

they should think proper, with lofty head (*la tête levée*), and carry away their property, or sell what they could not carry away; that they should be beyond the control of the king of Great Britain; that they should have as many priests, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman, as should be thought necessary, without any Oath of Allegiance being required of them; and that the lands, which they had abandoned, "should be restored to those to whom they formerly belonged." They further insisted that their demands should not only be granted by the Governor, "but even ratified by the Court of England." To these insolent demands the Governor and Council patiently and leniently replied that the misnamed "petitioners" might return to the possession of the lands they had formerly occupied, upon taking the ordinary Oath of Allegiance as previously demanded of them.

The French *habitans* who continued in possession of their lands could not be induced by the English to furnish them with provisions, even fuel wood, or manual labour on the public works, at any price or wage. At the same time the markets at Beausejour and Louisbourg were amply supplied from the Acadian farms with all they required; and large gangs of Acadian labourers were working for the French in dyking the Tintamarr Marsh. The Governor-in-Council, was under the necessity, in the autumn of 1754, as a measure of mere self-preservation, to pass what was called a "Corn Act"—an Order-in-Council prohibiting, to a certain extent, the exportation of cereals.

Things were growing worse and worse. Like all weak-minded and ignorant people, the French Acadians regarded every act of leniency, or forbearance, on the part of their rulers as an indication of weakness. About the close of September, '54, a priest, named Daudin, threateningly assured Captain Murray, in command at Pezziquid, that Acadians, "three thousand in number," were then "assembled together and consulting mischief against the English," and "though they had not all arms, they had hatchets," etc. About the same time, the handful of Micmacs, who still existed in Nova Scotia, made, through their missionary, the "Archpriest," De Loutre, an insolent demand for the exclusive possession of the eastern portion, comprising fully one-half of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. All the best lands of the remainder of the peninsula were already in the actual occupation of the Acadians, so-called. The representatives of France—without any right, it is true—claimed that part of the Province which is now comprised within the bounds of New Brunswick. They also claimed, by treaty, the Isles Royale and St. Jean. By this comfortable little arrangement, then, all that remained for English settlers, throughout these regions, was—Halifax and the Atlantic coast to the westward of that little town. All this time the English Governor was in the frequent receipt, through intercepted correspondence, of proofs positive that M. Duquesne, the Governor of Canada, was, both directly and through his emissaries, the Abbés De Loutre and Daudin, the French officers at Fort Beausejour, and others, constantly stirring up the Indians and *habitans* to acts of aggression upon the English.

It was at length determined that this state of affairs could be endured no longer. An arrangement was arrived at between Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, and Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts—two among the ablest men of their position and time, within the sphere of North America—by which a force was raised in New England, and despatched, under Colonel Monckton, to Chignecto, to rout the French out of that quarter. It will be observed that Great Britain and France were ostensibly at peace at this time. Monckton's attack upon the French at Chignecto was made as upon a nest of land-pirates who had squatted there in utter defiance of the law of nations. Short work was made with these same land-pirates. Fort Beausejour surrendered on June 16, 1755; and the redoubt, at Gaspereau, Bay Vert, on the following day. On his first arrival, Col. Monckton had driven out four hundred and fifty Acadian *habitans*, who had been posted to defend a blockhouse at a pass of the Missiguash; and when he took Fort Beausejour he found the garrison consisting of three hundred Acadian *habitans* to one hundred and fifty regulars. Every man of the former owed allegiance to Great Britain. The pious De Loutre had also been with the garrison during the siege, but made a hurried exit on the day before the surrender. He made his escape to Quebec, where he was severely reprimanded by his bishop.

It was learned that, pending and during this Chignecto campaign, a number of French emissaries had been careering about through the Acadian settlements of Pezziquid, Minas and Annapolis Royal, inciting the people to take up arms against the English. There were very strong grounds for suspicion that attempts had even been made to tamper with the loyalty of the new German settlement at Malagash (Lunenburgh). It was obvious that the hostile and defiant demeanour of these *habitans* could not be longer endured. Now was a good time to bring them to a conducive settlement, while there was in the country a military force capable of handling them. Still Governor Lawrence resolved to give them one more chance. He called upon them to give up their arms and to take the Oath of Allegiance as required of British subjects. The most of them gave up their arms; but they obstinately refused the Oath. No doubt they believed that their English rulers would succumb to that obstinacy, as they had so often done before; but in this instance they "counted without their host." Governor Lawrence called in Admirals Boscowen and Mostyn, who happened to be in

port, to take a seat at his Council Board and assist him with their opinion. Various delegations arrived, all with the same remonstrances, sometimes still rather defiantly expressed. There was but one answer—the Oath must be taken. They peremptorily refused, and were ordered into confinement. Some of them began to suspect that the Governor was serious, and offered to take the Oath. Oh, yes; by all means, they would take the Oath. Why not? Then they were told that a man, having refused the Oath, would not thus be allowed to take it. Finally they all agreed to refuse the Oath. It was then conclusively and irrevocably resolved by the Governor, Admirals and full Council, on July 31, 1755, that the whole French people resident in Nova Scotia should be expelled from the country.

About the time that the Governor and his advisers were approaching this conclusion, they were startled by a piece of information which may have hastened that conclusion, and could not have failed to confirm its justice and wisdom, and to expedite what it demanded. This was the news of the disastrous defeat of General Braddock, with his finely appointed army, near Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburg), on July 9. For many years a fierce struggle for supremacy had been going on in North America, between the French and English. Braddock's defeat caused immense consternation throughout the British Provinces, and commensurate exultation on the part of the Canadians. It was feared, on the one hand, and fondly hoped on the other, that the power of France was on the eve of becoming paramount throughout North America. Upon Nova Scotia especially, the hold of the English seemed to be so precarious—notwithstanding the recent little success at Fort Beausejour—that they felt that their utmost efforts were essential even to their maintaining an existence. For, besides being clearly surrounded by formidably equipped avowed foes without, they had, in their midst, fully seven thousand rancorous enemies—a number far exceeding their own total population. It was therefore essential that these Acadians should be dealt with promptly, and, if possible, before they, too, should hear of the affair at Fort Duquesne. So it was done.

What was to be done with these troublesome Acadians? To set them loose in Cape Breton, St. John's Island, or Canada, to add to the already formidable power of the French, would have been an insane-like procedure. It was resolved to scatter them among the older English provinces, from New England to Georgia, thus rendering them innocuous. All the activity, determined energy and administrative ability which were marked characteristics of Governor Lawrence, were brought into play in this dangerous and disagreeable task which circumstances had forced upon him. Here was an odious work which his country's weal told him must be accomplished. He manfully and loyally faced the responsibility, and accomplished the task; and did so, in as far as circumstances would allow, in accordance with the tenderest suggestions of humanity. In this he was ably and efficiently assisted by Colonels Monckton and Winslow, their regimental officers and the various officers in charge at Annapolis, Minas and Pezziquid. He was, too, heartily supported throughout by the bold counsel and friendly advice of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts.

The much-misguided French Acadians found at last that the English, with whom they had so long been trifling and worse than trifling, had really always meant what they said; and that even their patience had come to an end. Transports were procured from Boston; the wretched settlers were shipped—every possible precaution being taken to avoid the separation of members of the same family—and they were sent off to the older British colonies West and South, according to settled plan. The French seem to have been almost entirely cleaned out of Annapolis Valley, Grand Pre, Canard, Pezziquid and Cobequid; although a few individuals from these settlements made their escape to the woods, to associate with their friends, the Indians. There were in the vicinity of Cape Sable, and principally at Pobomcoup (Pubnico), some small settlements composed principally of the descendants, and relations of the descendants, of that French nobleman, D'Entremont, who had been the Lieutenant and friend of Charles De la Tour in years long past. These do not seem to have been disturbed in the general expulsion. In Chignecto alone the *habitans* showed fight. Only a portion of them were secured and shipped. The remainder finally took flight to the woods. For years afterwards they made themselves troublesome to the English in those quarters, they living to some extent the life of freebooters, and forming temporary settlements at Richibucto, Mirimichi and the Bay Chaleur. Early in this adventurous life, and whilst Canada was still a French colony, they applied for aid to the Governor at Quebec. Whether or not that Governor had already reached the grave suspicion that his own position as *locum tenens* of the King of France was only a precarious one, or from whatever other cause, certain it is that he gave the poor Acadians no countenance or material support. Indeed, the conduct of France throughout this expulsion of the French Acadians was little to the credit of that whilom gallant nation. If anybody except the Acadians themselves, through their own misconduct, was to be held accountable for the expulsion of those people, it was certainly France. It was notorious that the emissaries of Old France and of her colonies, Canada and Isle Royale, never ceased to foster and foment in those Acadians feelings of hostility towards the British. They were always representing to these ignorant *habitans*, as a certain event,

that Acadie was to be won back to France, to become permanently a French possession. They had thus, so far as their influence could go, prevented these *habitans* from taking the Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown—to that crown which, for nearly half a century, had treated these people with a lenity and a kindness which, under like circumstances, had no parallel in history. Yet, when these Acadians were called upon to submit to the consequences of their evil and no longer endurable conduct, France uttered not one syllable in their behalf—lifted not one finger in amelioration of their circumstances. With reference to the whole transaction, whatever of blame there is chargeable to anybody beyond the Acadians themselves, is due wholly and solely to France. Great Britain and her officials are utterly blameless; and, for the part taken by the latter in this matter, it calls for no apology whatever, and they are entitled to the cordial praises and thanks of their posterity.

As to the subsequent fate of these *habitans*, the history of that is no necessary part of the story of the Acadian Expulsion. Nevertheless, we may make a few remarks under that head. It would seem that none of these people could be content to remain in the older provinces to which they were transported. Possibly some of those who had been landed in the more southern provinces eventually wended their way to the French colony of Louisiana. It is known that a considerable number of them shaped their course, in process of time, to the French West Indian Islands. Some few of them reached Old France. The greater number of them, however, managed to build for themselves, or in some way possess themselves of, shallops and boats, by means of which they crawled along the shores north and east, obviously with the intent of returning to their native Acadia. Some few of them accomplished that object. The greater number were, by instructions from the Governor of Nova Scotia, arrested at various points along the coast from New Jersey to Massachusetts inclusive. Of the few refugees who actually reached the shores of their native land, the settlement of some who were quiet and orderly was connived at. Others, who still showed a disposition to make themselves troublesome, were taken prisoners to Halifax, and there, in a sort of semi-durance, set for some years to labour for their sustenance upon the public works. Indeed, about one hundred and fifty of the French inhabitants of Cape Sable and its vicinity were, upon their own petition, taken up to Halifax in their extreme distress and given employment. A large proportion of those transported to Virginia and South Carolina were, by those provinces, sent to England, where, by the King's orders, they were given in charge to the Lords of the Admiralty, to be secured and maintained by the Commissioners for sick and hurt seamen. Still, down to a period long subsequent to the surrender of Quebec to the British, a portion of these Acadians, acting in the capacity of pirates and freebooters, were in such force in Nova Scotia as to seriously impede the peaceful settlement of the country. In March, 1764, there were upwards of two thousand of them in the province, over one thousand of whom were in Halifax and its environs, and prisoners of war. In December of that year, six hundred of the latter, with permission, hired vessels at their own expense and sailed to the French West Indies.

Finally, in 1768 and the immediately subsequent years, lands were appropriated for the settlement of these returned and wandering Acadians in the district of Clare, St. Mary's Bay, in the southern part of what is now Digby County, and in parts of the island of Cape Breton. They accordingly settled upon these lands and, at length, became quiet and orderly British subjects. Those settlements now occupied by their descendants are among the most moral, industrious, frugal, thrifty and loyal communities in the Province of Nova Scotia.

PIERCE STEVENS HAMILTON.

WHAT CHAMPLAIN DID AT MON- TREAL IN 1611.

"IN the year 1611 I brought back my Savage to those of his nation, who were to come to the great Rapid of St. Louis, and to return my servant, whom they held as hostage. I left Quebec the 20th of May, and arrived at the said great Rapid the 28th, where I did not find any of the Savages who had promised me to be there on the 20th of the month. I was then in a wretched canoe with the Savage whom I had brought to France, besides one of our people. After having moved about in one direction and another, as well in the woods as along the shore, to find a place suitable for the site of a dwelling whereon to prepare a spot for building, I walked eight leagues, skirting the great rapids, through the woods, which are open enough, and came as far as a lake to which our Savage led me, where I considered the country very closely. But, in all that I saw, I found no place more suitable than a little spot¹ which is as far as barques and boats can easily come up, unless with a strong wind or by a circuit, because of the great current; for higher than that place (which I named La Place Royale), a league away from Mount Royal, there are quantities of small rocks and ledges, which are very dangerous. And near the said Place Royale there is a little river² which goes some distance into the interior, all along which there are more than

¹ The site of the present Custom House.

² Foundling Street is the course of this stream—a branch of the Little River of Montreal.