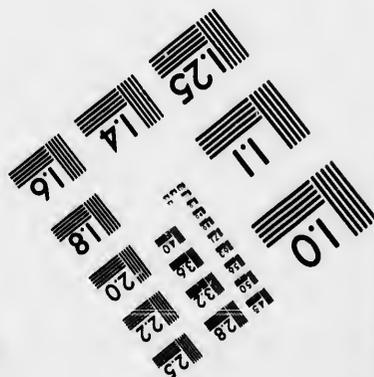
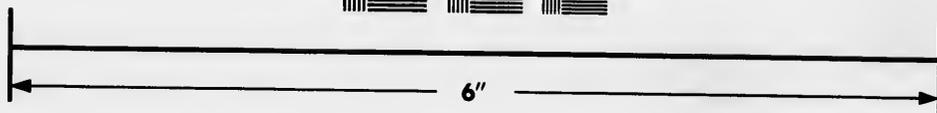
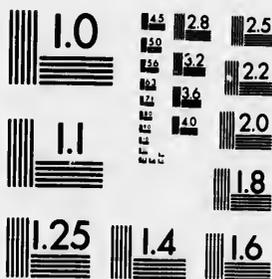


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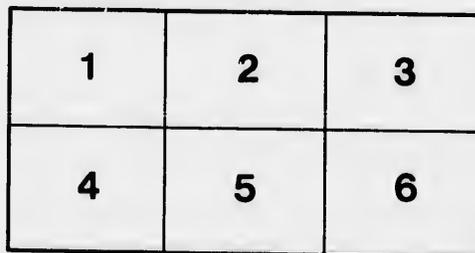
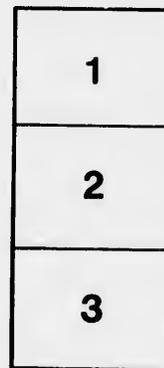
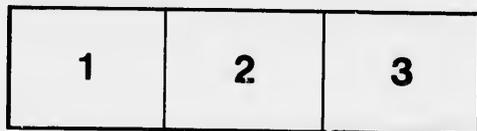
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THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

OF

NOVA SCOTIA:

AN ADDRESS

ON

The 113th Anniversary of the Settlement of the  
Capital of the Province.

DELIVERED BY

R. G. HALIBURTON,

By request of the Anniversary Committee.

HALIFAX, N. S.

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY J. B. STRONG,

203 BARRINGTON ST.

1862.

HALIFAX, N. S.:  
PRINTED BY J. B. STRONG,  
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## OBJECT AND NATURE OF THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION.

*Held at Halifax, June 21st, 1862.*

Colonists have for many years occupied, in some respects, an equivocal and somewhat unenviable position. Though sincerely attached to the British Crown, and feeling, in common with the inhabitants of the Mother Country, a laudable pride and interest in the greatness and happiness of the nation, we are so far removed from the Parent State, that our familiarity with the incidents of its past existence, is derived, not from those public trophies and memorials which present and recall to the eye and to the mind of an Englishman those great events which they commemorate, but from a study of the history of the world, which is as much the property of foreigners as of ourselves. In our daily life, we have but little to remind us that we have a personal interest in the trials and triumphs of that great country to which we belong, though we are conscious that as descendants of Britons we can justly claim an equal share of that heritage of glory which is the common property of the nation.

But how striking is the contrast that presents itself to the colonist, when he crosses the line that divides us from the neighboring Republic! There all the inhabitants, young and old, combine to celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the Union. Even the European emigrant, who has but a few months before sought that country as an adopted home, feels that he has a personal interest in the incidents that are recalled, but, above all, in those institutions which are annually extolled, and in the permanence of which his future happiness and destiny are so deeply involved.

An impression has of late existed, that we might learn a useful lesson, in this respect, from our republican neighbors; that an annual commemoration of the settlement of this province, might be of permanent benefit to ourselves, by promoting a feeling of loyalty to the Parent State, which by its arms and its treasures protected and fostered our early existence, by familiarizing us with our past history, and by promoting an interest in those natural resources, the value of which we have hitherto scarcely appreciated as they deserved.

It has been considered, that an annual commemoration like this, if divested of that spirit of self-laudation so conspicuous in the national rejoicings on the Fourth of July, might be permanently established among us, without rendering us liable to the imputation of a vanity.

which, while unseemly even in a great republic, would be doubly ridiculous in a comparatively unknown colony.

Such, it is believed, were the feelings which influenced the Anniversary Committee, in instituting a commemoration of the landing of Colonel Cornwallis and the first settlers of Halifax, on the 21st day of June, 1749.

The following brief outline of the proceedings, of which the following address formed a part, may not be uninteresting :—

At an early hour the citizens of Halifax were reminded of the day's celebration, by a salute fired by the Halifax Volunteer Artillery.

At the meeting at which the following address was delivered, the pupils belonging to all the different schools of the city were present, and sang several songs composed for the occasion. On the platform were Sir Alexander Milne, K. C. B., the Admiral on the Station, and suite, Colonel Dunlop, the Commander of the Garrison, the Hon. Alexander Stewart, C. B., Judge of the Vice Admiralty, the Members of the City Council, representatives of the Clergy of all the different religious denominations in the city, the Provincial Secretary, and a large number of other gentlemen.

His Worship the Mayor (P. C. Hill, Esq.) took the chair and made the following opening remarks :

*"Ladies and Gentlemen,*—The objects of this meeting are so well known to all of you that I feel it unnecessary to explain them. Upwards of one hundred years ago the first of our ancestors came to the place where Halifax now stands. From that time to the present our city and province have been growing, until both have reached a size and importance that was once but little anticipated. Not that we have yet become a nation : but when we consider the difficulties which those men had to encounter, when we recollect that for a long time Nova Scotia was tossed as a football from England to France, and when we view the circumstances which have since surrounded us, I do think that without any self-laudation we can congratulate ourselves on the position in which we stand to-day. The object of our assembling here is not to show that we are independent of England's power, but that, although Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen, we should yet feel ourselves Nova Scotians. On that day, when the first Council sat on board the *Beaufort*, my great-grandfather sat with them as a member, and I feel proud that I am the lineal descendant of one of the first settlers of the province. Yes, I am thankful that I am a Nova Scotian ; I feel proud of my country ; and as long as I am spared I will do all I can, according to my humble means, to promote the spirit of patriotism and enterprise, which is as essential to its advancement as its material wealth. These topics, however, will be more fully discussed by the gentleman who is about to address you, and whom I have much pleasure in introducing to you as the son of our provincial historian, Mr. Justice Haliburton."

After the meeting, the Children proceeded to Government House, and presented to the Countess of Mulgrave a bouquet composed of wild flowers from the forest.

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At noon, a review took place in presence of His Excellency the Earl of Mulgrave, the force present being composed exclusively of Halifax Volunteers, consisting of the Halifax Volunteer Battallion, the Halifax Volunteer Artillery, and the Victoria Rifles. Representatives of several country companies were present, but did not take part in the review. In the afternoon the Scottish Volunteer Rifles and the Caledonian Club met at the Horticultural Gardens and took part in the Highland games. There was subsequently a very large procession of firemen, who, with their fire engines beautifully decorated, formed a very striking feature in the day's proceedings.

The celebration concluded with a dinner given by the Corporation, and with fireworks in the Horticultural Gardens, which were illuminated for the occasion.

As the foregoing incidents have been fully described in the columns of the Halifax papers, a more detailed account is rendered unnecessary.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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The following address was most hastily prepared; and as some of the subjects touched upon are of historical interest, especially the question of the expulsion of the Acadians, which has always hitherto been presented in a light most unfavorable to this Province, the publication of it has been delayed a few days to enable the writer to examine more carefully the documents relating to this transaction; and some notes have been added since the delivery of it that may be of interest.

The writer having, since the delivery of this address, been compelled to be absent from Halifax, its publication has been delayed until he could find time to make a less cursory examination of the original documents relating to an event respecting which so great an authority as the eminent American historian, Bancroft, has said—"I do not know if the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrow so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia." "The hand of the English official seemed under a spell with regard to them, and never was uplifted, but to curse them." As Mr. Bancroft seems to have had access to many, if not all, of the documents referred to, the writer feels that to oppose his opinion to that of Mr. Bancroft would be a piece of presumption, unless the public were afforded a perusal of a portion of those documents which have led Mr. Bancroft, on the one hand, to stigmatize the British Government as having been guilty of unprovoked cruelty; and the writer, on the other, in justice to the people of this province, and the British Government, to throw the burthen of this sad event on the unscrupulous ambition of France, which, in time of peace, waged by the aid of savages a secret and merciless warfare on the

English settlers in Nova Scotia, and employed the terror of the Indians, and the influences of educated emissaries and incendiaries, to terrify and seduce the unhappy Acadians into a disaffection against the Government that had, for almost half a century, protected them in their religious and civil privileges, and left them in undisturbed possession of the most fertile districts of the province.

Even with these additions, the address is necessarily much more imperfect than the writer would wish it to be, his engagements leaving him but little time to wade through the voluminous documents of the Record Commission—a work of no slight labor; but as, if there should be any longer delay in its publication, many will have forgotten that it was ever delivered, it must go in its present form, with all its imperfections, before the public.

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## THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

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The Executive Committee in their Programme of to-day's proceedings, have announced that an *Oration* will be delivered to-day, in commemoration of the one hundred and thirteenth anniversary of the settlement of Halifax.

None of us, who have not been in the neighboring republic, have ever heard any address bearing so formidable and imposing a name. You must all be aware that orations are not in vogue among Englishmen, and are chiefly confined to the literature and history of classical antiquity, or to the productions of our neighbours the Americans.

Among the Greeks and Romans, rhetoric exercised a power and assumed a position denied to it by us in this matter-of-fact age. It was a different atmosphere that men then breathed. When we read their history, we fancy that we are almost studying the acts and thoughts of a different and extinct species of our race.

The haze of poetry that seemed to envelope even the actions of every-day life, gives them a peculiar charm to the student, who turns now from the prosaic world around him to the glories and the struggles of those distant ages, which have been perpetuated and will ever survive in the memory of men.

Among the Americans, though their orations often excite our admiration by their eloquence, they seem exotics. But among the Greeks and Romans, however elevated their tone, they appear to be perfectly in keeping with the genius of those nations, and to be the natural productions of the spirit of those ages. Though delivered thousands of years ago, they still appeal to the hearts of readers even in this commonplace, utilitarian nineteenth century.

Who is there that does not, even now, feel his blood course more warmly through his veins, as he reads the magnificent funeral oration delivered by Pericles over the dead of Marathon—the language of which, if applied to even the greatest struggles of modern times, would

seem utterly extravagant, but which appears peculiarly suitable to the great event respecting which it was delivered. The orator felt that the occasion was no ordinary one—that his audience was not confined to the inhabitants of Attica, but embraced the scholars and votaries of freedom in every age, as he burst out into that magnificent passage in which he disowns the narrow limits that confined the mighty sleepers of Marathon—"the whole earth," says he, "is the sepulchre of illustrious men;" the whole earth has claimed the dead as its own; and in every land where liberty is endangered, and where brave men are called upon to lay down their lives for their country, they remember the far famed field of Marathon, and burn to revive in their own lives and deaths the glorious examples of the illustrious and undying dead.

Who is there who would venture to criticize that king of orators, the great Demosthenes, though his speeches smelt of oil, as his envious contemporaries insinuated? Yet the House of Commons would undoubtedly sneer at him if he were now to appear before them, and would consider him far too rhetorical for so matter-of-fact an assembly. His orations prepared in the historic cave, as we are told, would be ridiculed there, as all productions elaborately prepared before delivery invariably are; yet leave him in his own age, struggling to revive his countrymen to a sense of their danger, and his eloquence is beyond the reach of criticism. He is in an atmosphere more congenial with rhetoric than our own, and his orations are read by scholars and politicians with equal wonder and admiration.

The same peculiar rhetorical turn is even more observable in the history of the military achievements of ancient nations, and constitutes a striking contrast with the spirit of the present age. The Orations delivered by Greek and Roman generals, if attempted by a modern soldier, would soon consign him to half pay; yet even to us, when reading the history of classical antiquity, they seem to have been then quite adapted to the genius and spirit of those ages. No one, for instance, would designate as bombast that eloquent oration of the Scottish hero, in which he nerves his gallant followers to make a last effort for what he prophetically describes as the last asylum of liberty.\*

Nor is the change in the taste of the present age from that of classical antiquity less evident in poetical and dramatic literature. Imagine the ancient Greek chorus, with its magnificent appeals, invocations or laments, transferred to the modern stage! The

\* Tacitus Agric. c. 30.

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Germans have tried to introduce it, but have failed. The splendid chorus of the *Persæ*, or the finest passage from the grand old tragedy of Prometheus Desmotes, would either be coughed off the stage at the Adelphi, or would set all the audience asleep in a short time. The world has grown too matter-of-fact for such flights of eloquence and imagination.

Generals no longer make orations to their armies. "Up Guards and at them" is almost the only piece of rhetoric history has recorded in describing one of the greatest battles of the most successful general of ancient or modern times. "England expects every man to do his duty" is the terse stern watchword with which Nelson commenced the glorious battle of Trafalgar.

Even in our own times there has been a singular change, a tendency to decry rhetorical displays, to listen only to plain matter-of-fact communications and addresses. Sheridan's great speech of several days length against Warren Hastings (designated a speech, not an oration), though eulogized by his contemporaries, is now regarded as most defective in point of taste. The eloquence of the House of Commons, it is said, is composed of sarcasm and statistics. There can be no question that this feeling, so peculiar to the British people, is equally manifest here. I have often heard barristers from other colonies remark on the plain, simple, colloquial addresses which are generally to be heard in the courts of law in this province. And the same remark may, with some few exceptions, be applied to the speeches delivered in our legislature.

But across the border the rule is reversed. There seems to be an extravagance in the mode of thought and expression among our neighbors that is in striking contrast to the cautious, cool reserve of the British people. What would be designated addresses in Great Britain, are elevated to the rank of orations,—and their Fourth of July orations probably deserve the name, from the rhetorical and figurative character which they assume, and the great learning, eloquence and ability which they generally evince.

Though the committee have designated this address as an oration, I assume they have merely used the phrase usually applicable to anniversary speeches on this side of the Atlantic, but have no wish that it should be of the same character as those well-known effusions. They desire that instead of its being limited to the settlement of Halifax, it should rather embrace the history and destiny of the whole province; and a very general opinion has been expressed that it should be of a practical character.

This being the case, I need not apologize for adopting a plain, familiar style, or for principally touching upon those topics which

have a practical value, or which are deserving of inquiry by Nova Scotians, instead of recalling minutely to you the dry details of the foundation of the city, which only possess an interest in the eyes of antiquarians. To give you even an outline of the history of the past, would take up too much time for the narrow limits of an address, and would weary the audience as much as the speaker. I shall, therefore, only allude to a few of the prominent features of our past history. The only points on which we can even briefly touch, are the character of those who best deserve the name of Novascotians—the unfortunate Aborigines; next, the history of the French colonists, and their fate; the settlement of Halifax, and of the province; the advent of the Loyalists, and the subsequent social and commercial development of the people of Nova Scotia,—each of which can only receive the most cursory and passing notice. I shall then turn to the future of the province, and to those steps which are necessary to enable us to avail ourselves of those blessings which Providence has showered around us.

The large assemblage which I find around me is an evidence that, in this commemoration, we are supported by the cordial sympathy and good will of the public. The object is an honorable and, I believe, a most useful one, viz., to inculcate in the breasts of Nova Scotians, a feeling of patriotism, and to promote an acquaintance with the history of the past, and an intimacy with those natural resources, upon which, as well as upon our own energies, depends the future which Providence has in store for us.

Yet, it may be suggested by many persons who do not comprehend the spirit in which this commemoration was organized, “Why attempt to get up a colonial Fourth of July? You have no grand achievements that are deserving of such an honor. Your progress as a colony does not compare so favorably with that of the sister provinces as to entitle you to assume to yourselves the right of rejoicing over the triumphs of the past. Pray, leave the Americans unmolested in their questionable ebullition of national boasting on their great anniversary! They may have some apology for their waste of gunpowder, and their high-flown figures of rhetoric, in those grand orations in which the battle of Bunker Hill is annually impressed upon the minds of the young and old as far greater than Marathon, Cressy, or Waterloo, and by which the conviction is yearly made doubly sure, that they are the greatest, wisest, and most virtuous of nations. If we cannot imitate them in those points in which they are deserving of the admiration of the world, let us not vainly emulate them in their weaknesses, by

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trying to get up a poor imitation of their annual saturnalia, and a mild edition of their Fourth of July Orations!"

This, I believe, is the feeling of some few persons in this city, who have mistaken the whole object and import of to-day's proceedings.

I may, perhaps, be pardoned for asking those who would object to this commemoration, has a colony a right to remember its natal day? must it wait until it arrives at full maturity before it can publicly assemble its sons to recall the trials of the past, and to prepare for the struggles and the triumphs of the future? If I were to ask those who are assembled here, who most religiously observes the returning day of his nativity, it would be not among the aged, who can look back upon a successful life, in which there is a long succession of grateful honors to meet their glance; but it would be among the band of young people that I see assembled to lend us the aid of their tuneful voices, that we should find the fullest and readiest response. Yet, oh blooming Miss, just promoted to your teens! oh holiday school-boy, surely you have no very great reason to be proud of the part which you have played in the theatre of life! What have you done to entitle you to an annual allowance of sweetmeats on that important day, which ushered you into the world? Many children that commenced with you the arduous study of A. B. C., have left you far behind in the race for knowledge. Why do you rejoice over a day that recalls how little you have yet achieved? You cannot answer the question, yet you know that I am wrong. You feel that you have a vested right in the delicacies with which you are annually crammed; and you are fully conscious that, whatever physical effect the unusual amount of luxuries you enjoy may produce, you are mentally happier and better from the influence of that day, which is, and will be for many years, the happiest in your calendar. If you cannot answer the question, I shall do it for you. You do not recall your birthday so much on account of the past, as with reference to the future. Each day you celebrate shews that you are one year nearer to that longed-for time, when you will be called upon to take your place in the world, and assume the position which will be allotted to you by your Creator. It is an agreeable festival, that combines and unites you more closely to your friends and kindred. Perhaps there is one chair vacant, that recalls the absent one who has commenced life's pilgrimage before you, and has left for ever the paternal roof, for the purpose of fighting the hard battle of life. The empty seat reminds you of him; the returning day recalls to his mind the celebrations that he knows

are not forgotten at home. In the dust and bustle of busy life, he steals aside for a moment's thought, and in imagination is again among the youthful throng, rejoicing with a hearty mirth, which is denied to the more exciting pleasures of the world.

Anniversaries of natal days are the property of youth and age—they are respectively the festivals of *hope* and *memory*. In the calm morn of youth, the mind, radiant with hope, like the morning sun, casts its long shadows far ahead, over the path of the journey of life, in happy contemplation of the future. At noontide, the mind is engrossed with the present—all its energies are concentrated and absorbed in the struggle for power, or the wild pursuit of pleasure; but at evening the shadows of memory begin to creep backward again over the journey of life—back to the spot whence the long and weary pilgrimage commenced. The anniversaries of the past return again, and memory holds its festival,—but ah! how changed! The solitary observer finds that he is alone; that the friends of his childhood have passed away, and his memory of the past seems like a pilgrimage to the tombs of a departed generation. Hope has no shadow to cast forward, except that which leads beyond the horizon that surrounds his gaze, to the dim and unseen world that awaits him.

Let us then take a lesson from the young! We are comparatively but a young colony. We do not pretend to boast of the achievements of the past; but we celebrate this natal festival, because it tends to bind us more closely to each other in the bonds of mutual sympathy. It will recall to our minds the fostering care of the parent state, that preserved us in the dangers that threatened our early existence. It will remind us of those who have past away, whose vacant places but few can fill, and who are endeared to the memory and the hearts of the people. Each anniversary will constitute one of the milestones of our existence as a province, by which we can trace the progress we are making. Every year we can pause awhile, to muse on those influences that have advanced, and those causes which have tended to retard our progress, and to lower us in our own eyes and in the estimation of our neighbours.

Let us avoid any undue self adulation that will render us ridiculous; and let us not shrink from boldly avowing the truth, whatever it may be, irrespective of and freed from the influences of party or creed, on an occasion that unites men of all parties, and of all opinions.

For my own part I can sincerely avow, that, whatever statements may be made by me, they are the result of my honest convictions,

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and are perfectly unbiassed by party prejudices, for, having early in life resolved to avoid the thorny path of politics, which has but little to attract a young man in this province, presenting as it does before him an ordeal of recrimination and criticism unknown in Great Britain, I have steadily pursued the path I have chosen.

But it may be said as to some portion of my address, these anticipations of the future are the enthusiastic views of a young man, who knows but little of the province. If this is the case, I can only say it is my own fault. Since June last I have been in almost every town and village in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia; and twice almost every year I pass through the greater portion of Cape Breton and the eastern section of Nova Scotia. The business of the International Exhibition has necessarily thrown me in with those, who are most interested in our public welfare. But, to obtain reliable data on which to base my conclusions as to the capabilities of this province, I addressed a series of circulars to some of the most practical and intelligent men in every county—the best farmers, practical land-surveyors, ship-builders, to some members of the Legislature, and those most capable of giving reliable information. The returns furnished by them are most encouraging as regards the future of this province, and most fully warrant my anticipations, and show that the opinions advanced to-day, are those entertained by shrewd, practical business men, and are not, as may be alleged, the result of inexperience or enthusiasm.

In turning to the past, the first thought that suggests itself, is relative to the condition of those who once were the lords of the soil, in a land where their descendants only exist, for the most part, as helpless paupers and vagrants. "Why waste your time in a race that is less known and less worthy of notice than any of the Indian tribes? There is nothing in them that invites or would repay enquiry." Such may be the views which many may entertain respecting the aborigines of this province; and yet I believe the study of their language, history and customs, would well repay the leisure of any Novascotian who would turn his attention to this subject.

In the United States the Government as well as private societies have, on a most liberal scale, had investigations made respecting the Indian races, and the reports of the Smithsonian Institute bear evidence to the scale on which these inquiries have been conducted. The Micmacs belong, with many of the tribes to the north of Lake Superior, to a simple race, whose primitive faith was the nearest ap-

proach yet found among heathen nations, to the religion of the true God. The great father was their deity, one who dwells, according to their ideas, in "a temple not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." The land of spirits was the scene of a bright future, where each warrior was destined to rejoice in "the happy hunting grounds of the Far West." They had none of the various subordinate deities which degraded the literature and mythology of ancient Greece and Rome; none of the corrupting tenets of Brahmanism or Buddhism, which bid you spare all animal life, and yet sanction the most revolting cruelty to your fellow man. These northern tribes revered their ancestors, but they did not degrade the objects of their reverence, by converting them into malevolent deities, and offering up, as the Polynesians did at their maraacs, a sacrifice of the living to appease the cruel spirits of the dead.

A large number of nations called the Moundbuilders, from the vast tumuli which they have left behind, must have spread up to the southern shores of Lake Superior. How far east they wandered is not known; but there is nothing to lead us to suppose that there are any traces of them in Nova Scotia. I have heard a report of something like the structures of the Moundbuilders having been found in Cumberland, but am inclined to attribute anything of the sort to the work of Europeans.

The Indian remains found here are in many respects very fine, and would interest greatly the ethnologists of the United States; and I much regret to find that some relics of a very singular character, found in Cumberland, have been taken by some person from the Mechanics' Institute, where they were deposited.

There has been an utter neglect in the British American Colonies of the history of the native tribes, and the impression exists that the only races deserving of study are the semi-civilized nations of the South. This opinion I believe is quite unfounded, and I am sure the day will come when ethnologists will turn with a great deal of interest to the primitive race of which the Micmac is one of the representatives.

Unfortunately for the enquirer, the Micmac exists only in history. His descendants are assimilated to the whites in manners and opinions, and still more so in those vices and excesses that too often characterize the progress of civilization in every age.

But there is one literary relic of the Micmacs that is peculiarly deserving of study, viz., their native mode of writing. It is one of the greatest curiosities of literature on this continent, I believe. It is not of a pictorial, but of an arbitrary character, each of the letters representing a word. They are most unmistakeably Indian

in their character, with some slight admixture of European letters, such as would be requisite in order to adapt so rude a system of writing to express the prayers of the missionaries. Among the Indians, who attribute everything they know to the French, it is supposed to have been taught them by the missionaries. Understanding that a learned German Priest at Tracadie has devoted his time to mastering the language of the Micmacs, I obtained last summer from Father Girroir a letter of introduction to him, for the purpose of inducing him to turn his attention to this subject. Not, however, returning by way of Tracadie, I was prevented from seeing him, but I have recently learned that he has considered the subject so interesting, that he has had types cast for the alphabet, and has brought out in Austria a work in Micmac characters. I confess, I wish that, instead of the subject having been investigated by a foreigner, some young Novascotian had turned the attention of literati to these curiosities of literature. Where the great Humbolt\* considered similar investigations worthy of the exercise of his great mind, they cannot be regarded by us as too unimportant topics for our interest and researches, especially where they relate to the aborigines of our native province.†

Wasted away, as they now are, by vice, disease, and by that inexorable law by which the red man seems destined to melt away before the advance of the pale faces, they present a striking contrast to the warlike nation that extended to DeMonts and Pontreicourt their friendship and protection,—and wept with grief when their welcome guests for a time abandoned Port Royal and returned to France.

The first permanent settlement effected by the French was in 1606; the record of which event, engraved on a rough piece of sandstone, which bears the date of that year, and is marked with masonic signs, is now in my possession. It is a singular thing that for years past no Nova Scotians have ever desired to see it, while an American Society, taking a much deeper interest in our historical monuments, has had a cast of it sent to the United States: one really felt tempted to present it to those by whom it was so valued, if it would not have been wrong to allow this record to leave the province.

\* Humbolt refers to a report of a similar system of writing having prevailed in a portion of South America, and greatly laments the loss of a document written, not in pictorial, like the Mexican, but in arbitrary characters,—the latter being much more advanced, and indicating a higher state, he says, of civilisation than we have any record of in history.

† I should not omit a reference to the philological labors of the Rev. Mr. Rand, who deserves infinite credit for being one of the pioneers in this interesting field of research.

There is much in the early history of the French settlement of Nova Scotia that is interesting to the reader. Amid the perpetual struggles with the English, and their rivalries among themselves, the history of Madame LaTour's gallant defence, with a small garrison, against her husband's rival in the government of Acadie, stands out as peculiarly attractive. Nor is there less romance respecting the singular influence exercised by Baron Castine over the Abenakis; his life would make an admirable subject for a romance. The historian of Nova Scotia, in referring to DeCastine, extracts the following quaint description from LaHontan:—"The Baron de Castine, a gentleman of Oberon, in Bearn, having lived among the Abenakis, after the savage way, for above 20 years, is so much respected by the savages, that they look upon him as their tutelary god. He was formerly an officer of the Carignan Regiment, and threw himself among the savages, whose language he had learned. He married among them after their fashion, and preferred the forests of Acadia to the Pyrenean Mountains that encompass the place of his nativity. For the first year of his abode with the savages, he behaved himself so as to draw an inexpressible esteem from them. They made him their great chief or leader, which is in a manner the sovereign of the nation, and by degrees he has worked himself into such a fortune, which any man but he would have made such use of as to draw out of the country above two or three hundred thousand crowns, which he has now in his pocket in good dry gold. But all the use he makes of it is to buy up goods for presents to his fellow savages, who upon their return from hunting, present him with beaver skins to treble the value. The Governor-General of Canada keeps in with him, and the Governor of New England is afraid of him. He has several daughters, who are, all of them, married very handsomely to Frenchmen, and had good doweries. He has never changed his wife, by which means he intended to give the savages to understand that God does not love inconstant folks."

Can we be surprised that the French, who thus mingled with the natives, acquired an influence over them that was most enduring in its effects and most formidable to the English in America. It was the Jesuit missionaries, however, that most effectually secured the affections of the Indians. They were the pioneers of civilisation in the new world—and spread the religion of Christ at a time when there were no other missionaries, except those stern soldiers who hoped by the sword to convince the heathen of their errors. One of them discovered Niagara; another found his way from Canada to the Mississippi. Some were tortured by the

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savages, and underwent the pains of martyrdom. They were the early historians of the new world—and, though their desire to acquire temporal power led to their expulsion from Italy, Spain, and France, and though they have always had most bitter enemies even in their own Church, their missionary zeal, in the age of which I am now speaking, is deserving of all praise; and in their *Relations des Jesuites*, recently published, they have left an enduring monument of their energy and devotion.

Time would fail me to describe the constant mutual reprisals and attacks that chequer the early history of this province. Repeatedly conquered by the English, as often ceded to France by the British Government, who generally lose by diplomacy what they gain by arms, unfortunate Acadie was perpetually changing owners, and when it was finally ceded to Britain in 1713 there must have been many persons residing in it, who had not less than five times involuntarily changed their rulers.

But the very circumstance of the province so often reverting to France, was fatal to the French Neutrals, as they were called. When the oath of allegiance was first administered to them, it was with a reservation that they should not be compelled to bear arms against France. There can be no doubt, however, that the Acadians looked forward to the day when France would again assume her sway over the province. The Indians, stimulated by the authorities in Canada, and aided and abetted by the neutrals, committed a series of bloody outrages upon the English. The Acadians hoped, probably, that the British settlements would in time be abandoned, and the settlers discouraged by the unseen dangers that everywhere beset them.

Much romance has been thrown around that sad finale of this portion of our provincial history; and the historian of Nova Scotia has allowed his sympathies to the suffering Acadians to blind him, I think, a little, to the stern necessity that was imposed upon the provincial government, of taking some decided steps to terminate a state of affairs that must have retarded, if not absolutely thwarted, the attempts of the English to settle and cultivate the province.\* The Americans have made much of the sufferings of the Acadians, and have attempted to fasten a stigma upon the British nation respecting it. They forget that the influences that led to this sad occurrence came from the people of New England, whose fear of French domination led at first to the settlement of Halifax as a

\* I understand that information subsequently obtained by him, has induced him, since the publication of his history, to take a different view of this transaction.

check on the growing power of France, and finally to the expulsion of the neutrals; nor do they remember that those by whom the order was executed at Minas, and several other places, were New England troops, commanded by a native of Massachusetts Bay.

We must not judge the actors in this scene by the state of feeling of the present day. There was a deadly struggle for existence constantly going on between the French and English colonists. The latter found that the best parts of the province were in the possession of subjects alien in feeling to the British Crown—affording, in time of profound peace, arms and information to the Indians, and ever, when there was a rumor of French fleets on the coast, most contumacious and insulting in their conduct. It was evident that, so long as France had any foothold in Canada and Cape Breton, they could never be good friends, but might soon be converted into most dangerous enemies. There can be no question that a number having, in a qualified manner, sworn allegiance to the Crown, plainly and openly violated their oaths, by publicly appearing in arms against the Government, while others more secretly undermined the power of the English, by exciting the enmity of the Indians against us.

They claimed to hold the singular position, that they should have all the rights without any of the duties or obligations of British subjects, and based their claim upon the somewhat peculiar grounds, that having so long enjoyed the toleration and forbearance of the British Government, they had a prescriptive right to its merciful consideration. By the terms of the treaty under which the province had been ceded, they were either to leave it within a year or to take the oath of allegiance. They chose to remain, and yet refused the alternative. Their qualified oath, which undoubtedly made them British subjects, but placed them in the envious position of being relieved from the burthen and horrors of border warfare, had been a mockery; the long forbearance and good faith of the English, who had in no case violated their agreements with the Acadians, or had disturbed them in the quiet enjoyment of their property and religion, were with but little reason invoked as the prescriptive right of those by whom they had been so long forgotten and abused. No one can read the minutes of the Council at which their deputies were examined, and where the decision was arrived at as to their expulsion, without feeling that the step was only adopted as a matter of life and death by the English, and that so far from sentiments of cruelty and hostility having influenced the actors in this unfortunate scene, they afforded every opportunity to the Acadians to reflect upon the consequences of their refusing to take the usual oath of allegiance.

With the power of France established at Louisburg and at Quebec, and with large tribes of Indians hostile to Britain, the Colonial Government well knew that to send abroad the Acadians, who were actually British subjects, would be to convert them (as it is stated in the contemporary documents relative to the act) into most active and deadly foes, who would swell the ranks of the enemy, would act as their guides as well as their soldiers, and would ensure the destruction of the colony. To allow them to remain would prove fatal to the province—to expel them, but

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permit them to join the French, would still more surely seal its fate. It was a stern alternative, and a no less stern decision; but I must say a hasty inspection of documents, not seen by the historian of Nova Scotia, has led me to the conclusion, that the emissaries of France were alone to blame, and that the harshness of the act was the necessary result of the sad necessity imposed upon the English, the continued hostility of the neutrals, leaving the British Government no alternative but to expel them.\*

We shrink back with horror at the details of the act,—we recall the domestic virtues of the happy Acadians and the scene of their desolated homes, families severed perhaps forever,—but in our sympathy for their sufferings we must not do injustice to ourselves, as we hitherto have; we must not forget the long forbearance of the English,—how they quietly endured the secret connivance of those who had sworn allegiance to the British Crown and their sympathy with the savage enemies that devastated and destroyed many a happy home, and rendered the existence of the settlers most insecure. We have all read of the horrors of an Indian war, but what must those horrors be when they are increased by the secret assistance and connivance of faithless subjects in our midst. There is among the papers of the Record Commission a document in French purporting to be a copy of a letter from the Bishop of Quebec, dated Oct., 1754, the year before the expulsion of the Acadians, and addressed to Mons. Le Loutre, who was a missionary among the Acadians, and a most active enemy of the English. (See Note A Appendix.) In it the Bishop says: “Behold yourself, sir, in the difficulties I foresaw, and long ago predicted to you! The refugees could not fail, sooner or later, in being unfortunate, and in reproaching you with their miseries. The same thing will happen to them, as took place in the Island of St. John in the first war; they will be a mark for the English, incessantly harrassed by them. A long time since

\* Mr. Baneroff, in order to prevent the English from excusing the expulsion as an act of self-defence, says:—“No further resistance was to be feared. The English were masters of the sea; were undisputed lords of the country, and could exercise clemency without apprehension.” Nothing could be further from the truth. The subjects of Britain were actually besieged within a British province, and, in a time of profound peace, were hemmed in within the limits of their fortifications by the savage allies of France; and this unparalleled state of affairs even continued for some time after most of the Acadians were expelled. On the 15th June, 1756, the Minutes of Council state:—“Colonel Sutherland represented to His Excellency that, since the late attack of the Indian enemy upon the frontiers of the German settlement at Lunenburg, the inhabitants are much intimidated, and especially the women and children, whose assistance is of very great use upon their lands; and that he apprehends, unless some further measures are taken for their protection, more than is at present in his power to afford them from the troops with him, they would all leave those settlements, and repair to the town for safety.”

Nor did this apply only to the settlement of Lunenburg. On the 13th September, 1756, so great was the dread of the invasion of the province by the victorious French, who had already reduced the fort at Oswego, and were triumphant from the borders of Acadia to the Ohio, that the Council decided that all our forces on the Isthmus should be concentrated at Fort Cumberland, to resist the expected attack. And the Governor, by the advice of the Council, entreated Admiral Holmes not to leave the province unprotected by his fleet at so critical a juncture.

I remarked to you that a missionary should not meddle at all with temporal matters, making himself an object of enmity and hostility." Unfortunately for the Acadians, the judicious advice of the Bishop was neglected by LeLoutre, who endeavored to excite the neutrals to take up arms against the English, an incendiary document to that effect, signed by him, being now among our public records.

That LeLoutre was the main cause of their expulsion is manifest on reference to the documents relating to this event, but especially to one purporting to be a copy of a letter from the Governor-General of Canada to him, dated the 18th October of the same year (1754):—

"Your policy is an excellent one, to cause them to be menaced by your savages, whom they will fear still more, when they see the blow struck.

"The actual position of the colony renders it imperative that I should cause the negotiations of the English with the savages to be broken off, as it tends to corrupt them to turn against us, if they (the English) succeed by presents, money, and deceit, as they have planned. This is why I rely on you and Mons. Vigor to try to find a plausible pretext to induce them to strike a vigorous blow. I entirely rely on your resources, for in whatever concerns the honor of the King's arms, and the safety of the colony, your zeal and talents are known to me."

The whole of the letter is in the same style. In another paragraph he clearly explains the secret of the unmitigated and destructive hostilities which, for half a century, the Indians had waged against the English settlers.

Referring to their desire to make peace with the savages, he says:—

"The more I know of that project the more decided is my conviction, that *we should never suffer* the Abenakis, Melecites and Mikmaks to *make peace with the English*. I regard these savages as the mainstay of the colony; and to perpetuate in them that feeling of hate and hostility, we must remove from them every chance of their allowing themselves to be corrupted; and the actual position of matters in Canada demands that these natives, who are fast allies, should strike without delay, provided that it may not appear that it was I who ordered it, as I have positive instructions to remain on the defensive. Thus I leave to your own discretion all the matters respecting the peace, which I regard as a snare for the savages. I further recommend you not to expose yourself, and to be well on your guard, for I am persuaded that, if the English could lay hands on you, they would put an end to your existence, or make it a very hard one."

What a light this letter throws on the following incidents mentioned by Governor Cornwallis.

He alludes to the Governor-General of Canada being annoyed at the seizure of some French vessels which had been trespassing, and revenging it by sending (*in a time of profound peace*) "a body of Canada Indians to the St. Johns and Mickmacks, to do what mischief they could in this manner." He then describes the attack "on a little village opposite *Hampden*" now called Dartmouth, and the murder of several persons.

"These proceedings," he says, "are so violent and public that I wonder what the French can say. Their old plea was, it is the Indians; but, if it can be proved that the Governor of Canada gives them a reward for

every prisoner and scalp they bring of the English, that ceases. This is so unnatural and inhuman, that one could not conceive a civilized nation to be guilty of it. The consequence of this was, they sent an order to the inhabitants (neutrals) of the province in general, not to go as couriers or assist the English in any way, upon pain of death. They applied to me. I told them I was surprised which they should hesitate to obey, the King of England's Governor, or the Indians; and ordered them to do their duty on pain of military execution."

He speaks of the violent outrages of the French, of their openly supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition, and adds very naturally, "What more, my Lords, could they do in open war?"

Nothing can be clearer than the fact that there was not the most remote idea of interfering, in any way, with the religion of the Acadians, and that their expulsion was not caused by any feeling of bigotry, as has been alleged.

Although Mons. Daudin had afforded the government at least a plausible excuse, if not the most conclusive reasons, for sending him out of the province, yet we find that the Council (October 21st, 1754) resolved that, as he had promised "to comport himself dutifully to the government," they were of opinion, that *as the inhabitants could not get another priest this winter*, Mons. Daudin be permitted to return."

Nor is there a shadow of excuse for the stigma that has been cast upon the Provincial Government, on the ground, that the expulsion was caused by a desire to deprive the Acadians of their lands, and to give them to English settlers. On the contrary, it is plainly to be seen that there was every desire to conciliate the neutrals by kindness and liberality, and to leave them in the quiet possession of their property, if it could be done with safety to the government.

In 1751 Governor Cornwallis writes—"His Majesty's French inhabitants behave in a better manner, and I have real hopes, that time will convince them of the difference between an arbitrary French government and the lenity and freedom of the English, and that they may become good subjects. Certain I am it would be so, if a method could be found to prevent French missionaries being among them. How that can be attained I can't say, for priests of some sort they must have."

In 1753 Governor Hopson writes in the same kind spirit—"Since I have been here the French inhabitants have behaved tolerably well, though their apprehensions from the French and Indians have entirely prevented their taking any step to show themselves attached to us. I believe encouragement may do a great deal, and should hope that a proper method for a due administration of justice among them, and securing their property by new grants, might have a good effect."

Governor Lawrence writes in the same year—"The French emissaries still continue to perplex these inhabitants with difficulties about taking the oath of allegiance, and, though they have not been in the least pressed to it of late, yet they seem to think we only wait a convenient opportunity to force it upon them, as they every day magnify to themselves the difficulties they should lie under with the Indians if they take the oath, as

well as the notion that it would subject them to bear arms. I should think it would be of great advantage, both to them and us, that this matter was one way or other cleared up as soon as possible, because, if they were sure of the situation they were to remain in, it would naturally produce a spirit of improvement amongst them, the advantages of which they would soon be sensible of, and thereby become more attached to an English government than they have hitherto been." He then refers to an offer made by him to the refugees from Chiegnecto, of allowing them to return to their lands on their taking the oath, which, "if they comply, would greatly lessen the difficulties the other inhabitants make about taking the oath."

When Halifax was first settled, as well as frequently afterwards, a large number of Acadians, who had taken the oath of allegiance, abandoned the province, and went to Cape Breton or Canada, in order to become subjects of the King of France.

Six families, numbering twenty-six persons, who had left Piziquid (Windsor) for Louisburg, found the soil so barren, that they obtained leave from the French Governor to return to their former homes. On arriving at Halifax, they prayed that their lands might be restored, and stated that they were willing to become British subjects, and to take the oath of allegiance without any reservation. They appeared before the Council on the 9th October, 1754, and alleged that the reason for their leaving their lands was "because they were so terrified by Mons. Le-Loutre's threats, and his declaring the distresses they would be reduced to if they remained under the dominion of the English."

When we remember that this application was made in the year preceding the expulsion, we can scarcely believe it possible that, if the English were meditating a cruel spoliation of the lands of the Acadians, that they would have been generous to these refugees, who had violated their oaths, and had forfeited all claim to the generosity of a cruel task master. But let any dispassionate reader reflect on the munificent generosity of the English Government towards those unhappy refugees, whose only fault was that they, in common with their countrymen, were the dupes of intriguing emissaries from France, and he will be willing, even at this late hour, to do justice to a government that returned injustice by generosity, and insults by forbearance, until self-preservation left them no alternative but to cut that Gordian knot by force, which for half a century they had been unable to solve.

We find that that harsh and cruel government, as it has been known throughout the whole civilized world by the the writings of Bancroft, Minot, and other American historians, but still more by the beautiful poem of "Evangeline," not only did not hesitate to restore them their lands, but, to quote the words of the original Minutes of Council of October 9th, 1754, "it appearing that they were in very great distress, being entirely destitute of all necessaries, it was resolved that they should be permitted to return to their former possessions, and that *twenty-four of them, being the most necessitous, should be allowed provisions during the winter*; and that the other four should have a week's provisions given to

subsist them until they return to their former habitations at Piziquid, where they would be assisted by their friends and relations."\*

If, before another year had passed, the Provincial Government, despairing of any other remedy, was forced to expel those, who, though living under our flag for almost half a century, could neither be conciliated by the lapse of time, nor the effect of kindness and forbearance, let the blame fall upon those, who, for political purposes, sowed the seeds of disaffection among an innocent and harmless people, and finally drove an unwilling government to such sad extremities. (See Note B.)

We must remember that Governor Lawrence was the last person to be guilty of unnecessary harshness; as little can he be accused of groundless fears of the future effects of Acadian aggressions, if permitted to continue. He was thoroughly acquainted with them; was as brave as he was generous, and is to this day remembered as one of the most estimable and high-minded representatives which the Crown has ever placed over the people of this province. Governor Cornwallis seems to have regarded him as perfection in every respect, and his despatches to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations are constantly echoing his praises.

Such being the case, no little weight is to be attached to the following extracts from a letter from him to the Home Government, dated 1st Aug. 1754:—

"It gives me great pleasure that your Lordships look upon our French Inhabitants in so just a light. As any alteration in their affairs might be of the highest importance to this Province, they have been long the object of my most serious attention, which, with the frequent experience I have had of them in the course of my duty, has enabled me to form an opinion of them and their circumstances, that I shall now take the liberty to lay fully before your Lordships, together with such measures as appear to me to be the most practicable and effectual for putting a stop to the many inconveniences we have long laboured under from their obstinacy, treachery, partiality to their own countrymen, and their ingratitude for the favor, indulgence and protection they have at all times so undeservedly received from his Majesty's Government.

"Your Lordships well know that they have always affected a neutrality; and as it has been generally imagined here that the mildness of an English Government would by degrees have fixed them in our interest, no violent measures have ever been taken with them. But I must observe to your Lordships that this lenity has not had the least good effect; on the contrary, I believe they have at present laid aside all thoughts of taking the oaths voluntarily, and great numbers of them are at present gone to Beausejour to work for the French.

"They have not for a long time brought anything to our markets, but on the other hand have carried everything to the French and Indians, whom they have always assisted with provisions, quarters and intelli-

\* Yet Mr. Bancroft, with this before his eyes, concludes his chapter on the Acadians with the following words—"The hand of the English official seemed under a spell with regard to them; *was never uplifted but to curse them!*"

gence; and indeed while they remain without taking the oaths to His Majesty (which they never will do till they are forced), and have incendiary French Priests among them, there are no hopes of their amendment. As they possess the best and largest tracts of land in this Province, it cannot be settled with any effect while they remain in this situation; and tho' I would be very far from attempting such a step without your Lordships' attention, yet I cannot help being of opinion that it would be much better, if they refuse the oaths, that they were away."

In confirmation of this view, I may mention that an aged relative of mine, a daughter of old Governor Franklin, who died some years ago, but who could recal the early events of the American Revolution, having seen Governor Hutchinson's carriage burned by the Boston mob when she was a little girl, and who was well acquainted with the history of a transaction like this, which was necessarily the subject of discussion in her early life among the people of the province, entertained a very different opinion on this point from the Historian of Nova Scotia. I can distinctly remember her showing me a long letter, which she had received from Mrs. Tonge, the wife of an officer who was at Annapolis during the expulsion, which shews that the step was regarded by those who were personally acquainted with it as absolutely a matter of life and death for the English inhabitants. We may attribute even more weight to her testimony than to the opinion of Governor Lawrence, who was of course more or less responsible for the act, and may have been biassed. He was a soldier; perhaps his heart had become hardened by war to the spectacle of human suffering;—but here is a woman speaking of this painful transaction, more than half a century after it occurred, yet strongly urging its necessity. Can she have been influenced by a contemptible hatred of an inoffensive and harmless people? Surely their sufferings would have been an atonement for their offences, and a voice from those graves which they found in a distant land, would have pleaded with her to do justice to those, who could no longer suffer from an enmity which they had never provoked. Time would have softened her heart, and enabled her to judge more impartially of the justice or iniquity of the act. But she must have remembered the terrors that for many years surrounded the daily existence of our early settlers; how hundreds of emigrants, not daring to venture beyond the guns of the citadel, were crowded for years in the limits of the town; how many died from suffering and sickness; how famished crowds beset the Governor's door, praying him to save them from starvation. She remembered the price that was in a time of profound peace set upon every Englishman's head by the French authorities in Canada, who paid a horrible bounty on the scalps of English settlers. (See Note C App.)

Every tree had its dangers; the forest was a source of terror to the settlers who, even on the borders of Bedford Basin, ventured trembling into the woods to obtain the fuel which their families required. When night came, well might they exclaim, "Would that it were day!" The darkness was the shield of unseen foes, and each night that the emigrants

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laid down to sleep, they dreaded lest their slumbers should be broken by the terrific war cry of painted savages.

These are evils which may be endured for months ; but when they are continued for years, men are apt to become desperate, and to adopt any remedy, however harsh, that may preserve them from the misery and terrors of their unhappy existence.

There might have been more merciful arrangements as to the mode of effecting the expulsion, but we must remember that if the expulsion was necessary, it must necessarily be sudden in order to be effectual ; and in the hurry of the embarkation, it is not improbable that heart-rending separations were unconsciously caused by those who could not understand the language of the unhappy Acadians, bewailing their misfortunes and the relatives from whom they were severed. More than a century has since elapsed, and still some eloquent memorials of that sad event often unexpectedly meet our gaze, and recall to our mind the memory of the past. You may often roam in the depths of the forest, where the lofty trees would seem to indicate that the hand of man had never been ; yet, amid the dark green foliage you are startled at seeing the sickly bloom of the familiar apple-blossom growing on a stunted tree, that seems vainly struggling for light and existence in the dense canopy that has enveloped it. You find that you are standing on the site of an abandoned home of an Acadian. There is a huge fire place, blackened still by flames that have long been extinguished, and hurled down by the trees which have grown up through it, and which, concealing it by their foliage from the light of day, seem as if they fain would hide from the eyes of heaven the desecrated hearthstones of the unhappy Acadians.

“ Still stands the forest primeval ; but under the shade of its branches  
Dwells another race, with other customs and language.  
Only along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic  
Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers from exile  
Wandered back to their native land to die in its bosom.  
In the fisherman's cot the wheel and the loom are still busy ;  
Maidens still wear their Norman caps and their kirtles of homespun,  
And by the evening fire repeat Evangeline's story ;  
While from its rocky caverns the deep-voiced, neighbouring ocean  
Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.”\*

Having dismissed the subject of the two races that preceded our own as rulers of this province, I turn now to the settlement of Halifax, which was an event of the utmost importance to the English rule in this province. Though we had previously held Port Royal, or Annapolis, our tenure was insecure, and could scarcely be considered as extending much farther than the range of our guns ; but the settlement of Chebucto was an offset to the rising town of Louisburg, on which France had lavished its thousands without hesitation, knowing that, while it held Cape Breton, it held the keys to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and of the highway from Europe to America.

Lord Cornwallis, with a fleet of thirteen transports, which contained

\* Evangeline.

2,376 passengers, arrived at Chebucto Harbor, the shores of which were an unbroken wilderness, except where the Duke d'Anville's men had been collecting fuel; and there were no signs of civilization to be seen, excepting that sad spectacle of the ravages of war, where a few topmasts of the magnificent fleet which was sunk in the inner harbor, or Bedford Basin, were still visible above the water. On the 21st June, 1749, he landed on our shores, an occurrence, which, as a provincial event, we are assembled to commemorate.

There is one thing that, I think, we may naturally conclude, that but for the settlement of Halifax, not only Nova Scotia, but Canada and Cape Breton, would have long been the property of the French, and might have continued so until the present day,—a circumstance that gives a peculiar historical importance to the occurrence we are now recalling. The New Englanders well knew the benefits that would accrue from the establishment of a town at Chebucto, and suggested and aided in its formation.

The first clearing was made at Point Pleasant, but subsequently, in consequence of the shoals, the town was moved up to its present position.

The first settlers were apparently not the most serviceable, but were succeeded by others more adapted to struggle with the hardships of a new colony.

But the details of the settlement are hardly of a nature to interest a general audience. They resembled much the ordinary incidents of colonization; but there is one thing that is remarkable. We were not left like the Pilgrims to struggle alone with starvation, and to fight unaided with the savages. The settlers were put on government allowance. Every inducement was held out by the British nation to lead people to seek a home in Nova Scotia.

How quaintly the details of the early settlement now read! Again and again we are reminded of the singular change in colonial thought and opinions that has since taken place.

It is well worth while for the antiquarian to wander through the correspondence of Governor Cornwallis. At one time he alludes to Old St. Paul's, which, he says, will, according to estimates sent from Boston, cost £1,000.

Then he refers to St. Matthew's Church, which was subsequently constructed for the use of "Protestant Dissenters."

The whole town was surrounded by stockades to keep off the Indians. Fortifications of a very simple character were erected in George's Island and around the town, and a government mill built, which seemed to give more trouble to his Excellency than any other of the weighty matters on his mind.

Then there was a host of officials unknown to their descendants. There was a commissariat officer to look after the rations allowed the settlers; and, "credat Judæus!" so anxious was the British Government to increase the population, that it appointed, among other Colonial dignitaries, a government midwife! The Lords of Trade and Plantations unfortunately abolished this useful office; but as there are some of "the powers that be" upon the platform, I would respectfully suggest to our

politicians, whether the creation of a new head of a department would not—in this age of “women’s rights,” be a boon to the fair sex, by opening to them the door to public life, which has hitherto been so inexorably closed against them.

Can we be surprised that, when the older colonies revolted, and endeavoured to seduce the Nova Scotians from their allegiance, the latter remained firm and unshaken in their loyalty, remembering, as they did, that, not only for years had they been protected by the arms of Britain, from the ravages of the French and their savage allies, but had, even from the very hour of their birth, been blessed by the fostering care of the mother country!

There was a Council of six persons appointed. The Governor had under him the Lieutenant-Governor at Annapolis, which had been the capital of and almost the only British settlement in Nova Scotia before Halifax was built. Even now we find traces of this circumstance, as General Doyle receives a salary as Governor of Annapolis.

Before the winter set in there were accommodations built for 3760 settlers; but the settlement was a work of no slight expense, up to 1755 the annual votes amounting to not less than £415,584. There is an interesting little pamphlet, published by Mr. Aikins, respecting the early settlement of Halifax, that is well worthy the perusal of those who feel interested in the early history of the town.

The progress of Halifax was naturally retarded by the incessant hostilities of the Indians, and the unfriendliness of the French Neutrals, as I have already mentioned. Soon, however, after the Acadians were expelled, a new era seemed to dawn upon the province. The Indians became peaceable, and settlers could venture without danger beyond the stockades behind which they had so long remained. A large body of excellent emigrants from New England settled at Windsor, Horton and Cumberland, and an impulse was given to the province that entirely changed the face of affairs. Excellent German settlers also arrived—though, in one case, a number of persons were sent, as the Governor says, more suitable for the almshouse than a new colony, two actually dying of old age the moment they landed here. We cannot be surprised that the authorities at home, were deceived, in respect to emigrants, who were sent out under the auspices of a gentleman bearing the ominous name of “Baron Munchausen!”

The most valuable emigrants, however, were the Loyalists, a large proportion of whom were gentlemen of the first position in the old Colonies, who preferred sacrificing their property, and wandering away to Nova Scotia, to seek amid an unbroken forest a home and a grave under the British flag. Justice has never been done to these gallant men; it rests with us, their descendants, to see that they receive the meed of praise which their valor and their devotion merited. Unfortunately, the memory of their suffering in the cause of loyalty is almost forgotten—they needed a historian; but the time has glided on, and their history now consists of only a few vague traditions of their descendants. There, however, is Shelburne, a vast monument to their misfortunes. It was exclusively set-

tled by Loyalists, and at one time had a population of 30,000; now we have to wander through the forest to find the streets of the deserted town. I have seen some of the invitations to their winter assemblies. In the midst of their miseries they tried to be gay, and earned for themselves among their republican relatives the cognomen of "the dancing beggars." But the evil day came at last. The town was deserted. But whither went the unhappy settlers? We may be sure that the almshouse was the resting place of many; yet some took to the sword for a livelihood, and the names of Barclay and Delancey are to be found in the list of those who led our gallant troops to victory on the glorious battlefields of Spain.

When Mr. Goldwin Smith talks coolly of "emancipating the Colonists," which means in plain English getting rid of us, we naturally feel indignant at the proposal, remembering that had such principles only been avowed a century ago they would have saved our ancestors the loss of their lives and their estates, and would have left the descendants of the Loyalists something more than the empty title-deeds of the lands which they forfeited as the price of their loyalty. I had in my possession, a few years ago, the original grant to an ancestor of mine, who fell in the American war, of the tract of land on which, I am informed, the town of Catskill on the Hudson is now built. I believe there are hundreds of such relics throughout the province of the sacrifices of the Loyalists, which have been forgotten by Englishmen, and almost by ourselves. (See Note D.)

Time would fail me to describe the various immigrations that helped to swell our population, the principal of which were the settlement of disbanded regiments in Guysborough, Hants and Annapolis, and of Scotch Islanders from Skye and the Isles, who sought a home in the island of Cape Breton, as well as in Pictou and Sydney counties. Nor can I allude to the adventures of many Novascotians in the wars with the United States, though one of our privateers, extorted by its gallantry, the following eulogium from James in his naval annals, who mentioned the engagement of the "Rover" with the "Santa Ritta" and three gun boats as one that did honor to the colonies:—"This was an engagement that did great honor to Capt. Godfrey, his officers and crew, and proved how well the hardy sons of British America could emulate their brother tars of the parent country." (See Note E App.)

Nor can I refer as fully as I could wish to those whose names are well worthy of remembrance. The gallant Hero of Kars should not be forgotten by his countrymen; nor should we fail to recall with pride the equally world-wide fame of the defender of Lucknow. Strange indeed is it that in the two most exciting sieges of our times two Novascotians were to the fore, and have attracted to themselves the notice of the whole civilized world by their bravery and skill.

There are others, too, who, having adopted a more peaceful path, are hardly less deserving of our grateful remembrance. The late Mr. Archibald, whose *bon mots* are still retained and appreciated—the author of *Agricola*;\* the Novascotian† who has organized the finest commercial steam

\* The late Hon. John Young, father of the Chief Justice.

† Sir Samuel Cunard, Bart.

fleet in the world; nor among those who have earned a place in our memory, should we forget the venerable old man who for more than half a century presided over our courts of law, and by his decease left a painful blank in society which but few can fill.\*

Perhaps I should allude to the development of our political institutions, but seeing near me, as I do, the representatives of different opinions, I shall consider discretion the better part of valor, and maintain a prudent silence.

The question now arises, has the progress of the province been such as to be a subject of congratulation. While we have much to be proud of, there are certain plain palpable truths which we should not shrink from avowing, on a day like this, when we pause to look back upon the past, to find in it an omen for the future. What has been the progress of the province as regards population? What is the state of our agriculture—our fisheries, and education in the province?

As regards our population, the following interesting statistics are given by Mr. Knight in his very able essay on Nova Scotia and its Resources, of which I trust every one who is here will obtain a copy. The rate of increase in the following years was—

In 34 years, up to 1818	-	-	-	156.41
In 10 years, up to 1828	-	-	-	087.49
In 9 years, up to 1837	-	-	-	029.93
In 14 years, up to 1851	-	-	-	038.12
In 10 years, up to 1861	-	-	-	019.82

Showing a very remarkable and gradual diminution in the rate of increase in the population of the province. Thus, in 1828, the previous increase for 10 years was 87.49; while in 1861, for the same number of years, it only amounted to 19.82.

It therefore appears that the increase of our population during the last ten years has been less than it has ever been before in the history of the province.

Few will question that Nova Scotia, from the superiority of its mineral, maritime, and agricultural resources, as well as from its geographical position, is destined by nature to sustain a far larger population than either Massachusetts or Rhode Island. If its population were in the same ratio to the number of square miles, as that of Massachusetts, it would amount to 2,551,362 inhabitants; and if in the same ratio as that of Rhode Island, to 2,286,870. At present it only numbers 330,000." (See Note F App.)

Let us then turn to the state of our agriculture; and here, I fear, we have but little to congratulate ourselves upon. The agricultural societies have everywhere fallen through; and no one can pass, even through the best districts of Nova Scotia, without feeling how little justice has been done to the fine natural capabilities of our soil.

In Cape Breton, where the population consists of emigrants from the Scotch Isles who are utterly ignorant of agriculture, the state of farming

\* The late Sir Brenton Halliburton.

is absolutely deplorable. There are large districts of the finest upland reduced to a desert, producing nothing but weeds and thistles. Let any one pass through Judique and Middle River, and he will bear me out in my assertion. In some instances, nine crops of oats have been successively raised without manure from the same land. An intelligent person resident there has declared, that unless a change in the system is adopted, a large portion of the population will in a few years be starved out in what is one of the finest portions of British America. Numbers have already disgraced us by emigrating to New Zealand, while strangers are making their fortunes on the land which they had abandoned. Place these men on the finest farms in the Lowlands of Scotland, and they would starve themselves in ten years. The same remarks may in a less degree apply to the finest agricultural districts of Nova Scotia. "I was last week rambling through the Gaspereau valley, one of the most lovely spots in the province, and was astonished to find that not a quarter of many of the farms was under profitable cultivation—many of the fields producing nothing but weeds and wild strawberries." I asked a very intelligent and industrious farmer, whose fields presented a curious contrast to those of his neighbours, the cause of so singular a state of affairs. They have not sufficient capital to cultivate their farms, he replied. Would it not pay them well then, I asked, if they could sell a large portion of their farms for a reasonable price? "It would undoubtedly do so," he answered. "Every man owns here five times as much land as he can cultivate with any profit to himself." I am sure I am within the mark, when I say that, taking the average number of farms, our farmers do not cultivate more than one-sixth of the land which they possess. It may be said they are keeping the land for their sons. In a vast number of instances, the sons will not accept the present of a new farm as a gift; preferring "keeping a store," or trying their fortunes abroad. Can we be surprised that, in the present degraded state of agriculture in this province, young men should despise an occupation which in Great Britain is elevated, by science and industry, into one of the noblest occupations in which we can engage?

In one county a most respectable person has written to me, so unskilful is the mode of agriculture pursued, that a few good English farmers, if sent among them, would make an entire change in the appearance of the country, by the effect of their example and their experience. "They would be worth," he says, "their weight in gold to the farmers of this county."

What is the state of our fisheries? Gentlemen, we should be mocking ourselves if we were to shut our eyes to the plain and palpable truth. In the midst of the very finest fisheries in the world, our fishermen are the most ignorant and neglected part of our population. They are always needy—always in debt: a ruinous system destructive alike to the merchant and the debtor—swallows up their profits before they are realized. The honest man is compelled to pay for the bad debts of his dishonest neighbour, the merchant being compelled to extort large profits in order to meet the large losses he is certain to incur. Whether an act such as that adopted by the Legislature of Newfoundland will relieve the fisher-

men from their difficulties and the merchants from their risks, is a question well worthy of the attention of the public. In some cases, as in Lunenburg, the shore fisheries have been abandoned for the deep sea fisheries; and those who have engaged in the latter have been most successful. But my remarks as regards this portion of our population are founded not only on my own observation, but on the experience of those who have lived in their midst, and have felt and deplored the evils that I have described.

I now turn to the subject of Education, which has lately attracted the attention of the public. The remedy is a *vexata questi*, but the evil is beyond dispute. A third of our population cannot write! With universal suffrage, which should be based on intelligence, if not on property, this is a startling state of affairs, that demands our most anxious attention.

In all that depends upon ourselves, gentlemen, we have in many respects but little to congratulate ourselves upon; and it would be an act of blindness in us to shut our eyes to stern realities, which it will be the duty of all right-thinking men to meet and overcome. But as regards the blessings which Providence has showered upon us, we cannot be too grateful.

The agricultural capabilities of the province are, I believe, unsurpassed. The alluvial lands of the Bay of Fundy are without a parallel in the history of agriculture. Tell the scientific farmers of England of lands that have been cultivated for a century and a half, and are still as productive as ever, though they have never received a particle of manure, and they will scarcely believe you. Nowhere can a farmer, with so small an amount of skill and industry, make so comfortable a living as in Nova Scotia. Even with the defective system that prevails here, some of the average specimens of our cereal and root crops have attracted the attention of the British public; and Nova Scotia, hitherto supposed to be only capable of rearing fir trees, has sent the best oats in the Exhibition; and it has been actually proposed that that land of perpetual fogs should send home a cargo of oats, to be used as seed by the British farmers. Then, our apples and potatoes sent there, are almost unrivalled. What could we not do if we could only import a few Mechis and model farms to the shores of Minas Basin, and give our province the same advantages which those have enjoyed that have competed with us at the World's Fair.

Not one of the contributors from this province prepared beforehand for the Exhibition; but, as in October next there is to be a grand inter-colonial show of roots, cereals and fruits, organized by the Royal Horticultural Society, I sent, in May last, circulars, with the list of premiums, to our contributors, so as to give them timely warning, and to enable them to do full justice to the fine capabilities of our favored land. Though the approaching Exhibition is not under government management, it is of sufficient importance to attract the immediate attention of colonial authorities; and I trust we shall be able to put forth our whole strength, in order to enable us, with justice to ourselves, to place our agricultural productions beside the specimens that will there be collected from every quarter of the globe.

As respects our mineral capabilities, I need merely refer you to the opinions expressed in England respecting this branch of our department. When Governor Cornwallis stated to the British Government that this province if owned by France would be worth more to her than all the mines of Peru, he was nearer the literal truth perhaps than he imagined. Who can venture to say what is the extent of our gold fields, or the wealth and population they may attract to our shores! The Government I think have been prudent in not advertising too extensively the nature of our auriferous deposits. A year will settle the question as to their inducements for the investment of capital and labor; but it is a serious thing to bring persons hither, who may be unable to find employment, and may be compelled to depend upon the charity of the public for subsistence.

Then there is our iron, inferior to none; and, what is more important, our coal fields, unequalled in value and extent, we having sent home a specimen far larger than any that have been exhibited, though many have come from all the quarters of the globe. What says "the English Mining Journal" on this point?

The *Mining Journal* of May 11th, 1861, says: "It is of the highest importance to Great Britain that she possesses coal on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, whereby she will be able to support independently her steam navigation to the Western world. This advantage will give the nation the highest ascendancy in peace and in war.

"The coal of Nova Scotia is sufficient to supply the whole steam navy of Britain for many centuries to come, and also to meet amply the demands of the North American colonies.

"It is probable that Nova Scotia, in proportion to its extent, stands unrivalled in the productive capabilities of its coal fields; indeed, the coal fields of Cape Breton would appear to be almost inexhaustible, and Nature affords every facility for working them to advantage. The extensive coal deposits of Nova Scotia can scarcely be too highly estimated when considered in connection with increasing steam traffic—trans-Atlantic and Colonial—and the fact that no coal fields of any considerable value exist either in Canada, Prince Edward, or at Newfoundland."

When we reflect on the immeasurable advantages of our possessing coal fields on our coasts, and remember the maritime progress that our province has already made, we may well expect that Nova Scotia is destined to be in America what England is in the Old World—"the Mistress of the Seas." With a population not larger than that of a second rate English town, the province already ranks as one of the principal maritime powers of the world. Her registered tonnage in 1856 was one-sixth more than the aggregate registered tonnage of all the Australian colonies, Tasmania, New Zealand, the British West Indies, the African colonies, and Mauritius. While the amount of tonnage built in Nova Scotia, in 1851, was equal to between one-half and one-third of the whole of the tonnage built and registered in the United Kingdom in the same year. We now possess as large an amount of tonnage as that of Great Britain at the beginning of the last century; and should any of us live to

see the year 1900, we shall find, I am convinced, our native province owning an amount of shipping equal to the vast mercantile marine which the Mistress of the Seas possessed at the commencement of the present century.

Her geographical position indicates to every man who looks at the map of the New World that Nova Scotia is destined to be the great emporium of the trade of North America. There is something most striking and singular in her position and resources. Turn to the map of British America, which contains a territory larger than the whole of Europe, and far exceeding it in mineral and agricultural resources, and you see on the Pacific coast Vancouver's Island standing out, like a huge breakwater, as if to shelter the fleets of the Pacific. Nature has evidently pointed to her as the western outlet of the vast Colonial Empire of Britain. Then behold the sudden discovery of gold, attracting thousands thither,—and the no less valuable mines of coal, discovered at the water's edge. Then turn to the eastern coast of British America and you see Nova Scotia jutting far out in the very highway of nations, and looking as if Nature had raised her up in the ocean as a vast pier for the fleets of the Atlantic.

Gold, that magic power in suddenly creating new empires, is found at the same time in British Columbia, the western portal, and in Nova Scotia, the eastern outlet, of British America. But far more important to the future destiny of our province, are the deposits of iron, unsurpassed in quality; and the vast areas of coal on the southern and northern coasts, near harbours that could shelter the navies of the world.

[Here a memorandum was handed to Mr. Haliburton, which, as read by him, was as follows:

"It might be as well to mention, that the Chebucto Company took, yesterday, from one claim, \$4000 worth of gold."

A very rich specimen was also laid on the table at the same time.]

This announcement constitutes a new era in our gold mining, and a most happy omen for the future, which I am now attempting to foreshadow. Can it be chance, or was it not rather a piece of patriotism on the part of the Chebucto Company, who have left the nugget undisturbed until it should be announced as an auspicious part of the day's proceedings?

Who can doubt that Nova Scotia and British Columbia have a bright destiny before them, and that we may yet live to see them bound together in a chain of communication, along which the luxuries of Asia, passing on from ocean to ocean, will be borne upon their journey to the distant markets of the old world.

I must now conclude this necessarily imperfect address. It is but right to myself, as well as to the subject which I fear I have but inadequately discussed, to state, that I have only had since Tuesday to prepare for this occasion—having learned definitely only on the Friday morning previous, on my return to Halifax, that the honor had been assigned to me, and the interim until Tuesday having been occupied in the somewhat difficult undertaking of procuring an inspection of the official documents I have referred to.

I feel that it would have been far better if some older person had assumed this task—some “laudator temporis acti,” who might have looked with greater pleasure upon the past and with less hope upon the future. Yet I believe that you will agree with me that, as we are a young colony and can scarcely vie with the nations of the old world in our history, we can at least turn with pride and exultation to the future. Thank Heaven, it is the case. Sad indeed must be the natal anniversary which old age commemorates in solitude and silence; but sadder still the anniversary of nations who have nothing left but the glories of the past, and the historic memory of the dead, whose very fame seems a silent reproach upon the living. Dark must have been the day when the last Doge of Venice went for the last time through the time-honored custom of chaining\* the Adriatic by casting a ring into its depths. He must have felt the mockery of the act. The deserted warehouses, the empty palaces, the lonely port once crowded by argosies from every shore, told a mournful tale; and he must have returned to his palace to weep in silence over the departed glories of his nation. The festival now is, I believe, neglected: and well it may be! Never should captive Venice hold her ancient anniversary, until, in some happier hour, she shall burst the chains that have long enthralled her, and bury them forever in the depths of the Adriatic.

“*Dormira sempre, e non sia che la svegli?*” †

The present and the past are our own—the future is in the hands of Providence. Let us render ourselves worthy of the destiny that, we trust, awaits us, by burying those bitter animosities that have long divided us—by cultivating a feeling of patriotism, and a healthy tone of public opinion—by shunning the evils of democracy that have led to the disastrous fate of the neighboring republic, and by cultivating those social and political virtues that make us upright men and good citizens, and render us deserving of the bounty and the blessings of Heaven.

\* This ceremony is by some writers called “*chaining*,” and by others “*wedding the sea*.” These two terms can scarcely be considered *synonymous*.

† Petrarch, Canz. VI.

## APPENDIX.

### NOTE A.

Mons. LeLoutre does not seem to have been the only emissary of France who brought upon the unfortunate Acadians the fate that so soon awaited them.— Captain Murray, who commanded at Fort Edward at Windsor, (where the old blockhouse is still in existence,) was on the 24th day of September following examined by the Council as to the difficulties he had had with the neutrals at Windsor. He stated "that the inhabitants, till Mr. Daulin's arrival from Annapolis, were daily bringing in the firewood, according to orders; but they had desisted from doing so the moment the priest returned, who immediately went to the Fort and told the Commanding Officer to his face that, had he been present, the inhabitants should not have hid in one stick of wood, with other circumstances of the like insolent nature, tending to withdraw the inhabitants from their duty and allegiance."

Fearing the consequence of his insolent conduct, he desired to see Captain Murray next day, "but," says the latter, "as his insolence had been so great I refused to see him, lest he should have provoked me to have said or done anything that I should have been sorry for afterwards. He then went down to Mr. Mauget's store, where he ran on in a most insolent and treasonable manner, saying the bitterest things of the government and yourself" (Colonel Lawrence).

The deputies and the priest were compelled to attend before the Council. Among other matters, we find the following in the Examination of the Deputies: Q. "Had you ever any reason to complain of oppression from the government?" A. "No." Q. "Did Colonel Lawrence ever injure you?" A. "No!"

The examination of Mons. Daulin was most unsatisfactory; and the Council decided, in consequence of his violent and insolent conduct against the government, which tended to promote sedition and disaffection among the people, that he should be removed out of the country—a heavier penalty, though deserved, not being inflicted on account of his sacred office.

### NOTE B.

It having been found that, in spite of the law prohibiting the exportation of corn to the French garrisons, the Acadians were in the habit of resorting to Fort Beausejour, which the French, contrary to the treaty, had built on English territory; and they regularly supplied it with fresh provisions, though they were unwilling to provide any for the English garrison; and fears being entertained that the Governor General of Canada would endeavor to expel the English from the Province, in revenge for the destruction of the fort on the river St. John, which had also been built on English territory—a fear not diminished by the circumstance of the large naval and land force that had been collected at Louisbourg,—it was determined, for the protection of the Province, to retain the 2000 New England troops, which were in the pay of the province, for another year. An order was also issued for the Acadians to deliver up their boats

and arms, in order to prevent them resorting with provisions to Bousejour, and, in the event of a war, flocking to the standard of the enemy. The order was quietly obeyed at first, without remonstrance or complaint; but we find in the Minutes of Council of July 3rd, 1755, the following entry respecting two petitions that had been forwarded by the inhabitants of Piziquid (Windsor), the parishioners of Mons. Daudin, who had so short a time before been unwisely allowed to return to that place by the Provincial Government.

"The Lieutenant Governor at the same time acquainted the Council that Capt. Murray had informed him that for some time before the delivery of the first of the said memorials, the French inhabitants in general had behaved with greater submission and obedience to the order of the government than usual, and had readily delivered into him a considerable number of their firearms; but that, at the delivery of the said memorial, they treated him with great indecency and insolence, which gave him strong suspicions that they had obtained some intelligence which we were then ignorant of, and which the Lieutenant Governor conceived might most probably be a report, that had been about that time spread amongst them, of a French fleet being then in the Bay of Fundy, it being very notorious that the said French inhabitants have always discovered an insolent and inimical disposition towards His Majesty's government when they have had the least hopes of assistance from France."

"The Deputies were then called in, and the names of the subscribers to the memorial read over, and such of them as were present ordered to answer to their names, which they did to the number of fifteen, the others being sick; after which the memorial itself was again read, and they were severally reprimanded for their audacity in subscribing and presenting so impertinent a paper; but in compassion to their weakness, and their ignorance of the nature of our constitution, especially in matters of government, and as the memorialists had presented a subsequent one, and had shewn an appearance of concern for their past behaviour therein, and had then presented themselves before the Council with great submission and repentance, the Council informed them, they were still ready to treat them with lenity; and in order to shew them the falsity as well as impudence of the contents of their memorial, it was ordered to be read, paragraph by paragraph, and the truth of the several allegations minutely discussed, and remarks made by the Lieutenant Governor on each paragraph to the following effect, viz.:

It was observed, in answer to this paragraph of their memorial of the 10th June—  
 "That they were affected with the proceedings of the government towards them."  
 That they had been always treated by the government with the greatest lenity and tenderness. That they had enjoyed more privileges than English subjects, and had been indulged in the free exercise of their religion. That they had at all times full liberty to consult their Priests, and had been protected in their trade and fishery, and had been for many years permitted to possess their lands (part of the best soil of the province), though they had not complied with the terms on which the lands were granted, by taking the oath of allegiance to the Crown.

They were then asked, whether they could produce an instance that any privilege was denied them, or that any hardships were ever imposed upon them by the government?

They acknowledged the justice and lenity of the government.

Upon the paragraph, where

"They desire their past conduct might be considered."

It was remarked to them that their past conduct was considered, and that the government were sorry to have occasion to say that their conduct had been undutiful and very ungrateful for the lenity shown to them. That they had made no returns of loyalty to the Crown, or respect to His Majesty's government in the province. That they had discovered a constant disposition to assist His Majesty's enemies and to distress his subjects. That they had not only furnished the enemy with provisions and ammunition, but had refused to supply the inhabitants or government with provisions;

and when they did supply them with these things, they have exacted three times the price for which they were sold at other markets. That they had been indolent and idle on their lands, had neglected husbandry and the cultivation of the soil, and had been of no use to the province either in husbandry, trade or fishery; but had been rather an obstruction to the King's intention in the settlement.

"They were then asked whether they could mention a single instance of service to the government. To which they were incapable of making any reply."

In answer to this paragraph—

"We are now in the same disposition—the purest and sincerest—to prove in every circumstance, fidelity to His Majesty, in the same manner as we have done, provided that His Majesty will leave us the same liberties which he has granted us."

"They were told that it was hoped they would hereafter give proofs of more sincere and pure dispositions of mind in the practice of fidelity to His Majesty, and that they would forbear to act in the manner they have done, in obstructing the settlement of the province, by assisting the Indians and French, to the distress and annoyance of many of His Majesty's subjects, and to the loss of the lives of several of the English inhabitants."

It was also stated them—

"That they, in particular, though they had acted so insincerely in every opportunity, had been left in the full enjoyment of their religion, liberty and properties, with an indulgence beyond what would have been allowed to any British subject, who could presume, as they have done, to join in the measures of another power."

And, in reference to another paragraph—

"They were then informed that a very fair opportunity now presented itself to them to manifest the reality of their obedience to the government, by immediately taking the oath of allegiance in the common form before the Council. Their reply to this proposal was, that they were not come prepared to resolve the Council on that head. They were then told that they very well knew, for these six years past, the same thing had been often proposed to them, and had been as often evaded, under various frivolous pretences; that they had often been informed that, sometime or other, it would be required of them, and must be done; and that the Council did not doubt but they knew the sentiments of the inhabitants in general, and had fully considered and determined this point with regard to themselves before now, as they had been already indulged with six years to form a resolution thereon."

"They then desired leave to retire to consult among themselves, which they were permitted to do; when, after near an hour's recess, they returned with the same answer, that they could not consent to take the oath, as prescribed, without consulting the general body; but that they were ready to take it as they had done before. To which they were answered, that His Majesty had disapproved of the manner of their taking the oath before; that it was not consistent with his honor to make any conditions; nor could the Council accept their taking the oath in any other way than as all other His Majesty's subjects were obliged by law to do, when called upon, and that it was now expected they should do so; which they, still declining, were allowed till next morning, at ten of the clock, to come to a resolution. To which time the Council then adjourned."

The Deputies, still persisting to refuse, were put under arrest on the following day.

After they had been imprisoned, they sent word that they would take the oath; but as an oath under such circumstances would not have been binding, being a *compulsory oath, in foro conscientie*, and as there was a statute of the realm, by which Roman Catholics, once refusing to take the oath of allegiance, were incapacitated from taking it thereafter; the Council refused to allow a form to be gone through, that would have been, not only technically, but substantially, a nullity. American writers have supposed that this incident referred to all the Acadians; but the only persons concerned were a few deputies from Piziquid, the inhabitants of which were ordered to send other deputies to the Council, who subsequently attended, and also refused to take the oath.

There has been a great deal of capital made out of this incident, and much injustice has been done to Governor Lawrence. It is evident that, though the oath would not have been morally or legally binding; and though, under the circumstances, he might

naturally have doubted the sincerity of the offer to take it; yet, if there had been any disposition subsequently evinced on the part of the Neutrals to take the oath, they would have been released; as the Governor writes on the 18th day of the same month to the English Government, that he had refused, but intimates that he was waiting, before giving a different answer, "until we see how the rest of the inhabitants are disposed."

The inhabitants of the different Acadian townships were ordered to send deputies to Halifax, and on the 25th those from Annapolis river were examined by the Council.

"The said deputies were then ordered to be called in; and being asked what they had to say, they declared that they appeared in behalf of themselves and all the other inhabitants of the Annapolis River; that they could not take any other oath than what they had formerly taken—which was with a reserve that they should not be obliged to take up arms; and that if it was the King's intention to force them to quit their lands, they hoped that they should be allowed a convenient time for their departure.

"The Council then asked them several questions concerning the allegiance they so much boasted of in their memorial, and the intelligence which they say they have given the government, of which they were desired to mention a single instance whereby any advantage had accrued to the government; but this they were unable to do. On the contrary, it was made very evident to them that they have always omitted to give timely intelligence when they had it in their power, and might have saved the lives of many of His Majesty's subjects; but that they had always secretly aided the Indians, and many of them had even appeared openly in arms against His Majesty. They were then told that they must now resolve either to take the oath without any reserve, or else to quit their lands,—for that affairs were now at such a crisis in America, that no delay could be admitted; that the French had obliged us to take up arms against their encroachments, and it was unknown what steps they might take further; for which reason, if they (the inhabitants) would not become subjects to all intents and purposes, they could not be suffered to remain in the country. Upon which they said they were determined, one and all, rather to quit their lands, than to take any other oath than what they had done before."

The Council then told them that they ought very seriously to consider the consequences of their refusal. That, if they once refused the oath, they would never after be permitted to take it, but would infallibly lose their possessions; that the Council were unwilling to hurry them into a determination upon an affair of so much consequence to them, and therefore they should be allowed till next Monday, at ten of the clock in the forenoon, to reconsider the matter and form their resolution, when their final answer would be expected. And the Council then adjourned to that time."

In the mean time the deputies from Piziquid, Menis, and River aux Canards arrived.

On the Monday following (an eventful day in the history of this province) the Council met and "the said deputies were then called in, and peremptorily refused to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty.

"The deputies of Annapolis also appeared and refused the oath. Whereupon they were all ordered into confinement.

"As it had been before determined to send all the French inhabitants out of the province if they refused to take the oaths, nothing now remained to be considered but what measures should be taken to send them away, and where they should be sent to.

After mature consideration, it was unanimously agreed, that to prevent as much as possible their attempting to return and molest the settlers that may be set down on their lands, it would be most proper to send them to be distributed amongst the several colonies on the continent, and that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired with all possible expedition for that purpose."

#### NOTE C.

That great suffering was caused by the settlement of Halifax and of the province, by settlers being kept idle in Halifax, is evident from the petition of Robert Grant and Richard Bulkely to form a settlement at Lawrencetown for

the purpose of employing the people, and considered "by the Governor in Council" on 16th March, 1754. The petition states, "the subscribers having observed the daily decrease of the inhabitants of this town, with the great poverty of many that remain for want of employment for the laboring poor, are of opinion that nothing can conduce more to prevent a farther decrease of our inhabitants, and to the supply of the town with provisions, than the making out-settlements," &c. The petition concludes with the following paragraph, which is very indicative of the dangers of venturing beyond the limits of the town: "As the said undertaking will be attended with the immediate expense of at least £500 to the proposers, we humbly pray your Honor will indulge us for the first year with such a military force as may be thought necessary, and one or two blockhouses so situated as you shall judge most proper for our protection and defence, which may at the same time contribute to the security of the lots and settlement on the Dartmouth shore."

In a few days after the Council considered a petition of Mr. Charles Cooke, offering to settle a township at Mahone Bay, and asking for assistance in erecting a blockhouse, &c., referring also to the importance of "employing several indolent persons, and of keeping several good men from leaving the colony."

The Council decided to send a sloop-of-war with the blockhouse prepared by petitioner, and a company of Rangers to protect the settlers from the Indians.

That the hostility of the Indians was instigated by France, for the purpose of driving the English from Nova Scotia, or at least of restricting them to narrow limits, is evident from a most impudent proposal for a peace, made by Monsieur Loutre in the name of the Indians, the conditions of which would deprive the English of half the province, and would necessitate the destruction of Fort Lawrence. It very modestly specifies that as long as the English pass along the highways, they shall be treated as friends, but on their venturing into the forests, they would be regarded as enemies.

In the proceedings of the Council on the 31st day of July we find the following characteristic entry respecting this letter, "which, being read and considered, the contents appeared too insolent and absurd to be answered through the author;" it was, however, resolved that the Indians should be informed that, if they desired peace, they must come to Halifax, where they would be "treated with on reasonable conditions."

#### NOTE D.

Whether these two distinguished officers were ever at Shelburne, only their relatives can decide. Had they been American Generals, they would have had volumes written about them. Mr. Sabine, the republican biographer of the Loyalists, disposes of them in the following manner:

"His (Anthony Barelly's) son, Colonel Delaney Barelly, an aide-de-camp to George the Fourth, died in 1826. He had repeatedly distinguished himself, particularly at Waterloo."

This notice has certainly the merit of *brevity*. I may mention here, that his father, who was a leading man, was at one time Speaker of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia. Under the head of "Stephen Delancy," Mr. Sabine says "a son of his was aide to Wellington, and was killed at Waterloo." This gallant officer is only entitled to a passing notice, consisting of thirteen words! A tombstone could scarcely be a more laconic biographer.

Hundreds of instances of the sacrifices of loyalists might be collected, but the information respecting the different persons who forfeited valuable properties and went through great privations and sufferings (the fate of all the Loyalists,) can only be obtained from their relatives and descendants. The instance referred to is introduced here, not because it is in any way distinguishable from the case of others, who adhered to the British Crown; but because the writer, having had all the original correspon-

dence relating to Major Grant's family in his possession, can speak with some confidence as to the correctness of most of the occurrences here alluded to. As an example of the fate of the Loyalists, the following incident, though more peculiarly interesting to the writer, may not be unacceptable to the public :

Major Grant, a Scotch officer, who had settled in the State of New York, and had married a sister or aunt of Chancellor Kent, commanded a regiment of colonists in the war, and fell at their head in storming Fort Montgomery, expiring in the arms of his friend Capt. Johnston, the grandfather of the Hon. J. W. Johnston, of Halifax, whose family have letters from him, referring in very feeling terms to the death of his commanding officer.

After the evacuation of New York, a large number of Loyalists left for St. John, New Brunswick (then a part of Nova Scotia). Among these were Mrs. Grant, the widow of Major Grant, and her family, consisting of Robert Grant, her eldest child, who had served under his father as an Ensign, and was then only eighteen years of age, and her three daughters.

The vessel was wrecked, in the depth of winter, on the island of Grand Manan, in the Bay of Fundy. Colonel Chandler, the ancestor of the Hon. E. Chandler, of Dorchester, New Brunswick, and several others, perished.

Mr. Grant succeeded in carrying his mother, who was much exhausted, a long distance through the snow, but only reached a place of shelter in time to find that he was bearing a frozen corpse in his arms. After peace was declared, he returned to the United States to complete his education at Harvard (or Yale), where, it appears, his residence was not rendered very agreeable, from the violent hatred that still existed against all who had sided with the *Tories*, as the Loyalists were then called.

Though he succeeded in distinguishing himself at his University by his attainments, the state of his health, which had been undermined by the exposure he had undergone, and a too close application to his studies, compelled him to leave Harvard for Savannah, where he died, soon after, of consumption.

The last letter, announcing his approaching death, to his orphan sisters, whom he had been compelled to leave in an unbroken wilderness, among strangers, is a most eloquent and touching memorial of the sufferings of the Loyalists. Not yet of age, he seems to have become prematurely old by the effects of the trials he had undergone. In a few lines he calmly announces his approaching death, to which he tells them to be resigned; and he then devotes the remainder of his letter to parting advice as to their future life—how the elder sister should educate the younger (where schools were yet unknown), and the steps they should take, in order to obtain compensation from the British Government for the losses they had sustained. A casual reader would suppose it was the production of an aged father, who, having lived out the allotted period of human existence, was resigned to his fate,—his only anxiety or regret being absorbed in the welfare of those whom he was about to leave behind.

Few would imagine it to be the letter of a young man prematurely cut off just when life was most attractive, and when his services were so much needed by those who would lose in him not only a brother, but also their only guardian and protector.

Soon after his death, the University published a short biography of him, as a tribute to his memory, but the writer has never been able to procure a copy of it.

This is but one instance of Loyalist sufferings; but we may well say—*Ab uno disce omnes!* Volumes filled with thrilling adventures of heroism, danger and suffering, might be devoted to the subject.

If, however, their history shall ever be written, let a colonist, who can alone appreciate their character and their fate, assume the task of being their historian. Mr. Sabine, in his able work, which is valuable as a biographical dictionary, scarcely conveys to his readers any idea of the lives and adventures of the forgotten Loyalists.

Had we, their descendants, treasured up their memory as the Americans have that of their republican ancestors, I should not have been, at this late day, compelled to refer to family documents for an illustration of those innumerable instances of loyalty and suffering which should have long since been an enduring portion of our colonial history.

“Sed omnes illacrymabiles  
Urgentur ignotique longa  
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.”

I may state that there are still descendants of the Delanceys living in the Province, though their comparatively humble circumstances present a striking contrast to the former position of a family, that gave two Governors to the State of New York, and raised a regiment to fight for the cause of loyalty.

## NOTE E.

"On the 10th of September, as the British privateer brig Rover, of Liverpool, Nova Scotia, armed with fourteen long four-pounders, and 54 men and boys, under the command of Captain Godfrey, was cruising near Cape Blanco, on the Spanish Main, the Spanish schooner Santa Ritta, mounting ten long six-pounders and two English twelve-pounder-cartronnades, with about 85 men, and accompanied by three gunboats also under Spanish colors, and which, as well as the schooner, had the day before been equipped by the governor of Puerto Caballo, on purpose to capture the Rover, came out from near the land to fulfil their orders. The light breeze which had been blowing having died away, the schooner and two of the gunboats, by the aid of a number of oars, gained fast upon the brig; keeping up as they advanced a steady fire from the bow guns, which the Rover returned with two guns pointed from her stern, and as her opponents drew near, with her small arms also.

Apprized by their motions, that the schooner intended to board on the starboard quarter, and the two gunboats (the third appeared to keep aloof) on the opposite quarter, the Rover suffered them to advance until they got within about 15 yards of her. She then manned her oars on the larboard side, and, pulling quickly round, brought her starboard broadside to bear right athwart the schooner's bow; upon whose decks, then filled ready for hoarding, the brig poured a whole broadside of round and grape. Immediately after this, her active crew passed over to the guns on the opposite side, and raked the two gunboats in a similar manner. The Rover then commenced a close action with the Santa Ritta, and continued it for an hour and a half; when finding her opponent's fire grow slack, the Rover, by the aid of a light air of wind, backed her head-sails, and brought her stern in contact with the schooner's side. The British crew then rushed on board of, and with scarcely a show of opposition, carried the Santa Ritta. The two gunboats, seeing the fate of their consort, sheered off, apparently in a very shattered state.

"Notwithstanding this long and hard-fought action, the Rover had not a man hurt; while, on board the Santa Ritta, every officer, except the commander of a detachment of 25 soldiers, was killed: the whole of the killed, as found on the deck, amounted to 14, and the wounded to 17. The prisoners, including the latter, numbered 71. These, being too many to be kept on board, were all, except eight, landed; the Rover's captain having previously taken from them the usual obligation not to serve again until exchanged. This was an achievement that did great honour to Captain Godfrey, his officers, and crew; and proved how well the hardy sons of British America could emulate their brother tars of the parent country." (James's Naval Annals, vol. 3).

## NOTE F.

"When we reflect that excellent half-cleared farms, near good roads, with a house, barn, fences, &c., can be purchased for one-half the price that an emigrant is compelled to pay for wilderness land in the interior of New Zealand, where houses, barns, &c., have to be built, the land cleared, roads made, and where the market for agricultural produce is far inferior to our own, it seems inconceivable that emigrants should roam off to the Antipodes for a home, when one so near the mother country is open to them. But it is still more surprising that many of our people should have an idea that this country has no capabilities for absorbing an agricultural immigration, as it is the opinion of some most practical, intelligent men, that, by the aid of a proper system, half a million of people could find a home in Nova Scotia. The Cus os of Inverness is of opinion that 500 families, with a capital each of from £50 to £500, could find a home in that county at once; and I am convinced there is nothing exaggerated in the state-

ment. For the last thirty years, however, there has been a traditionary policy, alike adopted by all parties, of neglecting immigration, and of tacitly conceding that this Province is inferior to its sister colonies in its agricultural capabilities, and in the amount of land susceptible of profitable cultivation. We are only learning, at this late day, to appreciate some resources of which we were hitherto ignorant; and the day may yet come when, in this respect also, we shall value the capabilities of this Province more highly than we now do.

As regards our inducements for immigration, our comparatively short distance from England is a great advantage. Halifax, Nova Scotia, which, (calculating by length of sea voyage,) is 2351 miles distant from Plymouth, is

10,349	miles	nearer	to	England	than	Melbourne.
12,223	"	"	"	"	"	New Zealand,
12,410	"	"	"	"	"	San Francisco.
13,136	"	"	"	"	"	British Columbia.

Emigrants, unsought by us, attracted hither by the discovery of gold, and the attention which our department in the Exhibition has drawn to this Province, are already coming. Will they find us altogether unprepared for their reception? Is there any office to which an emigrant can resort for information? The question has been asked in our streets by strangers, and no one can answer it. It is to be regretted that within the past few weeks, some persons, having become disheartened at having spent all their money in the city, from not knowing where to go for employment, have returned to Great Britain in disgust, and will doubtless prevent many from coming to our shores, who would otherwise have selected this Province as a home. Something should be done by us, both in Great Britain and here, to attract a class of people to our shores, that will be of value, not only from the capital they possess, but from the benefits of their knowledge and example.

