

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

SESSION OF 1869-'70.

PAPER II.—“EVANGELINE” AND “THE ARCHIVES
OF NOVA SCOTIA ;” OR, THE POETRY AND
PROSE OF HISTORY.

BY DR. W. J. ANDERSON, PRESIDENT.

[Read before the Society, Jan'y. 19th, 1870.]

A good many learn history from Shakespeare and Walter Scott, and are apparently as well content as if their information had been derived from more authentic sources; nor is this to be wondered at, when we know that the creations of these demigods of literature contain so much truth as to make the alloy supplied by the imagination readily pass current as having the ring of the true coin.

It is not, then, surprising, that, when Longfellow delighted the world with his beautiful poem of “Evangeline,” the incidents of which adhered so closely to what had been generally accepted as authenticated facts, and which itself was so well calculated to appeal to the higher sympathies of our nature,—it is not surprising that it was received not only by his own countrymen, but by the people of England, almost as a revelation of holy writ. So strongly did this feeling prevail, that at the time of its publication in England, in 1849, it was introduced by the publisher as follows:—
“The beautiful poem of Evangeline cannot fail to awaken painful feelings in the mind of every thoughtful Englishman.”

It recalls to recollection one of those deplorable acts of cruelty and unfeeling tyranny, which too frequently marked the career of our early colonization and conquest. British history takes little notice of the transaction; but on the north shore of the Atlantic, the scene of the afflicting events, it is still remembered and pourtrayed in vivid colours, forming one of the most interesting portions of household narrative and tradition. Whatever may have been the crimes of some of the Acadians, it is undeniable that as a people they were treated with unnecessary cruelty; and though the circumstances are well nigh obliterated from the pages of authentic history, they have an imperishable record in the pages of "Evangeline."

Haliburton, writing in 1829, uses this language:—"It is very remarkable that there are no traces of this important event to be found among the records in the Secretary's office in Halifax. I could not discover that the correspondence had been preserved, or that the orders, returns, or memorials, had ever been filed there. In the letter-book of Governor Lawrence, which is still extant, no communication to the Board of Trade is entered from the 24th Dec., 1754, to the 5th Aug., 1756, if we except a common victualling return. *The particulars of the affair seem to have been carefully concealed*, although it is not now easy to assign the reason, *unless the parties were, in truth, as they well might be, ashamed of the transaction.* I have, therefore, had much difficulty in compiling this account."

Minot, Hutchinson and l'Abbé Raynal were the chief sources of Haliburton's information; but it is due to him to say, that while he looked on the deportation as "a stain on the Provincial Councils," and "would not attempt to justify what all good men have agreed to condemn," yet he admits, that, "by many, l'Abbé Raynal's account is thought to represent a state of social happiness totally inconsistent with the frailties and passions of human nature, and that it is worthy rather of the poet than the historian.

It is possible that the publisher of the History of Nova Scotia, 1857, on the resolution of the Legislature to publish records and progress of and arrangements of the Legislature.

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It is possible that no exception might have been taken to the published accounts of this really deplorable event, had not the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, on the 30th April, 1857, on the motion of the Honble. Joseph Howe, adopted a resolution requesting the Lt.-Governor "to cause the ancient records and documents illustrative of the early history and progress of society in this Province, to be examined, preserved and arranged, either for reference or publication, as the Legislature may hereafter determine."

In 1864, two hundred volumes of manuscripts had been selected, arranged, catalogued, and bound, by the intelligent "Commissioner of Records," T. B. Akins, Esq., who, in 1869, published by authority a volume entitled "Archives of Nova Scotia;" from the preface to which, the following extract is taken:—

"The expulsion of the French Acadians from Nova Scotia is an important event in the history of British North America, and has lately derived peculiar interest from the frequent reference made to it by modern writers. Although much has been written on the subject, yet until lately it has undergone but little investigation, and in consequence, the necessity for their removal has not been clearly perceived, and the motives which led to its enforcement have been often misunderstood. I have, therefore, carefully selected all documents in possession of the government of this Province, that could in any way throw light on the history and conduct of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, from their first coming under British rule until their final removal from this country."

With this introduction, I shall now invite attention to the poem of "*Evangeline*," and to the "*Archives*" which bear on the same events, not asking assent to any deductions of my own till we have concluded our review.

The poem of "*Evangeline*" opens with some lines descriptive of a portion of "*Acadia*" at the time of its

publication in 1849, and then introduces us to the Village of Grand Pré, in September, 1755 :—

“ This is the forest primeval ; but where are the hearts that beneath it
Leaped like the roe, when he hears in the woodland the voice of the huntsman ?
Where is the thatch-roofed village, the home of the Acadian farmers—
Men whose lives glided on like rivers that water the woodlands,
Darkened by shadows of earth, but reflecting an image of heaven ?
Waste are those pleasant farms, and the farmers for ever departed !
Scattered like dust and leaves, when the mighty blasts of October
Seize them and whirl them aloft, and sprinkle them far o'er the Ocean.
Naught but tradition remains of the beautiful village of Grand Pré.

“ In the Acadian land on the shores of the Basin of Minas,
Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand Pré
Lay in the fruitful valley. Vast meadows stretched to the eastward,
Giving the village its name, and pasture to flocks without number.

“ There, in the midst of farms, reposed the Acadian village ;
Strongly built were the houses, with frames of oak and chestnut,
Such as the peasants of Normandy built in the reign of the Henries.
Thatched were the roofs, with dormer windows ; and gables, projecting
Over the basement below, protected and shaded the doorway.
There, in the tranquil evenings of summer, when brightly the sunset
Lighted the village street, and gilded the eaves on the chimneys,
Matrons and maidens sat in snow-white caps and kirtles,
Scarlet and blue and green, with distaffs spinning the golden flax.”

And—

“ Anon from the belfry

Softly the Angelus sounded, and over the roofs of the village
Columns of pale blue smoke, like clouds of incense ascending,
Rose from a hundred hearths, the homes of peace and contentment.
Thus dwelt together in love these simple Acadian farmers—
Dwelt in the love of God and man. Alike were they free from
Fear that reigns with the tyrant and envy the vice of republics ;
Neither locks had they to their doors, nor bars to their windows ;
But their dwellings were open as the day and the hearts of the owners ;
There the richest was poor, and the poorest lived in abundance.”

Ten years before this, the Sieur Marin, with a detachment of Canadians and Indians, had been despatched on a mission to Acadia, by the Government at Quebec ; and the result is given us in a letter from Messrs. DeBeauharnois

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and Hocquart to Count de Maurepas, under date of 12th Sept., 1745:—"As regards the disposition of the inhabitants towards us, all, with the exception of a very small portion, are desirous of returning under the French dominion. Sieur Marin and the officers of his detachment, as well as the missionaries, have assured us of this; they will not hesitate to take up arms as soon as they themselves are at liberty to do so; that is, as soon as we shall become masters of Port Royal, or they have powder or other munitions of war, and will be backed by some sedentary troops for their protection against the resentment of the English.

"We have explained the conduct the English will probably observe towards the Acadians. We cannot imagine that they could entertain the idea of removing these people, in order to substitute Englishmen in their stead, unless the desertion of the Indians should embolden them to adopt such a course, utterly inhuman as it may be. The Acadians have not extended their plantations since they have come under English dominion; their houses are wretched wooden boxes, without conveniences and without ornaments, and scarcely containing the most necessary furniture; but they are extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Ile Royale, they have drawn from Louisburg, by means of their trade in cattle, and all the other provisions, almost all the specie the King annually sent out; it never makes its appearance again; they are particularly careful to conceal it. What object can they have, except to secure for themselves a resource for an evil day? Already many of them have caused enquiries to be made, whether they could find lands here to settle on, and whether they would be admitted to enter on them. *We have avoided all answer.*"

To do justice to the subject, we must go back to the 2nd October, 1710, to the capture, by General Nicholson, of Fort Royal from the French under Subercase. Previous to this date, England, though claiming the country from its discovery by Cabot, in 1497, had maintained no permanent hold, and for

upwards of a century there had been a constant change of masters ; and the inhabitants, or *Acadians*, had no sooner acknowledged themselves the subjects of one Crown, when, without the slightest regard to their feelings, interests, or wishes, they were transferred by treaty to the other. But it would seem that it was now decided to hold it, and by the fifth Article of the capitulation it was declared "that the inhabitants within a cannon-shot of Port Royal should remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in case they should not be desirous to go before ; they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her sacred Majesty of Great Britain."

By the treaty of peace signed at Utrecht, 11th April, 1713, "all Nova Scotia or Acadia comprehended within its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal," were yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain ; and by the 14th Article : "It is expressly provided that in all the said colonies to be yielded and restored by the most Christian King, in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves *within a year* to any other place, as they may think fit, together *with all their moveable effects*. But those who are willing to remain there, and to be subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, *as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same*."

It will also be right to have in full the letter of Queen Anne, under date 23rd day of June of the same year :—

" ANNE, R.

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well : 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 shew, by some mark of our favour towards his subjects, how kind we take

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his compliance therein, have therefore 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 our 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 the said lands and tenements, without any molestation, as fully and freely *as other our subjects* do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Kensington, the 23rd day of June, 1713, and in the 12th year of our reign.

By Her Majesty's command,

"DARTMOUTH."

It will be well here to note, that the 14th Article of the treaty limits the right of removal to one year; whereas, unless taken in connexion with the treaty, the Queen's letter assigns no limit.

After the death of Anne, in January, 1714, two officers were commissioned to proceed to the different settlements in the colony, to proclaim His Majesty King George, "and tender the oath of allegiance to the French inhabitants, with such English as ye shall find, and administer the same to such as are willing to take them, in the form prescribed, and will be loyal and good subjects to His most Sacred Majesty George, King of Great Britain."

By a letter addressed by Colonel Vetch to the Lords of Trade, on 24th Nov. following, we learn that, from the best computation, the number of French was "about five hundred families, at the rate of five persons to a family," making two thousand five hundred souls; all of which, with the exception of two families, had bound themselves to remove, and that several of them had already done so, the rest designing to do so next summer, after harvest.

On the 3rd May, 1715, Governor Caulfield wrote to the Secretary of State that the French inhabitants had refused to take the oaths or to quit the colony.

In 1717, the Acadians were again called upon to swear allegiance, when they replied: "Unless we are protected from the savages, we cannot take the oath demanded of us, without exposing ourselves to have our throats cut."

In 1719, Governor Philips complained to the Board of Trade that Pères Vincent and Félix had assumed the functions of Governors at Minas and Chignecto, and were inciting the French and Indians against the English; and he further reported to Lord Carteret that there were on the Isthmus four colonies of about 500 families, besides a settlement of 100 families at Annapolis, who, finding their new masters in no condition to oblige them to the observance of the treaty, remained on their possessions in defiance of the Government, *and only waited a rupture between England and France to re-establish the former Government*, there being only two hundred men in the fort to restrain them.

In 1720, Lieut.-Governor Major Lawrence called on the Acadians to send six deputies to confer with him, and also again summoned them to take the oath of allegiance; but, instead of complying, they addressed the following letter to M. St. Ovide, Governor of Cape Breton:—

" May 6th, 1720.

" We take the liberty of writing to you, sir, by the Revd. P. Justinian, in order to present to you our very humble respects. We have up to the present moment preserved the purest sentiments of fidelity to our invincible monarch. The time has arrived when we need his royal protection and assistance, which you, sir, may give us on this occasion. The English general whom we have expected for a long time has arrived, provided, as he has informed us, with full authority from his prince to compel us to take the oath of allegiance,

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or leave the country within four months, *without being allowed to take away with us any part of our personal property, except two sheep per family*; he claims the rest as the property of the king, his master. However, in this very pressing juncture, we have preserved our fidelity to our king, in declaring anew that we will persist in being faithful to our prince and to our religion, as you will see by the copy which we send you of the reply to the proclamation published by the said general."

On the other hand, the reply sent to the Governor's summons contained this paragraph:—"You reproach us, sir, in the proclamation, with having remained on our property more than the year stipulated in the articles of peace. We have the honor to reply, that it was impossible for us to do otherwise, for the following reason: that though permission to sell our real estate was granted to us, yet we have not been able to do so, not having yet found a purchaser; the above privilege, therefore, has been useless to us. Moreover, by a letter of the late Queen Anne, of happy memory, it was ordered *that a valuation of our property should be made, and the amount of said valuation should be paid us*, as was done on the evacuation of Placentia and other places ceded to the Queen by the King of France."

The letter of Queen Anne contains no such order; but there is much reason to believe that the simple, ignorant people were told so by emissaries from Canada and Louisburg, who were constantly going about urging them to decline either to take the oaths or to leave the country, under the confident statement (by no means unlikely) that the King of France would soon again reconquer it; and Governor Philips, in a letter to M. St. Ovide, of 10th August, 1720, wrote:—"It is not denied that Queen Anne granted to these inhabitants, as well as to those of Placentia, the liberty which you mention, of which some took advantage in leaving within the limited time; but of which others have justly lost the advantage, through their negligence or presumption.

Your commissioners, even, who came here to regulate this affair, in the time of General Nicholson, agreed that there was but one year's grace, and disputed only whether its commencement should be reckoned from the date of the said treaty or from the time of the convention of the inhabitants here, for the purpose of being instructed as to this favor. Since that time, they have not been prevented from withdrawing. Many of them left, and sold their possessions according to the Queen's intentions; but you must admit that there is a great difference of time between *one* and *seven* years that they have remained in his Majesty's dominions, in the full enjoyment of their property, until they have begun to think that they have more right here than his Majesty himself. So you ought not to be surprised if his Majesty at this time thinks proper, for the security of his dominions, to summon them in this manner, demanding of them their allegiance if they continue in the country, on the most advantageous terms they could possibly expect or desire; or to leave this country without having any regard to them."

From a careful and dispassionate perusal of the Archives, we cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the British authorities refrained from enforcing the treaty up to this date, for two very cogent reasons: in the first place, they were unwilling to drive from the Province the only settlers that were in it; in the second place, there were several times between the peace of Utrecht and 1755 when they were not in a position to enforce compliance, even if it had been thought desirable.

In reference to the first statement, Governor Mascarene thus wrote in 1720:—"There are but two reasons which may plead for keeping the French in the country: 1st. Depriving the French of the additional strength they would acquire by the immigration to Cape Breton; 2nd. The use they might be put to in providing necessaries for erecting fortifications, tilling lands, and keeping up a stock of cattle, *till the English themselves are powerful enough to go on.*"

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The Acadians, on the other hand, had two very powerful motives which urged them to remain : the first and purest was love of country, which never burnt stronger in any people ; the second, the desire to retain their property, strengthened by the confidence that the King of France would soon again be master of the country.

The element of religion also unhappily exerted its powerful influence. We have seen that by the treaty of Utrecht, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was conceded, but with the proviso, "*as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same.*" The British Governors and the French ecclesiastical authorities, unfortunately, entertained very different views as to how this clause was to be interpreted. The free exercise of their religion implied the right of having priests, which was at once conceded ; but then the great difficulty encountered by a Protestant government in dealing with a Roman Catholic hierarchy intervened. The missionaries had their superiors either in Canada or Cape Breton, and felt that the ecclesiastical tie which bound them was superior to any temporal obligation. The English Governors asserted that the instructions which the missionaries received were such as were opposed to English interests, and led them to assume authority in things temporal as well as in things spiritual : in short, that they were striving to be the virtual governors of the country. To counteract this, it was insisted that the Bishop of Quebec should only exercise his authority through the English Governor, and should send no missionary into the Province without his licence, and that the missionary so licenced should, before entering on his functions, present himself to the duly-constituted authorities, and take the oath of allegiance. Some of the missionaries made no objection to taking the oath, and, as the Archives shew, discharged their duties faithfully to their flocks, and in such a manner as to secure the respect and support of the Governors. Others refused or evaded the oath, and became the subject of correspondence between the Governors and the

Bishop of Quebec, and M. St. Ovide, the French commandant at Louisburg. It would also appear that in 1725 the French authorities, both ecclesiastical and temporal, had apparently conceded the demands of the English; but Governor Armstrong, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, of December 2nd, in that year, complains of a breach of faith on the part of M. St. Ovide :—"Notwithstanding those his fair promises, I have had the good luck to take two of his passports, the one for trading, the other carrying a missionary priest, both with his directions, coming into this Government, contrary to his faith. A copy of the said passports I herewith inclose for your grace's information."

On the 23rd June, 1729, Governor Armstrong wrote to the Lords of Trade :—"The first person I shall take notice of, for his notorious insolence, is Monsieur Breeley, the Popish priest of this River, who having for some time past endeavored to withdraw his people from their dependence on this Government, by assuming to himself the authority of a judge in civil affairs, and employing his spiritual censures to force them to submission. His insolence and tyranny growing at last insupportable, I sent the Adjutant to him, to his house, which stands a little way from the Fort, to desire to speak with him, but his intelligence proved so good, though nobody was acquainted therewith but Major Cosby, that, before the Adjutant could reach his house, he was gone off, and has ever since absconded somewhere in the woods about this River, among the Indians, pursuing his former practices of obstructing H. M. service, and exciting the savages to mischief. To prevent which, I thought proper, by order published at the Mass-House, to command him to be gone out of the Province in a month's time."

But the most able, the most active, and the most unscrupulous opponent of English policy, and who did most to bring about the deportation of the unhappy confiding Acadians, was one who appeared on the stage at a somewhat later date, and who acquired for himself an unenviable notoriety in

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Acadian annals—the Abbé Louis Joseph de La Loutre. This unprincipled man was sent to Canada by the Society of Foreign Missions in 1737. He became missionary to the Mic-Mac Indians of Acadie in 1740-1, and at once made himself obnoxious to Governor Mascarene by inciting the Acadians to opposition ; and there is abundant proof in the Archives that from the date of his arrival to the capture of Fort Beausejour, he was the most determined and uncompromising enemy of British authority.

In the winter of 1730, Governor Phillips had induced the Acadians of Annapolis River to subscribe the following oath : “ Je promets et jure sincèrement en foi de chrétien, que je serai entièrement fidèle et obéirai vraiment Sa Majesté le Roi George le Second, que je reconnoi pour le Souverain Seigneur de l'Acadie ou Nouvelle Ecosse. Ainsi, Dieu me soit en aide.”

There are 228 signatures attached, and it is worthy of note, as shewing the state of education, that no less than 48 of these subscribers wrote their own names.

Governor Mascarene, in writing to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, in 1748, says :—“ Mr. Armstrong having been Lieut.-Governor over the whole Province, in 1725, found means to bring the inhabitants to take the oath to the Government ; but on Governor Phillips returning, some years after, these inhabitants complaining that this oath had been extorted by undue means, His Excellency *brought them at last to take it willingly.*”

Some of the Acadians, however, asserted that, though they had subscribed the oath, there was an understanding that they should not be called upon to bear arms against the French ; and Governor Mascarene, in the letter above quoted, says :—“ I have heard it owned by those who were at Minas, when the oath was administered at that place, that such a promise was given ;” and there is no doubt that in 1727, on

the accession of George the Second, Governor Armstrong administered the oath of allegiance to some of the inhabitants of Fort Annapolis, and permitted a condition, that they should not be called on to bear arms, to be inserted in the margin ; but he received a severe reprimand from England for so doing. And in the subsequent year, Ensign Wroth was dispatched to Minas, Grand Pré and Chignecto, to administer the oaths to the inhabitants, none of whom had hitherto taken any whatever to the British Government ; and unfortunately the same mistake was committed as by Armstrong, for which he was summoned before the Council on his return and reprimanded, on the ground that the "articles and concessions" granted by him "were unwarrantable and dishonorable to H. M. Government and authority, and consequently null and void." These proceedings were the origin of the claim of *neutrality*, afterwards so repeatedly urged by the Acadians ; but there is abundant proof that subsequent to this, Governor Philips was able to announce, in 1730, "the unqualified submission of the inhabitants of the whole Province, with the exception of seventeen families at Chignecto, and about nineteen families somewhere on the sea-coast." "It is, therefore, apparent," continues Akin, "that no qualified oath of allegiance to the British Crown had ever been given by Nicholson, Vetch, Hobby, or Philips, nor was any such oath authorized or recognized by the British Government. And as Mr. Murdoch justly observes, no blundering or temporising on the part of subordinates could vary the position of those people as subjects, though they might to some extent palliate their errors, and partially account for their discontent and disaffection."

Things were in this state when, as has been already stated, the Abbé L. J. de La Loutre came upon the stage in 1740, from which date till 1755 he appears to have been actively engaged as a correspondent of Vaudreuil and Gallisonière, and as an emissary to instigate the Indians to acts of hostility against the British.

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There is evidence that he headed a body of Abenaki Indians in an attack on Fort Annapolis, "treacherously," says Governor Mascarene, "surprising and killing all the English whom he found without the Fort, destroying their cattle, and burning their houses."

2nd. That in 1745 he went to Canada to get instructions, and returned in September, and commenced by inciting the Indians on St. John River to hostilities, and, after distributing money among the Indians and Acadians, communicated with the Duc D'Anville's fleet by signals furnished to him.

3rd. In March, 1746, he intercepted the letters to Governor Mascarene at Annapolis, and sent them to Quebec. In July following, he aided the officers of a French frigate to capture vessels loaded with provisions for the British, and laid a plan, which he communicated to Ramesy and others, for the capture of Annapolis.

4th. As Vicar-General under the Bishop of Quebec, he influenced Pères Daudin, Germain, Manach and other priests to promote disaffection in the Province, to advise the Acadians to repudiate the oaths, and to leave the country.

Fifthly. He stands charged with the atrocious crime of having caused the treacherous murder of Capt. Edward How. He dressed up the Mic-Mac chief, John Cope, in the uniform of a French officer, and sent him to the English fort with a flag of truce. Capt. How, supposing everything right, came out to parley, and was shot through the back by a party in ambush.

With this introduction, I shall give an extract from one of his letters to M. Bigot, dated Bay Verte, 15th August, 1750 :

"The inhabitants of Cobequid are to decide as soon as they hear from France. They will make the number one hundred families. Perhaps we shall have more from Minas if they can escape. The Canabas, who were on the Chebucto road, have seized the letters of the English who were writing to

Minas and Port Royal. I will have them sent to you by the first courier. We learn that the English are getting ready to settle at Chignecto. Captain Rous, with two other ships, is to go to Bay Verte. The two vessels which passed each other on the banks have arrived at Louisbourg. It is said we are threatened with an approaching war. It is reported that they are recruiting the regiments and calling out a large militia force. Our gentlemen expect to be relieved. If that be true, it would be necessary to make one's arrangements for the magazines, either at Echedack or at the River Gasparos in Bay Verte, for the houses and lodging of soldiers and militia men. We are waiting only news from France to decide upon our course."

So successful had been La Loutre's efforts in 1749, that he caused a letter, signed by one thousand inhabitants, to be presented to Governor Cornwallis, stating that the Acadians over the whole country were resolved not to take the oaths, but would rather leave the country. The Bishop of Quebec, it appears, did not, however, approve of his course, and the British authorities had offered a reward for his apprehension, and he thus wrote him:—

"You have at last, my dear sir, got into the very trouble which I foresaw and predicted long ago. The refugees could not fail to get into misery sooner or later, and to charge you with being the cause of their misfortunes. * * * * * The Court thought it necessary to facilitate their departure from their lands; but that is not the concern of our profession. It was my opinion that we should neither say anything against the course pursued nor anything to induce it. I reminded you, a long time ago, that a priest ought not to meddle in temporal affairs, and that if he did so, he would always create enemies, and cause the people to be discontented.

"I am now persuaded that the General and all France will not approve of the return of the refugees to their lands, and

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the English Government must endeavour to attract them. Those refugees would do well to demand—1st. The free exercise of their religion, and by no means to allow their priests to be compelled, as it were, to ask a blessing from the Governor. They should take care that the Bishop shall have power to visit them at least every five years.

“ 2. That they shall neither take up arms against the French or their allies, nor even act as pilots.

“ 3. That they shall have the right to leave the country whenever they think proper to do so. Exhort them strongly not to return to the English without these conditions; make it appear that without a precise explanation, religion would gradually disappear from among them.”

Things had arrived at such a state in 1753, that the British authorities not only offered no opposition to the withdrawal of the Acadians, but entered seriously into the consideration of the propriety of removing them; and Governor Hopson took great pains to ascertain the total number of Indians and Acadians, and reported on the 23rd July, to the Lords of Trade, that there were 973 families of Acadians and about 300 families of Indians. It would, however, appear that in September following, the Acadians having sent in to Governor Hopson a memorial couched in the terms recommended by the Bishop, he gave them permission to return and resume their lands, to have the free exercise of their religion, “in the same manner as the other French inhabitants, and shall enjoy all the privileges granted them by the treaty of Utrecht,” on their taking the following oath:

“ Je promet et jure sincèrement, que je serai fidèle, et que je porterai une loyauté parfaite vers Sa Majesté Le Roi George Second. Ainsi, que Dieu me soit en aide.”

Very little good resulted from these negotiations; and in 1754, the Acadians, who, at the suggestion of La Loutre, had

abandoned their farms at Minas and Beaubassin, and removed beyond the isthmus, sent deputies to Quebec, who were "*pretty badly received by the General*;" and the Archives give a letter, of date Nov. 9, where the following passages occur:—"Your policy of threatening the English by our savages is an excellent one. They will fear them still more when they do strike. I regard these savages as the mainstay of the colony; and in order to keep alive this spirit of hatred and revenge, we must remove every occasion of allowing it to be bribed; and the present condition of Canada demands that those nations which are strongly connected should strike without delay, *provided the order shall not appear to come from me*, because I have precise instructions to remain on the defensive."

La Loutre and Daudin continued their efforts, and in 1755 the British Government determined to strike a blow which it trusted would effectually put an end to their machinations. La Loutre, accompanied by a large body of Acadians, retreated to Fort Beausejour, which was besieged by Col. Monckton, to whom it surrendered on the 16th June, La Loutre having escaped before the surrender. There were found in the Fort 150 regulars and 300 Acadians; 450 Acadians had also been stationed at a block-house on the River Malaguash.

On the surrender of Beausejour, the Governor was instructed to consult and take measures with Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn as to any further emergency, and it was resolved that the Acadians should again be called upon to take the oaths without reserve, or that effectual measures should be at once taken to remove them from the Province. It so happened that on the 9th July the British arms sustained, on the Banks of the Monongahela, the most disastrous defeat ever experienced, General Braddock having been completely routed, with terrible loss. This news was communicated to the Acadians by the Canadian emissaries, coupled with the confident announcement that the British would soon be driven from Acadia. The inhabitants were so emboldened by this, that when they were called upon to take the oath, they

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peremptorily refused, writing to Governor Lawrence :—" As we are all well aware that the King our master loves and protects only constant, faithful, and free subjects, and as it is only by virtue of his kindness, and of the fidelity which we have always preserved towards his Majesty, that he has granted to us, and still continues to grant to us, the entire possession of our property, and the free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, we desire to continue, to the utmost of our power, to be faithful and dutiful in the same manner that we were allowed to be by his Excellency Mr. Richard Philipp."

On the receipt of this answer, and the deputies having peremptorily declined to take the oath, Gov. Lawrence, on the 31st July, wrote to Col. Monckton :—" The deputies of the French inhabitants of the districts of Annapolis, Minas and Pisiquid, having been called before this Council, have refused to take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, and have also declared this to be the sentiments of the whole people ; whereupon the Council advised, and it is accordingly determined, that they shall be removed out of the country as soon as possible ; and as to those about the isthmus who were in arms, and therefore entitled to no favor from the Government, it is determined to begin with them first ; and for this purpose, orders are given for a sufficient number of transports to be sent up the bay with all possible despatch for taking them on board, by whom you will receive particular instructions as to the manner of their being disposed of, the places of their destination, and every other thing necessary for that purpose.

" In the meantime, it will be necessary to keep this measure as secret as possible, as well to prevent their attempting to escape as to carry off their cattle, &c. ; and the better to effect this, you will endeavor to fall on some stratagem to get the men, both young and old (especially the heads of families), into your power, and detain them till the transports shall arrive, so as they may be ready to be shipped off ; for when

this is done, it is not much to be feared that the women and children will attempt to go away and carry off the cattle."

In order to prevent the return of the Acadians, or their joining and strengthening their countrymen at Cape Breton, St. Johns, or Canada, it was decided that they should be sent in different detachments to Massachussets, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New York,—the Governors of which colonies received instructions as to their reception and the prevention of their return.

We have already given estimates of the numbers of Acadians, taken at different periods by different Governors. The first census or estimate by Col. Vetch, in 1714, amounted to 2,500 souls, counting *five* to a family.

According to Governor Hopson's census, they had increased in 1753 to 973 families, or 4865 souls.

In 1755, the period at which we have now arrived, numbers who had been induced to emigrate to Canada, St. Johns, and Cape Breton, had returned; and it is believed that there were then in Acadia about 7,000 souls. This is the estimate of Governor Lawrence; Raynal says 18,000.

As soon as the authorities had decided on the terrible alternative of deportation, instructions were issued to Colonel Winslow, commanding at Pisiquid, and Major Handfield at Annapolis Royal, which were in terms sufficiently considerate and humane, and calculated to secure that "whole families should go in the same vessel," and to make the removal "as easy as His Majesty's service will permit."

The Archives shew that *eighteen* vessels were chartered and suitably provisioned, and instructed to rendezvous at convenient stations. Those appointed to rendezvous in the Basin of Minas were destined to carry 500 persons to North

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Carolina; 1000 to Virginia, and 500 or more to Maryland. Those in Annapolis river were to convey 300 persons to Philadelphia, 200 to New York, 300 to Connecticut, and 200 or more to Boston. The accounts shew that this was done at a cost of £6,568 7s. 6d., exclusive of provisions furnished by Government.

All arrangements were completed, and the transports had arrived at the various places of the proposed embarkation about the sixth of September, when Col. Winslow issued his proclamation calling on the people to assemble to hear the King's orders, similar proclamations being published in the other districts; and as the account given by Longfellow of the proceedings at Grand Pré is substantially correct, and probably furnishes a fair portrait of what took place at the other places, I shall read from *Evangeline* what is there said of this most heart-rending event:

CANTO IV.

"Pleasantly rose next morn the sun on the village of Grand Pré.
Pleasantly gleamed in the soft sweet air the Basin of Minas,
Where the ships, with their wavering shadows, were riding at anchor;
Life had long been astir in the village, and clamorous labour
Knocked with its hundred hands at the golden gates of the morning.
Now, from the country round, from the farms and the neighbouring hamlets,
Came in their holiday dresses the blithe Acadian peasants.
Many a glad good-morrow and jocund laugh from the young folk,
Made the bright air brighter, as up from the numerous meadows,
Where no path could be seen, but the track of wheels in the green-sward,
Group after group appeared, and joined or passed on the highway.
Long ere noon in the village, all sounds of labour were silenced.
Thronged were the streets with people, and noisy groups at the house doors
Sat in the cheerful sun, and rejoiced and gossiped together.
Every house was an inn, where all were welcomed and feasted;
For with this simple people, who lived like brothers together,
All things were held in common, and what one had was another's.
Yet, under Benedict's roof, hospitality seemed more abundant,
For *Evangeline* stood among the guests of her father;
Bright was her face with smiles, and words of welcome and gladness
Fell from her beautiful lips, and blessed the cup as she gave it."

But now the scene is changed :

"So passed the morning away. And lo! with a summons sonorous,
Sounded the bell from its tower, and over the meadows a drum beat.
Thronged ere long was the church with men. Without, in the churchyard,
Waited the women. They stood by the graves, and hung on the headstones
Garlands of autumn leaves and evergreens fresh from the forest.
Then came the guard from the ships, and marching proudly among them,
Entered the sacred portal. With loud and dissonant clangour
Behoed the sound of their brazen drums from ceiling and casement,—
Echoed a moment only, and slowly the ponderous portal
Closed, and in silence the crowd awaited the will of the soldiers.
Then up rose their commander and spake from the steps of the altar,
Holding aloft in his hands, with its seals, the Royal commission.
'You are convened this day,' he said, 'by His Majesty's orders.
Clement and kind has he been, but how you have answered his kindness
Let your own hearts reply! To my natural make and my temper,
Painful the task is I do, which to you I know must be grievous.
Yet must I bow and obey, and deliver the will of our monarch;
Namely, that all your lands and dwellings and cattle of all kinds,
Forfeited be to the crown; and that you yourselves from this Province
Be transported to other lands. God grant you may dwell there,
Ever as faithful subjects, a happy and peaceable people!
Prisoners now I declare you; for such is His Majesty's pleasure."

The effect of this address is then well given :

"Silent a moment they stood in speechless wonder, and then rose
Louder and ever louder a wail of sorrow and anger,
And by one impulse moved they madly rushed to the doorway.
Vain was the hope of escape; and cries and fierce imprecations
Rang through the house of prayer; and high o'er the heads of the others
Rose, with his arms uplifted, the figure of Basil the blacksmith,
As, on a stormy sea, a spar is tossed by the billows.
Flushed was his face and distorted with passion; and wildly he shouted—
'Down with the tyrants of England! we never have sworn them allegiance,
Death to these foreign soldiers, who seize on our homes and our harvests!'
More he fain would have said; but the merciless hand of a soldier
Smote him upon the mouth, and dragged him down to the pavement."

In the midst of the strife and tumult, the door of the chancel
opened, and Father Felician entered. We have been com-
pelled to give a portrait of a bad priest in the person of
La Loutre; we are now happy to recognize in Father Felician

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the faithful minister of the Master whom he professed to serve, the apostle of peace and good-will among men, and who was the type of such priests as M. Bailly, whom the English delighted to honor, and whose services were publicly and officially recognized on more occasions than one. Father Felician, ascending the steps of the altar, thus spake :

“ What is this that ye do, my children ? What madness has seized you ?
 Forty years of my life have I laboured among you, and taught you,
 Not in word alone, but in deed, to love one another !
 Is this the fruit of my toils, of my vigils and prayers and privations ?
 Have you so soon forgotten all lessons of love and forgiveness ?
 This is the house of the Prince of Peace, and would you profane it
 Thus with violent deeds and hearts overflowing with hatred ?
 Lo ! where the crucified Christ from his cross is gazing upon you !
 See in those sorrowful eyes what meekness and holy compassion !
 Hark how those lips still repeat the prayer, ‘ O, Father, forgive them !’
 Let us repeat that prayer in the hour when the wicked assail us ;
 Let us repeat it now, and say, ‘ O, Father, forgive them !’ ”
 Few were his words of rebuke, but deep in the hearts of his people
 Sank they, and sobs of contrition succeeded that passionate outbreak ;
 And they repeated his prayer and said, “ O, Father, forgive them !”

Time will not permit us to read the graphic description of occurrences between this and the day of embarkation, but we now resume :

“ Four times the sun had risen and set ; and now on the fifth day
 Cheerily called the cock to the sleeping maids of the farm-house.
 Soon o’er the yellow fields, in silent and mournful procession,
 Came from the neighbouring hamlets and farms the Acadian women,
 Driving in ponderous wains their household goods to the sea shore,
 Pausing and looking back to gaze once more on their dwellings
 Ere they were shut from sight by the winding road and the woodland.
 Close at their sides their children ran and urged on the oxen,
 While in their little hands they clasped some fragments of playthings.”

Then followed the mournful procession of the men from the church, and—

“ The old men as they marched, and the women that stood by the way-side,
 Joined in the sacred psalm ; and the birds in the sunshine above them
 Mingled their notes therewith, like voices of spirits departed.”

They arrive at the mouth of the Gaspereau :

" There disorder prevailed, and the tumult and stir of embarking.
 Busily plied the freighted boats ; and in the confusion
 Wives were torn from their husbands, and mothers, too late, saw their children
 Left on the land, extending their arms, with wildest entreaties.
 So unto separate ships were Basil and Gabriel carried,
 While in despair on the shore Evangeline stood with her father."

Before the embarkation is completed, night comes on, and families encamp on the beach, when—

" Suddenly rose from the south a light, as in autumn the blood-red
 Moon climbs the crystal walls of heaven o'er the horizon.
 Columns of shining smoke uprose, and flashes of flame were
 Thrust through their folds and withdrawn.
 These things beheld in dismay the crowd on the shore and on shipboard ;
 Speechless at first they stood, then cried aloud in their anguish :
 ' We shall behold no more our homes in the village of Grand Pré !'
 Loud on a sudden the cocks began to crow in the farm-yards,
 Thinking the day had dawned ; and anon the lowing of cattle
 Came on the evening breeze, by the barking of dogs interrupted.
 Then rose a sound of dread, such as startles the sleeping of encampments
 Far in the western prairies or forests that skirt the Nebraska,
 When the wild horses, affrighted, sweep by with the speed of the whirlwind,
 Or the loud bellowing herds of buffaloes rush to the river.
 Such was the sound that arose on the night as the herds and the horses
 Broke through their folds and fences, and madly rushed o'er the meadows."

On the morrow :

" With the falling tide the vessels departed,
 Bearing a nation with all its household gods into exile,
 Exile without an end, and without an example in story."

Here Longfellow uses the extreme of poetical license. Can any of us forget how, with high-strung harp, the bard of Israel bewailed another captivity ?

" By the waters of Babylon we sat down
 And wept, when we remembered thee, O Sion.
 As for our harps, we hanged them
 On the trees that are therein ;

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For they that led us away captive required
 Of us a song and melody in our heaviness :
 ' Sing us one of the songs of Sion !'
 How shall we sing the Lord's song
 In a strange land ?
 If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my
 Right hand forget her cunning !"

And Haliburton has written :—"The removal of the French neutrals forcibly reminds us of the pathetic lament of the Mantuan Shepherd, when driven from his patrimony by the victorious soldiers of Augustus : "*O, Lycida, vivi pervenimus,*" &c., &c. And every school-boy must recollect the wail of Melibœus : "*Nos patrae fines et dulcia linquimus arva.*" But to come down to later times when men professed Christianity, we only require to read a page in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella,—when, in 1492, "the decree was issued that all unbaptized Jews, of whatever sex, age, or condition, should depart from the realm by the end of July next ensuing, prohibiting them from revisiting it on any pretext whatever, under penalty of death and confiscation of property. They were to go forth as exiles from the land of their birth ; the land where all whom they ever loved had lived or died ; the land not so much of their own adoption as of inheritance, which had been the home of their ancestors for centuries, and with whose prosperity and glory they were, of course, as intimately associated as was any ancient Spaniard. They were to be cast out helpless and defenceless, with a brand of infamy set on them among nations, who had always held them in derision and hatred." A Genoese historian, an eye-witness, thus describes the scene :—"No one could behold the sufferings of the Jewish exiles unmoved. A great many perished of hunger, especially those of tender years. Mothers, with scarcely strength to support themselves, carried their famished infants in their arms, and died with them. Many fell victims to the cold, others to intense thirst, &c. The whole number expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella, is variously estimated from one hundred and sixty to eight hundred thousand." Let us hope that the smaller number is correct.

Whilst humanity must always deplore the dread necessity which compels the adoption of such extreme measures, it is gratifying to know that the expatriation of the Acadians, heart-rending as it undoubtedly was, was deprived of much bitterness by the manner in which it was actually carried out; and though it is true that in the hurry and confusion of embarkation, families were separated and sent to different colonies, yet we have undoubted evidence that this was subsequently remedied, and the lost found and restored. And though it was the intention of the English to deport as many as possible, "a *nation* with all its household gods was not borne into exile." A good many occasions had previously offered when the Acadians had of their own accord, or at the instance of such emissaries as La Loutre, abandoned their country; and even of the 7,000 which the official returns shew were still in Acadia in September, 1755, we have no proof that more than 3,000 were deported in the British ships. We know that when the ships arrived at Annapolis and Cumberland, the Acadians fled to the woods, carrying with them their wives and children. Hunger and exposure induced many to return and surrender; many more joined the Indian encampments; while others escaped to Canada, St. Johns, and Cape Breton.

Many who had been sent to Carolina and the other colonies, gradually found their way back, and, during the troubled times preceding the conquest of Canada, in 1759-60, joined the Canadians and Indians, and, according to Governor Wilmot, "more than once had the audacity to attack the King's troops;" and we find by an official return of 22nd March, 1764, that there were still in the Province 405 families, numbering 1762 souls, besides 300 in St. Johns, who, to use their own written language to Governor Wilmot, "Acknowledging no sovereign but the King of France, earnestly request the Government to provide vessels to transport them to France, that they may prove to their prince how devoted they are to his service, and how

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ready they are to sacrifice, not only their own lives, but the lives of their women and children. Besides, the religion which they profess causes them to persist earnestly in this matter." This is the same feeling which shewed itself so strongly in 1749, when English colonists began to mingle among them, when they wrote to Cornwallis: "What causes us all very great pain, is the fact that the English wish to live among us. This is the general sentiment."

In reply to Governor Wilmot's letter aforementioned, Lord Halifax wrote:—"His most Christian Majesty's ministers assured him that the Court had no intention of interfering with respect to the removal of the Acadians. His Majesty considers the French Acadians in the same light with the rest of his Roman Catholic subjects in America. If they shall be willing to take the oaths of allegiance, and to become good subjects and useful inhabitants, it will be your care to settle them in such parts of your Government as may be agreeable to themselves, and at the same time consistent with the public peace and security. If, on the contrary, they cannot be prevailed on to settle in good humor, and for good purposes, the liberty of removing themselves out of the Province, or out of his Majesty's dominions, cannot be denied them as subjects."

Finding no sympathy from the French Government, and retaining their aversion to the English, a number of families, amounting to 600 souls, departed in the following November to the French West Indies, in vessels chartered by themselves, although they had certain accounts that the climate had been fatal to many of their countrymen, who had emigrated from Georgia and Carolina.

What was the fate of those who remained? Let Longfellow answer:

"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 to the wail of the forest."

Fortunately, we are in a position to give a more pleasing
 and happy termination to an "o'er true tale."

Bouchette, writing in 1828, says :—"By the estimate made
 in 1764, two thousand six hundred were Acadians, who had
 escaped the general expulsion, or returned to the Province
 at the peace. In 1772, there were 2,100 Acadians and 865
 Indians ;" and speaking of the time, he wrote :—"They settle
 together as much as possible, preserve their religion,
 language and customs, and never intermarry with their
 Protestant neighbours. As a people, they are moral, simple
 in their habits, cheerful in their disposition, and, though
 neither so intelligent, perhaps, or enterprising as the other
 inhabitants, are contented and happy." "The township of
 Clare is almost exclusively settled by Acadians. This
 township is in a flourishing condition ; farming, lumber, and
 the fisheries, are industriously and extensively carried on.
 There are several small vessels owned by the inhabitants ;
 they have erected between thirty and forty saw-mills and
 grist-mills."

M. Chauveau, referring to the subject, in his highly
 interesting Journal of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860,
 considers that the deportation was caused by "a cruel and
 misguided policy," and adds :—"Many parishes in Lower
 Canada were settled by these refugees, and they are not
 among the less peaceable nor the less prosperous. The
 characteristics of the Acadian race still distinguish their
 descendants from the French Canadians. A certain number
 returned after the peace of 1760, and joined those who
 had escaped the deplorable fate of their country ; their

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descendants form an important portion of the population of New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward's Island. M. Rameau, a French writer, who is now visiting the Lower Provinces, and who had procured from the Archives of the Government in France statistical information of great value to the original settlers, considers that the natural increase of the Acadians is even greater than that of the Canadians. He says that the actual Acadian population of the Lower Provinces is 95,000 souls, a figure which some will, perhaps, think somewhat exaggerated, but which must be nearly correct, since Mr. R.'s information was chiefly obtained from the missionaries of the several Acadian parishes. As a general rule, education has made little progress among the Acadians yet; but at Arichat and other places where some of them have been educated, they have attained to no inconsiderable wealth and influence.

"It is to be hoped that means will be taken to induce them to take advantage of the liberal provisions made for education in that Province."

In another place, M. Chauveau says:—"The handful of people that escaped the banishment of their nation have wonderfully multiplied; and it is likely that the great American poet, Longfellow, had no idea of this increase when he wrote his charming poem of Evangeline."

The Acadians of the present day shew the same attachment to the soil first settled by their forefathers as those of old; and M. Taché, in his book, contrasts it eloquently with the disposition lately evinced by some of his own countrymen: "The descendants of these brave Acadians who had returned to their native land, after eluding a persecution by which they had been driven away, do not abandon their homes to seek in a foreign land a subsistence or a refuge. Though left in obscurity, and with but a small share in the direction of the affairs of their beloved country, they do not emigrate to the United States. Less favoured than we are in many respects,

they still cling to the soil which their forefathers redeemed to civilization, and transmit to their children the traditions of the past. No extravagant idea, no hollow dream of Utopia, no thirst of gold, nor spirit of insubordination, has loosened the domestic ties, nor effaced the love which they feel for a rural life—for the labour of the field is preferred to every other toil. They either till the earth or attend to the product of the fisheries. Their young men do not load and unload the *Durham boats* of the Erie Canal; nor are the young women to be found as servants in the towns. The custom has not come into vogue of shaking off the paternal authority as early as possible, and of believing oneself of great consequence, before being either the head of a family or a useful and respected citizen."

In reference to the statements of l'Abbé Raynal and Messrs. Hoquart and Beauharnois, cited in the early part of this paper, I may say that truth, as is generally the case, will be found to lie between. The Acadians were not then, nor are they now, what either of them describe them; but I tell you, from my own knowledge, we may safely accept as correct what Bouchette has written, who, in this, as in everything else which he has written, has proved himself a most reliable authority. M. Chauveau's account is, in the main, fair and correct, and is much to be preferred to that of Dr. Taché, who appears to have been not so well informed on the subject.

In addition to Arichat, mentioned by M. Chauveau, the townships of Clare and Argyle, in the west, are *largely* Acadian settlements, and were formerly represented in the Legislative Assembly by the D'Entremonts, Comos, Robichauds, &c., as Arichat was by Martel.

The comparative isolation of the Acadians of the present day must not be attributed too much to their attachment to the Roman Catholic faith; for we still find the Protestant German settlement of Lunenburg, and the French Protestant

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settlements at River John, in the county of Pictou, and Burosois, in the county of Colchester, who have almost abandoned the use of their native tongues, and who attend English Protestant places of worship, still retain many of the habits and customs of their ancestors, and rarely intermarry with the Anglo-Saxon race.

Lovers of the sentimental may see great beauty in being told by Longfellow :

" That from its rocky caverns the deep-voiced
Neighbouring ocean
Speaks, and, in accents disconsolate, answers
To the wail of the forest."

But those who have a practical turn of mind will be glad to know that, in the present year of Grace, the *bore* of the Bay of Fundy bounds cheerfully at the sound of that *bête noire* of the poets of the Wordsworth school, the shriek of the whistle of the iron horse; and those who are given to reading the newspapers, will see that twice a-day they may travel from Windsor (Pisiquid) to Annapolis (Port Royal), through a land flowing with milk and honey, a land of corn and vines, and the fruit from whose orchards took prizes at the " world's fair."

I may now ask you for a verdict which I think must be a reversal of that of the early historians, and that it will affirm that the deportation was *not* " an act of cruelty and unfeeling tyranny," but a dreadful necessity, which, even in our own time, war is held to justify, affording additional proof of what the poet has so forcibly sung :

" Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

Still, we may take a useful lesson from it. This great Dominion, from " Icy Gaspé" to the Pacific, was at first the undoubted possession of the French, who, in their pride and power, decreed that " *no heretic or alien*" should be permitted to settle in " NEW FRANCE."

The Puritans of "NEW ENGLAND," on the other hand, forgetful of the persecutions which had driven them from their native land, legislated in the strongest spirit of bigotry and intolerance against the "*Mass.*"

This is what man proposed, but God disposed very differently. Statistics shew that the Northern Continent of America is now the home of every people, nation, and language; that in our own Dominion, people speaking the English language, and professing the Protestant faith, slightly preponderate; that in the New England States, there is a new heart and spirit in the descendants of the Puritan fathers, who, while they have maintained freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, see without fear the "*Mass-House*" standing side by side with the Protestant church.

A higher power than human will or desire had decreed that this continent should furnish a home for the toiling millions of every clime; and we have the testimony of thousands that, in this Dominion, which God has blest with a healthy climate and a fruitful soil, they have found a freedom only dreamt of elsewhere. It becomes our duty, then, flinging aside all national and religious prejudices, but adhering to that which is good, to live together as one people in this good and pleasant land of our birth or adoption, heartily joining with the poet:

"Now let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That man to man the world o'er
May brothers be and a' that."