fort Cumberland about two miles to another village where they spent the night. Here they ate well on the pork and cabbage the

French had left, killed about 60 sheep, and in the morning they burned the thirty buildings of the village. Two miles further on they burned 40 more houses[21a.] and continued on their way to the fort which they reached about 4.00P.M.

The first of the Acadians embarked on the ships on September 10th and the rest followed at intervals.[22.] Lawrence had given instructions to Monckton to see that the habitants had on board enough bedding and food before he allowed them to take along anything else.[23.] On the night of October 1st eighty-six Acadians escaped from Fort Lawrence by a tunnel of about thirty feet that they had made from the south curtain to the ditch. This escape was particularly alarming because these were men whose families had not been brought in from Chipoudy, Petitcodiak and Memramcook.[24.] In his original instructions to Monckton Lawrence had counted on loading at least 1940 people on eight of the eleven ships. In fact, when they sailed on the 13th of October, they had been able to load only 1100 French, and Monckton sent along the three transports to Winslow at Grand Pré.

The expulsion in the Isthmus was not a tidy affair completed in 1755. Many refugees worked their way up the New Brunswick coast, or to Ile Saint Jean, and for some time after the large transportation of October 1755 small pockets of Acadians remained in the Isthmus. On October 23 a party out bringing in sheep and horses on "ye River Obare" (Hebert?) was shot at by a group of about 100 French and Indians and forced to retreat.[26.] On November 13th a small party of sailors was shot at near Westcock when they went to find fresh

meat, cabbages and turnips.[27] As a result Monckton ordered two parties under Captain Willard and Captain Stevens to take separate ways and to meet at Tantramar. The group under Willard marched along the marshes to the Tantramar River, crossed it by boat and marched two miles to Westcock. Here they surrounded the houses but found no French, so marched on about 4 miles to a small village between Westcock and Tantramar about dawn the next day. On the 14th they marched to Tantramar. As they approached the village they saw a group of habitants roasting a sheep, but when the Acadians saw them they fled to the woods. Willard lodged the men in log houses which were standing close together and then they ate a meal of trunips and cabbage and the mutton the French had left. On the 15th Captain Stevens party appeared. That day they burned a church and several houses in Tantramar*. They then proceeded to Westcock, burning about 70 houses on the way. At Westcock where they camped the night, they were joined by reinforcements. The night of the 16th they marched to the village at Memramcook, arriving early in the morning. Immediately they surrounded the houses, but they found only eight or nine women and children; the rest had escaped. About 30 houses were burned and they took one woman prisoner, 200-250 head of cattle, 50 sheep and about 20 horses.[29] The party then returned to Westcock. In the neighbourhood of Westcock the men picked up a few things like feather beds which could be sold.[30] The next day a large party marched to Tantramar to bring in a number of

---

* 97 according to John Thomas and 107 according to Capt. Willard.[28]

cattle, hogs, sheep and horses and returned to Westcock the next day. On the 20th, after killing some of the cattle, they burned several houses[31.] in Westcock and returned to Fort Cumberland with the rest of the cattle.

As we have seen a large number of inhabitants of the Isthmus escaped the deportation of October 1755. This was particularly true of those in the areas somewhat removed from Fort Cumberland such as Memramcook, Petitcodiak and Chipody. By mid-November most of the buildings which might have provided shelter there had been destroyed, and the refugees were forced to go into hiding in the woods. Many families moved farther away to the Shediac and Cocagne area. A number of these refugees went to Ile Saint Jean; the Abbé Le Guerne encouraged this trend and in fact accompanied a group there in September 1755 before returning to the mainland to winter near Memramcook.[32.] According to Le Guerne, the British came three times on expeditions to rout out Acadian refugees, but, although they forced them to change their hiding places, they never managed to capture more than one or two prisoners each time. In the spring of 1756 they managed to take twenty prisoners and kill two people at Chipody.[33.]

In the summer of 1756 M. De Boishebert, the officer who had led the attack against the British detachment on the Petitcodiak in August 1755, helped to evacuate a number of Acadians to the more

distant Miramichi region.[34] Le Guerne continued to urge removal to Ile Saint Jean.

In October of 1756 Forts Gaspereaux and Lawrence were destroyed by the British and their forces were concentrated at Fort Cumberland. A few Acadians had managed to remain at large in the Isthmus proper and, along with some Indians, there concentrated on harassing the British and occasionally killing a soldier from the fort.[35] From the British point of view the worst of these episodes was what has been called the Battle of Bloody Bridge. In January of 1759 a Serjeant, three rangers and seven soldiers who had been sent out to cut wood were all ambushed, scalped and massacred at a point near Upper Point de Bute.

In September 1759 Quebec fell to the British and almost right away there was a change evident in the attitude of many Acadian refugees in present-day New Brunswick. In mid-November of that year a small group of men representing 190 Acadian refugees from the Petitcodiak and Memramcook Rivers appeared before Colonel Frye at Fort Cumberland to make known their submission and to ask for assistance over the winter. Shortly afterward representatives of about 700 refugees in the Miramichi-Richibucto area arrived.[37] It was agreed that about a third of the refugees would come to winter near the fort and that the others would follow in the spring. Frye wrote to the Council that he expected as many as 1,200 Acadians at the fort in the spring.[38] In February of 1760 representatives of the refugees, along with one of the missionary priests, signed an

official submission in which they recognized as subjects the British King, promised to come with their effects to the fort in the spring and said that they would turn over at that time what arms they possessed and what ships they had built to the British.[39.] It appears, however, that after receiving provisions throughout the winter, the refugees near the fort suddenly returned to the Miramichi-Richibucto area and Frye sent word to them that they were once again considered rebels.[40.]

In December of 1760 Captain McKenzie took over from Frye as Commanding Officer at Fort Cumberland. He reported that about twenty to thirty French families had been living in huts around the fort but that with the approach of winter they had moved to the woods "for the convenience of Fireing" although they came in regularly for supplies. But, he continued, there were still a considerable number of outlaws about forty miles away.[41.]

In January 1762 Lieutenant-Governor Belcher wrote to the Lords of Trade that Captain McKenzie had been sent at the end of October 1761 to deal with the refugees in the north of the Province. At "the place of their rendezvous" he had surprised 787 people and of these had removed 335, which was all he could take at that time of the season. The rest made their submission and promised to come in when required.[42.] It would seem unlikely that the rest ever came in, for in August 1763 when the prisoners at Fort Cumberland petitioned to be allowed to return to France the total number of them was 370, not 700-odd.[43.] On March 22, 1764 there were 73 Acadian families making up 388 people at Fort Cumberland,[44.] and the prisoners were still there in July 1764.[45]

The fate of these prisoners is not known, but they appear to have left the area sometime in the next seven years. In 1771 there were only 16 Acadian families numbering 70 habitants in the region of Fort Cumberland.[46.]

British settlement was slow to come to the Isthmus. In 1739 Governor Philipps and the Council at Annapolis had granted themselves a large amount of land, about 50,000 acres, in the Isthmus of Chignecto. By 1760, however, very few of the grantees were left in the country and none of the conditions of the grant had been fulfilled. Governor Lawrence established a commission to investigate[47.] and on April 21, 1760 the grant was escheated.[48.] In April 1759 the Council at Halifax moved that the lands on the Bay of Fundy be settled,[49.] and that year some interest was shown in Chignecto.[50.] In November of that year however there was a great storm with tides ten feet higher than usual. The dykes along the marshlands were broken down, the farmlands badly damaged, and as a result the Council did not direct people to Chignecto until about 1761 after the Minas area had begun to fill up.[51.] The Isthmus was divided into three townships running across the Isthmus of about 100,000 acres each, Amherst, Cumberland and Sackville. When Charles Morris and Richard Bulkely reported on the state of the province in 1763 they found thrity-five families in Cumberland and thirty families in Sackville. Amherst was still very thinly populated.[52.] British settlement had, however, begun to take hold, and the Acadians as farmers of the fertile marshlands had disappeared. A new era had begun.

PART VII SETTLEMENT IN THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO

With the source material available at the present time it is very difficult to establish the exact sites of any of the villages in the Isthmus of Chignecto. Up until the early 1750's there were in fact very few references to individual settlements in the Isthmus - and up until the same period there were very few maps made with houses or towns marked on them. Population figures given in the Censuses were all for "Beaubassin" which probably included all the settlement in the Isthmus.

The first precise information we have available about settlement patterns came from the Intendant of Quebec, Jacques De Meulles, and Mgr de Saint-Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, both of whom were at Beaubassin in 1686. Settlement had begun in the 1670's and at the time De Meulles visited he found one hundred and twenty-seven people there. He described the abundant marshlands on the Bay of Fundy side of the Isthmus and added that "On two sides of these marshes are gentle upland elevations, covered with good hardwood. More than twenty-two farms can be seen on these low uplands, from which it is easy to reach both the marshes and the woods."[1]. De Meulles also made a detailed map of the Isthmus on which he showed that most of the houses were on the Fort Lawrence Ridge, the Fort Cumberland Ridge and the Ile à la Valliére, a raised piece of ground between the end of the Fort Cumberland Ridge and the Cumberland Basin. There were also a few houses on the north side of the Nappan River and on a ridge which

ran north of stream called Rivière au Gasparot between present-day Sharp Creek and the Maccan River.

At some time before 1686 a church was built at Beaubassin. In that year St. Vallier found a small chapel of sod and stones, covered with straw.[2.] Because this structure could not be expected to survive much longer, St Vallier urged the inhabitants to replace it with a new church. The seigneur La Valliére had in 1678 granted six arpents of land to the Recollets, but the exact situation of the church is unknown. The grant was for 6 arpents on the Rivière Brouillée across from the pointe de Beauséjour.[3.] According to De Meulles' map, however, the River Brouillée would be the present-day Tantramar River, and this would mean that any church built there would be some distance from the settlers who were most concentrated on the two principal ridges. Wherever it was, the church was near a river, for St. Valier also recommended the establishment of a new cemetery near the new church to eliminate the necessity with the existing one to carry a body across the river for burial.[4.]

In 1696 when a large body of New Englanders descended upon Beaubassin in retaliation for French raids on New England settlements, the houses and barns of a large proportion of the population were destroyed and after a couple of days even the church was burned. Whether this was the original stone and sod structure or a replacement for it is is not known. Two years later Governor Villebon visited Beaubassin and reported it to be much changed since the raid, but he did not indicate in what respect. In 1704 the habitants suffered another

raid at the hands of the New Englanders but this one was on a smaller scale and only about 20 houses were burned.[5.]

The first reference we have to individual settlements came in the report of Robert Hale of Beverley who visited the Isthmus in 1731. He wrote that "All the Whole Bay above Checnecto is called by yt name, and the little villages of 3 or 4 or half a Score Families have other Denominations."[6.] Hale himself visited "Worfhcock", a village of three or four French houses, and "Meshequesh", what we know as Missaguash or Beaubassin proper, which with 15 or 20 houses and two churches was the largest town in the Isthmus. At the latter place Hale stayed at the house of William Sears, the Tavern Keeper.[7.]

The original seigneur of Chignecto, the Sieur de la Vallière, had long since left the province, but what was known as the Ile à la Vallière appears to have been occupied all along. In 1737 the rent-gatherer James O'Neal was granted 100 acres anywhere in the island "Except those lands where Peter Richard and his Associates [had] made improvements."[8.]

As tension mounted between England and France in the 1740's and 1750's and more attention was directed to the Isthmus, we finally find some references to individual settlements, but even these are not detailed in describing either the situation or the make-up of the villages. Perhaps, however, it would be in order to look at each village separately:

Beaubassin

The name "Beaubassin" was applied for some time to all settlement

in the Isthmus but it gradually came to mean only the small village which developed at the south-west end of the Fort Lawrence Ridge. As we have seen, De Meulles map showed houses at the end of the Ridge.

Robert Hale described what he saw at Beaubassin in 1731:

> "There are but about 15 or 20 Houses in the Village, tho' it be the largest in the Bay, besides 2 Mass Houses or Churches, on one of which they hang out a Flagg Morning and Evening for Prayers, to the other the Priest goes once a day only, Habited like a Fool in Petticoats, with a Man after him with a Bell in one Hand ringing at every door, and a lighted Candle and Lanthorn in the other."[9.]

The 1748 map of the surveyor Captain Morris shows considerable settlement at Beaubassin or "Old Chiegnecto" - including the two churches. The main church was probably one built after the raid of 1696, perhaps that from which was found in the middle of the nineteenth century a cornerstone dated June 1723.[10.] Morris also recorded that there was a bridge across the Missaguash about 3½ miles from its mouth.[11.]

The town of Beaubassin was burned at the time of Lawrence's expedition in April 1750. It seems that by now there may have been some houses on the lowlands along the edge of ridge because Lawrence reported that when he arrived most of the houses in the "Lower Town" had been reduced to ashes.[12.] This could however just refer to houses

which were lower than some others on the ridge. By the next day the whole town had been burned, "the Mass-House not excepted, though there were about a dozen houses standing to the right of it",[13] and later that day the rest of the buildings were burned.[14] In September of 1751 the British returned to build Fort Lawrence on the south-west end of the Ridge, presumably on the site of the old town. Acadian refugees who were driven across the Missaguash when their homes were burned reported to French authorities that the pickets around the British fort were from fences which had escaped the fire.[15]

According to the Abbé Le Loutre, one hundred and ninety refugees came to French territory from Beaubassin or Mezagouêche.[16]

When the Intercolonial Railway was being laid a portion of an old graveyard was cut into. Tradition has it that the graveyard was Acadian but there seem to be no records which provide any details.

Pointe Beauséjour

De Meulles map of 1686 showed the beginning of settlement of the south-west end of the Fort Cumberland ridge, and Morris in 1748 showed a number of houses on his map. Tonge's map and Jeffrey's map of 1755 both show settlement around Fort Beauséjour. A map of the Isthmus of 1752 (H3/205 - Chignecto in Map Division of Public Archives of Canada) and Jeffrey's map both show the fort with a church to the northwest of it. A sketch of 1755 done from the east side of the Missaguash by J. Hamilton[17] shows two churches, an old

one near the fort and a new one to the east of it. Local tradition has it that the "holy well" to the north west of the fort was called by this name because there the French obtained holy water. W.F. Ganong wrote in 1928 that he believed the well to be the only perennial spring in the area so that it was probably an important spot.[18.]

The exact size of the settlement at Pointe Beauséjour is hard to determine. No doubt the population received a great boost after the destruction of the settlements east of the Missaguash in 1750. An unsigned Census of 1752, probably taken by Le Loutre, counted 178 habitants at Pointe Beauséjour,[19.] and an unsigned Rolle Général des Familles Refugiées of the same year listed 93 refugees there. A list of men capable of bearing arms in 1754 showed 67 at Beaubéjour, and presumably many of these had families.[20.]

The houses at Pointe Beauséjour were destroyed by the French as the English approached the fort on June 4, 1755. Captain Knox recorded in his journal in October 1757 that the enemy had burned the villages to prevent their being useful to the British, with the result that at that time there was no town "saving a row of indifferent brick houses, between twenty and thirty in number".[21.]

Nappan

Various maps of about 1750[22.] show a village called Nappan on the north side of the Nappan River not far from where it branches off from the Maccan. Le Loutre told the French Engineer Franquet in 1751

that 142 refugees from Nappan had come to French territory.[23.]

Maccan (Maintane, Mincanne)

There is some doubt about the site of Maccan. An undated map of the 1750's from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia places "Mincanne" with sixteen houses at the point between the Maccan and the Nappan Rivers. Tonge's map of 1755 shows houses (although by then they had probably been burned) at the highland of the same point, but it also shows houses near the south shore of the Maccan River near the point where the Nappan branches out. Wherever it was, Maccan was probably not one of the larger villages of the Isthmus. Le Loutre reported to Franquet that 86 refugees came from "Maintane" to the French, and, according to La Valliére, this was in September 1750.[24.]

Minudie

The surveyor Captain Morris in his map of 1748 showed settlement on the uplands near the present-day site of Minudie and an unsigned French map of sometime before 1755 places Minudie with fifteen houses at approximately the same spot[25.] La Valliére says in his journal that the families from Minudie came over to the French on September 23, 1750, and Le Loutre says that these numbered 169.[26.]

La Pointe des Hébert

The undersigned undated French map of the pre-1755 period shows "La Point des Hébert" with eight houses inland a short distance on the River Hebert on the same side of the water as Minudie. The same map also shows the occasional unnamed village along the same river. The author of a Journal on the building of Fort Lawrence in Chignecto says that on the 12th of September, 1750, the French set fire to the "Village Hebere" and burned it and several settlements to the east of it.[27] Le Loutre reported that 112 people came from the Rivière des Mines or Des Heberts.[28]

Veschotk (Veskofe, Ouiscoque, etc.)

Veschotk appears to have been a small village situated at the edge of the highland ridge coming down to present-day Amherst Point.[29] Le Loutre said that 115 refugees came from here.

La Bute and La Planche

La Bute and La Planche were two villages on the southeast side of the La Planche River. Tonge's map of 1755 shows two villages marked "Village burned by the Indians" and "Village Burnt" but does not name them. The unsigned undated map from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia shows La Bute quite near to the water of Cumberland Basin and La Planche farther up. W.F. Ganong has compared the old maps with

detailed modern ones and has concluded that La Bute lay somewhere at the west of Amherst and certainly west of the brook that flows through Amherst. He places La Planche near or not far from the northeast part of modern Amherst.[30] The author of the journal on the building of Fort Lawrence records that on September 14, 1750, the French set fire to La Planche and several other villages in the neighbourhood.[31] On the 23rd La Valliére said that the refugees came to the French side. Le Loutre reported that 56 people came from La Planche and 86 from La Bute.[32]

Baye Verte

The first map to show settlement at Baye Verte at the site of the modern town of the same name was not until the 1750's but it seems likely that people lived there before that. Baye Verte was an important landing point for the French at both Louisbourg and Quebec (such as de Ramezay in 1746) and it would seem probable that some development should occur there.

When Franquet visited Baye Verte in 1751 there were 18 refugees' houses there as well as Le Loutre's own storehouse and an officer and fifteen men guarding royal supplies on their way to Fort Beauséjour Franquet counted 142 refugees, 187 cattle, 73 hogs, 53 sheep and 18 horses at Baye Verte.[33] The Census of 1752, which probably included those settled before the arrival of the refugees, lists 5 habitants at Baye Verte while the Rolle Général des Familles Refugiées says there

were a total of 127 at Baye Verte. In 1754 the number of men capable of bearing arms at Baye Verte was 46.[34]

On June 19th 1755, three days after the surrender of Fort Beauséjour, the British took possession of Fort Gaspereaux and a party of 200 men searched Baye Verte for Le Loutre's papers. Winslow wrote:

> "This Vilage Contains about Twenty-five Houses a Chaple and Priests house well Furnished, and the Inhabitants of this Vilage Live in better form and more after the English Manner than Any I have Seen in this Province and have an open Communication with the Island of St John and the Inhabitants of Cape Briton whome the Furnish with Lumber Indian Goods and, from whome they receive all the Conveniencys of Life in Return." [35]

In late August of 1755 after the Acadians from the Isthmus had been detained and Monckton was trying to destroy any buildings which might have served as shelter to the refugees, Captain Gilbert was sent to Baye Verte to burn the buildings there.[36]

Tonge's map of 1755 shows settlement on the highland on both sides of the entrance to Baye Verte Creek, and Jeffrey's map shows a few houses near the beginning of the road to Fort Beauséjour.

Fort Gaspereaux

As well as the settlement at Baye Verte there was also settlement on the east coast of the Isthmus near Fort Gaspereaux. Franquet found 61 Acadian refugees, 63 cattle, 7 horses and 48 pigs near the fort. The Rolle Général des Familles Refugiées of 1752 lists 83 refugees at Gaspereaux and the number of inhabitants considered capable of bearing arms in 1754 at Gaspereaux was 19.

Butte de Portage

Portage Hill was at the height of land where the traveller going from Baye Verte to Beauséjour made a portage between Baye Verte Creek and the waterways which led into the Missaguash River. When Franquet passed by it in August 1751 he found a French royal storehouse and two houses occupied by 21 Acadian refugees. The Rolle Général des Familles Refugées in 1752 lists 18 at Portage, while the list of men capable of bearing arms in 1754 shows six there.

On a map of the early 1750's [37] Portage appears to be at the point where the end of the Missaguash peters out and crosses a road from Baye Verte to Beauséjour. This map shows the settlement on the south side of the intersection. Tonge's map of 1755 shows settlement at the same point but he shows houses on both sides of the river. W.F. Ganong in a map made about 1930 for J.C. Webster's Forts of Chignecto places Portage Hill at the end of a lake near the point where the Nova Scotia-New Brunswick border changes from a north-easterly

direction.[38]

Pont à Buot

Pont à Buot is marked on several early maps. It was near the point at which a bridge crossed the Missaguash and was probably named after an Acadian named Buot or Buhot who lived close by. At Pont à Buot the traveller changed from water to land transportation and proceeded to Fort Beauséjour by one of the two roads which ran there. When Franquet visited the site in 1751 he found 30 French Canadians stationed there. There was a redoubt 130' by 60' on high ground near the Ruisseau à l'Ours, the stream which ran into the Missaguash just east of the bridge. The Commander was housed in a building 14' square and the troops in another one 36' by 14'. A question arises as to the side of the stream on which these buildings were located. It appears from Franquet's map of the route between Baie Verte and Beauséjour that it was on the east side but from his detailed sketches that is was on the west.[39] Jeffrey's map of 1755 appears to place the fort on the east side of the stream but other maps are not clear.

The census of 1752 lists 5 permanent habitants at Pont à Buot while the list of refugees of the same year places 92 there.

The houses at Pont à Buot were burned as the English approached Fort Beauséjour on June 4, 1755, on the orders of the French Commandant.

Butte à Roger

Butte à Roger seems from Franquet's map to have been a small hill on the Missaguash side of the Fort Cumberland Ridge, about three quarters of a mile from Fort Beauséjour. It served as an outpost for the fort.

Butte à Mirande

Butte à Mirande was a French post which was used as an encampment by the British in June 1755 in their advance to Fort Beauséjour. De Fiedmont recorded that it was between 2,000 and 2,400 yards from Beauséjour, which would be about 13/8 miles. J.C. Webster suggests that it was near the modern Mount Whately, probably near the Church of St. Mark's.[40.]

Ile à la Vallière

As we have seen Ile à la Vallière was the raised point in the marshes off the end of the Fort Cumberland Ridge. It was here that the original seigneur of Chignecto lived with his family and it appears to have been occupied through the English régime, although not by the La Vallière family. During the early 1750's, when Forts Lawrence and Beauséjour had been built to oppose each other, the French maintained a guard of soldiers there.

Le Lac (or Au Lac)

Le Lac, at the head of the Rivière du lac (modern Au Lac River), was apparently the site of settlement before the arrival of the refugees. In 1746-47 M. de la Colombière of de Ramezay's expedition was sent to winter quarters "au lac" two leagues from Beauséjour,[41.] and Captain Morris in 1748 showed settlement at the top of the river. The census of 1752 says that there were 83 habitants there and the list of men capable of bearing arms in 1754 lists 129 men there. Both Jeffrey's and Tonge's map of 1755 show sporadic settlement all along the north west side of the Fort Cumberland Ridge right up to the head of the Au Lac River. On September 17, 1755, a party of British under Major Prebble burned about 120 buildings at "olake".[42.]

J.C. Webster suggests that the main settlement was located just above present-day Rye's Corner[43.] while W.F. Ganong suggests just below.[44.]

La Coupe

La Coupe is very difficult to locate precisely, but there seems to have been a village of that name, at least after the influx of the refugees. The Rolle Général des Familles Refugiées lists 15 people at La Coupe and the list of men at La Coupe able to bear arms in 1754 numbers 17. The settlement was not, however, always marked on maps and when it was it was not placed exactly. A "Carte

Particuliere de l'Ishme (sic) de l' Acadie ou sont situés les forts de Beauséiour Gaspereaux et Fort Laurent Anglois" of the early 1750's shows La Coupe about half way between the Cumberland Basin and Baye Verte and about half way between the Missaguash and the Tantramar River. A Map of the mid 1750's of Nova Scotia between Baye Verte and Lunenburg shows settlement west of the Aulac River, and it is not impossible that this could be La Coupe, although no name is marked.

Prée des Bourgs (or Bourques)

Prée des Bourgs was a village on the west side of the Tantramar River. It too apparently dates from the pre-1750 era and was probably one of those villages of "other Denominations" of which Hale spoke in 1731. M. de Gaspé of de Ramezay's expedition was sent there to winter in 1746-47. The census of 1752 lists 24 permanent habitants at Prée des Bourgs and the list of men capable of bearing arms in 1754 numbers 17. Prée des Bourgs was probably burned in November 1755 when a British expedition under Captain Willard and Captain Stevens burned 70 buildings between Tantramar and Westcock.

The "Carte Particulière de l'Ishme" of the early 1750's shows "Pres des Bourge" at a point which would seem to be near present-day Sackville. Tonge's 1755 map shows settlement on upland ground at approximately the same place. Jeffrey's map of 1755 marks just "Tantramar Villages" but does not distinguish between them . The "Map of the Part of Nova Scotia Contain'd between Lunenburgh and the

Bay Vert..." shows settlement along the Tantramar, and the area called "Burke" would seem to lie in the region of the north part of Sackville.

Les Richards

Les Richards was probably another of the "Tantramar" villages shown of Jeffrey's map. The map of Nova Scotia between Baye Verte and Lunenburg shows "Richarde" at a point which would seem to be near present-day Ogden Mill or perhaps between there and modern Sackville.

The census of 1752 lists 40 habitants at Les Richards while the Rolle des Habitans Refugiées lists 24 there. In 1754 there were 19 men able to bear arms. Les Richards was probably burned in November 1755 at the same time as Prée des Bourgs.

Tantramar (Tintamare, Tantemar, etc.)

Tantramar was a straggling settlement along the Tantramar River the most northerly of what Jeffrey's called the Tantramar villages. The census of 1752 listed 152 people there and the Rolle Général des Familles Refugiées counted 120 refugees. Seventy-seven men at Tantramar were found to be capable of bearing arms in 1754.

Tantramar was destroyed in November 1755. At that time a British expedition to clear the Isthmus of Acadians came upon a group of refugees roasting a mutton. The French took to the woods in fright and the British ate their food and burned the church and a number of buildings, 97 according to John Thomas and 107 according to Captain Willard.[45]

The British then proceeded to Westcock, burning 70 or so houses on the way.

The "Carte Particuliere de l'Lshme" of the early 1750's shows "Tintamare" only vaguely on the west side of the river and near its head. The map of Nova Scotia between Baye Verte and Lunenburg shows "Tintamar" as a scattered sort of village in the region of Upper Sackville. J.C. Webster suggests that it was between Morice Lake and the corners at the crossing of the road to Sackville and the Jolicure Road. He also says that the church is believed to have been on the north east corner, with the graveyard adjacent to it.[46].

Veskak (Oueskoc, Westqua, Worfhcock, etc.)

In 1731 "Worfhcock" was a village of three or four houses when Robert Hale visited it. During the early 1750's Veskak was an important outpost for the French for from this site they were in a position to observe British approaches. The census of 1752 lists 64 inhabitants while the Rolle Général des Familles Refugiées lists 27. In 1754 there were 24 men able to bear arms at "Vescack". "Westcock" was burned on November 20, 1755, when the British were trying to destroy anything which could provide shelter to refugees. Captain Willard says 100 houses were burned while Thomas says 50.[48].

The "Carte Particuliere de l'Ishme de l'Acadie..." shows "Vechekak" on low land at what would appear to be a point along the road from Sackville to modern-day Westcock where it runs in a south-

easterly direction before it turns south. Tong's map of 1755 shows settlement on the edge of the highland in the area, but the map of the region is not exact. Jeffrey's map of 1755 shows "Westqua" on the ridge on the road to Memramcook.

Vechekakchis (Little Westcock)

Vechekakchis is shown on the "Carte Particuliere de l'Ishme.." on the lowlands right on the shoreline of Beaubassin Bay, perhaps near modern Wood Point. It is also marked vaguely on a plan of the Isthmus of 1752.[49]

This list does not include all the settlement in the Isthmus in 1755. Captain Willard in his journal mentions burning a few villages which he does not name. About two miles from Au Lac the British expedition burned 70 buildings, about two miles further on their way to Fort Cumberland they burned 30 more and after another two miles they burned forty houses. Many maps of the time show intermittent settlement along the west side of the Fort Cumberland ridge, and this is where some of these buildings may be have been.

APPENDIX A BEAUBASSIN OU CHIGNITOU ET LA BAYE VERTE

Report of the Intendant Jacques De Meulles, 1686

Bay Verte is on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, sixty-five or seventy leagues from Isle Percée, in a direct line, and three from Isle St. Jean. At its entrance it is five leagues in width, and it narrows towards its head which is about five leagues from the entrance. The land on both sides appears to be good. At the head of the Bay are three large meadows, capable of supporting many cattle. By land the distance to French Bay (Fundy) is four leagues, but by making a portage of about one league (from Bay Verte) one can travel three leagues by a small river (Missaguash) which opens into French Bay at Chignecto, this portion being known as Beaubassin. The latter (bay) is a quarter of a league across at its outer part, two leagues in length, and has a width of one league.

Around it are extensive meadows (marshes) which are capable of feeding 100,000 head of horned cattle, its grass being termed "misotte", very suitable for fattening all kinds of animals. On two sides of these marshes are gentle upland elevations, covered with good hardwood. More than twenty-two farms can be seen on these low uplands, from which it is easy to reach both the marshes and the woods. There is not one of the habitants who has not three or four buildings suitable enough for the country. Most have from twelve to fifteen or even twenty cattle, ten or twelve pigs, and as many sheep. They don't keep these under cover except for two or three months in the year and when they slaughter them, and as a result they lose many

from the attack of wild Indian dogs, which destroy them.

There is not yet a large area of cultivated land; when they can raise enough wheat to provide for their needs they will be well-satisfied, and will not require to purchase from strangers. The majority of the women make the material with which they clothe themselves and their husbands. They make nearly all the socks for the family and don't buy any. As for foot-wear they use only Indian moccasins which they make themselves. Each year an English vessel arrives in April and brings them the few remaining necessities which they require. These they buy with furs which they obtain from the Indians. They also make linen cloth.

Beaubassin is twenty-five or thirty leagues from Port Royal in a straight line, and about twenty-five from the mouth of the river St. John.

The portage of one league from Baye Verte, on the way to Beaubassin, referred to above, can easily be cut by a canal because all the land is low, and thus water communication could be established between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and French Bay; this would shorten the distance between Quebec and Port Royal by 200 leagues at least, and would, by such a communication, lead to the development of new settlements in a short time, would enable Quebec vessels to acquire the trade with the people of Beaubassin, Minas, Port Royal, and other places, as well as the river St. John, which is now carried on each year by the English, and which is very considerable. The latter visit the coasts each summer in three or four vessels from Boston, and sell, at

their own prices, all their commodities to the Acadians; this will always prevent the development of the country. The canal need only be ten or twelve feet wide at first; when the sea-water once passes through it, a fine river would be formed in a short time, and thus vessels from Quebec could easily traverse it. This would lead the merchants of Canada, who now trade with Anticosti and Isle Percée to send their vessels to Port Royal by way of this canal. The English of Boston regard themselves as masters of all the coasts because they are always there and control all the commerce, and have more regard for the inhabitants than the French people themselves. Not having this communication (canal) it is indeed necessary to allow them to trade, as the Acadians would have no assistance from the French because of the great distance from Quebec, which is more than 400 leagues from Boston, requiring almost a whole summer to make a voyage, which greatly raises the costs to the Quebec merchants.

The trade which the English have developed with the Acadians gives them the opportunity to catch and dry fish in the roadsteads belonging to the King of France. Thus they profit to a very considerable extent, while the Acadians are forced to serve as laborers under the English, to whom most of them owe very considerable sums. It is to be noted, moreover, that the English, through the trade which they have developed, by drawing the Acadians into their employment, thus tend to take them away from their farms, and so, on all the English coasts,

are found Frenchmen who have been attracted by the good pay and the advantages afforded them.

Beaubassin is so well-suited for the feeding of large numbers of animals, that, in case His Majesty should wish to make a town at Port Royal, he could find a sufficient number to establish a trade with the West Indies, and send them supplies of beef which they now obtain from foreign countries. The cattle which are now in the country (Chignecto) are of poor stock, which should be changed. It would be a wise expenditure to send about thirty head (of good stock) to as many inhabitants; after about eighteen months they would sell the same number to others, and thus the country would very soon be supplied with (better) horned cattle. The cows, also, are very small and milk can only be obtained from them when the calves are sucking; this prevents the habitants from making their own supply of butter.

M. de la Vallière is the Seignior of the country, and, in the course of his residence of six or seven years, has through his own enterprise induced most of the inhabitants in the district to settle there. He has built a mill at his own expense. During the period in which he was in command in Acadia, before M. Perrot, he was so highly considered that many deemed it a pleasure to take up lands in his Seigniory because he has always given assistance as far as he was able and he still continues to do so.

It is desirable that other Seigniors should exhibit the same

wisdom and moderation; then would Acadia be more quickly settled.

- the original of this report has been copied in PAC, MG1, C 11 D, vol. 2 part 1, p. 110-116.

This translation is taken from Webster, J.C. The Forts of Chignecto, p. 140-142.

APPENDIX B DESCRIPTION OF NOVA SCOTIA 1720

By Paul Mascarene, Engineer

... There are good Coal mines and quarry of soft stone near Chignecto,.....

Chignecto is seated upon the Westernmost branch of the Bay of Fundy almost at the upper end of it. The inhabitants are numerous having much increased of late years, and are about seventy or eighty families. This place is about twelve leagues distant from Manis having a communication by a river which discharges itself into Manis Rhoad.

This place produces good store of grain and abounds in cattle more than any other. Within seven leagues of Cape Chignecto (which with Cape Doré divides the Bay of Fundy in two branches) there are very good Coal Mines, and easily come at, but the want of shelter makes it dangerous for the vessels which come to receive it; they being forced to anchor in the open Bay. Near the town itself which lies four leagues beyond the coal mines, there is a small Island which has a good quarry of Soft Stone, it cuts in layers of four or six inches thick, and hardens soon after it is cut. The Inhabitants are more given to hunting and trading than those of the other settlements, which is partly occasioned by their being so conveniently seated for it. There being but a small neck of land of two leagues wide which parts the Bay of Fundy from the Gulph of St. Lawrence, by this last they have a continual intercourse with Cape Breton, carrying most of

their furs that way, and supplying it with provisions, of grain, cattle, etc., and bringing for returns linens and other goods, to the prejudice of the British trade and manufacturers. To put a stop to this, and to bring the Inhabitants of this place under obedience, who are the least subject to the English Government of any other here, it will be necessary that a small fort be built in some convenient place on this neck capable of containing one hundred and fifty men. This is the more so by reason the French have sent four Ships this Summer, with two hundred families with provisions stores and materials for the erecting a fort and making a settlement on the Island of St. Johns, which lies in the Bay of Verte, part of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, part of which Island (which is near fifty leagues long) is but at three or four leagues distance from the main, and six in all from Chignecto. When this settlement is made by the French, they will from thence command all the Trade and carry a greater sway, over all the Bay of Fundy, than the English, who are the undoubted owners but have only the name of possessors of it, till such measures are taken as are here humbly proposed. For it is to be remembered, that each of these places have a French Popish Missionary, who takes his commands from his superiors at Cape Breton.

-PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 12, p. 137 ff.

-reprinted in PDNS, p. 40, 47-48.

Footnotes

I THE FRENCH PERIOD

1. Thwaites, Reuben Gold (ed.) The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents vol. III, p. 249, 251.
2. Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited P.A.C.) MG1, G22, 466 pt. 1, p. 3ff.
3. Ibid. and MG7, B.N., Margry #9281, fol. 159, p. 286.
4. Arsenault, Bona Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens vol. 1, p.61, and Milner, W.C. "La Vallière of Chignecto" Acadiensis July 1901, p. 162.
5. Archives de la Province de Québec Inventaire des Concessions en fief et Seigneurie Fois et Hommages, III, p. 160. The concession is printed in the Memorials of the English and French Commissaries vol. 1, London, 1755, p. 753-54.
6. Le Jeune, Le R.P.L., Dictionnaire Général de Biographie vol. II, p. 108.
7. PAC, MG7, B.N. Margry Collection, #9281, fol. 151.
8. Arsenault, op.cit., p.62.
9. PAC, MG1, E, 277 pt. 1, no page given, Dossiers Personnels - La Vallière.
10. Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec (hereafter cited RAPQ), vol. 7, 1926-7, p. 129.
11. Ibid., p. 137.
12. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 324, 6 Jan, 1682.

13. Ibid., p. 381.

14. Ibid.

15. Le Jeune, op. cit., p. 109.

16. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, vol. 1-2, p. 394.

17. See Appendix I for text of De Meulles' Report.

18. University of Moncton, Centre for Acadian Studies, Gaudet Papers, notes on La Vallière.

18a. Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, N.S., French Documents relating to Acadia, vol. 3, #7, De Goutins to the Minister, 5 Nov., 1699.

19. PAC MG1, B Series, vol.22,p. 107 Minister to De Goutins, 30 March, 1701.

20. PAC,MG1, $C^{11}D$, vol. 4-2, p. 327ff.

21. PAC,MG1, B, vol.22, p. 249, 31 May, 1701.

22. PAC, MG2, A^{1}, liasse 39, 20 March 1703, Arrest du Conseil d' Estat du Roy Concernant les Concessions faites des Terres de la Province de l' Acadie dans la Nouvelle France.

23. PAC, MG2, A^{1}, liasse 39, and MG1, B, vol. 23 pt. 3, 20 June 1703, p. 283-4.

24. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, vol. 5, p. 127.

25. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, vol. 4-2, p. 328.

26. Le Jeune, op. cit., p. 109.

27. The text of the grant is reproduced in Eugene Réveillaud Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France au Canada p. 96-97

28. Saint-Vallier Estat present de l'eglise et de la Colonie Francoise dans la Nouvelle France p. 96-97.

29. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 2-2, p. 486.

30. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 2-2, p. 348, 2 September, 1690.

31. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 2-2, p. 488-496. This letter has been translated and produced in Webster, J.C. Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century, p. 49-52.

32. Arsenault, op. cit., p. 63.

33. See above, p. 5.

34. Arsenault, op. cit., p. 64.

35. De Meulles diary has been published in Morse, W.L. (ed.) Acadiensa Nova, vol. 1, p. 164.

36. See Appendix A.

37. See Appendix A.

38. PAC, MG1, G, 22, vol. 466 pt. 1, p. 55-56. This represents 2.56 cattle per inhabitant, .87 sheep, 1.49 hogs and 3.34 arpents of land.

39. Saint-Vallier, op. cit., p. 93-97.

40. Morse, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 182.

41. Ibid., p. 145ff.

42. PAC, MG1, G22, 466 pt. 1, p. 97-102.

43. Ibid., p. 142.

44. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 3-1, p. 230, Oct. 3, 1698.

45. PAC, MG1, G22, 466, pt. 1, p. 162.

46. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, p. 222, October, 1701.

47. PAC, MG1, G22, 466, pt. 1, p. 222-224.

48. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 13, 15 September 1692.

49. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, vol. 3-1, p. 192, 19 October, 1697.

50. Ibid., p. 186-7, 1 October, 1697.

51. Ibid., vol. 4-2, p. 318, Minister to Brouillan, 15 March, 1702.

52. See Appendix A.

53. Webster, op. cit., p. 46.

54. Ibid., p. 155, "Memoire on the Present State of the Province of Acadia", 1 October, 1697.

55. i.e. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 3-1 p. 295, October 1698 and MG1, $C^{11}A$, 14, p. 341, 24 September, 1696.

56. PAC,MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 2, p. 210-211, 17 September, 1691.

57. Bird, Will R., A Century at Chignecto, p. 24.

58. Church, Thomas, (son of Benjamin) Indian War of 1675 and 1676, p. 229.

59. Webster, op. cit., p. 94-95.

60. Ibid., p. 95.

61. Ibid., p. 95.

62. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 3-1, p. 192, 19 October, 1697.

63. Webster, op. cit., p. 116.

64. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 3-1, p. 230.

65. Ibid, p. 194.

66. Ibid., vol. 5, p. 9. See also MG1, 24, Depot des Fortifications, #1, #24.

67. Church, op. cit., p. 282.

II THE BRITISH ASSUME CONTROL

1. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, vol. 32, p. 85-85.
2. The parts of the Treaty relevant to Nova Scotia have been reprinted in Akins, T.B. (ed.) Selections from the Public Documents of the Province 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.
3. PAC, MG11, CO217, vol. 1, BTNS, p. 212.
4. PDNS, p. 6.
5. Brebner, J.B. New England's Outpost, p. 66-67.
6. Collection de Documents Indédits (hereafter cited Coll de Docs.) vol. 1, p. 112-113. A list of the habitants present at the proclamation of the King can be found in several places:- Coll de Docs vol. 1, p. 168; PAC, MG11, CO217, vol. 1. A90, p. 373; MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 6, p. 129.
7. PAC. MG1, $C^{11}A$, vol. 35, p. 221, Bégon to the Minister, 25 September 1715, and letter of Felix Pain to the Governor of Cape Breton Island quoted in Herbin, John, The History of Grand-Pré, p. 44.
8. Brebner, op. cit., p. 77.
9. PDNS, p. 22, 28 April, 1720.
10. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 11, p. 67.
11. PDNS, p. 35-7.
12. Ibid, p. 52.

13. PDNS, p. 53, Philipps to Craggs, September 27, 1720.
14. Ibid., p. 56.
15. Ibid., p. 57.
16. Brebner, op. cit., p. 89.
17. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 17, p. 103, 30 April, 1727.
18. Ibid., p. 97-98. Reprinted in PDNS, p. 70-71.
19. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 17, p. 117.
20. Coll de Docs, vol I, p. 179, Wroth: Copie du Serment de Fidelité que j'ay laissé aux Habitants de Chignitou et dependances.
21. Ibid., p. 180-182.
22. PDNS, p. 78 Minutes of Council, 13 November, 1727, and PDNS, p. 79 Armstrong to Secretary of State, 17 November, 1727.
23. Ibid., p. 86-87.
24. Macmechan, A.M. Nova Scotia Archives, III Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal 1720-1739 p. 181. (hereafter cited as N.S. Arch. III) Minutes of 16 May, 1730.
25. Brebner, op. cit., p. 96.
26. PDNS, p. 88.
27. This document is quoted in Arsenault, op. cit., vol I, p. 116.
28. PDNS, p. 139, Mascarene to Deputies at Chignecto, 16 November, 1744.
29. Ibid., p. 159, Mascarene to Shirley, April, 1748.
30. Bell, Winthrop Pickard The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, p. 79.

31. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 11, p. 2-3. Philipps to Lords of Trade, Jan. 3, 1720.

32. PAC, MG1, B, vol. 3 pt. 5, p. 184, Minister to Père Felix, 29 March, 1713.

33. N.S. Arch. p. 112. (vol. III).

34. Ibid.

35. PDNS, p. 107, Meeting of Council, September 18, 1740.

36. Ibid., p. 108-9. The order to the Inhabitants of Chignecto is in Macmechan, A.M. (ed.) Nova Scotia Archives II A Calendar of two letter-books and one commission-book in the possession of the Government of Nova Scotia (hereafter cited N.S. Arch. II) p. 246-7.

37. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia B, p. 6-7, April 11, 1741.

38. PDNS, p. 124-125.

39. Ibid., p. 118, Mascarene to Monsieur de la Goudalie, 16 June, 1742, and Ibid., p. 120, Mascarene to Deputies at Chignecto, 12 July, 1742.

40. Coll. de Docs vol. 1, p. 42.

41. O'Callaghan, E. B. (ed.) Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol X, p. 14.

42. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 9, p. 142, 15 November, 1718.

43. Ibid., vol. 11, p. 10, 15 Jan. 1720, Doucett to Philipps.

44. PDNS, p. 37, July 1720, Philipps to Craggs.

45. See appendix B for Mascarene's Report.

46. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 25, p. 135, 23 November, 1741. Mascarene to Lords of Trade. Reprinted in PDNS, p. 114.

47. PAC, MG1, F2B, vol. 2, p. 12.

48. PAC, MG1, C[11]A, vol. 35, p. 203, 25 September, 1715.

49. Ibid.

50. PAC, MG1, Nova Scotia A, vol. 25, p. 135, 23 November, 1741. Mascarene to Lords of Trade.

51. Collection de Documents Relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France vol. III, p. 418.

52. PDNS, p. 15, 23 June, 1713.

53. Ibid., 35, May 26, 1720, Philipps to Craggs.

54. N.S. Arch. III p. 98.

55. Bell, op. cit. p. 69-73.

56. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 25, p. 183.

57. Ibid., vol 23, p. 55, 11 September, 1733, Lords of Trade to Armstrong.

58. N.S. Arch II, p. 212, December 15, 1736.

59. Ibid., p. 212-213.

60. Brebner, op. cit., p. 154.

61. N.S. Arch II, p. 137, 7 July, 1740, Mascarene to Bergeau.

62. Ibid., p. 214, p. 224-5.

63. Ibid., p. 213, p. 213, 117, 224.

64. Ibid., p. 118.

65. Ibid., p. 223-224.

66. Ibid., p. 227.

67. Ibid., p. 137.

68. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 25, p. 89-90. 7 July, 1741.

69. PDNS, p. 114-115. Mascarene to Lords of Trade, 23 November, 1741.

70. Ibid., p. 115-118, 11 January 1742. Mascarene to Deputies of Chignecto.

71. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol.25, p. 183-188, 20 May, 1742, Mascarene to Deputies of Chignecto.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., vol. 25, p. 204-7, 6 July, 1742, Habitants of Beaubassin to Mesacarene.

74. Ibid., vol. 209-11, 12 July, 1742, Mascarene to Deputies of Chignecto. Reprinted in PDNS p. 120-121.

75. Shortt, Adam (ed.) Documents Relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia 1675-1758 p. 187-188, Proclamation by Governor Armstrong of 26 August, 1732.

76. N.S. Arch. II, p. 200, Notice of Election, 12 September, 1734, p. 200.

77. N.S. Arch, III, p. 255, Minutes 11 September, 1732.

78. Shortt, op. cit., p. 188.

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

80. Ibid., p. 112, 15 December, 1736, Hamilton to Deputies of Chignecto.

81. Shortt, op. cit., p. 187.

82. N.S. Arch., II, p. 143, Mascarene to Deputies of Chignecto, 7 Jan., 1741.

83. For example, at Chignecto, 29 October, 1743, N.S. Arch, II, p. 203.

84. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 7, p. 167 Caulfield to Lords of Trade, 1 November, 1715.

85. See Appendix B.

86. See note 84.

87. PAC, MG1, B, vol. 29, pt. 3, p. 547.

88. Shortt, op. cit., p. 185-7, Minutes of Council. 19 June, 1732. For the actual grant see Department of Crown Lands, Halifax, N.S., Grant Book #1, p. 6-7.

89. "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia made in 1731 by Robert Hale of Beverly" Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, July 1906, vol. XLII #3, p. 232-233.

90. N.S. Arch. III, p. 289, Minutes of Council, 28 September, 1733.

91. Hale, op. cit., p. 232.

92. Ibid., p. 233.

93. Ibid., p. 233-234.

94. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 32, p. 236.

95. PAC MG18, F10, p. 90, A survey of Nova Scotia by Charles Morris.

III WAR IN THE 1740's

1. PDNS, p. 140-1, Mascarene's description to Shirley, December, 1744.
2. Ibid., p. 138, Mascarene to Deputies of Chicanecto, 26 October, 1744.
3. Ibid., p. 148, Mascarene to Shirley, December, 1744.
4. Ibid., p. 139, Mascarene to Deputies of Chignecto, 16 October, 1744.
5. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}B$, vol. 25, p. 52-53, 2 November, 1744.
6. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, vol. 89, p. 276-78.
7. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 192, Minutes of 27 June, 1745.
8. Ibid., p. 157.
9. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 29, p. 126-27, Mascarene to Duke of Newcastle, 12 November, 1746.
10. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 196, Minutes for 7 August, 1745.
11. Beaujeu's Journal, "Journal de la Campagne du détachement de Canada a l'Acadie et aux Mines, en 1746-47" Collection de Documents Inédits vol. II, p. 23.
12. O'Callaghan, E.B., (ed.) Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, (hereafter cited NYCD), vol. X, p. 69,

"Military and other Operations in Canada during the years 1745-1746".

13. Ibid., p. 45ff.
14. Ibid., p. 55.
15. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 30, p. 182-189, 31 March, 1747, and p. 185, 24 April, 1747.
16. NYCD, p. 98, 101, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111. (vol. 10).
17. Ibid., p. 117-119.
18. PAC, MG1,AN, F^3, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 269ff. Marin's Journal.
19. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 8-1, p. 260.
20. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 30, p. 165, 28 June, 1747.
21. PAC, MG11, CO5, vol. 901, p. 231, Shirley to Newcastle, 25 June, 1747, and ibid., p. 239, same to same, 8 July, 1747.
22. NYCD, vol. 6, p. 835.
23. NYCD, vol 10, p. 155.
24. Ibid., p. 124.
25. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, p. 212, Minutes of 4 November 1745.
26. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 32, p. 234, Mascarene to Lords of Trade, 17 October, 1748.
27. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 32, p. 9, Shirley to Gov. Hopson at Louisbourg, 29 February, 1748.
28. PAC, MG11, CO5, vol. 901, p. 184, Shirley to Newcastle, 27 February, 1747, and ibid., same to same, p. 208-9, 28 April, 1747.

29. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol, 32. p. 63, p. 67-68.
30. Ibid., p. 236-7, Mascarene to Lords of Trade, and vol. 33, p. 148-150, Shirley to Newcastle, 18 February, 1749.
31. Brebner, op. cit., p. 122-29.
32. PAC, MG11, C05, vol. 901, p. 212-13, Shirley to Newcastle, 28 April, 1747.
33. Ibid., p. 271, Newcastle to Shirley, 3 October, 1747.
34. Report of the Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited PAC Report), 1912, p. 79.
35. Ibid., 1905, pt. III, p. 49, Instructions to Cornwallis.

IV THE PRELUDE TO THE EVENTS OF 1755

1. Brebner, op. cit., p. 166-169.
2. PAC Report, 1905, pt. III, p. 49.
3. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 34, p. 72.
4. PAC Report, 1905, pt. II, Appendix C, p. 52, Declaration of Cornwallis, 14 July, 1749.
5. PDNS, p. 169.
6. Ibid., p. 170.
7. Ibid., pp. 74.75.
8. Ibid., p. 74-75.
9. PAC Report, 1905, pt. II, Appendix C, p. 309.

10. Ibid., p. 312, De la Corne to the Ministre, 31 March, 1750.
11. Ibid., p. 311, La Jonquière to the Minister, 9 October, 1749.
12. PAC, MG30, D37, vol. 2, p. 161.
13. PAC, MG11, vol. 35, p. 175, and vol. 36, p. 13, Nova Scotia A.
14. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 36, p. 13, Cornwallis to Phips, 12 January, 1750.
15. Ibid., p. 15, 13 January, 1750.
16. PDNS, p. 606. Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 19 March, 1750.
17. Ibid., p. 184, Cornwallis to Duke of Bedford, March 19, 1750.
18. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 36, p. 112, Lords of Trade to Duke of Bedford, 9 March, 1750.
19. Instructions are reprinted in Webster, J.C. The Forts of Chignecto (hereafter cited Forts). p. 109.
20. Lawrence's Journal is printed in Webster, Forts, p. 105-108. It is also found in PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 36, p. 250-269.
21. Ibid., p. 106.
22. Ibid., p. 107.
23. Ibid., p. 107.
24. Ibid., p. 108.
25 Ibid., p. 31, This is a translation from De Courville, Memoires sur le Canada, p. 8.
26. Webster, Forts, p. 31-35.
27. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 37, p. 6, Cornwallis to Secretary of State, 1 May, 1750.

28. Harvey, D.C. The French Régime in Prince Edward Island. p.137.

29. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 38, p. 87-90. This is also in PDNS, p. 193-4.

30. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 37, p. 186.

31. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 38, p. 172, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 19 August, 1750.

32. This account is based on the Journal of Captain Louis Le Neuf de la Vallière, grandson of the original seigneur of Chignecto. It can be found in MG1, $C^{11}A$, vol. 87, pt. 3, p.222ff, and it has been reprinted in Webster, Forts, p. 135-40.

33. Webster, Forts, p. 135.

34. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, vol. 96, p. 99-100. Bigot to the Minister, 6 November, 1750.

35. Webster, Forts, p. 137.

36. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 39, p. 171-172.

37. PAC, MG23, A3, p. 56, and La Vallière's Journal, Webster, Forts, p. 135-6.

38. Webster, Forts, p. 137-38.

39. For a more detailed history of Fort Beauséjour see Report number 250 on Fort Beauséjour by Pierre Nadon.

40. PAC, MG1, F^{3}, vol. 50, part 2, p. 414-15.

41. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}B$, vol. 30, p. 127-128.

42. Webster, Forts, p. 142.

42a. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, vol. 141-165, Franquet's Journal. This Journal has been reprinted in RAPQ, vol. 4.

43. Webster, Forts, p. 13.

43a. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, vol. 9, p. 158.

44. PAC, MG4, A^{1}, vol. 3393, p. 65, M. de Vassan to Raymond, 13 June, 1752.

45. PAC, MG1, G22, vol. 466, pt. 1, p. 267.

46. Ibid., p. 280.

47. Ibid., p. 291.

48. PAC, MG1, B, vol. 97, p. 284, Minister to Raymond and Prevost, 17 July, 1753.

49. PDNS, p. 203-04, Minutes of Council, 27 September, 1753.

50. Ibid., p. 205.

51. Courville, op. cit., p. 34. This translation is taken from Webster, J.C. The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre, p. 15.

52. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 54, p. 227, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 5 December, 1753, and Council Minutes, 21 June, 1754, PDNS, p. 211.

53. Webster, Forts, p. 33.

54. PAC, MG1, B, vol. 97, p. 283-4, Minister to Raymond and Prevost, 17 July, 1753.

55. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}B$, vol. 35, p. 29-39, Le Loutre to Court, 14 December, 1753.

56. See letter attached to that of the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, 7 March, 1755, reproduced in PAPQ, vol. 18, 1937-38, p. 147-50, not signed.

57. Le Loutre's Autobiography, in French in Nova Francia, vol. VI,#1, Jan-Fév. 1731, -. 25-26, and translated into English in Webster, The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre, p. 46-47.

58. Webster, J.C. The Life of Thomas Pichon "The Spy of Beauséjour", p. 31, 45.

59. Webster, The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre, p. 20, and PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, 8-2, 14 November, 1754, Vergor du Chambon to the Minister.

60. Webster, The Life of Thomas Pichon, p. 72-3, 6 December, 1754, Pichon to Captain Hussey (probably).

PART V THE EXPEDITION TO FORT BEAUSEJOUR 1755

1. Webster, Pichon, p. 53, Pichon to Captain Scott, 2 Nov., 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. 387, Shirley to Robinson, 11 November, 1754.
5. Ibid., p. 393, Shirley to Lawrence, 6 January, 1755.
6. Ibid., p. 400-1, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 12 January, 1755.
7. PAC, MG18, T13, Lawrence Papers, p. 117-118, 30 January, 1755.
8. RAPQ, vol. 17, p. 402, Abbé de l'Isle dieu to Mgr. M.H. Pontbriand, 25 March, 1755.

9. Webster, Forts, De Fiedmont's Account, p.53.
10. Ibid., p. 53-54.
11. Ibid., p. 54.
12. Ibid., p. 54.
13. Webster, Pichon, p. 101.
14. Webster, Forts, p. 54.
15. Ibid., p. 58-59.
16. Ibid., p. 55.
17. Ibid., p. 56.
18. Ibid., p. 56.
19. PDNS, p. 408, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 20 June, 1755.
20. Webster, Forts, p. 57.
21. Collection of the Nova Scotia Historical Association (hereafter cited NSHS), vol. IV, p. 164, Winslow's Journal, 19 June, 1755.
22. Webster, Forts, Monckton's Journal, p. 113.
23. Webster, Pichon, p. 105.
24. Ibid., p. 44, Pichon to Captain Scott, 14 October, 1754.
25. Ibid., p. 45.
26. Ibid., p. 55.
27. Ibid., p. 50.
28. Ibid., p. 66 and 96.
29. Ibid., p. 42, Pichon to Captain Scott, 23 September, 1754.

PART VI THE EXPULSION

1. Declaration dated 3 May, 1755, NSHS, vol. IV, p. 161.
2. See above, p. 71.
3. PAC, MG18, F13, Lawrence Papers, p. 33-35, 25 June, 1755.
4. Ibid., p. 41, 13 July, 1755.
5. Brebner, op. cit., p. 201.
6. PDNS, p. 256, Minutes of Council, 4 July, 1755.
7. PDNS, p. 276-77.
8. PAC Report; 926, p. 81-82, Northcliffe Collection, Lawrence to Moncton, 31 July, 1755.
9. Ibid., p. 85-87.
10. PAC, MG18, F13, n.p., 11 August, 1755.
11. Webster, Forts, p. 115.
12. Gagnon, C.O. (ed.) Lettre de M. L'Abbé Le Guerne, Missionnaire de l' Acadie, p. 36.
13. NSHS, IV, p. 225.
14. Ibid., p. 228.
15. Gagnon, op. cit., p. 36-37.
16. Ibid., p. 36.
17. PAC, MG18, MVI.
18. NSHS, IV, p. 230.
19. New Brunswick Historical Society (hereafter cited NBHS), #13, p. 32-48, Willard's Journal.
20. NSHS, III, p. 101, Account of Captain Adams to Winslow,

5 September, 1755.

21. NBHS, 13, p. 51.

21a. Ibid., p. 54.

22. Webster, Forts, p. 115.

23. PAC, MG18, F13, n.p. Lawrence to Moncton, 11 August, 1755.

24. NSHS, III, p. 177, October 7, 1755, and Webster, Forts, p. 115.

25. Ibid., p. 177 and Ibid. p. 115.

26. Webster, J.C. (ed.) The Diary of John Thomas, p. 27.

27. Ibid., p. 28.

28. Ibid., p. 107, and Willard, NBHS, 13,p. 66.

29. Webster, Diary of John Thomas, p. 29 and NBHS, 13, p. 67.

30. NBHS, 13, p. 68.

31. Webster, Diary of John Thomas, p. and NBHS, p. 69.

32. Gagnon, C.O. (ed.) Lettre de M. l'Abbé Le Guerne, Missionnaire de l'Acadie, p. 38.

33. Ibid., p. 46.

34. Webster, J.C. (ed.) Memorial of the Sieur de Boishebert p. 19.

35. Webster, Forts, p. 71-74.

36. Ibid., p. 74, and Doughty, Arthur G. (ed.) The Journals of Captain John Knox, vol. 1, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1914, p. 288-292.

37. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 10, p. 4, reprinted in PDNS, p.310-312.

38. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia B, Vol. 10, p. 46, See also PDNS, p. 313.

39. Coll. de Docs. Inédits, vol. 1, p. 52-53.

40. PAC, MG12, W.O. 34, vol. 12, p. 69.

41. Ibid.

42. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 67, p. 109-110. Belcher to Lords to Trade, 11 January, 1762. See also PDNS, p. 321.

43. PAC, MG1, $C^{12}A$, vol. 1, p. 22-35.

44. PDNS, p. 346.

45. Coll. de Docs. Inédits, II, p. 90-91.

46. Ibid., p. 84.

47. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 64, p. 146-147.

48. Nova Scotia Department of Crown Lands, Grant Book #1, p. 54-56.

49. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia B, vol. 9, p. 132-33.

50. Trueman, Howard, The Chignecto Isthmus and its First Settlers, p. 27.

51. Brebner, J.B. The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia p. 33, 60.

52. PAC, MG11, Nova Scotia A, vol. 67, p. 53 and p. 70. See also Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1933, p. 27.

PART VII SETTLEMENT IN THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO

1. See Appendix A, p. 104-5.

2. See above, p. 6-7.

3. Réveillaud, Eugene, Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France

au Canada, p. 191-192.

4. See above, p. 7.

5. PAC, MG1, 24, Carton #1, #24.

6. Hale, op. cit., p. 231.

7. Ibid., p. 231-2.

8. N.S. Arch, II, p. 214.

9. Hale, op. cit., p. 232.

10. Webster, Forts, p. 82.

11. PAC, Report, 1912, p. 80.

12. Webster, Forts, p. 105.

13. Ibid., p. 106.

14. Ibid., p. 107.

15. PAC, MG1, C[11]B, vol. 29-1, p. 141.

16. PAC, MG1, C[11]C, vol. 9, p. 159.

17. Webster, Forts, Plate XV.

18. New Brunswick Museum, Ganong Collection, Box 6, pk. 3, Ganong to Webster.

19. See above, p.65.

20. PAC, MG1, C[11]D, vol. 8-2, p. 171.

21. Doughty, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 84.

22. PAC, Map Division, H3/205 - 1751 and a Map of that Part of Nova Scotia Contain'd between Lunenburgh and the Bay Verte..... 1756, and an unsigned, undated French map from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

23. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, vol. 9, p. 159.

24. Webster, Forts, p. 135.

25. Undated, unsigned French map of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

26. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, vol.9, p. 159.

27. Webster, J.C. (ed.) The Building of Fort Lawrence in Chignecto, p. 7.

28. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, vol. 9, p. 159.

29. See Maps H3/205 - 1751 at the PAC and the undated, unsigned map from Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

30. New Brunswick Museum, Ganong Collection, Shelf 105, box 6, pk. 4, #47.

31. Webster (ed.) The Building of Fort Lawrence in Chignecto, p. 7.

32. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, vol. 9, p. 159.

33. Ibid., p. 142-43.

34. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, vol. 8-2, p. 171.

35. NSHS, vol. 4, p. 164.

36. Webster, (ed.) Diary of John Thomas, p. 23.

37. H3/205 - 1751 at PAC.

38. Webster, Forts, p. 13, Plate III.

39. The map and sketches are reproduced in Webster, Forts, p. 18 and 47.

40. Ibid., p. 14.

41. Coll. de Docs. Inédits, II p. 55.

42. NBHS, vol. 6, p. 54.

43. Webster, Forts, p. 12.

44. Ganong, W.F. "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick" Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd Series, 1899, vol. V, p. 280-281.

45. See p. 83 above.

46. Webster, Forts, p. 12.

47. See above p. 20.

48. NBHS, vol. VI, p. 69, and Webster (ed.) The Diary of John Thomas, p. 29.

49. H3/205 - 1752 at PAC.

Bibliography

1) Primary Sources

Public Archives of Canada:

MG1, B Series, vols, 11, 17, 22, 23-1, 23-3, 29-3, 34, 35-3, 39-3, 68-2, 74, 97.

$C^{11}A$, vols. 6, 12-1, 14, 15, 22, 35, 83, 87-1, 87-3, 95, 96, 100, 107.

$C^{11}B$, vols. 10, 25, 28, 29-1, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35.

$C^{11}C$, vol. 9.

$C^{11}D$, vols. 1-10.

$C^{11}E$, vol. 3.

E, Carton 51, 207-1.

F^{1}

$F^{2}B$, vol. 2.

F^{3}, vol.50-2.

G, 22, vol. 466, pt. 1.

G^{3}, Carton 2040.

24, Depôt des Fortifications des Colonies, Carton #1, #24, #29.

MG2, A^{1}, liasse 39, Arrest du Conseil d'Estat du Roy Concernant les Concessions faites des terres de la Province de l'Acadie dans la Nouvelle France, Paris,

L'Imprimerie Royal, 1703.

Série 3JJ, vol. 273.

MG3, M, Carton 204.

MG4, A^1, vol. 3393.

MG5, B-1, vol. 9-2.

MG6, Archives de la Charente-Maritime, Série E, Registres de Beaubassin, 1712-1748.

MG7, BN, Margry Collection, #9281.

BN, Cabinet des Titres, Dossiers bleus, #30031, La Vallière.

MG11, CO1, vol. 55.

CO5, vol. 901.

CO42, vol. 23.

CO217, vol. 1.

Nova Scotia A, vols, 2, 6, 9, 11, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 63.

Nova Scotia B, vol. 3, 4, 7, 9, 10.

MG12, W.O. 34, vol. 12, Amherst Papers.

MG18, F8, Paul Mascarene Papers.

F10, A Survey of Nova Scotia by Charles Morris.

F13, Charles Lawrence Papers.

M VI Northcliffe Collection.

MG21, E4, Robert Morse.

E5, Rev. Andrew Brown MSS.

MG23, A3, Sydney Papers.

MG30, D37, Vol. 2, Le Sueur Papers.

D45, vols. 38, 51, 39, 37, Adam Shortt Papers.

University of Moncton, Centre for Acadian Studies:

Placide Gaudet Papers.

Unclassified Collection.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia:

French Documents Relating to Acadia, Box 3 and #163.

Department of Crown Lands of Nova Scotia, Halifax:

Grant Book #1 and #2.

New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N.B.

Webster Collection

Ganong Collection

II) Printed Primary Sources

Akins, T.B. (ed.) Selections from the Public Documents of the Province

of Nova Scotia, Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869.

Anon. A Geographical History of Nova Scotia, London: Paul Vaillant, 1749.

Anon. The Importance of Settling and Fortifying of Nova Scotia, London: J. Scott, 1751.

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, vols. 4, 7, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Brodhead, J.R. and O'Callaghan, E.B. Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vols, V, VI, X, Albany, 1853.

Church, Thomas Indian War of 1675 and 1676, Hartford: Silas Andrews & Son, 1852.

Government of Canada, Census, 1870-71, vol. IV, Census 1665-1870.

Collection de Documents Inédits sur le Canada et l'Amerique, vols. I II, Quebec, Demers and Frère, 1888-1891.

Collection de Manuscrits Rélatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France, vols. I-IV, Quebec: A. Coté, 1883-1885.

Doughty, Arthur G. (ed.) Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760 The Journal of Captain John Knox, Toronto: Cmamplain

Society, 1916, 3 vols.

Gagnon, C.O. (ed.) Lettre de M. l'Abbé Le Guerne, Missionaire de l'Acadie Quebec, Côté et Cie., 1889.

Gampmg, W.F. (ed.) "The Cadillac Memoir of 1692" Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, vol. 13, p. 78ff.

Hale, Robert, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia made in 1731 by Robert Hale of Beverley" Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, vol. XLII, July 1906.

Innis, H.A. Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1497-1783 Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1929.

Le Clerq, Father Chrétien First Establishment of the Faith in New France Paris, 1691 (1881 edition, New York: John G. Shea).

Little, Otis The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies Considered, with An Account of their Produce, And a Particular Description of Nova Scotia, London: G. Woodfall, 1748.

Macmechan, A.M. (ed.) Nova Scotia Archives II A Calendar of two letter-books and one commission-book in the possession of the government of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1900.

Nova Scotia Archives III Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739, Halifax, 1908

The Memorials of the English and French Commissaries concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadie, London, 1755.

Morse, William Inglis (ed.) Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779), vols, I and II, London: Bernard Quartitch, 1935.

Nova Francia (Organe de la Société d'Histoire du Canada) Vol. VI, #1, January - February, 1931 - Le Loutre's Autobiography.

Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. II, III, IV, XV.

Report of the Public Archives of Canada, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1894, 1899 1904, 1905 (parts I and II), 1912, 1926, 1949.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia Report for 1933, Description of the Province by Charles Morris and Richard Bulkley, 29 October, 1763.

Report for 1944, Appendix B. Journey through Nova Scotia, 1744, by Thomas Rispin and John Robertson.

Roy, Pierre Georges (ed.) Archives de la Province de Quebec: Inventaire des Concessions en fief et Seigneurie Fois et Hommages, Beauceville "L'Eclaireur" LTée, 1928.

Saint-Vallier, (M. L'Evêque de Quebec) Estat present de L'eglise et de la Colonie Françoise dans la Nouvelle France,

Paris: Robert Pepie, 1688.

Têtu, Mgr. H, et Gagnon, l'Abbé C.O. Mandements lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec, Quebec: Côté et Cie, 1887.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold (ed.) The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. III, 1612, Cleveland, 1897.

Webster, J.C. (ed.) "Journal of Abijah Willard of Lancaster, Mass." Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, #13, Saint John: Barnes & Co., 1930.

Webster, J.C. (ed.) Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France, by the Sieur de Dièreville, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1933.

Diary of John Thomas, Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1937.

The Building of Fort Lawrence in Chignecto A Journal recently found in the Gates Collection New York Historical Society, Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1941.

Wilson, John A Genuine Narrative of the Transactions in Nova Scotia, since the Settlement, June 1749, till August the 15th, 1751; in which the Nature, Soil, and Produce of the

Country are related, with the particular Attempts of the Indians to disturb the Colony.
London: A. Henderson, J. Fox, 1751.

III Secondary Sources

Allison, D. History of Nova Scotia, 3 vols., Halifax: A. W. Bowen & Co., 1916.

Arsenault, Bona L'Acadie des Ancêtres Quebec: Le Conseil de la Vie française en Amerique.

Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens, 2 vols., Quebec: Le Conseil de la Vie française en Amerique, 1965.

Beaudry, Rene "Un Temoin de la Dispersion Acadienne: L'Abbé Le Guerne" Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Française, vol. VII, #1, Juin, 1953.

De Beaumont, Gaston du Boscq Les Derniers Jours de l'Acadie, Paris: E. Lechevalier, 1899.

Bell, Winthrop Pickard The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Bernard, Antoine Le Drame Acadien depuis 1604 Montreal: Les Clercs de Saint-Viateur, 1936.

Bird, Will R. A Century at Chignecto, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1928.

Brebner, John Bartlett New England's Outpost Acadia before the Conquest of Canada, New York: Columbia University Press 1927.

"Paul Mascarene of Annapolis Royal" Dalhousie Review, January 1929.

The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia New York: Columbia University Press, 1937.

Campbell, D. History of Nova Scotia, Montreal: John Lovell, 1873.

Casgrain, H.R. Un Pèlerinage au Pays d'Evangéline, Quebec: Demers & frère, 1887.

Les Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions-Etrangères en Acadie, Quebec: Pruneau & Kirouac, 1897.

Courville, Louis de Memoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760 Quebec: Imprimerie de T. Cary & cie., 1838.

Doughty, Arthur G., The Acadian Exiles, Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916.

Douglass, William, A Summary of the British Settlements in North America 2 vols., London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1755

Faribault, G.B. Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amerique,

et en particulier sue celle du Canada, de la Louisiane, de l'Acadie et autres lieux ci-devant sous le nom de la Nouvelle-France, Quebec, 1837

Ganong, W.F. "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick" Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd Series, vol. V, 1899.

Gaudet, Placide, Le Grand Dérangement sur qui tombe la responsabilité de l'expulsion des Acadiens Ottawa: Ottawa Printing Company, 1922.

Haliburton, Thomas C. An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia Halifax: J. Howe, 1829.

Hannay, James The History of Acadia from its Discovery to its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris Saint John: J. & A. McMillan, 1879.

Harvey, D.C. The French Régime in Prince Edward Island, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926.

Hutchinson, Thomas The History of... Massachusett's Bay, 2nd Edition, vol. 1, 1765-1828, London.

Knapp, E. "History of Fort Beauséjour" Acadiensis, July 1908, p. 203ff.

Lauvrière, Emile, La Tragédie d'un Peuple, 2 vols. Paris; Librairie Plon, 1924.

Le Jeune, le R. P. L., Dictionnaire Général de Biographie du Canada, Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1931.

McIsaac, J.R. The Isthmus of Chignecto, its part in the conflict between France and Great Britain for control of North America M.A. Thesis, Acadia University, 1937.

MacKinnon, Ian Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia, Montreal: Walker Press, 1930.

MacMechan, Archibald, Red Snow on Grand Pré, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1931.

MacNutt, W.S. The Atlantic Provinces, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965.

Mark, Sister Mary Jean The Acadians under English Rule, 1713-1763, M.A. Thesis, Marquette University, January, 1755.

Milner, W.C. "La Valliere of Chignecto" Acadiensis, vol. I, July, 1901.

"Records of Chignecto" Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. XV, 1911, p. 1-86.

Moreau, Celestin Histoire de l'Acadie francoise, Paris: L. Techener, 1873.

Murdock, Beamish History of Nova Scotia, vol. I, Halifax: James Barnes, 1865.

Pothier, Bernard Acadian Settlement in Ile Royale after the Treaty of Utrecht M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1967.

Rameau de Saint-Père, Edme Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique L'Acadie 1604-1881, 2 vols., Montreal and Paris, Granger, Fr. and E. Plon, 1889

La France aux Colonies, Paris , A. Jouby, 1859

Raymond, W.O. "Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlement of Nova Scotia" Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd Series, vol. V, 1911.

Réveillaud, Eugene, Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada Paris, 1888.

Richard, Edouard Acadia; Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History, Montreal: J. Lovell, 1895.

Rumilly, Robert Histoire des Acadiens Montreal and Paris: Fides, 1955.

Shortt, Adam & Doughty, Arthur, (ed.) Canada and its Provinces, vol. 13, "The Atlantic Provinces."

Smith, P.H. Acadia, Pawling, N.Y., by the author, 1884.

La Societe Historique Acadienne, Moncton, Cahiers 1961-67.

Trueman, Harold The Chignecto Isthmus and its First Settlers, Toronto: William Briggs, 1902.

Webster, John Clarence, The Forts of Chignecto, Shediac: Published by the author, 1930.

(ed.) The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia Shediac: privately printed, 1933.

Webster, J.C. "Chignecto Dry Dock. An undescribed French dock-like structure on the La Coupe river" Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd Series, vol. XXVII, 1933.

Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1934.

Thomas Pichon "The Spy of Beauséjour" Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1937.

(ed.) Memorial on behalf of the Sieur de Boishebert Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1942.

Williams, K.R. Social Conditions in Nova Scotia, 1749-1783, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1936.

Williamson, W.D. The History of the State of Maine, 1839.

Winsor, Justin Narrative and Critical History of America Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1889.