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NUMBER SIX.

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FRONTENAC AND HIS TIMES,  
*G. U. Hay, Ph.B.*

THE WAR SONG, *Jas. Vroom.*

THE FOUNDATION OF HALIFAX,  
*Harry Piers.*

THE HESSIANS, *Jas. Vroom.*

THE CAPTURE OF MACKINAC  
IN 1812,  
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## THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.

BY JAMES HANNAY, D.C.L.

Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline" has rendered the expulsion of the Acadians more familiar to the world than any other fact in the history of the country. The story told in this poem, although a fiction, is such as might have happened as a result of the Acadian deportation, and represents perhaps accurately enough the hardships and bereavements suffered by the unfortunate people who were thus driven from their homes.

The subject cannot be otherwise than a painful one to people endowed with the proper feelings of humanity; and it must ever be a source of regret to the people of another race who now inhabit this land, that it was thought necessary to carry out so severe a measure as the expulsion of the Acadians one hundred and fifty-four years ago. At the same time, it ought to be remembered that the expulsion of the Acadians, whether justifiable or otherwise, was a war measure, and that it should be judged by the standards of morality which prevail when rival nations are engaged in war and their subjects are striving to slay each other. Not many months ago, we had a very pointed illustration of the code of morality which regulates the operations of war, when the entire population of Santiago, a city of 30,000 inhabitants, were forced to leave it at a few hours' notice, to enable the Americans to bombard it. Three times as many people suffered from this act of war as from the expulsion of the Acadians; yet it was regarded by those who sanctioned it and by the world, quite as a matter of course; and no doubt many who have wept over the fate of the Acadians looked upon the bombardment of Santiago as a very proper act. The lesson of all this is, that as long as wars prevail on earth acts of cruelty and injustice will be committed, and that all good men and women should lend their influence to bring wars to an end.

The immediate cause of the expulsion of the Acadians was their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown. When Port Royal was captured by the English in 1710, by the terms of the capitulation it was agreed that "the inhabitants within cannon shot of Port Royal shall remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in case they are not desirous to go before, they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to Her Sacred

Majesty of Great Britain." This distance, "within cannon shot of Port Royal," was interpreted to mean within three English miles; and it was ascertained that the number of persons residing in this area was 481. By the Treaty of Utrecht, which was made in 1713, France ceded all Acadia to Great Britain, and by the fourteenth article of that treaty it was agreed that "the subjects of the King of France may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, with all their moveable effects. But those who are willing to remain and to be subject to the King of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usages of the Church of Rome, so far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same." On the 23rd June, 1713, nearly three months after the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, Queen Anne wrote to Nicholson, the Governor of Nova Scotia, as follows :

"Whereas, our good brother, the most Christian king, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion : We, being willing to show some mark of favor towards his subjects, and how kind we take his complaisance therein, have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under your government in Acadia and Newfoundland, that have been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late Treaty of Peace, and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other of our subjects do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere."

These documents show the terms upon which the Acadians were to be permitted to remain in the country, one of the conditions being that they should become British subjects. This they could only do by taking an unconditional oath of allegiance to the crown and becoming, like other subjects, liable to military service for the defence of their country against all its enemies, whether of their own race or strangers. The Acadians refused to take the oath of allegiance ; and while they preferred their willingness to do no injury to British interests, claimed to be neutral, and as such exempt from all those services to which other subjects were liable. It would be tedious even to enumerate the many attempts that were made by the Governors and administrators of Nova Scotia to induce the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance. All were unsuccessful until the return of

Governor Phillips to the province in 1730. Then all the French inhabitants of Acadia took the oath of allegiance without any qualification as to not bearing arms. The Acadians afterwards declared that when they did this it was with the understanding that a clause was to be inserted exempting them from bearing arms. If that was the case, it only goes to show that twenty years after Acadia had become a British province, the French inhabitants still refused to regard themselves as British subjects.

When Cornwallis became Governor of Nova Scotia and founded Halifax in 1749, one of his first acts was to request the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance. This they all refused to do; but they offered to take the oath of 1730 with an exemption against bearing arms. They added that if the governor would not grant them this, they were resolved, one and all, to leave the country. The final demand upon the Acadians was made by Governor Lawrence in the summer of 1755. Deputies from all the French settlements were brought to Halifax and informed that all the Acadians must either take an unconditional oath of allegiance or leave the country. They all positively refused to take the oath, and Governor Lawrence and his council at once took measures to expel them. Transports were hired in New England for the purpose of conveying the exiles to the places where it was intended they should be placed, and troops were collected at the various settlements for the purpose of carrying out this most difficult and revolting duty.

Beausejour, the French fort on the Isthmus of Chignecto, had been captured a few weeks before, and Lieut.-Col. Winslow with a detachment of New England troops was sent to Mines with instructions to gather the Acadians of that settlement and place them on board the vessels in which they were to be deported. It is from Winslow's diary, which has been published in full by the Nova Scotia Historical Society, that we can best gather the particulars of the sad story of the expulsion. All the male inhabitants of Mines, over ten years of age, were commanded to meet in the church at Grand Pre on the 5th September, and they obeyed this summons to the number of upwards of 400. Winslow informed them that in consequence of their disobedience, their lands and tenements, cattle, live stock, and all their other effects were forfeited to the crown, and that they themselves were to be removed from the province. He told them, however, that he would take in the vessels with them as large a portion of their

household effects as could be carried, and that families would not be separated, but conveyed in the same vessel. Finally, he informed them that they were to remain prisoners at the church until the time came for them to embark. At Piziquid, Capt. Murray collected the male inhabitants to the number of nearly 200, in the same way and kept them in confinement. Considering the situation in which they were placed, they manifested but little emotion, and offered no resistance worthy of the name. The task of getting so many families together and embarking them with their household effects proved tedious, but it was finally accomplished, and about 3,400 of the inhabitants of Mines and Piziquid were thus carried into exile. At Aunapolis, 1,664 French inhabitants were embarked, and at Chignecto about 1,100. Altogether the number of Acadians removed from the province at that time was between 6,000 and 7,000. They were sent to the British Colonies to the south—Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts. A few were sent to England and some to the West Indies. North and South Carolina and Georgia also received some of these unfortunate exiles. They became a public charge in the colonies to which they were sent and were encouraged by the authorities of these colonies to go elsewhere. Many of them hired vessels and got back to Acadia, and in one way and another it is supposed that at least two-thirds of those who were deported succeeded in returning. Many of them had suffered great hardships, many had died, families had been scattered, and they were all impoverished—they who had been so wealthy and prosperous before their exile. Yet all these woes and troubles are now matters of the past; and to-day there are upwards of 100,000 persons of French origin in the Maritime Provinces, most of them descendants of the Acadian exiles of 1755.

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## FRONTENAC AND HIS TIMES.

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By G. U. HAY, PH.B.

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Of all the able and brilliant leaders that France gave to the New World, there was none more remarkable than Count Frontenac. The first part of his career in Canada may be passed over here, as there is little to attract our interest in the constant quarrels and bickerings that occurred between him and the civil and religious authorities at Quebec. His strong will and imperious character could not brook

interference; but the strength of Bishop Laval and the Jesuit clergy, supported by the intendant Talon, was a force with which even the selfwill and courage of a Frontenac could not successfully cope. His recall, therefore, after ten turbulent and factitious years of rule, was only a natural result. But his strong individuality, his marvellous courage and activity, his influence over the Indians and the scarcely less savage *coureurs de bois*, had left their impress on the country; and when seven years of misrule under two succeeding governors had brought Canada to the verge of ruin, it was felt that the sagacity and boldness of Frontenac could alone save it for France. The mishaps and troubles of this distant colony, torn by internal dissensions, and harassed from without by English and Indians, was the only thorn in the side of Louis XIV, whose dream had been to build up a new empire in the west. He turned to Frontenac as the only one who could bring glory to France and restore its all but ruined colony.<sup>1</sup>

Frontenac, now in his seventieth year, readily undertook the task. Neither his age nor enforced idleness at a brilliant court had dimmed his courage or relaxed his ambition. William Prince of Orange was now on the throne of England, and all the resources of the French king were required at home; so that Frontenac could not hope for much assistance from that quarter. But he trusted in himself and in his own genius to restore hope and courage to Canada. He had been told by the king to forget past animosities, but the necessities of the hour on his arrival at Quebec left no time for quarrels.<sup>2</sup> It was just after the massacre at La Chine by the Iroquois, and the whole country was paralyzed with fear. The first step of Frontenac was to restore some measure of order and confidence. He next called a council of the Iroquois, whom folly and the lack of sincerity on the part of Denonville, his predecessor, had turned from friends, or at least neutrals, into relentless enemies. The first message of Frontenac to them is characteristic of the man:

“The great Onontio, whom you all know, has come back again. He does not blame you for what you have done; for he looks upon you as foolish children, and blames only the English, who are the cause of your folly, and have made you forget your obedience to a father who has always loved and never deceived you.”<sup>3</sup>

But the task of appeasing the Iroquois was difficult, and one that taxed his resources to the utmost. These wily savages, skilled in

<sup>1</sup> Parkman: *Return of Frontenac*.

<sup>2</sup> Parkman: *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> Parkman: *Ibid*.



diplomacy as well as woodcraft, felt that their existence depended on successfully playing off the English against the French. They were the friends of either as long as their own interests demanded it. Their nearness to the English settlements of New York and Albany brought them more under the influence of the English, who eagerly sought their friendship for purposes of trade, or for an alliance against the French; and the latter just as eagerly wished for their friendship against their English foes. Denonville's lack of knowledge of Indian character, and his treachery, had brought calamity on the French settlements about Montreal, and had threatened to estrange the Hurons and other Indian allies of the French in the West. Frontenac had not come a moment too soon. His first design had been to fall upon the English settlements in New York; but that had been frustrated for want of ships and a sufficient force of men. He now devoted himself to winning back the Iroquois — no easy task since their appetite for French blood had been whetted—and when he had at least secured their neutrality, to strike a blow against the English. His presence soon had a wonderful influence upon the French. His energy and hardihood overcame all obstacles, and inspired confidence among the *coureurs de bois* and friendly Indians. He determined to attack the English to the south; and for that purpose three war parties were fitted out, one to strike Albany (which reached Schenectady instead), the second directed against the border settlements of New Hampshire, and the third against those of Maine. All were successful. The barbarous massacres of men, women and children in these doomed settlements by the French and their Indian allies, will always remain a stain on the character of Frontenac. Cruelty and bloodshed were characteristic of the border warfare of those days; but it is creditable that no retaliation in kind was attempted by the New York and New England settlements for the repeated butcheries of unoffending and defenceless settlers.<sup>1</sup>

The triumphant success of his three war parties, and the failure of Sir Wm. Phips to capture Quebec in the autumn of the following year, restored confidence to the French and brought nearer to a reality the dream of a French Empire in North America. The failure of the English settlements to retaliate with effect was due to their desire to remain at peace, to their scattered condition, and to the want of unanimity and of capable leaders among them. The French were united,

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<sup>1</sup> Parkman.

trained to savage warfare, and confident under such a leader as Frontenac. The chief object of the war parties against New York and New England had been to teach the Iroquois that they could not trust the English as allies. But the lesson was lost on these savages. In the spring and summer of 1690 and the two following seasons they continued their depredations, and kept the French settlers on the Upper Saint Lawrence in constant terror. In the spring of 1691, a combined force of English, Dutch and Iroquois, under Major Peter Schuyler, numbering two hundred and sixty-six men, left Albany and moved toward Montreal. A French force of between seven and eight hundred men crossed the St. Lawrence to meet them and encamped at La Prairie. Here a night attack by the English was completely successful, and Schuyler slowly retreated towards Chambly, on the Richelieu, where their canoes had been left. The sequel told by Parkman<sup>1</sup> is of great interest:

"A day or two before Valrenne, an officer of birth and ability, had been sent to Chambly, with about a hundred and sixty troops and Canadians, a body of Huron and Iroquois converts, and a band of Algonquins from the Ottawa. His orders were to let the English pass, and then place himself in their rear to cut them off from their canoes. His scouts had discovered their advance; and, on the morning of the attack, he set his force in motion, and advanced six or seven miles towards La Prairie, on the path by which Schuyler was retreating. The country was buried in forests. At about nine o'clock, the scouts of the hostile parties met with each other, and their war-whoops gave the alarm. Valrenne instantly took possession of a ridge of ground that crossed the way of the opposing English. Two large trees had fallen along the crest of the acclivity; and behind these the French crouched, in triple row, well hidden by bushes and thick standing trunks. The English, underrating the strength of their enemy, and ignorant of his exact position, charged impetuously, and were sent reeling back by a close and deadly volley. They repeated the attack with still greater fury, and dislodged the French from their ambuscade. Then ensued a fight which Frontenac declares to have been the most hot and stubborn ever known in Canada. The object of Schuyler was to break through the French and reach the canoes; the object of Valrenne was to drive him back upon the superior force at La Prairie. The cautious tactics of the bush were forgotten. Three times the combatants became mingled together, firing breast to breast, and scorching each other's shirts by the flash of their guns. \* \* \* At length the French were driven from the path. 'We broke through the middle of their body,' says Schuyler, 'until we got into their rear, trampling upon their dead; then faced about upon them, and fought them

<sup>1</sup>Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.

until we made them give way ; then drove them, by strength of arm, four hundred paces before us ; and, to say the truth, we were all glad to see them retreat.' He and his followers continued their march unmolested, carrying their wounded men, and leaving about forty dead behind them, along with one of their flags, and all their knapsacks, which they had thrown off when the fray began. They reached the banks of the Richelieu, found their canoes safe, and after waiting several hours for stragglers, embarked for Albany.

"Nothing saved them from destruction but the failure of the French at La Prairie to follow their retreat, and thus enclose them between two fires."

Frontenac determined by one last great effort to crush the Iroquois. To accomplish that object, he rebuilt Fort Frontenac, against the express orders of the king. Then assembling the whole available force of the colony, amounting to 2200 men, he penetrated into the country south of Lake Ontario, only to find it deserted and the enemy hidden in the impenetrable forests beyond. The task had been one of incredible difficulty, the route toilsome and dangerous, amid the heats of July and August. The indomitable leader, the aged Frontenac, was carried in a chair ; while Callières, the second in command, disabled by gout, rode on a horse, brought for the purpose in a bateau. After destroying the hidden provisions and standing crops, the force returned to Montreal. Frontenac sent an account of his "victory" to the king who rewarded him with the cross of the Military Order of St. Louis.<sup>1</sup> Next the news of the treaty of Ryswick reached America, but before peace could be patched up between the rival factions in Canada Frontenac had breathed his last.

"His own acts and words best paint his character, and it is needless to enlarge upon it. What, perhaps, may be least forgiven him is the barbarity of the warfare that he waged, and the cruelties that he permitted. Yet he was no whit more ruthless than his times and surroundings, and some of his contemporaries find fault with him for not allowing more Indian captives to be tortured. Many surpassed him in cruelty, none equalled him in capacity and vigor. When civilized enemies were once within his power he treated them according to their degree, with a chivalrous courtesy or a generous kindness. If he was a hot and pertinacious foe, he was also a fast friend, and he excited love and hatred in about equal measure. His attitude towards public enemies was always proud and peremptory, yet his courage was guided by so clear a sagacity that he never was forced to recede from the position he had taken. Towards Indians, he was an admirable compound of sternness and conciliation. Of the immensity of his services to the colony there can be no doubt. He found it under Denonville, in humiliation and terror; he left it in honor and almost in triumph."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parkman.

<sup>2</sup>Parkman : *Death of Frontenac.*

## THE WAR SONG.

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### A PASSAMAQUODDY LEGEND.<sup>1</sup>

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An old chief, sinking beneath the weight of years, yet strong in magic power, had been worsted in battle with the Mohawks and was in full retreat. When night came on, the enemy encamped; but the old chief and his disabled braves kept travelling till midnight. Then they stopped for rest, and the old man sang his war song :

I remember the days when I was young ;  
I never fled from fear of death, as I do now.

I remember the days when I was young ;  
I never fell back before an enemy, as I do now.  
Alas ! I have left my best and bravest warriors behind me ;  
They will be put to torture by the Mohawks.

I remember the days when I was young ;  
I never left one of my braves behind, as I do now.  
Alas ! I have left some of my best and bravest warriors.

I remember the days when I was young ;  
I never then did have to sing the song that I sing now.  
Let all the hearts of the trees hear my poor, weeping song ;  
Let them arise and help me to rescue the braves I have left behind.  
Let all the tops of the trees listen to my song, and come to help me.  
Let all the roots of the trees arise, and come to help me.

I remember the days when I was young.

The song grew louder and louder, until the enemy heard it and trembled. The old chief's voice was heard even in the most distant part of his country, and every faithful warrior grasped his tomahawk at the call. Before daylight the people from his scattered villages had come to his assistance, as did also the hearts of the trees, the tops of the trees, and the roots of the trees,—a mighty army; and the Mohawks were driven back to their own land.

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<sup>1</sup> Contributed by J. Vroom.

# THE FOUNDATION OF HALIFAX.

BY HARRY PIERS, ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE LIBRARIAN, HALIFAX.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British restored Cape Breton to France, but retained the mainland of Nova Scotia. It became evident that some change must be made in the condition of the latter colony, if it was to prosper and remain in British possession. A great proportion of its inhabitants consisted of French Acadians whose sympathies were entirely anti-English, and who could hardly fail to be a retarding element in its progress under British rule. Those who gave the subject most thought advised that the strength of the Crown be augmented by increasing the population by loyal colonists from the motherland.

At the conclusion of the late war, many regiments had been broken or reduced; and England was filled with discharged soldiers and seamen, who were looking for new channels in which to turn their energies. These, it was thought, formed good stock with which to revitalize and strengthen the transatlantic colony.

The scheme seemed an excellent one, and was approved by His Majesty, who referred its execution to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, at the head of whom was the Earl of Halifax. This gentleman entered into the project with great zeal. An advertisement was inserted in a London newspaper, offering inducements to dismissed officers and private men of the land and sea service, as well as artificers, to emigrate to Nova Scotia. The government promised a free passage, grants of land in fee simple, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes for ten years, as well as necessary arms, agricultural, fishing and building implements, and food for twelve months. The grants of land were to vary from fifty acres for every private soldier or seaman to six hundred for every officer above the rank of a captain, with additional grants for each member of a family.

This offer immediately attracted attention, and in a couple of months' time 2,576 adventurers—men, women and children—were ready to sail for their new home. Parliament granted £40,000 to cover the first expenses, and thirteen transports were ordered to embark the colonists.

The new town was to be formed on the harbor of Chebucto, on the eastern coast of the province. The excellence of this harbor had

long been known in England, and it had frequently been the resort of fishing vessels. No one, however, lived there, save possibly a few French families and Indians.

The command of the expedition was given to the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, son of the third Baron of that name, who was to assume the governorship of Nova Scotia at a salary of a thousand pounds a year. As subsequent events proved, no better choice of a leader could have been made.

Without waiting for the departure of the transports, Cornwallis and his suite set sail from England in the middle of May, 1749, and, after a boisterous voyage of one month, sighted the Nova Scotian coast. Having called at the little French settlement of Malagash, now Lunenburg, he coasted along to Chebucto Harbor, where he cast anchor on the 21st of June (old style).<sup>1</sup> Nothing met his eye but the magnificent harbor and ranges of low hills clothed with an unbroken forest that grew to the shore. Three years before, the remnant of d'Anville's immense fleet had ridden at anchor in the same waters, and had encamped its dying multitudes upon the beach. No clearings, however, had then been made, and the country which Cornwallis gazed upon seemed untouched by the hand of man.

During the last days of June and early in July the transports arrived with the settlers. Some of the ships, after discharging their passengers on George's island, were despatched to Louisbourg to carry hither Colonel Hopson and two regiments, which, in accordance with the treaty, were preparing to evacuate that town. These troops reached Chebucto late in July, bringing with them immense quantities of stores.

Immediately after his arrival, Cornwallis sent a despatch to Colonel Mascarene, lieutenant-governor at Annapolis Royal, instructing him to come to Chebucto with a quorum of his council in order that the former might take over the government. Mascarene having arrived, Cornwallis presented his commission, was sworn in, and a new council appointed. This council met for the first time on board one of the transports.<sup>2</sup> The fact was proclaimed by a general salute from the ships, and in honor of the event the day was given up to amusements. One of the first questions discussed by this body was the much-vexed one regarding the status of the French Acadians. As a

<sup>1</sup>Equivalent to July 2nd, new style.

<sup>2</sup>The table around which this board sat is still to be seen in the Province Building, Halifax.

result, a proclamation was issued requiring them to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown and calling upon them to assist and encourage the new colonists.

Meanwhile the settlers had been landed, and without loss of time they proceeded to hew down the woods and prepared to erect rough log-houses on the rising ground on the western side of the harbor. In clearing away the underbrush, a number of skeletons were found beside rust-eaten muskets—sad mementoes of d'Anville's ill-fated expedition.

By the beginning of August about twenty acres had been cleared, some wharves and rough storehouses had been built, a saw mill had been erected, and time had even been taken to sow grain. A small house for the governor was built in the centre of the town, and on completion was defended by a few cannon and a breastwork of gravel-filled casks. Timbers and boards for some of the buildings were brought from Boston, but most of the dwellings were to be formed of logs rough-hewn on the spot. In honor of its patron, the President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the new settlement was called Halifax.

A plan of the proposed town had been prepared by the engineer who accompanied the expedition, and in August the settlers assembled and drew lots for the land. Each man now knew where to erect his dwelling and the work of building occupied every hand. From morn till night the sound of axe, hammer and saw could be heard throughout the settlement, which rapidly assumed a more town-like aspect. A ship now arrived with over a hundred new settlers from England, for whose accommodation two streets were added to the town.

In order to protect the place in the event of an Indian attack, it was considered necessary that an enclosing line of defence be erected. The settlers were called upon to assist, but refused. The Indians hitherto had come to the settlement from time to time on friendly missions, and a treaty of peace had been made with the tribe that dwelt near the St. John River. About the first of September, however, alarming reports were brought in, that the Micmacs and St. John's Island Indians under the priest Le Loutre were designing to molest the new settlement. In all haste the troops were employed in making a barricade of logs and brush about the town, clearing away the woods for ten yards outside, and in building five stockaded forts.

A detachment of troops was sent to the head of Bedford Basin to erect a fort and keep open the communication with the interior of the province. Arms were given to those who built without the lines, and also to such others as could be trusted, and lamps were purchased in Boston to light the streets.

The reports regarding the hostility of the Indians proved true. Parties were attacked at Canso and Chignecto; and on September 30th the settlers were startled by news of the murder of four men who had been cutting wood near a saw-mill on the opposite side of the harbor, where the town of Dartmouth now stands. The indignant council refused to formally declare war against the savages, and decided they should be treated as rebels and banditti. A proclamation was issued ordering all British subjects to capture or destroy the Micmacs, and offering ten guineas for each one taken, living or dead, or for his scalp. An additional company of rangers was directed to be raised, and likewise a company of volunteers. Detachments of irregular troops patrolled the country everywhere about the town, and work on the rough fortifications was hastened.

In December the settlers were formed into a militia, and in the following month a guard of thirty-one men of this corps was ordered to keep watch every night. The settlers, who had previously been remarkably careless of danger, were now alarmed. It was feared that one of the store-ships that was moored in a neighboring cove might be boarded by Indians when the water froze about her, and instructions were accordingly given to have the surrounding ice broken each evening.

Although Indian alarms were frequent, and various hostile acts were committed throughout the more unprotected parts of the province, the winter passed at Halifax without the expected attack. The rangers and other troops, however, had to be marched from time to time to keep order and to maintain communication with other posts. The French had some time previously taken possession of land claimed by the British, and these encroachments gave more real uneasiness to Cornwallis than the open warlike acts of the Indians, of whose power to do harm he had not a high opinion.

Although most of the inhabitants of the town had houses to shelter them during the winter, there were a few, it is said, who remained in tents, and must have suffered great discomfort. Fortunately the winter was mild and favorable. In the spring much activity prevailed.



A hospital was erected, and also a school for orphans, and vessels were fitted out for fishing on the banks. Lots in the town were now worth fifty guineas. The hastily erected barricade, thrown up during the first fall, was removed, and a line of palisades carried about the town. This formed a much better protection. St. Paul's church, which still stands in Halifax, one of the few remaining relics of the early settlement, was erected during the summer of this year, the frame of the building being imported from Massachusetts. The government also made arrangements for the erection of a dissenting meeting-house, a court-house, and a prison.

In August a ship arrived with over three hundred emigrants. These were settled on the opposite side of the harbor, where they founded the town of Dartmouth. During the following spring a great number of Germans arrived. Most of these latter were sent in 1753 to Malagash Bay, where they built the town of Lunenburg; the remainder settled chiefly in the north suburbs of Halifax.

Halifax was now firmly established, and was rapidly taking its place among the important towns of the new world. As it rose into prominence, Annapolis assumed a secondary place, save in the never-to-be-forgotten annals of history. Settlers were attracted to the new town from many directions; and its commercial, military and naval importance rapidly increased, one of its greatest advantages being the magnificent harbor that had first attracted attention to the shores of Chebucto, and suggested their fitness as the situation of a colony.

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## THE HESSIANS.

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BY J. VROOM.

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The name Hessian is too often used as a word of dislike and contempt. A false idea of the ferocity and cruelty of the Hessian troops prevailed among Americans at the time of the Revolutionary War. Tories were bad enough in their estimation; and are so still, though it is no longer the fashion to abuse them. But a special antipathy to the German auxiliaries and their officers, which arose from this ill-founded dread, has been fostered for a century by writers of popular history in the United States; and no term of obloquy was too strong to apply to the hated Hessians. Even in Canada, there are careless

newspaper writers who perpetuate the wrong, forgetting that many of their readers may be descendants of Hessian soldiers who are thus maligned. Both the Loyalists and the Hessians, however, are receiving fairer treatment from the later historians of the United States.

The troops of Hesse, Brunswick and Waldeck, employed by the British government, were mercenaries, it is true, in the sense that their rulers or their home governments received money for their services in America; but the individual soldiers were not mercenaries in so disgraceful a sense as were those New Brunswickers who for the sake of pay or bounty joined the armies of the northern states in the war of the southern rebellion. Many of the Germans were not soldiers from choice: none of them had any choice about coming to America when they were ordered to do so. The German officers, without exception, were gentlemen by birth and education, comparing favorably with the very best in the British or Colonial service; the soldiers, if not better than the British, were under better control.<sup>1</sup>

At the close of the Revolutionary War, disbanded German soldiers obtained grants of land in Nova Scotia. In the township of Clements, between Annapolis and Digby, the shore lots were granted chiefly to Dutch-speaking Loyalists from New Jersey and Long Island. Back of these were parallel lines, two miles apart, settled by the Germans, and still known respectively as the Waldeck Line and the Hessian Line. These old soldiers proved to be good settlers, and seem to have been highly esteemed by their Dutch and English neighbors.

The old church at Moose River was built in part by the contributions of these people. It stood like a beacon on the hill, a gathering place for two generations of their descendants; and kindly thoughts of them come with the memory of its weather beaten walls. It is said to have been originally Lutheran. If so, after a time it was handed over to the Church of England; but the Hessians and Waldeckers were still regular attendants, meeting to sing their German hymns before the English service began. Their lusty chorals became weaker as time passed on; and the pathetic group of singers grew smaller, as one after another dropped out under the weight of years, until at last, two only were left to sing together. These two old men, far away from fatherland, lifting up their broken voices and their

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<sup>1</sup>Many recent writers might be cited in support of this. For an extended discussion of the subject, see Mellick's "Story of an Old Farm," and Lowell's "Hessians in the Revolutionary War."

aching hearts to praise their God in the hymns of their childhood, were the last of the Hessians whose name had been a terror and a scorn.

It is time these Hessians and their doings were better understood, that late justice may yet take away their undeserved reproach.

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## THE CAPTURE OF MACKINAC IN 1812.

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BY LIEUT.-COL. E. CRUKSHANK.

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Like a huge natural fortress in the entrance of the long narrow strait leading from Lake Huron into Lake Michigan, lies a tortoise-shaped rocky islet, some three miles across in its widest part, nine miles in circumference, and towering to the height of nearly two hundred feet above the surface of the surrounding waters. From the Indians it long ago received the name "Michilimackinac," which is understood to mean "The Great Turtle," and has since been abbreviated by dropping the first three syllables. In most places the rugged cliffs rise sheer from the water's edge, and it seems designed to command the navigation of the channel.

At Point St. Ignace, on the mainland; the Jesuits established a mission more than two centuries ago, which was soon followed by the inevitable military post and trading station. After the cession of Canada, this place was occupied by a small British garrison which, within a year, was surprised and massacred by the Ottawas, on the King's birthday, the 4th of June, 1764. When the rising of the Indians, known as Pontiac's War, was suppressed, the post was rebuilt on its former site, but in 1780, being threatened by a combined attack from the Spaniards and Americans, the garrison was removed to the island, at the southern end of which a fort of mason-work and timber was built on a bluff overhanging a safe and convenient anchorage, then called Haldimand Bay, in honor of the Governor-General of Canada of that day. A small detachment of British regulars was maintained here until 1796, when the island was transferred to the Americans, who began at once to enlarge the works with the intention of dominating the fur trade which was still entirely in the hands of British merchants.

The British garrison was then removed to the island of St. Joseph, about forty-five miles to the northeastward, where a small stockade and barracks were built for its protection.

Many British traders continued their dealings with the Indians in the United States in spite of great efforts to exclude them. Among these one of the best known and most influential was Robert Dickson, who had traded in the region between the Mississippi and the Missouri since 1786, and was reported to have ascended both of those great rivers nearly to their sources. In the autumn of 1811 he once more succeeded in evading the vigilance of the American officials and arrived at his customary trading station on the Mississippi with a large supply of goods. He found that the Indians there were in great distress, as all their crops had failed, owing to the excessively dry weather during the preceding summer, which had also driven all the big game of the prairies northward in search of pasture. During the winter he generously distributed among them his whole stock of goods and provisions, preserving the lives of many and greatly strengthening his hold on their affections. A great number of the people of the plains, however, perished miserably. It is stated that Red Thunder, a principal chief of the Sioux, living near the Missouri, when on his way to Prairie du Chien in the early spring, discovered that six lodges of his tribe had died of hunger and cold, and forty-five others had disappeared and were supposed to have famished on the plains. The starving wretches had even pounded up for food the dry bones of buffaloes which had lain undisturbed on the prairies for years.

On the 18th of June, 1812, as Dickson was returning to Montreal, he was met at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers by a messenger from Captain Glegg, Military Secretary to General Brock, bearing a letter dated at York on the 27th February, informing him that war with the United States might be expected, and asking information as to the number of "his friends that might be depended on."

In reply Dickson stated that all his "friends," whose numbers he estimated at 250 or 300 warriors, would assemble at St. Joseph about the 30th of June. Punctually to the day he arrived there himself, accompanied by 130 Sioux, Winnebagoes (Puants), and Menomonees (Folles Avoines), commanded by their principal chiefs. The garrison of that post then consisted of a sergeant and two gunners of the royal artillery, and three officers and forty-one non-commissioned officers and privates of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, mostly infirm and worn-out men who were considered unfit for any service except garrison duty, under the command of Captain Charles Roberts of the latter

corps, who was himself almost an invalid. The station there was described as "a square consisting merely of high cedar pickets to enclose the blockhouse and public buildings, the whole in bad repair and incapable of any defence."<sup>1</sup> It was armed with four very old iron six pounders, which were honey-combed and nearly useless, and six small swivels. Very few *voyageurs* had yet assembled there, as the British traders had left many of their men with their furs at other places. On the third of July, Mr. Toussaint Pothier (afterwards a member of the Legislative Council of Canada) arrived from Montreal in the capacity of agent for the Southwest Fur Company. Five days later, an express came from General Brock, at York, announcing the declaration of war and directing Roberts to attack Mackinac as soon as practicable. The *voyageurs* upon the island and from the trading stations on the mainland as far as Sault Ste. Marie were hastily assembled and organized as a small battalion of volunteers under the command of Mr. Lewis Crawford. Messengers were even sent to distant Fort William, at the head of Lake Superior, to seek the assistance of the agents of the Northwest Fur Company. They promptly responded to this summons, but arrived too late to render any service. "Those gentlemen," said Mr. Pothier, "with great alacrity came down with a strong party to co-operate, bringing to St. Marie's several carriage guns and other arms; and altho' the distance between St. Joseph's and Fort William is about 500 miles, they arrived at Michilimackinac the ninth day from the date of the express and found us in peaceable possession."

But Roberts found it quite impossible to equip his auxiliaries from the government stores, "having but forty guns in the Indian store and no gunpowder but what was required for the great guns of the garrison, and ball cartridges for his own men only, not a flint; in short the garrison was deficient of everything necessary for such an undertaking." In this dilemma he applied to Pothier who promptly threw open the storehouses of the company without hesitation, and the Northwest company's brig "Caledonia" was intercepted on her way down the lake and pressed into service. The next step was to secure the goodwill, if not the co-operation, of the powerful nation of the Ottawas, residing at L'Arbre Croche and other villages near Mackinac. Roberts stated that it was "a subject of much speculation how these people would act." In dealing with them he found a useful ally in

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<sup>1</sup> Report of Lt.-Col. R. H. Bruyeres, R. E.

the person of Amable Chevalier, one of their chiefs, who was the half-breed son of Louis Chevalier, a well-known French-Canadian trader. He was born and brought up among the Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche, but had for some years resided at the lake of the Two Mountains, near Montreal, whence he had returned to the "upper country" the autumn before to hunt during the winter. His influence among his mother's people was considerable, and he made every effort to engage them in the British interest. On the 12th of July most of the principal chiefs arrived at St. Joseph's and reported that no reinforcements had arrived at Mackinac when they had passed that island the day before. Robert instantly held a council, at which he made known his design; and after a long private consultation among themselves, and "much prevarication," they agreed to join him, and returned to their villages to arm their warriors. But even Chevalier afterwards admitted that "he never could bring himself to have confidence in their fidelity."

By that time another express had arrived from Brock with orders to suspend hostilities. Three days later, a third express came in with instructions "to adopt the most prudent measures, either of offence or defence, that circumstances ...ght point out;" and, being informed at the same time that reinforcements were expected at Mackinac, Roberts determined to attack that place at once. He had assembled 230 Canadians and 320 Indians, but among the latter there were only thirty Ottawas. Amable Chevalier was sent off to their villages to collect the remainder and join the expedition at the island. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 16th July the regulars, with two six-pounders, were embarked on the "Caledonia," and accompanied by 150 *voyageurs*, only half of whom were armed, and 300 Indians, in a fleet of ten batteaux and seventy canoes, set sail for Mackinac. The lake was calm and the voyage was without incident until midnight, when a canoe was seen approaching in the moonlight. It was pursued and taken. The prisoner proved to be Michael Donsman, an American trader sent out to reconnoitre St. Joseph's by the commandant of Mackinac, whose suspicions had been excited by the conduct of the Ottawas.

"By the almost unparalleled exertions of the Canadians," Captain Roberts reported, "we arrived at the place of rendezvous at three o'clock the following morning." The Ottawas had not arrived, but a landing was made at once without opposition, and the prisoner Donsman was sent to the settlement to warn the inhabitants to seek

the protection of the invaders before the attack began. The Canadian volunteers, officered by such men as Crawford, Pothier, Johnson, Enuatinger, Livingston, Rolette, La Croix and Frank, were set at work cutting a road and hauling one of the unwieldy iron guns to the summit of a ridge which overlooked the fort, while the Indians, directed by Dickson, Askin, Langlade, Nolin and Cadotte, occupied the adjacent woods.

The fort was a quadrangular enclosure, formed with cedar pickets twelve or fourteen feet in height, with block-houses at each angle, surrounded by a ditch and containing almost two acres of ground. Inside were the barracks, store-houses, and a bomb-proof magazine. Seven guns were mounted, and the garrison consisted of three officers and sixty-one men of the 1st Regiment of United States Artillery under Lieut. Porter Hanks. Nine small trading vessels lay in the harbor, whose crews, numbering forty-seven persons, might have been called to the assistance of the troops. But Hanks had received no information of the declaration of war, and his post was not well prepared for defence. Most of the inhabitants of the little village of some thirty houses clustered about the Roman Catholic church, almost within the shadow of the stockade, had already fled to the west side of the island to claim the protection promised them by the British commander. At ten o'clock a summons to surrender was sent in, which Hanks stated officially was the first intimation he had received of the existence of war. In a very short time, articles of capitulation were agreed on, by which the fort was surrendered and the garrison became prisoners of war. At noon the British flag was hoisted. Four of the schooners taken in the harbor, the "Mary," "Salina," "Erie" and "Friend's Good Will," were among the largest of the few trading vessels then on the upper lakes, and were loaded with seven hundred packages of furs, being the result of a year's trading of the American Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was one of the principal members.

The Indians were kept so well under control that Captain Roberts himself was astonished. "It is a circumstance I believe without precedent," he said, "and demands the greatest praise for all those who conducted the Indians, that though these people's minds were much heated, yet as soon as they heard the capitulation was signed, they all returned to their canoes, and not one drop, either of man's or animal's blood, was spilt, till I gave an order for a certain number of bullocks to be purchased for them."

The results of this bloodless conquest were important. General Hull attributed his misfortunes largely to this event. "All the hives of northern Indians," he said, "became hostile and were let loose upon us." The fear that "a large body of savages from the north" would be directed against his army seems to have greatly influenced his mind, and disposed him ultimately to surrender his whole force.

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## FOUNDERS OF FREDERICTON—THE STORY OF A GRANDMOTHER.

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By W. O. RAYMOND, M.A.

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### INTRODUCTORY.

During the war of the American Revolution, the Loyalists were by no means passive spectators of the course of events. Stung by the persecutions of their "rebel countrymen," who confiscated their property and subjected them to gross indignities, they sought protection within the British lines. Here many of them enlisted in one or other of the Loyalist corps commonly known as the British American regiments.

The number of Loyalists who served their king in arms was greater than is commonly supposed. At least fifty different Loyalist corps were organized in the old colonies, many of which served with marked distinction and won laurels on hard fought fields of battle. In addition there were about ten military organizations of Loyalists under General Haldimand in Canada at the close of the war. The fifty corps that served in the old colonies comprised about three hundred companies, including forty-seven troops of cavalry.

At the time of their maximum enrolment, the British American regiments numbered over 15,000 men,—all ranks included. This, however, by no means represents the total number of Loyalists who were in arms at one time or another, for the *personnel* of the various regiments kept constantly changing as the war progressed. Many died on the field of battle or in the regimental hospitals, some were disabled, some taken prisoners by the enemy, and some—to their shame be it said—grew tired of service and returned to their former



homes. It is certain that at least 25,000 Loyalists (exclusive of those in Canada) served the king in arms during the course of the war.

In point of numbers, the foremost of the Loyalist corps was that known as the New Jersey Volunteers, or "Skinner's Greens." It was organized in the latter part of the year 1776, by Brigadier-General Cortland Skinner. It comprised at first six battalions commanded respectively by Lieutenant-Colonels Elisha Lawrence, John Morris, Edward Vaughan Dongan, Abraham VanBuskirk, Thomas Barton, and Isaac Allen. General Skinner's brigade, at the time of its maximum strength, numbered about 1,400 of all ranks.

While the record of the New Jersey Volunteers on the field of battle was perhaps less brilliant than that of such corps as the Queen's Rangers, the 1st and 2nd DeLancey's, and the British Legion, it rendered substantial service at various points in New Jersey, and also in the defence of Staten Island; and one of the battalions, under Lieut.-Colonel Isaac Allen, was conspicuous for its gallantry in the southern campaigns in Georgia and the Carolinas. In consequence of severe losses incurred at Staten Island and elsewhere, the first and fifth battalions were amalgamated under Lieut.-Colonel Barton, and the third and sixth under Lieut.-Colonel Allen. This occurred about March, 1778. A further consolidation took place in the autumn of 1781, when the companies of Lieut.-Colonel Morris' battalion were attached to the first and fourth battalions. Thus at the close of the war the six original battalions had been reduced to three. These were commanded respectively by Lieut.-Colonel Stephen DeLancey, Lieut.-Colonel Isaac Allen, and Lieut.-Colonel Abraham VanBuskirk.

Colonel VanBuskirk's battalion contained a very large Dutch element. It was recruited at New York, Staten Island and in the neighboring parts of New Jersey. It appears to have been a reliable and serviceable corps, and had as its commander a rough and ready old soldier. Among the officers were Major Philip VanCortland, Captains William VanAllen, Peter Ruttan, Samuel Ryerson, Jacob VanBuskirk and Waldron Blaauw; Lieutenants Martin Ryerson, James Sarvenier, John Heslop, John VanNorden, Joost (or Justus) Earle and John Simonson; Ensigns Colin McVean, Xenophen Jouett, Malcolm Wilmot, William Sorrell, and Frederick Handorff.

The fleet, with such of the Loyalist troops as had elected to be disbanded on the River St. John, left New York on the 15th day of September, 1783, and arrived safely at St. John on the 27th of the

same month, with the exception of the two ships, "Martha" and "Esther." Of these the former was wrecked on a ledge near the Seal Islands, afterwards known as "Soldier's Ledge," and out of 170 individuals on board more than half were drowned. The "Esther" arrived at her destination several days after her sister ships, having narrowly escaped destruction by getting out of her course. She had on board the third battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers.

As already mentioned, the Dutch element was predominant in Colonel VanBuskirk's battalion, and by reason of the settlement of so many of the men of this corps in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the same thrifty element that figures conspicuously in the development of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, was planted in the Maritime provinces. Among those who arrived at St. John in the "Esther" were Lodewick Fisher,<sup>1</sup> his wife Mary, and their three children, Eliza, Henry and Peter, all of whom were born on Staten Island during the turmoil of events connected with the war.

The story that follows does not pretend to be quoted verbatim from the lips of the good old lady who was the narrator, but is based upon the notes made by one of her granddaughters containing recollections of her grandmother's story of the founding of Fredericton.

#### THE GRANDMOTHER'S STORY.

Your grandfather, Lewis Fisher, joined the New Jersey Volunteers on the 7th of December, 1776, and was taken prisoner by the rebels a few weeks afterwards along with his brother Peter and fifteen others. After an absence of a year and nine months he returned to his duty October 2, 1778, having made his escape from confinement.

When the war closed the New Jersey Volunteers lay encamped at New Town creek near Brooklyn, Long Island. We sailed in the ship "Esther," with the fleet for Nova Scotia. Some of our ships were bound for Halifax, some for Shelburne and some for St. John's river. Our ship going the wrong track was nearly lost. When we got to St. John we found the place all in confusion: some were living in log houses, some building huts, and many of the soldiers living in their tents at the Lower Cove.

Soon after we landed, we joined a party bound up the river in a schooner to St. Ann's.<sup>2</sup> It was eight days before we got to Oromocto, and there the captain landed us, being unwilling on account of the lateness of the season or for some other reason, to go further. He charged us each four dollars for the passage.

<sup>1</sup> After his arrival in New Brunswick, Mr. Fisher bore the name of Lewis, the English equivalent of Lodewick.

<sup>2</sup> The old name for Fredericton.

We spent the night on shore and the next day the women and children proceeded with some of the party to St. Ann's in Indian canoes; the rest came on foot. We reached our destination the 8th day of October, tired with our long journey, and pitched our tents at the place now called Salamanca, near the shore. The next day we explored for a place to encamp, for the winter was at hand and we had no time to lose. The season was wet and cold, and we were much discouraged at the gloomy prospect before us. Those who had arrived a little earlier in the fall had made better preparations for the winter; some had built small log huts. This we were unable to do owing to the lateness of our arrival. Snow fell on the 2nd day of November to the depth of six inches. We pitched our tents amidst the shelter of the woods and tried to cover them with spruce boughs. Stones were used for fire places. Our tent had no floor but the ground. The winter was very cold, with deep snows which we tried to keep from drifting in by putting a large rug at the door. The snow that lay six feet deep around us helped greatly in sheltering us from the cold. How we lived through that awful winter, I hardly know. There were mothers that had been reared in a pleasant country enjoying all the comforts of life, with helpless children in their arms. They clasped their infants to their bosoms and tried by the warmth of their own bodies to protect them from the biting frost. Sometimes a part of the family had to remain up during the night to keep the fires going, so as to prevent the rest from freezing. Some destitute people made use of boards which the older ones kept heating before the fire and applied by turns to the smaller children to keep them warm. Many women and children, and some of the men, died from cold and exposure. Graves were dug with axes and shovels near the spot where our party had landed; and there in the stormy wintry weather our loved ones were laid to rest. We had no minister, and had to bury them without any religious service. The first burial ground continued to be used for some years until it was nearly filled. We called it the "Loyalist Provincials' burial ground."

Among those who came with us to St. Ann's, or who were there when we arrived were Messrs. Swim, Burkstaff, McComesky, three named Ridner, Wooley, Bass, Ryerse, Paine, Acker, Lownsberry, Ingraham, Buchanan, Ackerman, Vanderbeck, Donley, Smith and Essington, with some few others.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In the muster rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, nearly all these names are to be found. I find in Capt. Waldron Blaau's company:—John Swim, Vincent Swim, Mose-McComesky, David Burkstaff and Frederick Burkstaff; in Col. VanBuskirk's company:—Abraham Vanderbeck, Conrad Ridner, Abraham Ackerman, Morris Ackerman and Marmaduke Ackerman; in Capt. Edward Earle's company:—Lodewick Fisher, Peter Ridnor and Peter Smith; in Capt. Samuel Ryerson's company:—Samuel Buchanan; in Capt. Jacob Buskirk's company:—James Ackerman. There is also a Sergeant Elihu Wooley in another company. Benjamin Ingraham was a sergeant in the King's American Regiment. He served in the southern campaign and was severely wounded at Camden and nearly died of yellow fever. He arrived at St. Ann's in a row-boat in October, 1783, built a small log house in the woods into which he moved on the 6th of November, at which time there was six inches of snow on the ground. W. O. R.

When the Loyalists arrived there were only three houses standing on the old St. Ann's plain. Two of them were old framed houses, the other a log house. [This stood about at the lower gate of the late Judge Fisher's place.] The houses must have been built by the first inhabitants, who were French. There were said to have been two bodies of people murdered here. It could not have been long before the arrival of the Loyalists that the last party were murdered.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the Loyalists who came in the spring had gone further up the river; but they were little better off for provisions than we were at St. Ann's. The supplies we expected before the close of navigation did not come, and at one time starvation stared us in the face. It was a dreary contrast to our former condition. Some of our men had to go down the river with hand sleds or toboggans to get food for their famishing families. A full supply of provisions was looked for in the spring, but the people were betrayed by those they depended upon to have supplied them. All the settlers were reduced to great straits and had to live after the Indian fashion. A party of Loyalists who came before us late in the spring had gone up the river farther,<sup>2</sup> but they were no better off than those at St. Ann's. The men caught fish and hunted moose when they could. In the spring we made maple sugar. We ate fiddle heads, grapes and even leaves of trees, to allay the pangs of hunger. On one occasion some poisonous weeds were eaten along with the fiddle heads; one or two died, and Dr. Earle had all he could do to save my life.

As soon as the snow was off the ground we began to build log houses, but were obliged to desist for want of food. Your grandfather went up the river to Captain McKay's<sup>3</sup> for provisions and found no one at home but an old colored slave woman who said her master and his man had gone out to see if they could obtain some potatoes or meal, having in the house only half a box of biscuits for themselves. Some of the people at St. Ann's who had planted a few potatoes were obliged to dig them up again and eat them.

In our distress we were gladdened by the discovery of some large patches of pure white beans marked with a black cross. They had probably been originally planted by the French, but were now growing wild. In our joy at this fortunate discovery we called them at first the "Royal Provincials' bread," but afterwards the "staff of life and hope of the starving." I planted some of these beans with my own hands and the seed was preserved in our family for many years.

<sup>1</sup> This tradition is probably connected with the destruction of the French settlement at St. Ann's in March, 1759, by a company of Rangers under command of Capt. Moses Hazen, as detailed in the New Brunswick Magazine for July, 1898, pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> The reference, no doubt, is to the King's American Dragoons, who settled in Prince William.

<sup>3</sup> Captain John McKay of the Queen's Rangers, who lived in the Parish of Queensbury, where he was a prominent magistrate. His wife was a sister of Judge Saunders.

There was great rejoicing when the first schooner at length arrived with corn-meal and rye. In those days the best passages up and down the river took from three to five days. Sometimes the schooners were a week or ten days on the way. It was not during the first year alone that we suffered for want of food, other years were nearly as bad.

The first summer after our arrival all hands united in building their log houses. Doctor Earle's was the first that was finished. Our people had but few tools and those of the rudest sort. They had neither bricks nor lime, and chimneys and fireplaces were built of stone laid in yellow clay. They covered the roofs of the houses with bark bound over with small poles. The windows had only four small panes of glass.

The first store opened at St. Ann's after our arrival was kept by a man named Cairnes, who lived in an old house on the bank of the river which stood near the gate of the first church built in Fredericton. [The site was in front of the present cathedral.] He used to sell fish at a penny each, and butter-nuts at two for a penny. He also sold tea at \$2.00 per lb., which was to us a wonderful boon. We greatly missed our tea. Sometimes we used an article called Labrador,<sup>1</sup> and sometimes spruce or hemlock bark for drinking, but I despised it.

There were no domestic animals in our settlement at first except one black and white cat which was a great pet. Some wicked fellows who came from the States, after a while, killed, roasted, and ate the cat, to our great regret and indignation. A man named Conley owned the first cow. Poor Conley afterwards hanged himself—the reason for which was never known. For years there were no teams, and our people had to work hard to get their provisions. Potatoes were planted amongst the blackened stumps in the little clearings, and turned out well. Pigeons used to come in great numbers, and were shot or caught in nets by the score. We found in their crops some small round beans, which we planted; they grew very well and made excellent green beans, which we ate during the summer. In the winter time our people had sometimes to haul their provisions by hand fifty or a hundred miles over the ice or through the woods. In summer they came in slow sailing vessels. On one occasion Doctor Earle and others went to Canada on snow shoes with hand sleds, returning with some bags of flour and biscuit. It was a hard and dangerous journey, and they were gone a long time.

For several years we lived in dread of the Indians, who were sometimes very bold. I have heard that the Indians from Canada once tried to murder the people on the St. John River. Coming down the river they captured an Indian woman of the St. John tribe, and the chief said they would spare her if she would be their guide. They had eleven canoes in all; and they were tied together, and the canoe of the guide attached to the hindermost. As they

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<sup>1</sup> *Ledum latifolium*—a heath plant called in the botanies Labrador Tea.

drew near the Grand Falls, most of the party were asleep; and the rest were deceived by the woman who told them that the roaring they heard was caused by a fall at the mouth of a stream that here joined the main river. At the critical moment the Indian woman cut the cord that fastened her canoe to the others and escaped to the shore, while the Canada Indians went over the fall and were lost.

In the early days of the settlement at Fredericton, some fellows that had come from the States used to disturb the other settlers. They procured liquor at Vanhorne's tavern and drank heavily. They lived in a log cabin which soon became a resort for bad characters. Here they formed a plot to go up the river, and plunder the settlers—provisions being their main object. They agreed that if any of their party were killed in the expedition they should prevent the discovery of their identity by putting him into a hole cut in the river. While endeavouring to effect an entrance into a settler's house, a shot was fired out of a window, wounding a young man in the leg. The others then desisted from their attempt, but cut a hole in the ice and thrust the poor fellow under who had been shot, although he begged to be allowed to die in the woods, and promised if he was found alive he would not betray them, but they would not trust him.

The narrator of the foregoing incidents, like the majority of the old loyalist matrons, evidently possessed sterling qualities which she transmitted to her descendants. To her son, Peter Fisher, who accompanied his parents to New Brunswick in 1783, appertains the honor of being our pioneer historian. A grandson, the Hon. Charles Fisher, Attorney-general of the province and Judge of the Supreme Court, has left his impress on the pages of our provincial history. Descendants of the fourth generation are now numbered among our most active and influential citizens.

## COMMENTS.

*Montreal Gazette*: What we said some time ago of the Old South Leaflets as affecting United States readers, is especially applicable to this experiment of Mr. Hay's, as affecting students of our own annals. At a nominal cost (ten cents a number) one is favored with a veritable treasury of tid-bits by our foremost historians, dealing authoritatively with what is most noteworthy in the records of the old regime and the new.

*Kingston Whig*: A great deal of information, valuable in an educational way and for storing in the literary archives of Canada, is being produced by this series. Canada requires national spirit and historical pride, such as is being coaxed into life.

*St. John Telegraph*: Mr. G. U. Hay is doing good work by the issue of these supplementary readings, and we congratulate him on their success. \* \* \* The series may now be considered to be well established, and the youth of the Maritime Provinces are to be congratulated on the manner in which history is now being taught through this magazine and similar publications.

*Truro Sun*: All who are interested in the choicest bits of Canadian history should procure these leaflets.

*Belleville Intelligencer*: The table of contents is an attractive one, and filling as it does, a neglected niche in Canadian journalism, the new quarterly should receive generous support.

*Quebec Mercury*: Number five of the Canadian History Leaflets is a publication which one can read through with pleasure and profit. This pamphlet is growing in importance and value with each issue, and it ought to be taken by all students of sidelights on Canadian history.

*Montreal Herald*: The series has been planned with the special object of giving interesting sketches on a variety of topics connected with our country's history. The result cannot fail to be of great benefit to the students of Canadian history.

*St. Andrew's Beacon*: All these gentlemen (the writers for the leaflets) are well qualified by study and experience to write not only intelligibly, but truthfully, upon the subjects they have chosen. The historical accuracy of their contributions may, therefore, be relied upon.

*Charlottetown Patriot*: The papers are very interesting and instructive. All who desire to know the history of their country

will find the leaflets an up-to-date and delightful means of attaining this object.

*Victoria, B. C., Colonist*: Something more than a legislative appropriation is necessary to secure the telling of the story of early Canada, so that it will impress itself upon the character of the people. All that can be done until the skilled narrator puts in an appearance is to collect as many of the data of the past as possible.

*St. John Sun*: The whole publication is not only useful for the purpose designed, but contains historical studies of great general value. \* \* \* Love of country is everywhere held to be a virtue in a people, and love of country should be grounded in a knowledge of our country's history.

*Halifax Presbyterian Witness*: These papers ought to be placed in the hands of senior pupils in our schools in order to accustom them to the pleasing exercise of looking into the sources of history, and the study of events as narrated at first hand.

R. E. GOSNELL, *Librarian Legislative Library, B. C.*: I must congratulate you not only on the conception of such a commendable enterprise, but upon the success with which it has been initiated.

*St. John Globe*: The text-books on Canadian history which from time to time have been prescribed in the public schools have not proved very successful. They have been dull and heavy reading and have been crowded far too full of minor facts and useless details. THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW has hit upon a happy plan to remedy this defect. It will issue a series of leaflets which will present the leading events and persons in our history in a clear and interesting manner. \* \* \* The various issues of the leaflets will certainly prove an acquisition to the school as well as to private libraries.

*Toronto Globe*: The object of the publication is obviously to popularize knowledge and build up national sentiment.

*Fredericton Herald*: It is on the whole a most excellent publication and should be eagerly sought after by students of history.

*Weymouth Free Press*: Not the least benefit to be derived from this effort to supply deficient library facilities, it is hoped, will be increased love on the part of the young for Canada, and a better acquaintance with the sacrifices endured by its founders.

S. E. DAWSON, LL. D., *Ottawa*: It seems to me to be a most promising idea.