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"The Acadian Element in the Population of Nova Scotia."

By Miss Annie Marion MacLean, Ph. D.

North American Notes and Queries

VOL. I. • No. 8.

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A monthly Journal of Inter-Communication

devoted to

Literature, History, Biography, Bibliography, Archæology, Ethnography,
Folk-Lore, Numismatics, Philately, Curiosa
• and General Information •

FEBRUARY, 1901.

"Thomas Jefferson and the Loyal and Patriotic Society of
Upper Canada." • By Raoul Renault.

North American Notes and Queries

RAOUL RENAULT, Director and Proprietor

E. T. D. CHAMBERS, Editor

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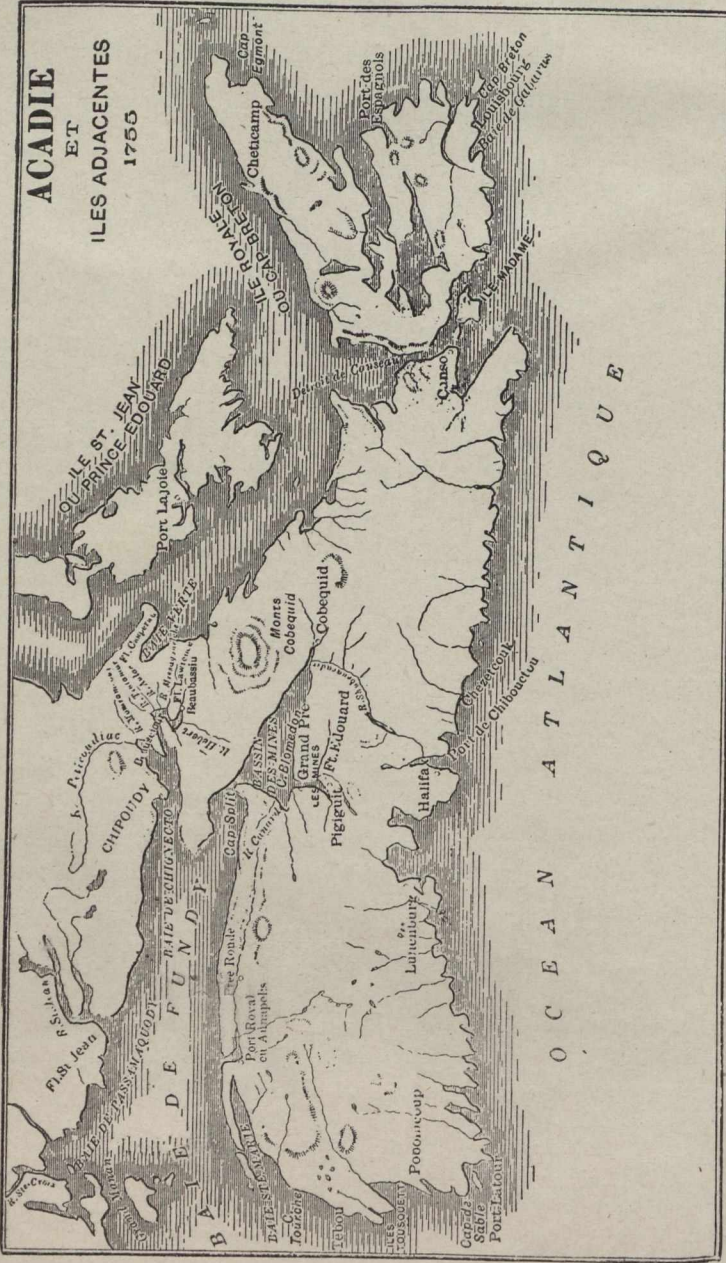
RAOUL RENAULT, QUEBEC, CANADA

ACADIE

ET

ILES ADJACENTES

1755



North American Notes and Queries

Vol. I

FEBRUARY 1901

No. 8

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC SOCIETY OF UPPER CANADA (1)

BY RAOUL RENAULT

1st. *Ill treatment of American prisoners.*

General Brock sent all the militia taken at Detroit home on their parole, accompanied by a guard to protect them from the Indians (2), detaining only the regulars, whom he sent to Quebec, where they met with the most liberal treatment, as the honest among them have frequently confessed (3). General Sheaffe acted in the same manner after the battle of Queenstown, keeping the regulars and dismissing the militia on their parole. Nor was this liberal course departed from, till the gross misconduct of the American government, in liberating without exchange, those so sent home, and in carrying away

(1). Continued from page 209.

(2). The English army constantly invoked the alliance of the tribes of Indians; and these ferocious bands committed, in the name of Great Britain, atrocities, the recital of which alone would make one shudder. These were the useful auxiliaries employed by Royalist leaders to rid them of their Republican prisoners, after the most solemn capitulations.—*The Criminal History of the English Government*, by Eugène Regnault, translated by an American. New York, 1843, p. 284.—R. R.

(3) On the 29th of September, the following advertisement was published in the *Quebec Mercury*:

“ COMMISSARY GENERAL'S OFFICE.

“ Québec, 28th Sept., 1812.

“ Wanted for the American prisoners of war, comfortable warm clothing, consisting of the following articles: Jackets, Shirts, Trowsers, Stockings, Mocassins or Shoes. Also 2,000 pounds of soap.”

non-combattants, and seizing the whole inhabitants of the districts, which they invaded, rendered it absolutely necessary. (1).

When they were not able to take all the armed inhabitants away they made those they left sign a parole; a conduct never known in the annals of war, the condition of which not only precluded them from afterwards bearing arms, but from giving in any manner their *services to government*. The farmers were dragged out of their houses and carried into the States. Clergymen were forced to give their parole; in fine it appeared to make no difference whether a man was in arms or not, he was to experience the same treatment.

Many people, when prisoners, have been treated in the most infamous manner. Officers, tho' sick and wounded, have been forced to march on foot through the country, while American officers taken by us were conveyed in boats or carriages to the place of destination.

Our captured troops have been marched as spectacles through the towns, altho' you affect to complain of Hull's and other prisoners being marched publicly into Montreal. The officers of the 41st regt were confined in the Penitentiary at Kentucky, among felons of the most infamous description. They were treated with harshness; often with cruelty, and persons, who wished to be kind to them, were insulted by the populace.

Even the stipulations, respecting prisoners, agreed to by the American government have been most shamefully broken. Sir George Prevost and Mr. Madison agreed that all prisoners taken before the 15th day of April, 1814, should be exchanged on or before the 15th day of May last, to be conveyed into their respective countries by the nearest routes. On that day the Governor in Chief, faithful to his engagements, sent home every prisoner; but the Government of the United States seemed for a long time to have totally forgotten the stipulation. A few prisoners were sent back in June, but many of the officers and all the soldiers of the 41st Regiment, were detained till towards the end of October. To the soldiers of this Regiment (as indeed to all others) every temptation had been presented to induce them to desert and enlist in their service by money, land, etc. After it was found impossible to persuade any number of them to do so, the American Government encamped them for nearly two months in a pestilential marsh near Sandusky without any covering. There having neither shelter nor the necessary quantity of provisions, they all got sick, many died, and in October, the remainder were

LeMoine, after quoting this advertisement in *Picturesque Quebec*, adds very apropos: "From which it is clear John Bull intended his American cousins should not only be kept warm, but suitably scrubbed as well. Two thousand lbs. of soap foreshadowed a fabulous amount of scrubbing. Colonel Scott and friends were evidently "well off for soap."—R. R.

(1). The prisoners taken at Detroit and brought down to Quebec, where they arrived about the middle of September, were sent to Boston at the end of October, for the purpose of being exchanged.—R. R.

sent to Long Point, sick, naked and miserable (1). From this place they could not be conveyed, till clothes had been sent to cover their nakedness; great numbers sunk under their calamities, and the utmost care and attention were required to save any of them alive. Such an accumulation of cruelty was never exhibited before.

The government of the United States assumed the prerogative of relieving officers from parole without exchanging them, and even Commodore Rodger's took twelve seamen out of a cartel, as it was proceeding to Boston Bay, and was justified for this outrage by his government.

2d. *Detention of American Prisoners as British subjects.*

It is notorious that a great many of the American army have been British subjects since the commencement of the war; and had we determined to punish these traitors with death, if found invading our territories, and after giving them warning, acted up to such a determination, it would have been strictly right and in such case very few would have entered Canada. While these persons act merely as militia defending their adopted country against invasion some lenity might be shewn them; but when they march into the British Provinces for the sake of conquest, they ought to be considered traitors to their King and country, and treated accordingly.

3d. *Detention of Sailors as Prisoners, because they were in England when war was declared.*

This accusation is ridiculous, as sailors are always considered in the first class of combattants; but it comes with an ill grace from those who

(1). "On 16th they arrived at Lower Sandusky [Ohio]. They bivouacked on the march, and were constantly exposed to heavy rains without any covering or change of clothing, but there were only two of them [officers] sick when they arrived there.

"The situation of Sandusky was extremely unhealthy, the river being almost stagnant and the banks swampy. They were detained there for more than a month, without blankets, great coats or any other covering save a few old tents furnished by the Americans, not sufficient for more than one-third of the prisoners. There was only one medical officer with them, who had very little medicine.

"Had the prisoners been embarked on their arrival at Lower Sandusky, instead of being detained there so long, the regiment would have acquired an effective strength of some hundreds in place of the wretched remains which have lately joined, many of whom have died, and all who survive will be incapable of any duty for many months." —*Capt. J. L. Hill to Lieut.-Col. Wm. Evans, 10th November, 1814.*

"When the prisoners arrived at Cleveland their situation was shocking, many being sick, without any medical attendance, and they were encamped without tents or any covering in the most bleak and cold situation that could be picked out. The men complained that they were half-starved, and had not received their rations regularly, and that what they got was not fit to be eaten, as it smelt and was unwholesome. This I reported, but could get no satisfaction." —*Lieut. Clemens to Lieut.-Col. Evans.*

"I have visited Ancaster, where the soldiers of the 41st, lately prisoners, are now in hospital. All these unfortunate men are, with a few exceptions, in a most deplorable, sickly state.....The few men, and they are very few indeed, who have had the good fortune to escape these destructive diseases, have a sickly, sallow complexion, and they are considerably emaciated and debilitated.—*Dr. John Erly to Lieut.-Col. Harvey, 9th. November, 1814.*

have detained peaceable British subjects engaged in civil life, and banished fifteen miles from the coast those of them who happened to be in America at the declaration of war, and treated them almost in every respect like prisoners of war, according to Bonaparte's example.

4th. *Forced service of American Sailors, pressed on board English Men of war.*

This accusation has been often made, but never coupled with the offer of Mr. Forster to discharge every American so detained on being furnished with the list. The list was never furnished.

5th. *Violence of Flags of Truce.*

This accusation of Mr. Madison contains about as much truth as those that have been already examined. We shall give two examples of the treatment experienced by the bearers of flags of truce from the British army.

Major Fulton, Aide-de-Camp to General Sir George Prevost, was stopped by Major Forsyth of the United States army at the outposts, who insulted him grossly, endeavoured to seize his dispatches and threatened to put him to death. So much ashamed were Forsyth's superiors at this outrage, that he was sent for a short time, to the rear.

General Proctor sent Lieut. Le Breton to General Harrison after the battle of Moravian Town, to ascertain our loss of officers and men; but instead of sending him back, General Harrison detained him many weeks, took him round the lake; and after all did not furnish him with the required information, which had been otherwise procured in the mean time (1).

(1) The following extract from the General Order of the Commander of the forces, of the sixth of November, 1813, gives us some information respecting the battle near Moravian village:

"His Excellency the Commander of the forces, has received an official report from Major-Genl. Proctor, of the affair which took place on the 5th of October, near Moravian village, and he has in vain sought in it, for grounds to palliate the report made to his Excellency by staff-adjutant Reiffenstein, upon which the general order of the 18th October was founded—on the contrary, that statement remains confirmed, in all the principal events which marked that disgraceful day; the precipitancy with which the staff-adjutant retreated from the field, prevented his ascertaining the loss sustained by the division on that occasion; it also led him most grossly to exaggerate the enemy's force, and to misrepresent the conduct of the Indian warriors, who, instead of retreating towards Machedash, as he had stated, gallantly maintained the conflict, under their brave chief Tecumseh, and in their turn, harrassed the American army on its retreat to Detroit."

Major General Proctor was tried at Montreal, in December, 1814, for misconduct on this occasion. He was found guilty and sentenced to be publicly reprimanded, and to be suspended from rank and pay for six months. The British loss was, on that occasion, in killed, wounded, and missing, 28 officers, 34 sergeants, 13 drummers, 559 rank and file, 46 horses.

In a letter dated September 22nd, 1814, from Capt. J. L. Hill to Lieut.-Gen. Drummond, mention is made of "eight officers and 136 soldiers and women arrived from Kentucky, being the first division of prisoners taken on Lake Erie and at Moravian Town. The men are almost naked, most of them without shoes, and several of them suffering from fever and ague."—R. R.

6th. *Ransom of American prisoners taken by the savages in the service of England.*

Some nations of the natives were at war with the Americans, long before hostilities commenced against England, many others not. When attempts were made to conquer the Canadas, the Indians beyond our territories, part by choice, and part by solicitation, came and joined us as allies, while those within the Provinces, had as great an interest in defending them, as the other proprietors of the soil. To mitigate as much as possible the horrors of war, it was expressly and repeatedly told the Indians that scalping the dead and killing prisoners or unresisting enemies, were practices extremely repugnant to our feelings, and no present would be given them but for prisoners. This, therefore, instead of becoming an article of accusation ought to have excited their gratitude, for the presence and authority of a British force uniformly tended to secure the lives of all who were defenceless, and who surrendered. It almost without exception saved the lives of our enemies, yet the American government brand us as worse than savages for fighting by the sides of Indians, and at first threatened our extermination if we did so, altho' they employed all they Indians they could. Many individuals have acknowledged their obligation to us for having been saved by the benevolent and humane exertions of our officers and troops, but no officer of rank ever had the justice to make a public acknowledgment. The eighth accusation is much the same as this, and must have been separated in order to multiply the number of articles. It is notorious that some British soldiers have been killed by the Indians, protecting their prisoners. This was the case at General Winchester's defeat and at General Clay's. The grossest exaggerations have been published. General Winchester was declared in all the American papers to have been scalped, and mangled in the most horrid manner, when he was in his quarters at Quebec. In a general order, dated at Kingston 26th July 1813, among other things respecting Indians, it is said, that the head money for the prisoners of war, brought in by the Indian warriors is to be immediately paid by the Commissariat upon the certificate of the general officer commanding the division with which they are acting at the time. Let us now see how the poor Indians are treated by the Americans, after promising that they have their utmost to employ as many Indians as possible against us. It is a fact that the first scalp taken this war was by the Americans at the river Canard between Sandwich and Amherstburgh. (1)

(1). "The National Intelligencer," the American Government organ of the day, boastfully asserted that when the militia returned to Detroit from the battle of Brownston, they bore triumphantly on the points of their bayonets between 30 and 40 fresh scalps, which they had taken on the field. As no mercy was shown to the redskins by the trappers and borderers who constituted the militia, and as scalps were much prized spoils, it may be presumed that the number of these trophies represented fairly the number of Indians slain.—James, *Military Occurrences of the War*, vol. II, p. 6.

At this place an Indian was killed by the advance of General Hull's army, and immediatly scalped. (*)

At the skirmish of Brownston, several Indians fell and were scalped by the American troops.

The Kentuckians are commonly armed with a tomahawk and a long scalping knife, and burnt Indians as a pastime.

At the River au Raisin, Captain Caldwell, of the Indian department, saved an American from the Indians, and as he was leading him off, the ungrateful monster stabbed him in the neck, on which he was killed by Capt. Caldwell's friends.

The American troops under General Winchester killed an Indian in a skirmish near the River au Raisin, on the 18th January 1813, and tore him literally to pieces, which so exasperated the Indians, that they refused burial to the Americans killed on the 22d.—The Indian Hero Tecumseh, after being killed, was literally flayed in part by the Americans, and his skin carried off as a trophy.

Twenty Indian women and children of the Kickapoo nation, were inhumanly put to death by the Americans a short time ago near Prairie, on the Illinois river, after driving their husbands into a morass, where they perished with cold and hunger. Indian towns were burnt as an amusement or common place practice. All this, however, is nothing compared to the recent mascarade of the Creeks. General Coffee in his letter to General Jackson, dated 4th. November 1813, informed him that he surrounded the Indian towns at Tullushatches in the night with nine hundred men. That about an hour after sunrise, he was discovered by the enemy, who endeavoured, tho' taken by surprise, to make some resistance.

In a few minutes the last warrior of them was killed. He mentioned the number of warriors seen dead to be 186, and supposes as many among the weeds as would make them up two hundred. He confesses that some of the women and children were killed, owing to the warriors mixing with their families. He mentions taking only 84 prisoners of women and children. Now it is evident that in a village containing two hundred warriors, there must have been nearly as many women as men, perhaps more; unquestionably the number of children exceeded the men and women together; what then became of all these. Neither does General Coffee mention the old men. Such things speak for themselves. The poor Indians fought, it appears, with bows and arrows, and were able only to kill five Americans. Their situation was too remote for them to receive assistance from the British. Their lands were wanted, and they must be exterminated. Since this period, the greater part of the nation has been massacred by General Jackson, who destroyed them wantonly in cold blood. There was no resistance, if we except individual ebullition of despair, when it was found that there was no mercy. Jackson mentions exultingly, that the morning after he had destroyed a whole village, sixteen Indians were discovered, hid under the bank of the

(*) NOTE.—An Indian never scalps his enemy until after he is dead, and does so to preserve a proof or token of his victory.

river, who were dragged out and murdered. Upon these inhuman exploits, President Madison only remarks to Congress, that the Creeks had received a salutary chastisement, which would make a lasting impression upon their fears.

The cruelties exercised against these wretched Indians are without a parallel, except the coldness and apathy with which they are glossed over by the President. Such is the conduct of the humane government of the United States, which is incessantly employed, as they pretend, in civilizing Indians; but it is time to finish this horrid detail; we shall therefore conclude with a short extract of a letter from the Spanish governor of East Florida, Benigno Grazia, to Mr. Mitchell, Governor of the State of Georgia, to show that the policy of the Government of the United States, in regard to the Indians, is now generally known.

"The Province of East Florida may be invaded in time of profound peace, the planters ruined, and the population of the capital starved, and according to your doctrine all is fair; they are a set of outlaws if they resist. The Indians are to be insulted, threatened, and driven from their lands; if they resist, nothing less than extermination is to be their fate."

7th and 9th. *Pillage and destruction of private property in the Bay Chesapeake, and the neighbouring country, and cruelties exercized at Hampton in Virginia.*

It required astonishing effrontery to make these articles of accusation, after the depredations committed by the army of the United States in the Canadas.

In the attack of Craney Island, some boats in the service of Great Britain ran aground. In this situation they made signals of surrender, but the Americans continued to fire upon them from the shore. Many jumped into the water and swam towards land, but they were shot as they approached, without mercy. A few days after, Hampton was taken, and some depredations were committing by the Foreign troops, who had seen some of their comrades massacred, but before any material damage was done, they were remanded on board. Several letters from Hampton mention the behaviour of the British, while there, as highly meritorious, and contradict the vile calumnies of the Democratic print, which Mr. Madison copies in his Message to Congress.

This brief account of the conduct of your Government and army, since the commencement of hostilities (which might have been greatly extended) will fill the world with astonishment at the forbearance of Great Britain, in suffering so many enormities and such a determined departure from the laws of civilized warfare, to pass so long without signal punishment.

Before finishing this letter, permit me, Sir, that the destruction of the public buildings at Washington, entitled the British to your gratitude and praise affording you a noble opportunity of proving your devotion to your country. In former times, when you spoke of the magnitude of your services, and the fervor of your patriotism, your political enemies were apt to mention your elevated situation, and the greatness of your salary. But by presenting

your library a free-will offering to the nation at the moment of uncommon pressure, when the Treasury is empty, and every help to the acquisition of knowledge is so very necessary to keep the government from sinking, you would have astonished the world, with one solitary action in your political life, worthy of commendation. (1)

Nor are your obligations to the British army unimportant, tho' you have not aspired to generous praise. An opportunity has been given you of disposing of a library at your own price, which if sold, volume by volume, would have fetched nothing. You have no doubt seen that old libraries do not sell well, after the death of the proprietor, and with a lively attention to your own interest, you take advantage of the times. (2)

I am, Sir,

With due consideration, &c.,

JOHN STRACHAN, D. D.,

*Treasurer of the Loyal and Patriotic
Society of Upper Canada.*

York, 30th January, 1815.

POSTSCRIPT.—From General M'Arthur's official account of his predatory excursion, I make the following extract to prove his extraordinary veracity :

" We were thus enabled to arrive at the town of Oxford, one hundred and fifty miles distant from Detroit, before the inhabitants knew that a force was approaching. They were promised protection to their persons and property, upon the condition that they remained peaceably at their respective homes ; otherwise, they were assured that their property would be destroyed.

" However, notwithstanding this injunction, and the sacred obligation of a previous parole, two of the inhabitants escaped to Burford, with the intelligence of our arrival. Their property consisting of two dwelling houses, two barns, and one shop, were instantly consumed."

George Nichol and Jacob Wood, are the persons here alluded to, both of whom applied to the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada for relief. The former had returned home before General M'Arthur's report to the Secretary of War appeared in the newspapers, but the latter was at York after that publication. " At a meeting of the Directors of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, holden at York, on the 21st of January 1815, appeared Jacob

(1). When the Library of Congress was burnt, on the 25th of August, 1814, there was not more than 3,000 volumes in it, and the yearly appropriation for the purchase of books was of \$1,000.—R. R.

(2) Jefferson's library numbered about 6,700 volumes. It was sold for \$23,950, which would seem a very fair sum, giving an average of \$3.58 per volume. The debate on the bill authorizing the purchase at the price above stated, was conducted with earnest discussion, and the vote gave 81 yeas and 71 nays.—R. R.

Wood, from the county of Oxford, and produced a certificate from Major Bowen, stating that he accompanied George Nichol from Oxford to Burford to give information of the advance of the American army, and in consequence of which his house, furniture, barn, hay, grain, joiner's shop, and tools were destroyed by the enemy.

"Jacob Wood was interrogated by the Society, whether he or George Nichol were paroled by General M'Arthur, previous to their giving the British warning of the approach of the American army. In answer, he stated, that he and George Nichol had left their homes on hearing of the approach of the enemy, and were so far from giving their parole, that they never were in the power of General M'Arthur, or his army.

"The directors put this question to Jacob Wood, because General M'Arthur, in his official report, states it as his reason for burning the houses, and destroying every thing belonging to these two men, that they had broken their parole." (1)

General M'Arthur had some reputation to lose, and ought to have known that such a gross departure from truth was not the way to preserve it. The courage and zeal of Nichol and Wood, instead of punishment, deserved and would have obtained the respect of a gallant and generous enemy. But on all occasions, the loyal inhabitants of this Province have been selected by your Generals as the objects of peculiar hatred.

To pass rapidly, with a large body of cavalry, through a country thinly inhabited, and without the means of resistance, to feed upon the defenceless inhabitants; to burn the mills, none of which belonged to Government, and to destroy provisions and the whole property of respectable men of principle; and then to run away, at the first symptom of serious opposition, is no great exploit. General M'Arthur has been the author of much distress to the defenceless inhabitants: many of whom have now one hundred and twenty miles to go to mill, but in a military point of view, he has done nothing. It is for the people of the United States to reflect seriously upon this mode of carrying on the war; and it is your interest, Sir, to advise a return to humanity, lest Monticello should share the fate of hundreds of farms in Upper Canada.

I am, etc.,
J. S.

Thos. Jefferson, Esq.

*
* *

Rev. John Strachan, whose career is well known, emigrated to this country from Scotland in 1799 at the age of twenty-one, and first lived at Kingston, where he undertook a tutorship in a family. He set out for Canada "with scant money outfit, but provided with what was of more value, a sound

(1) *Report of the Society*, p. 161-162. A sum of \$200 was voted to both George Nichol and Jacob Wood.—R.R.

constitution, a clear head, and a good strong understanding trained in Scottish schools and colleges, and by familiar intercourse with shrewd folk." (1).

Rev. Mr. Scadding thus traces his portrait :

"In stature slightly under the medium height, with countenance and head of the type of Milton's in middle age, without eloquence, without any extraordinary degree of originality of mind, he held together here a large congregation, consisting of heterogenous elements, by the strength and moral force of his personal character. Qualities, innate to himself, decisiveness of intellect, firmness, a quick insight into things and men, with a certain fertility of resource, conspired to win for him the position which he filled, and enabled him to retain it with ease; to sustain, with a graceful and unassuming dignity, all the augmentations which naturally accumulated round it, as the community, of which he was so vital a part, grew and widened and rose to a higher and higher level, on the swelling tide of the general civilization of the continent. (2)

He was born at Aberdeen, in Scotland, on the 12th of April, 1778 (3).

He was only fourteen years of age when his father died. He arrived in Canada, as he used to put it very spiritually, "on the last day, of the last week, of the last month, of the last year, of the last century." (4) He had been offered the charge of an academy in Upper Canada by the Governor.

In 1807 he married the young widow of Mr. Andrew McGill, of Montreal. In 1811, the University of Aberdeen, where he had received his education, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in the same year, he was offered the rectory of St. James church, at York, which he accepted.

He was consecrated in England, by Archbishop Howley, in the summer of 1839, and he began, at the age of sixty-one, his career as first Bishop of Toronto.

Bishop Strachan died, says Mockbridge, on All Saints' Day, November

(1). *Toronto of Old: Collections and Recollections*. By Henry Scadding, D. D. Toronto, 1878, p. 57.

(2). *Toronto of Old*, p. 141.

(3). Most of the following biographical details are abbreviated from *The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland*, by Rev. Charles H. Mockbridge. Toronto, (1896).

(4). *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. John Strachan*, by Bishop Bethune.

1st, 1867. His little town of York had become a great city, and was known as the "Queen City of the West," and its inhabitants turned out in great force to pay the last marks of respect to him whose name had been connected with the history of Upper Canada from its earliest days. (1)

Rev. Dr. Strachan was one of the most active members of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, and much of the success achieved by the Society must be credited to his restless energy.

At a meeting held on the 22nd. February, 1820, it had been decided to make a loan of £2000, part of a balance of £4000 in the hands of the Society, to the trustees of a General Hospital or Asylum, to be erected at York ; but later on the whole balance in the hands of the Society was handed over to the trustees of the Toronto Hospital. (2)

Pursuant to a resolution proposed by the late Chief Justice, Sir William Campbell, the medals which had been struck for rewarding merit were not distributed, because they did not answer "the original purpose for which they were designed." "Though nothing could have been better intended than this plan of the society, for bestowing medals as a reward for meritorious service, it was unfortunate that they did not at first sufficiently consider that it belongs to the Sovereign to confer that mark of honor, for public services rendered to the Crown, in a military or civil capacity." (3)

The surviving members of the Society were called for the 7th. of July, 1840, at which meeting were present: His Lordship the Bishop of Toronto (Rev. Dr. Strachan), The Honorable Chief Justice Robinson, The Honorable William Allan, The Honorable George Crookshank, Colonel Givings, and Alexander Wood, for disposing of the medals which had been placed, in 1822, in the custody of the Bank of Upper Canada. It was resolved, in conformity with the resolution passed in 1820, that the medals were to be sold as bullion. The sale of the medals was effected later on, and is thus recorded in the pamphlet already quoted :

(1). P. 96.

(2). *Explanation of the Proceedings of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada.* Toronto, 1841.

(3). *Explanation of the Proceedings of L. and P. S. of U. C.*, p. 9.

1840.

Aug. 17.—58 gold medals sold to Chas. Sewell, watchmaker, Toronto, 33 oz., 15 dwt., 20 grs., @ 77s. 1d.	£130 4 9
“ 18.—60 silver medals sold to Wm. Stennett, watch- maker, Toronto, 100 $\frac{7}{100}$ oz., @ 5s. 6d.	27 11 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ 24.—121 silver medals to Chas. Sewell, 200 $\frac{2}{20}$ oz., @ 5s. 6d.	55 0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov. 6.—3 gold medals to the same, 2 oz., 5 dwt., 12 grs., @ 77s. 1d.	8 15 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ 7.—367 silver ditto to W. Stennett, 632 $\frac{4}{20}$ oz., @ 5s. 6d.	173 17 1
	<hr/>
	£395 9 4 $\frac{1}{2}$



The proceeds of this sale, less the expenses, which amounted to less than two pounds, were given to the Trustees of the Provincial Hospital.

The medals struck for the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada were about two and a half inches in diameter. On the reverse, within a wreath of laurels, were the words : FOR MERIT, and on the side : PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY. On the obverse was the following device, meant to represent a bird's eye view of the Niagara River : A strait between two lakes ; on the north side, a beaver, the Canadian emblem ; in the background, an English lion slumbering. On the south side, the American eagle planing in the air. Legend : UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. These medals are now very scarce. (1)

(1). Leroux's *Canadian Coin Cabinet*, p. 169.

THE AUTHOR OF "LABRADOR: A POEM"

BY PHILÉAS GAGNON



THE POEM bearing the above title supposed to have been unpublished before its appearance in *NOTES AND QUERIES* (vol. I, p. 138), was actually printed, in Quebec, in May 1790, by Wm. Moore, at the *Herald* Printing office. A long advertisement in the *Quebec Herald* of the 12th. of April, 1790, furnishes several interesting details respecting this pamphlet, which is certainly very rare.

It is said, among other things, that the poem was written in Labrador, by Wm. Murray, mariner, who was drowned some time after, leaving a widow and two children. The poem was published by subscription to assist the widow and children of the author.

There is no misunderstanding possible on the subject. The poem is well described in the advertisement and is certainly identical with that reprinted in *NOTES AND QUERIES*. It is mentioned that the poem Labrador contains "as many lines as there are days in the year." A specimen of the author's verses is also given, and the four verses reproduced are exactly the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th verses of the poem as published in this Magazine. To this poem of Labrador printed at Quebec, in 1790, was also added another poem, by the same author, entitled: "Advice to a new married lady." The following extract of this last poem is given in the advertisement:

Be frugal plenty round you seen,
And always keep the golden mean,
Be always clean but seldom fine,
Plain in your neatness always shine;
If once fair decency be fled,
Love soon deserts the nuptial bed.

The conditions of the publication were as follows:

1° The Poems to be printed in quarto, on demy paper, with large new types, forming 16 pages, stitched,

2° The price to subscribers one shilling and six pence, to be paid on the delivery of the Poems, which will be put to press as soon as *their* are one hundred subscribers.

Subscribers' names were received at the *Herald*, at Quebec; at Mr. Sill, Three Rivers; Mr. Arnoldi, Berthier; Mr. Sawers, William Henry; Mr. Carry, L'Assomption; Mr. Robert Lindsay, Market Place, Montreal; and by Mr. Leslie, St John's.

In spite of this announcement, the poem might have yet been left unpublished; but another advertisement in the same newspaper, published on the 17th of May following, leaves no doubt as to its appearance in print. It reads as follows: "This day is published and for sale, Two Poems, Labrador, 2nd Poem entitled: Advice to a new married lady."

Now, notwithstanding all the information given by the *Herald* on this book and its author, I fear much that the mariner Wm. Murray was not the author of the poem.

In 1792 there was published in England a work of great interest on the coast of Labrador, by one George Cartwright. Its title reads thus: "A journal of transactions and events, during a residence of nearly sixteen years on the coast of Labrador, etc. . . . Newark, 1792." 3 vols 4to, with portrait of the author and proper charts. At the end of the third volume of this work, with a separate pagination, is a poem entitled: "Labrador: a poetical epistle," which is certainly written by the same hand. Cartwright's poem contains 350 verses and Murray's 365. One poem is the copy of the other, with very few immaterial changes, probably made on a definitive revision by Cartwright before going to print.


My humble opinion is that Murray the Mariner, may have had communication of Cartwright's manuscript *Labrador* and was allowed to take a copy of it. After the death of Murray, the poem being found among his papers, was thought to have been his own production.

However, the fact that Murray's poem was printed before Cartwright's might have given ground for the belief that the latter mentioned was the plagiarist. Who can tell?

THE ACADIAN ELEMENT IN THE POPULATION OF NOVA SCOTIA

BY MISS ANNIE MARION MACLEAN, PH. D.

INTRODUCTION

 ROMANTIC as well as an historic interest centres around the little sea-washed province of Nova Scotia. There where the salt fogs close in on the sunset glory only to be dispelled by the early dawn, dwells the remnant of a people, the story of whose woes has been set to music by the poet's genius. He has touched a chord of sympathy wherever the sweet strains have been heard. Acadia has an interest quite apart from its ideal summers and picturesque scenery. The shadowy charms of the past are first in one's thoughts, and through them are revealed the real ones of the present. But Nova Scotia will long remain the "Land of Evangeline". Though the Acadians may seem to many merely a dream of the past, a dear creation of the poet's fancy, they are still a living reality, in the land made wierdly romantic by their story.

The spirit of adventure, linked to a love for gain inspired a few hardy Frenchmen to wander away to the far western continent to seek a home. Sieur de Monts was the leader of the band, and he was enthusiastic over the prospect before them. He had obtained a charter (1) from the king of France

(1). Commission du Roy au Sieur de Monts, pour l'habitation ès terres de la Cadie, Canada et autres endroits en la Nouvelle France.

Ensemble les defenses à tous autres de trafiquer avec les Sauvages des dites terres.

Henry, par la grace de Dieu Roy de France et de Navarre, A notre cher et bien amé le sieur de Monts, Gentil-homme ordinaire de notre chambre, Salut.

Comme nôtre plus grand soin et travail soit et ait toujours esté, depuis notre avenement à cette Couronne, de la maintenir et conserver en son ancienne dignité, grandeur et splendeur, d'étendre et amplifier autant que légitiment se peut faire les bornes et limites d'icelle; Nous estans des longtems a informez de la situation et condition des pais et territoire de la Cadie; Meuz sur toutes choses d'un zele singulier et d'une devote et ferme resolution que nous avons prinse avec l'aide et assistance de Dieu, auteur, distributeur et protecteur de tous Royaumes et états de faire convertir, amener et instruire les peuples qui habitent en cette contrée, de present gens barbares, athées.....et les retirer de l'ignorance et infidelité où ils sont;.....à plein confians

entitling him to a large strip of country extending from the present site of Montreal, and from ocean to ocean. Small wonder then that they were a cheerful party. They did not stop to question the king's right to the land and the privileges he gave away. They only thought of the gains to be theirs. A merry company they were that March morning in 1604, as they sailed away from Havre de Grâce. De Monts was there and Poutrincourt with Pontgravé, and the daring and brave Champlain. They had two small vessels, poor fishing boats they would be thought now, and in them a strange collection of men. There were about one hundred and twenty in all, and differing widely socially. Jail birds and priests helped to swell the numbers. After a weary month of tossing about on the wild spring sea, they sighted land on the south coast of what is now Nova Scotia, more than two hundred miles south of Cartier's (1) first landing. Their earliest halting place they called La Have (2). Near there they had the first opportunity of making use of the charter they brought with them. They found an inoffensive country-man of theirs trading in furs with the Indians, and at once seized his goods, and sent him away terrified. To warn others from a similar tres-

de votre grande prudence, et en la conoissance et expérience que vous avez de la qualité, condition et situation dudit pais de la Cadie, pour les diverses navigations, voyages et frequentations que vous avez faits en ces terres et autres proches et circonvoisines ; nous assureans que cette nôtre resolution et intention vous estans commise, vous la scaurez attentivement, digilemment et non moins courageusement et valeureusement executer et conduire à la perfection que nous desirons, Vous avons expressement commis et établi, et par ces presentes signée de nôtre main, Vous commettons, ordonnons, faisons, constituons et établissons nôtre Lieutenant general, pour représenter nôtre persone aux pais, territoires, cotes et confins de la Cadie, à commencer dès le quarantième degré jusques au quarante-sixième ;.....Et à fin que personne ne pretende cause d'ignorance de cette nôtre intention, et se vueille immiscer en tout ou partie de la charge, dignité et autorité que nous vous donnons par ces presentes, Nous avons de noz certaine science, pleine puissance et autorité Royal, revoqué, supprimé et déclaré nuls et de nul effect ci-apres et dès à present, tous autre pouvoirs et Commissions, Lettres et expéditions donnez et delivrez à quelque persone que ce soit, pour decouvrir, conquerir, peupler et habiter en l'étendue susdite des dites terres situées depuis ledit quarantième degré jusques au quarante-sixième quelles qu'elles soient.....Donné à Fontainebleau le huitième jour de Novembre, l'an de grace mil six cens trois, et de nôtre regne le quinzième.....Signé, Henry.....Par le Roy, Potier. Et scelé sur simple queuë de cire jaune." Histoire de la Nouvelle France, par Marc Lescarbot, Bk. IV, ch. 1.

(1) Jacques Cartier who made three voyages to America, in the years 1534, 1535, and 1541.

(2) This place is now called Bridgewater, a town on the La Have river.

pass, they gave his name to the place, and Rossignol (1) still tells the story of his fate. From here they sent the exploring parties all along the shore from Canseau to Cape Sable. And many places now bear the names bestowed upon them by these early voyageurs.

But the Atlantic coast did not please them well, so they guided their ships through the angry waters and around the dangerous head-land (2) on the extreme west of the province, and found themselves in the month of the Bay of Fundy. "La Baie Françoise" they named it. They sailed along near the shore, entering all the coast waters that attracted them, bestowing names upon the new land as they journeyed. Baie Ste-Marie (3) bears witness to their visit. It was on the eastern shore of this bay that they lost their first man. He was a priest who wandered away through the woods alone, and could not be found. The party had to sail without him, and foul play was feared. Suspicion fell upon one of the number with whom the missing priest had many a religious dispute (4), usually settled by blows, but the man was innocent as later events proved. The poor priest was found sixteen days after in a half starved condition, and very willing to cede a point in an argument for a meal of bread. In the very place, where he wandered about feeding on roots and berries, a sad band of exiles spent a desolate winter a century and a half later. And to-day a flourishing French village stands to mark the historic spot.

The leaders of the band had not yet found a place where they cared to stay, so they sailed along toward the north till they came to a gap (5) in the sea wall, and they entered wondering whither so small a strait would lead them. It soon widened into a basin of beauty and at the northern end they found a place that suited them for a settlement (6). De Monts gave a deed of this to Poutrincourt who named it Port Royal.

(1) This is now called Liverpool, and Lake Rossignol is inland a few miles.

(2) Cape Sable.

(3) St. Mary's Bay.

(4) Marc Lescarbot. *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris 1617, Bk. IV, p. 453.

(5) Now called Digby Gut.

(6) Their subsequent journeying is of no special interest here. They skirted about the coast waters of the province, went as far south as Cape Cod, and spent a winter in an Island in Passamaquoddy Bay before finally returning to Port Royal to settle.

This then was the origin of the French in Acadia. Their settlement, however, was not a permanent one. It was twice broken up in the next few years, but by 1610 the leaders succeeded in establishing a small community there, and this was reinforced by new arrivals from time to time.

The purpose here is only to briefly trace the history of these people from this time on to the events preceding their expulsion from the country. Treaties between France and England made Acadia change ownership several times before it became finally British. The English based their claim on Cabot's discovery (1), and in 1621, a grant of the whole territory was given to Sir William Alexander (2). Difficulties arose at once.

The English did little toward colonizing the country for many years, and the French remained in undisturbed possession. At the very beginning of their occupation, the French won the goodwill of the Indians (3). Through their influence, the red men took on some of the outward forms of Christianity. The old chief Membertou who had seen the storms of one hundred and ten winters, was the first convert, and he ordered his people to become Christians too. His method was similar to that of Clovis. The bond thus formed between the two races is important as it proved later to be a most potent force in keeping the English out of the country. In the winter of 1605, there was formed a friendship between Indian and Frenchman that has lasted to the present time. After three hundred years, they are on friendly terms whenever chance brings them together. The English were never able to win the favor of the aborigines. All the officers noted this fact. In writing to the Lords of Trade, Governor Philipps (4) says: that he has always treated them well and sent them home with presents for which he is out of pocket a hundred and fifty pounds. "But", he says, "I am convinced that 100,000 (pounds) will not buy them from the french interest, while the priests are among them, who having got in with them by the way of religion and brought them to regular confessions twice a year, they assemble punctually

(1) 1497.

(2) He gave it the name of Nova Scotia (New Scotland).

(3) The Micmacs, a tribe of the Algonquins. There are now about twenty five hundred of them left in N. S.

(4) Governor of N. S. from 1717 to 1725, and nominally till his death in 1749.

at those times and receive their absolution conditionally that they may always be enemies to the English" (1).

By the year 1610, the French were established in Acadie (2), and the Acadian people became a reality. Their history from now on for one hundred and forty five years will form the subject matter of the first chapter.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL

Before proceeding to the period of Acadian history of most importance here, it will be necessary to learn something concerning the origin of the people.

The Acadians are mainly descended from the French who were brought out to Acadia by Isaac de Razilly and Charnisé between the years 1632 and 1638. Those descended from the settlers of 1605 to 1610 are so few as to be scarcely worth mentioning. The ones who had been left in the province after the breaking up of the colony became mixed with the Indians, so to all intents and purposes, the permanent settlement of the French cannot be said to precede the date just mentioned. De Razilly brought out about forty families and Charnisé about twenty. Most of the emigrants seem to have remained in Acadia and commenced the cultivation of the soil. These early settlers are supposed to have come from La Rochelle, Saintonge and Poitou on the west coast France (3). The greater number of them remained in, or near, Port Royal (4), and the register (5) containing their names shows many we hear to-day in French regions.

(1) Public Documents of Nova Scotia, p. 50.

(2) This is the French spelling of the word.

(3) The modern Vendée and Charante Inférieure.

(4) A few settled at La Have.

(5) A complete list of the names is here given :

Bourgeois, Gaudet, Kessy, de Foret, Hébert, Babin, Daigle, Blanchard, Aucoin, Dupoux, Terriau, Savoie, Corporon, Martin, Pellerin, Morin, Brun, Gauterot, Trahan, Cyr, Thibaudeau, Petitpas, Bourg, Boudreau, Guilbaut, Granger, Landry, Doucet, Girouard, Vincent, Breau, Le Blanc, Poirier, Comeau, Belliveau, Cormier, Rimbaut,

Among the new settlers who came from France, very few were women (1). On this account, the men who arrived had either to marry the daughters of the old settlers, or of the Indians. The Acadian stock may be said to have spring from those who came out prior to 1640. The French government does not seem to have made any effort to send out women, and on this account, marriageable women were always scarce in Acadia (2), and as a result they were always in great demand. So the legendary Evangeline was not the only Acadian maiden who had many suitors. They were nearly all married before they were sixteen, and an unmarried woman of twenty was looked upon as a curiosity. The censuses show that men were always in the majority in Acadia as long as it remained a French possession (3). Any attempt to prove that this was not the case must be regarded as purely humorous. Some historians cite the fact that, in 1686, there was in Port Royal a maiden lady of eighty-six years, by name Marie Salé, and the mere fact that

Dugas, Richard, Melançon, Robichau, Larroue, d'Entremont, de la Tour, Bertrand, et de Bellisle.

In the census of 1691, thirty six new names appear. These had come over about 1671. The names are as follows :

Le Prince, Brassard, Donavon, Levron, Lort, Assenaut, Bergeron, Bellefontaine, Tourangeau, Bauillot, Gadin dit Chatillon, Benoit, Préjau, Bastarache, Fardel, Henry, Laperrière, Michel, Gourdeau, La Baure, La Pierre dit Laroche, Pirret, Mirande, Aubin-Mignault, Cocher, Cottard, Mercier, Lavallée, Lagasse, Blou, Desorcis, Martel, Dubrueil. The last three names do not appear in any subsequent census, so the owners must have migrated, probably to Quebec or to France.

The last list of names given was in 1714, and is given below.

Le Basque, Moyse, Ollivier, Parisien, Dubois, Bernard, Thibeau, Rossette, Le Breton, Lyonnais, Lafont, Allard, Le Marquis, Emmanuel, Dupuis, Denis, Barnabé, Beaumont, La Maistre, Allain, Cadet, Lessocle, Raymond, Donat, Maillard, Vilette, Surette, Savary, Dumont, Lavergne, Labaude, Simon, Babineau, Paris, Cosse, Saint-Scène l'Espérance, Mairceau, Pothier, Dambouc, Laliberté, Lavrier, Yvon, Samson, Blondin, Bideau, Gentil, Gousille, Langlois, Vigneau dit Maurice, Champagne, Clemenceau, La Montagne, Mouton, Jasmin, Voyer, Toussaint, Boutin, Roy, Chauvert, Boucher, Davois, De Saulniers, Boisseau, Herpin, Guérin, Longuépée, Haché, Lambert, Chiasson, Maissanat, Carré, De Vaux, Ondy, Murat, Vico, et Leger. All of the above names were found first at Port Poyal, and later in other places.

(1) In 1671, out of sixty emigrants only five were women.

(2) According to the census of 1686, there were 342 unmarried males, and 245 unmarried females, including children. In 1693, there were 383 unmarried males, and 275 unmarried females. Statistics are given here showing two men between the ages of 31 and 40 unmarried, and not one woman. There were 14 unmarried men between 21 and 30 and only 4 unmarried women. There were 47 unmarried men between 16 and 20 and but 17 girls of the same age unmarried.

(3) The conditions have not changed since the province has been under English control. There are in Nova Scotia now 227,093 males and 223,303 females.

she was mentioned goes to prove that hers was an unusual case. Her name does not appear in the census of 1671, so she must have gone to Acadia after she was an old woman of seventy. It is thought that she came down from Quebec. She at least got her name into historical records by remaining unmarried.

The scarcity of white women was the cause of the Indian marriages that occurred in the early history of the French occupancy of Acadia. Some writers (1) have been severely criticized for stating that such marriages took place, but the fact cannot be questioned. The official French census returns for the period record four such alliances, and these men were of noble blood. If the leaders of the people married Micmacs, it is not improbable that the lower classes did the same. Three of these unions produced offspring, and the founders of the families were the Baron St. Castin, who lived at Penobscot, Pierre Martin, whose home was at Port Royal, and Martin Lejeune, who, at that time, was at La Have. The daughters of the first mentioned in their turn founded families, and it is interesting to note that they all married into their father's people. Anastasia married Alexandre Le Borgne, a grand son of Charles de la Tour, at one time governor of Acadia; Frances married a man named Robichau; and Thérèse married Philippe d'Entremont. The descendants of the last are still in the province; the d'Entremont being found in large numbers in Pubnico. Pierre Martin married a squaw whose name was Anne Oxihnoroudh, and one of their sons gave to the world eleven children, so that the Martins did their share toward diffusing Indian blood among the Acadians. Martin Lejeune's family remained in La Have until the colony there was broken up by the English in 1690. The name was found later in Grand Pré, so it is supposed that they went by stream and portage to that settlement (1).

The various governors, in their reports, state that the Acadians had inter-married with the Indians. Yet, even though this be true, and there is no reason to doubt that it is, the number of such marriages was not sufficient to affect the Acadians to any extent.

(1) Notably M. Rameau, in *La France aux Colonies*.

(2) One of the sources of the La Have river can be traced to the same chain of lakes from which the Gaspereaux flows to the Basin of Minas.

Such then were the people who laid the foundations of a New France in the New World. The colonists who were brought over were mainly peasants, with a sprinkling of noblemen and disbanded soldiers from Paris. The last two classes of men were adventurers, and sought change rather than plain homes such as the peasants desired. The latter brought their own customs to the New World, and they did the work they liked to do, and to which they were accustomed. In the old home, they had built dykes and tilled the soil where it was inviting, and they did the same in the new. In Acadia, they reclaimed large marshes from the sea (1), and tilled the fertile ground, but they made no effort to clear away the forests beyond what was absolutely necessary.

But the French settlers were not destined to remain long in peaceful possession of their new territory. The ever watchful England saw with jealous eye the pretensions of France to the country they claimed. And so for nearly one hundred years followed a struggle for pre-eminence by these two nations (2). It will not be necessary to study in detail the wars and the causes which led to them. In general, they were the result of strife between the two rival nations at home. And Acadia was tossed about, first to one and then to the other, neither party recognizing, at that time, the value of the land. It was merely a bit of country valued by those alone who had a monopoly of the fur trade.

It may be well to state briefly just here the treaties signed by France and England relative to Acadia. The first one was St. Germain in Laye (3). By that Great Britain agreed to withdraw the claim she had asserted in 1621. An extract from the text is as follows :

..... Le roi lui donna pour Commissaires les Sieurs de Bullion & Bouthelier qui avec le 29 mars 1632, deux-Traitez, par le premier desquels le roi promit que le

(1) Dykes were made by planting trees in five or six rows in places where the sea enters marshes, and between these rows to lay other trees, and then fill with clay well packed down so the tide could not enter. In the middle, a flood gate was made in such a way that the water from the marsh could flow out at low tide, without letting sea water in. They worked together at this long and expensive work as the benefits were to be reaped by all. The same methods are practised in N. S. to day by the English. Hannay, *History of Acadia*, Chapter 16.

(2) Nova Scotia first settled by the English in 1624.

(3) 1632.

Sieurs Lumague pris fur les Anglois, d'autre part le Roi d'Angleterre s'obligea de rendre tous les lieux que les Anglois avoient occupez dans la Nouvelle France, dans l'Acadie, dans le Canada, particulièrement le Port Royal (1).

Following the preceding was the treaty of Westminster (2) by which it was agreed that the claim of France to Pentagoet, St. John, Port Royal and La Have in Acadia should be referred to a commission for adjudication (3). The commissioners were appointed, but nothing was done.

In 1654, Colonel Sedgwick captured Port Royal and thus placed the country under British control. To adjust the difficulties which arose, terms of peace were signed at Breda (4), and Great Britain agreed to restore Acadia to France (5). Provision was made (6) whereby those who preferred to remain under the dominion of Britain should be allowed one year to depart and dispose of their lands, slaves and goods.

But only twenty three years elapsed till Acadia was once more in the hands of the British, and this time (7) Sir William Phipps was the captor. The treaty of Ryswick (8) brought peace, and mutual restoration of places taken during the war followed. The interval of peace was of short duration, but the final triumph of Britain came in 1710, when Samuel Nicholson captured the centre of French power in Acadia. The terms of peace were dictated at Utrecht in 1713. The two articles of importance are here cited.

Art. XII. The Most Christian King shall cause to be delivered to the Queen of Great Britain, on the same day on which the ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged, solemn and authentic letters or instruments, by virtue whereof it shall appear.....that all Nova Scotia or Acadia, comprehended within its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis royal, and all other things in these parts which depend on the said lands, islands or places together with dominion, property and possession of the said islands, lands or places, and all right whatever by treaties, or any other way attained, which the Most Christian King, the Crown of France, or any of the subjects thereof, have hitherto had to the said islands, lands or places and to the inhabitants of the same are yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain, and to her crown forever.

Art. XIV. It is expressly provided that in all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the Most Christian King in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects

(1) Histoire des Traitez de Paix et autres négociations du dix-septième siècle, Vol. I. p. 268, Art. III.

(2) 1665.

(3) Art. XXV.

(4) 1667.

(5) Art. X.

(6) Art. XI.

(7) 1690.

(8) 1697.

of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves, within a year, to any other place as they shall think fit, together with all their movable effects. But those who are willing to remain there and to be subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same.

“Signed, Ap. 11, 1713 (1).”

It was not, however, until 1763 that France forever retired from the contest and left Acadia to the English. The text of the article of renunciation is here given :

“S. M. T. Chr. renonce à toutes les prétentions qu'elle a formées autrefois ou pu former à la Nouvelle Ecosse, ou Acadie, en toutes ses parties, et la garantit tout entière, et avec toutes ses dépendances, au roi de la Grande-Bretagne. De plus S. M. T. Chr. cède et garantit à sa dite M. britannique, en toute propriété le Canada, avec toutes ses dépendances, ainsi que l'île du Cap-Breton, et toutes les autres îles et côtes dans le golfe et fleuve Saint-Laurent, et généralement tout ce qui dépend desdits pays, terres, îles et côtes, avec la souveraineté, propriété, possession et tous droits acquis par traité ou autrement que le roi T. Chr. et la couronne de France ont eus jusqu'à présent sur lesdits pays,.....De son côté, S. M. britannique convient d'accorder aux habitants du Canada la liberté de la religion catholique ; en conséquence, elle donnera les ordres les plus précis et les plus effectifs pour que ses nouveaux sujets catholiques romains puissent professer le culte de leur religion, selon le rite de l'Eglise romaine, en tant que le permettent les lois de la Grande-Bretagne (2).”

Acadia was now a British colony, and the Acadian people were left to the mercy of their new masters. Their life from this time on was a series of troubles. They were away in a forest country, leagues from the civilization of their ancestors. The great thoughts that were making even the uncultured breast of Europe throb did not permeate the fastnesses of the Acadian forests, and the people lived on in their primitive simplicity.

The question as to what should be done with the Acadians was an absorbing one from the beginning. The British conquerors were jealous of them—afraid of them. They were jealous of their possessions, and afraid of their vastly greater numbers, and their friendship with the Indians.

The situation was extremely difficult for both parties ; but it seems certain that tactful management would have cleared the air of all serious trouble. The chief cause of friction seemed to be the religion. The conquerors had no sympathy with the Catholicism of the conquered, and the French priests were a constant source of annoyance to the British governors. From the earliest times, they had had a firm hold on the people, and even the

(1) Public Documents of Nova Scotia, pp. 13-14.

(2) Martens et Cussy, Recueil de Traités, vol. 1.

French governors were continually complaining (1) that the priests tried to rule and invest themselves with civil authority. This was just as noticeable under French as under English rule.

The priests were the force that kept the Acadians from taking an unrestricted oath. This is plain from a study of the case. They were missionaries sent from Quebec, and so subject to the bishops there. Moreover they were strongly French at heart, and they were determined that the Acadians should not be lost to France. The most conspicuous figure among them was the Abbé Le Loutre, (2) a missionary to the Mic-Macs. He was a clever, intriguing and unscrupulous man.

He was sent to Canada in 1737. Both before and after the founding of Halifax (3), he did much to incite his Indians to acts of savagery against the English. He did all in his power to induce the Acadians to go to Canada, and even destroyed (4) the village of Beaubasin in order to compel them to cross the isthmus into New Brunswick. He himself set fire to the church (5) and his followers burned the houses. "This was the first forcible removal of the Acadians (6)."

(To be continued.)

(1) The complaints commenced with Grand-fontain in 1671.

(2) For full account of Le Loutre, see N.S. Archives, pp. 178-80.

(3) 1749.

(4) 1750.

(5) "Laloutre, ayant vu les Acadiens ne paroissoient pas fort pressés d'abandonner leurs biens, avoit lui-même mis le feu à l'Eglise et l'avoit fait mettre aux maisons des habitants par quelques-uns de ceux qu'il avoit gagnés." Champlain, Mémoires sur le Canada, 1749-1760.

(6) Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, p. 115.

NOTES AND NEWS

Anecdote of Wolfe's Army at Quebec

I have been permitted to make the following extract from the *Journal* of Sergeant James Thompson, an active volunteer in Wolfe's army, at Louisbourg and Quebec,—who died at Quebec in 1830, at the advanced age of ninety-eight. It was dictated, two years before his death, to his son, the late Deputy Commissionner General, James Thompson, who died in 1869. It sets forth vividly the hardships endured by the kilted warriors in our good city, after the struggle was over.

In order to throw light on the locality alluded to, it may be proper to state that "the small house in the lane from the Esplanade" selected by Sergeant Thompson—which belonged to one "Paquet," a schoolmaster—occupied possibly the site on which another Paquet now resides—the Honorable Senator J. Art. Paquet; that on one side of the lane leading to old Ginger's former residence—which I well remember, in rear, having purchased garden seeds there as late as 1857—was erected the Honorable Thomas McGreevy's stately residence, now the property

of Lord Bishop Dunn. Ginger, the gardener, died about 1859.

After the conquest of Quebec, the troops had to make shift of Quarters, where every one could find a habitable place. I myself made choice of a small house on the lane, leading from the Esplanade, where Ginger, the gardener, now lives (1828), and which had belonged to Paquet, the schoolmaster; although it was scarcely habitable from the number of our shells that had fallen through it. However as I had a small party of the company, I contrived to have a number of little jobs done towards making it possibly comfortable for the men and for my own part. I got Hector Munro, who was a joiner by trade, to knock up a kind of "cabinet" (as the Canadians called it) in a corner of the house for myself. We had a stove, but our highlanders who knew better, would not suffer the door to be closed, as they thought that if they could not actually *see* the fire, it was impossible that they could *feel* it. In this way they passed the whole of the winter. Three or four could sit up to the door of the stove, and when they were a little warmed, three or four others would relieve them, and so on. Some days they were almost frozen to death or suffocated by the smoke, and to mend matters they had nothing but green wood to burn. I contrived somehow or other to procure six blankets, but notwithstanding that I was almost frozen during the day, being the whole winter out on duty, superintending the party of our Highlanders.

J. M. LEMOINE.

Historic Places.

A meeting was held in Chicago in December, for the purpose of calling attention to the scenes of early historic events, in order that they may be identified and preserved, monuments erected and the ground laid out and ornamented. This is an excellent move and should be encouraged. If local societies could be formed all over North America for this purpose, it would be of great benefit and would awaken the historic spirit among the people.

Bibliographical publications.

An important contribution to the bibliography of incunabulas is to be published jointly by Martinus Nijhoff, of The Hague, and Karl M. Hiersemann of Leipzig. It is to be entitled: *Tipografía Ibérica del siglo XV*, and will contain reproductions of types used in Spain and Portugal before 1500, with critical notes by Conrado Heabler. The text will be in Spanish and French, and the size of the album will be quarto.

At the same time, a list of the incunabulas printed in Spain and Portugal, compiled by the same author, is to be published separately. It will be entitled: *Bibliografía Ibérica Del Siglo XV. Enumeración de todas las Libras Impresas en España y en Portugal el año de 1500.*

Rameau and the English language.

M. Rameau de Saint-Père, the learned French historian, author of *La France aux Colonies* and *Une colonie Féodale en Amérique*, who died sometime last year, was not an English scholar, nor had he the pretention of writing correctly in English. But he was very much surprised when he was told by one of his friends that there was a gross error in the short English sentence he had quoted in one of his books.

"It is impossible that I could have made a mistake," he exclaimed, "there are only three words of English in the book. *Parlez-vous anglais?* which I translated by: *Speak you English?*"

"It is precisely in these three words," added his friend, "that you have committed a barbarism. Instead of writing: *Speak you English*, you should have written: *Do you speak English*. You must bear in mind that, in the English language, they put *la charrue devant les bœufs*—the plough before the oxen."

And both the historian and his friend had a good laugh.



Quebec Cathedral.

Quebec Cathedral bells are chiming o'er
 the spotless snow ;
 Within,—the black and purple drapings
 Britain's sorrow show.
 The grand old Litany is said, the angels
 hear and sing,
 And sympathy is breathed for daughters
 Royal, and King.
 Then, thrilling all who loved her, comes
 the funeral dirge,
 Reverberating through the aisles the waves
 of music surge.
 Above the chancel, torn and glorious ban-
 ners hang unfurled ;
 She dies, in whose dominions drums were
 beating round the world.
 Without—across the snow in silence sol-
 diers march ; the drum,

In loyalty to her, "who now though dead
 yet speaks," is dumb.
 Again we look along the aisle and see the
 rays of light ;
 Eternal hope is shining through the Eas-
 tern window bright ;
 And Queen Victoria's spirit, now escaped
 from bonds of clay,
 Is living joyously within the Saviour's
 home to-day.
 He gives to each the power to make a
 destiny sublime,
 To paint a noble portrait in the anteroom
 of Time ;
 And when his hour shall come, he need
 not fear the funeral knells.
 In whom the thoughts of God are chiming
 like Cathedral bells.

HENRIETTA G. BELLINGHAM.

NOTES AND QUERIES

99. THE PORLIER PRINT. — Mr. Philéas Gagnon, in his *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*, (No. 4563, p. 677) reproduces a reduced facsimile of a curious and enigmatical print of which he has not been able to find any particulars or reference anywhere. It bears no date, no name of engraver, nor place.

In the first number of *Le Courrier du Livre* (1896), I reproduced a facsimile of the print, with a view of obtaining some particulars ; but up to date nothing has turned up to throw

light upon this puzzling print. I tried the widely circulated *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, the Paris "Notes and Queries," but without more success. But the true bibliophile, who has the *feu sacré*, is never at rest, and his perseverance is unbounded.

For the third time, in three different mediums, I reproduce the facsimile given on the opposite page. The print, as it can be seen by the accompanying fac-simile, reproduces two portraits placed in a diametrically

Sincèrement Aime et Cher à son femme
 Tous deux se sont promis de la même manière :
 D'un caractère doux, Amable et complaisant : Le sort qui nous ont par de ombres fait
 Et moi-même brillant toujours d'une constante flamme : Moins nous nous de devoirs que de Rigours extra
 Joyeux ayent pour elle, un rare compatissant. En rend beaucoup plus que nous mêmes
 Age. Bonté. Mérite. Avantage Singulier :
 Recommandables les portraits

LE S^r PORTIER SON EPOUX AUTEUR DU JEU (CHRONOLOGIQUE) AUPHIN



LA CANADIENNE QUI A EUT L'HONNEUR DE P^r LE NŒUD GORDIEN AU ROI

Les Talents les Travaux et les soins généraux Et comé lui missy un objet d'infortune,
 D'un Marv. qui dans tout ce cherche qu'à mepl' Mêmes peines. memes Regueur.
 Auroient du me placer au dessus du Vulgaire, D'égale humeur mêmes Genie.
 Et moi-même jouir du fruit d'un sort heureux: Tous deux accessibles de Malheur?
 Mais ce Epoux Toigours en d'une de fortune, Font le plus beau de nos ré

opposed position. Around the pictures is the following inscription : *Ayant la faveur des grands : nous sommes chéris des petits.*

Below each picture there is a motto with a few lines which purports to be poetry. One is :

LA CANADIENNE QUI A EU L'HONNEUR
DE PR LE NŒUD GORDIEN DU ROI ; the
other : LE SR PORLIER SON ÉPOUX AUTEUR
DU JEU CHRONOLOGISTE DAUPHIN.

Who is the author of this curious print? Why was it made? What is the meaning of the enigmatical inscription at the bottom of each picture. How many copies were issued and where were they printed?

Quebec,
Oct. 11, 1900

R. R.

100. SOLID MEN OF BOSTON.—Where are the following verses to be found, of which the following is part? Or if only recorded in a book or books not to be easily consulted, can any one of your readers quote the whole poem for me :

Solid men of Boston, make no long ora-
[tions ;

Solid men of Boston, drink no strong
[potations ;

Solid men of Boston, go to bed at sun-
[down ;

Never lose your way like the loggerheads
[of London.

Bow, wow, wow.

J. B.

Concord, N. H.
January 12, 1901.

REPLIES

WOMEN DISGUISED AS MEN. — (No. 11, vol. I, p. 36-68).—The following note, which has been published in the press all over the continent, might find its place here :

At the Criminal Court building, this afternoon (January 28th, 1901), the story of Murray Hall, the woman and Tammany Hall politician, who posed successfully before all New York as a man until her death a few weeks ago, was taken up before Coroner Zucca and a jury. The legal determination of the sex of this woman is important as involving the disposition of an estate of about \$5,000 under the will of Murray Hall. Miss Imelda Hall, the

adopted daughter, was the first witness. She said she always supposed Murray Hall was a man. She was not a legally adopted daughter, she stated.

"How long had Murray Hall suffered from this cancer?"

"Six years."

"Had she a doctor?"

"Yes, Dr. Gallagher had been visiting her for about a year."

A letter written by Murray Hall to the District Attorney was read at this point, complaining of having been sandbagged some years ago.

When asked about this the witness said : —"Yes, he once complained of it."

"Wouldn't you better say she?" asked the Coroner.

"No, I will never say she."

Dr. W. C. Gallaher then took the stand. He says he had known Murray Hall about a year. And that cancer of the breast was a disease peculiar to women. When asked if he did not know that Murray Hall was a woman when he first attended her, he declined to answer. He thought the cancer might have been caused by the sand-bagging alleged in the letter to the District Attorney, but he was not sure.

The jury decided that Murray Hall was a female and died from natural causes.

R. R.

Quebec,
January 30, 1901.



EPITAPHS.—(No. 24, vol. I, p. 64-164).—The following book contains a satirical collection of epitaphs on Edmund Burke, Charles Foy, Chesterfield, Walpole and others :

The Abbey of Kelkham on Monumental Records for 1780, London, 1788. 8vo.

R. R.

Quebec,
January 30, 1901.



PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT TO AMERICA.—(No. 38, vol. I, p. 65-101-194-224).—The following volume is to be added to the bibliography of Prince of Wales' visit to America :

Addresses presented to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, during his state visit to British North America, with the Replies thereto, July, August and September, 1860. *Privately printed by the Duke of Newcastle*, 1870. 8vo, 109 p.

Although the above may be the same volume quoted by Mr. Geo. W. Eakins, (p. 224 of *Notes and Queries*), I thought it proper to quote its full title and to give its collation.

R. R.

Quebec,
January 25, 1901.

BOOK INSCRIPTIONS.—(No. 75, vol. I, p. 161-227).—Here are a few inscriptions found in books and collected here and there.

This is Giles Wilkinson his book.
God gave him grace therein to look :
Nor yet to look, but understand,
That learning's better than house and land:
For when both house and land are spent,
Then learning is most excellent.

The above is often found in Bibles and works of devotional nature.



Garrick's book-plate has, beneath the name of David Garrick, the following sentence from Menage :

“ La première chose qu'on doit faire quand on a emprunté un livre, c'est de le lire afin de pouvoir le rendre plus tôt.—*Menegiana*, vol. IV.



Here is another one of a menacing kind :

This book is one thing,
My fist is another ;
Touch this one thing,
You'll sure feel the other.



Or in some French books :

Ne me prends pas,
On te pendra.



There are many inscriptions to be found in school books :

Hic liber est meus,
And that I will show ;
Si aliquis capit,
I'll give him a blow.

Or :

Small is the wren,
Black is the rook,
Great is the sinner
That steals this book.

Or again :

Hic liber est meus
Testis est Deus.
Si quis furetur.
A collo pendetum
Ad hunc modum.

The above is always followed by a drawing of a gibbet.

Some French inscriptions are very *caractéristiques* :

Aspice Pierrot pendu,
Quod librum n'a pas rendu ;
Pierrot pendu non fuisset,
Si librum reddidisset.

Or the following, below the name of the owner :

Qui le trouvera sy lui rende :
Il lui payra bien le vin
Le jour et feste Saint Martin,
Et une mésange à la Saint Jean,
Sy la peut prendre.

Or this one half French and half Latin.

Qui ce livre cy emblera,
Propter suam maliciam,
Au gibet pendu sera,
Repugnando superbiam.
Au gibet sera sa maison,
Sive suis parentibus,
Car ce sera bien raison,
Exemplum datum omnibus.

R. R.

Quebec,
January 25, 1901.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE DOMESTIC HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN UPON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER in the year 1812. Collected and edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Lieut.-Colonel E. Cruikshank. Part II. (1812.) *Printed at the Tribune Office, Welland.* 8vo, paper, 344—XXII p.

The present volume is the fourth volume of documents relating to the war upon the Niagara frontier in 1812-1814 collected by Lieut.-Colonel Cruikshank, one of our contributors. Part I, published in 1896, contains 216 p.; part II, 1897, 300 p., maps; part III, 1899, 368 p.

The book can be quickly consulted, it having a good name index.

FATHER JOGUES AT THE LAKE OF HOLY SACRAMENT. An Episode. By B. F. De Costa. Author of *Lake George, Its Scenes and Characteristics*. *Fifty copies Reprinted from the "Messenger of the Sacred Heart,"* 1900., 8vo., 16 p.

"The piece of verse herewith given" says the author in his introductory notes, "is simply an episode of an extended work composed in 1868, devoted to the history, legends and antiquities of the Lake of the Holy Sacrament. The work was submitted at the time to a Protestant friend and critic by whom it was viewed unfavorably. Consequently it was laid aside, and remained almost forgotten until the present year; when, on looking through the manuscript, the author was struck by the sacramental character of its teaching, altogether un-Protestant, indicating what appeared to be the tone of his mind at the remote period of 1868 when he was not yet a Catholic. His interest was, therefore,

excited afresh; while the particular portion now submitted also interested some of his Catholic friends, who suggested its publication. If he were attempting a similar task at the present time, he would no doubt, employ more varied measures; yet he nevertheless allows this effort of years long ago to stand in its original form, thinking that the reader may bear with any infelicity he may discover for the sake of the subject."

Dr. De Costa is so well known that it is needless to add anything to this plain explanation of the author.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. 1895-96, by J. W. Powell. *Washington Government Printing Office, 1898.* Ry. 8vo, cloth, p. 467 to 752. 93 plates, illustrated.

The second part of the present Report contains the two following papers: Navaho Houses, by Cosmos Mindeleff; Archeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895, by Jesse Walter Fewkes. This last paper is very extensive and occupies most of the volume; it is profusely illustrated and contains a good deal of ethnographic and archeological information.

LIFE OF THE VERY REV. FELIX DE ANDRÉS, C. M., First Superior of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States, and Vicar General of Upper Louisiana. Chiefly from Sketches written by The Right Rev. Joseph Rasate, C. M., First Bishop of St. Louis, Mo. With an Introduction by The Most Rev. John J. Kain, D. D., Archbishop of St. Louis, mo. *St. Louis, Mo., B. Header, 1900,* 12 mo., cloth, XIII, 398 p., portrait.