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AN ACADIAN MARCHIONESS,
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THE CABOTS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

Harry Piers, Asst. Librarian, Legislative Library, Halifax, N. S.

How often we find that genius receives its full recognition only after the lapse of many years, when the death-stilled pulse cannot quicken, even at the winding of Fame's far-reaching trumpet! The quadri-centennial celebration of the discovery of the mainland of America by John Cabot was but a tardy act of justice to the memory of the man to whom Great Britain is primarily indebted for her claims of sovereignty in the New World. Until recently not even a tablet[1] commemorated his name and deed; and almost nothing was definitely known of his life. Everything connected with his career has been associated with the greatest uncertainty and confusion, and it is only after much controversy that we are enabled to unravel some of the tangled threads in the many perplexing stories regarding this fifteenth century voyager.

For a long period it was assumed that John Cabot was a native of Venice, the town in which he spent some of the early years of his life. Recently, however, documents have been discovered which tend to show that he was a Genoese by birth, but that when young he had moved to the chief city of the Adriatic.

The first definite information we have of his life is the record in the Venetian archives that on March 28th, 1476, Joannes Caboto had been naturalized a citizen of Venice. Most of his spare hours were given to the study of cosmography and navigation, and at an early age he was filled with an intense desire to roam to distant lands, marvellous stories of which were on the tongue of every traveller. At one time he visited Mecca, and there heard many remarkable tales of travel and adventure from the Eastern merchants who flocked thither. Such recitals greatly increased his enthusiasm.

Some years previous to 1495, Cabot removed with his family to the old English town of Bristol, and became a British subject. This port was then famous for its maritime enterprise, and even at that period it had considerable trade with Iceland. Such a place was wel- in accord with his adventurous spirit.

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[1] At a meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, held in Halifax in June, 1897, a tablet was placed in the Province Building in commemoration of Cabot's discovery.

The whole civilized world was then ringing with the fame of what has proved to be the greatest deed in the whole annals of geographic discovery. The paramount genius and courage of the illustrious Columbus had just planted the banner of Spain on the islands of a new continent across the dreaded Dark Ocean. It was then thought that the East Indies had been reached, and the news stirred to a remarkable degree the speculative and intrepid navigators of the age, whose great aim was the discovery of a new road to the rich land of India. Even at the English court, saith Cabot's son, "all men affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human to sail by the west to the east."

The long dormant theory of the roundness of the earth and the possibility of a westerly route to India were accepted by the keen-witted Genoese at Bristol, and he longed to emulate the achievements of his countryman, and to test practically certain bold cosmographic theories which had been developed in his own contemplative and daring mind. The passion for discovery was in possession of him who had so long been dreaming of marvellous lands beyond the sea.

Cabot probably was poor and uninfluential, and consequently he desired a patron who would assist his designs financially and give them suitable authority. Naturally he looked to his adopted sovereign for such support. Henry VII. was then on the throne of England; and it would be difficult to find a more penurious monarch, or one in temperament more unfitted to become the patron of such a noble undertaking as Cabot had in view.

In 1495 the Bristol navigator laid before the throne proposals for discovery which rivalled those of Columbus, and craved royal approval of the project. The petition was as follows:

> "Please it your Highnes of your most noble and habundant grace to graunt unto John Cabotto, citizen of Venese, Lewes, Sebastyan and Sancto, his sonneys, your gracious letters patentis under your grete sele in due form, to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuying[1] . . . . and they shall during their lyves pray God for the prosperous continuance of your most noble and Royal Astete, long to enduer."

Such is the quaint wording and spelling of the earliest document extant definitely connecting England with the New World.

The King was evidently jealous of the glorious achievement of Columbus under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella; and his vanity made him ready to sanction a rival expedition, but only so long as no demands were made on the privy purse, and only on condition that he should receive a good share of any profits that might accrue. Letters patent, dated March 5th, 1496, were accordingly granted to Cabot and his sons permitting them to sail to any country or sea of the east, west and north, under the English flag, with five ships and any number of men — but all at their own expense — to look for lands which were unknown to Christians. They were to raise the Royal banner in any land they might discover, and to take possession and exercise jurisdiction in the name of the King of England. The patentees were given the exclusive right to visit the countries discovered and to trade with them. One-fifth of the net income from the expedition was reserved to the crown. The Cabots and their heirs were to have the lands they found and occupied in perpetuity as subjects and vassals of the King.

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[1] This portion of the document is lost.

This was the substance of the Latin document under authority of which Cabot sailed, and whereby he received from his royal patron not one copper in assistance of an undertaking the praise of which was to echo down the centuries, coupled with denunciations of Henry's miserly aid.

In June, 1496, Columbus returned to Spain from his second voyage, bringing further reports of islands discovered. This increased Cabot's ardour. After some delay the English expedition was ready for sea; and finally, about the end of May, 1497, Cabot sailed down the Bristol Channel and stood for the open sea. He was in command of a bit of a vessel, called the "Matthew," of about fifty tons, being only as large as a medium-sized schooner of the present day. It was a tiny craft to face the dangers of such a perilous voyage. The crew consisted of eighteen men.

The "Matthew," after passing Iceland, sailed northward, and then finally headed toward the west — that region upon which was then directed the gaze of the civilized world, and which was associated in every man's mind with no little superstitious dread.

Whether Sebastian accompanied his father on this voyage is not positively known; but if he did he was too young to have taken any prominent part in the planning or direction of the expedition, and therefore the entire glory must be bestowed upon the elder Cabot.

The log-book of the "Matthew" is not believed to be in existence, and other sources of information are exceedingly meagre and confused;

consequently we know almost nothing of a voyage which was destined to become one of the most famous in the history of maritime discovery. At early morn on June 24th — being St. John the Baptist's day — after having been about fifty-three days out of Bristol, the "Matthew" first sighted land. Cabot thought he had reached Cathay, in the east of Asia, and visions of India and its riches rose before him. Greater, however, was to be his renown than if he had merely found a western passage to the East, for he had fathomed the marvellous and well-kept secret of the Occident — he had opened to the Old World the mainland of a new and boundless continent, the very existence of which had never been dreamed of by the most imaginative cosmographer or mariner of the fifteenth century.

Cabot landed and erected a cross, and beside it unfurled the banners of St. George and St. Mark, and took formal possession in the name of Henry of England. On that day began the claim of Britain in the New World.

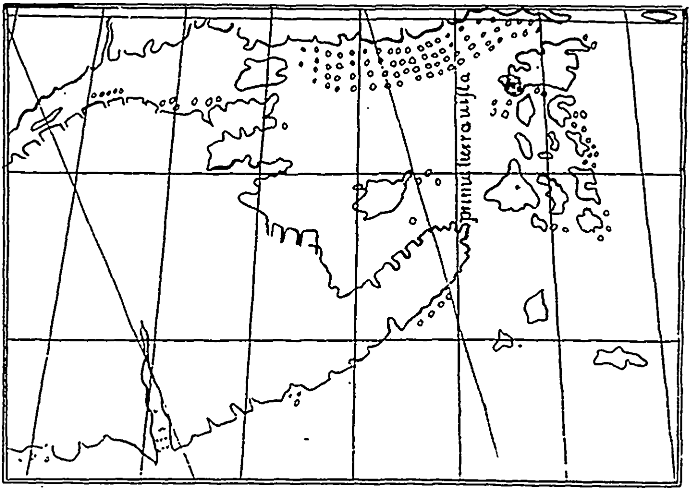
The location of the landfall has been the subject of much vehement controversy. Portions of the coast of Labrador and of Newfoundland have each had their advocates; but I think most writers now agree that some portion of the Island of Cape Breton is the right situation, and there cannot be a doubt but that such evidence as we now have points to that locality. Dr. S. E. Dawson, whose exhaustive and able articles have done very much to clear away the uncertainty which attaches itself to nearly every particular of the Cabot voyages, considers that Cape Breton, on the eastern side of the island of that name, is the exact situation of the landfall.

One of the documentary evidences in favor of the Cape Breton Island landfall is an engraved *mappemonde* now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It bears the date 1544, and there are reasons for believing that Sebastian Cabot was indirectly responsible for some of the information it contains. At or near the extremity of what is evidently intended to represent the present Island of Cape Breton are inscribed the words *Prima tierra vista* (first land seen), and an inscription elsewhere on the chart informs us that this land was discovered by Cabot. If the authority of that map is in the main unquestioned, there can be no doubt regarding the approximate location of the landfall. All, however, do not admit its claims to accuracy, although the balance of opinion is in favour of the theory it supports. It must be remembered, though, that the claims of Cape

Breton can be advocated by arguments entirely aside from this map.

Until some new document is discovered, the controversy must rest, with by far the strongest evidence pointing to the Cape Breton Island landfall, and with the probability of its having been at or near the easternmost cape of the island. The Newfoundland and Labrador theories cannot stand the test of such arguments as have been brought against them.

There is another question connected with the landfall that must be referred to. On the day on which land was sighted, Cabot also discovered an island over against the landfall. This island he called St. John, in honour of the saint on whose anniversary it was found. For some time it has been considered that this island was the present Prince Edward Island, an error that has been creeping into our histories and guide-books. Dr. Ganong and Dr. Dawson have pretty effectively shattered this idea. If the Cape Breton landfall theory is correct, Cabot's island of St. John was most likely the present Scatari Island.



Map of the Cape Breton Island Landfall.

Soon after landing on *prima tierra vista*, Cabot's provisions ran short, and he was obliged to turn homeward. About the beginning of August he sighted England, and soon after cast anchor before Bristol, having been absent about three months.

The news of the discovery spread with great rapidity, and for a time Cabot found himself a very famous man. It must be remembered, however, that not even the voyager himself then suspected that the mainland of a new continent had been reached. He reported that he had landed on the seaboard of Cathay, and a contemporary document speaks of the King having acquired a great part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. It was only in later years that the full importance of his achievement became manifest.

Though the whole of Europe rang with Cabot's praise, Henry VII. showed but little gratitude toward the bold navigator. In the privy-purse accounts of Henry—still preserved in the British Museum—we find the following curt entry: "August 10th (1497), To hyme that founde the new Isle, £10." No other official recognition of this great deed exists. "The stingy monarch," as one author writes, "no doubt considered that he had amply rewarded Cabot, little thinking that the entry referred to would post his own niggardliness for the scorn of posterity." It is true that at a later period Henry thought fit to further reward the discoverer with an annual pension of £20, but this was to be paid from the funds of the Bristol Custom House. It has been rightly said that the discovery of a continent was, after all, cheap at such a price.

In February, 1498, John Cabot obtained new letters patent authorizing a second and more extensive expedition of six ships. The intention was to colonize the new lands and to barter with the natives, and also to endeavour to find the much-desired route to India. The expedition sailed in the spring of 1498, about the time when Columbus departed on his third voyage. John was in command, and with him were his son Sebastian and about three hundred other men. From thenceforth John Cabot is lost to sight, and we hear only of Sebastian. No man knows how, when or where the discoverer of the American mainland met his death or where his body rests. Some think he must have died during the voyage. It is to be hoped that future research may bring forth definite particulars of the end of this worthy man.

It is fairly certain that the second voyage was in a northern and northwestern direction, to a region of ice and continual daylight, in which case the second landfall was probably somewhere on the Labrador coast. It seems that the presence of ice forced the ships to turn, and they coasted southward until they reached the vicinity of the present Cape Hatteras. Failing to discover the desired passage to the land of silk and jewels, and provisions being low, they set sail for home, and arrived there some time after September, 1498.

We subsequently find Sebastian in command of another expedition in search of the western route to the East, for which purpose he sailed to the northwest. In 1518 he was made pilot-major of Spain, and in 1526 he sailed from San Lucar, with the intention of following Magellan's route to the Maluccas. Subsequently he returned to England, and engaged in various commercial enterprises. His death occurred about 1557, and, like his father, he reposes in an unknown grave. Sebastian's character was not free from vain-glory, and he has been charged, and apparently not without justice, with detracting from the honour which properly belongs to the elder Cabot in order to magnify his own achievements.

The Cabots were both deep thinkers, and they possessed the courage and enthusiasm necessary to carry out their bold and novel projects. In this respect the father surpassed the son, for it was the former who first grappled with the stupendous cosmographical questions of the age, and who bent his energies to test the advanced theories he held.

The discovery of the mainland of America was accomplished in June, 1497, when the Bristol navigator first discerned the land on his western horizon; the foundation of British dominion in the New World began on the same day with the raising of the English "Jack" on these shores; yet the man to whom we are indebted for these two signal deeds has hitherto received but a small part of the honour he deserves, and even the spot in which his bones repose is utterly unknown to posterity. "He gave a continent to England, yet no one can point to the few feet of earth she has allowed him in return."

THE SETTLEMENT OF PORT ROYAL.

Adapted from Champlain's Narrative, by G. U. Hay, Ph.B.

Early in the summer of 1604, de Monts and Champlain entered the Bay of Fundy (Baye Françoise), looking for a place which they could fortify, and on which they could build a secure shelter for the coming winter. They sailed along the northwest coast of Nova Scotia. Champlain, in his narrative of the expedition, says:

We entered one of the finest harbours I had seen along these coasts, in which two thousand vessels might lie in security. The entrance is eight hun-

> dred paces broad; then we entered a harbour two leagues long and one broad, which I have named Port Royal[1]. Three rivers empty into it, one of which is very large, extending eastward, and called Rivière de l'Equille[2], from a little fish of the size of an *esplan*, which is caught there in large numbers, as also the herring and several other kinds of fish found in abundance in their season. This river is nearly a quarter of a league broad at its entrance into the basin, where there is an island[3], perhaps half a league in circuit, and covered with wood, like all the rest of the country, as pines, firs, spruces, birches, aspens, and some oaks, although the latter are found in small numbers in comparison with the other kinds. There are two entrances to the above river, one on the north, the other on the south side of the island. That on the north is the better. . . .
>
> . . Between the mouth of the river and the point to which we ascended (about fourteen or fifteen leagues) there are many meadows, which are flooded at the spring tides, many little streams traversing them from one side to the other, through which shallops and boats can go at full tide. This place was the most favorable and agreeable for a settlement that we had seen. There is another island[4] within the port, distant nearly two leagues from the former. At this point is another little stream, extending a considerable distance inland, which we named Rivière St. Antoine[5]. . . The remaining river is only a small stream filled with rocks, which cannot be ascended at all on account of the small amount of water, and which has been named Rocky Brook.[6]

No settlement was made at Port Royal this year (1604) by the de Monts' expedition. After exploring the harbour of Port Royal and a portion of the Annapolis River, the voyageurs sailed along the Bay of Fundy to Cape Chignecto, which they called the Cape of Two Bays—that is, where the bay is bifurcated. Their object was to seek a place for a permanent settlement, and also to find the copper mine which was said to have been discovered a year before by a "certain Prefert of St. Malo, by aid of the savages of the country. . . . We found none, nor did we recognize any resemblance to the description of the harbour he had given us." This was near the entrance to the "Bay of Mines" (Minas Channel and Basin), which they purposed to visit afterwards and investigate more completely. They retraced their steps, and, rounding the "cape of the two bays," crossed the other bay (Chignecto), to where "there are two rivers" (Cumberland Basin and Shepody Bay). Thence they sailed west to Quaco River and Cape. Champlain mentions the mountain (Theobald), a short distance inland from Quaco, having the shape of a cardinal's hat (*Le Chapeau de Cardinal*). Sailing southwest they came, eight leagues farther on, to "a fine bay running up into the mainland . . at the mouth of the largest and deepest river we had yet seen, which we named the River St. John, because it was on this saint's day that we arrived there. By the savages it is called Ouygoudy."[1] Champlain did not explore the river farther up than the islands at the head of the Falls, but continued his westerly course to Passamaquoddy Bay. [His description of finding the Island of St. Croix and wintering there is given in Leaflet No. I. of this series].

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[1] The name of the Basin, not the place of habitation, afterward so called.

[2] Now the Annapolis River, called by Lescarbot Rivière du Dauphin. *Equille*, a local name in Northern France of the fish called *lancon*.

[3] Now called Goat Island, about nine miles from Digby. Champlain on his map gives it no name, but Lescarbot calls it Biencourville.

[4] Bear Island. Lescarbot calls it Claudiane. It was sometimes called Ile d'Hébert, and Imbert Island, (pronounced eem-bare). Laverdière (editor of Champlain's Voyages) suggests that the present name is derived from the French pronunciation of the last syllable of Imbert.

[5] Bear River. Lescarbot calls it Hébert, and Charlevoix (Jesuit missionary and historian) Imbert.

[6] Moose River. It is a few miles east of Bear River.

The spring and summer of 1605 was spent in exploring the coast of New England as far south as Cape Cod. Finding no place suitable for a settlement, and determined to seek another location after their sufferings on the Island of St. Croix, de Monts transported the framework of the houses to Port Royal. After a careful search no place was found more suitable than that on which they had encamped for a few days the previous summer, being slightly elevated and with good springs of water around it.

When most of the preparations had been made for winter, de Monts returned to France, leaving Pont Gravé, his lieutenant, in command. The winter of 1605–6 proved milder than the previous one, and the sufferings from cold and sickness much less; although, out of the number of forty-five, twelve died from scurvy (*mal de la terre*). The following is Champlain's brief reference to the events of the winter:

> On the 20th of December it began to snow, and some ice passed along before our settlement. The winter was not so sharp as the year before, nor the snow so deep, nor of so long duration. Among other incidents, the wind was so violent on the 20th February that it blew over a large number of trees, roots and all, and broke off many others. It was a remarkable sight. The rains were very frequent, which was the cause of the mild winter in comparison

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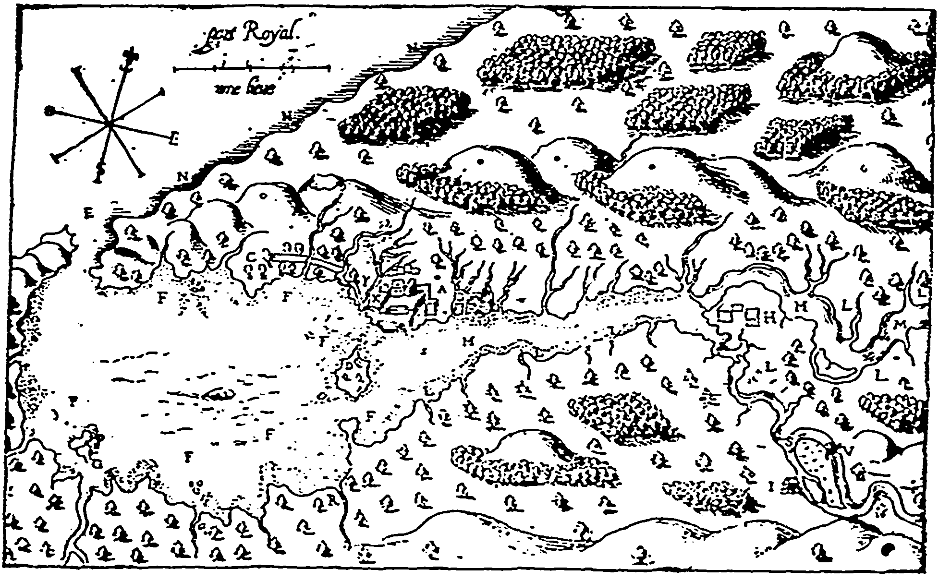
[1] The true Indian name of the St. John is *Wool-as-took*. Ouygoudi (or Wigudy) means simply a camping-ground or village site. Champlain must have mistaken this name of the Indian village at St. John for the name of the river.

with the past one, although it is only twenty-five leagues from Port Royal to St. Croix.

In July of the following summer the company, reduced by sickness and in need of supplies, started to return to France, leaving two men in charge of the settlement at Port Royal. On reaching Cape Sable they met Ralleau, the secretary of de Monts, who informed them that the Sieur de Poutrincourt, as lieutenant general, was on his way to Port Royal with fifty men. On returning to Port Royal, Champlain and his men, to their great joy, found them already there.



PORT ROYAL.

CHAMPLAIN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP.

A. Our habitation [on the present site of Lower Granville].
B. Garden of Sieur Champlain.
C. Road through the woods that Sieur de Poutrincourt had made.
D. Island at the mouth of Equille River.
E. Entrance to Port Royal.
F. Shoals, dry at low tide.
G. River St. Antoine [the stream west of St. Antoine is Jogging River].
H. Place under cultivation for sowing wheat [site of present town of Annapolis].
I. Mill that Sieur de Poutrincourt has made.
L. Meadows overflowed at highest tides.
M. Equille River.
N. Seacoast of Port Royal.
O. Ranges of mountains.
P. Island near the River St. Antoine.
Q. Rocky Brook.
R. Another brook [Morris River].
S. Mill River [Allen River], sometimes incorrectly called L'Equille.
T. Small Lake.
V. Where savages catch herring in the season.
X. Trout Brook [Shäfer's Brook. The first on the west is Thorne's, and the second Scofield's Brook].
Y. A lane that Sieur de Champlain had made.

As it was too late in the season to seek another site for a settlement, Poutrincourt decided to remain the coming winter at Port Royal, and sent laborers to work on the land about a league and a half farther up the Annapolis River, where the French had first thought of making their abode. A second voyage of discovery was made along the New England coast[1] as far south as Martha's Vineyard. Champlain's description of the voyage, and their meetings with the Indians, some of whom proved hostile, and his invaluable record of the character, manners and customs of the aborigines, are full of interest.

On their return to Port Royal[2] they made preparations for the winter, which proved milder than that of the two preceding years, although the spring was backward. "On the 10th of May it snowed all night, and towards the end of the month there were heavy hoar frosts, which lasted until the 10th or 12th of June, when all the trees were covered with leaves, except the oaks, which do not leaf out until about the 15th."[3]

Although seven died from the scurvy during the winter of 1606–7, the little company spent the time much more happily than during the previous winters, as the following extract from Champlain's narrative may show:

> We spent this winter very pleasantly, and fared generously by means of the Ordre de Bon Temps, which I introduced. This all found useful for their health, and more advantageous than all the medicines that could have been used. By the rules of the order a chain was put, with some little ceremonies, on the neck of one of our company, commissioning him for the day to go a-hunting. The next day it was conferred upon another, and thus in succession. All exerted themselves to the utmost to see who would do the best and bring home the finest game. We found this a very good arrangement, as did also the savages who were with us.[4]

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[1] Champlain regrets the decision of Poutrincourt to go over the ground passed by de Monts the year before, instead of sailing directly to Cape Cod, and thence continuing their explorations southward.

[2] Lescarbot and the others who had stayed there welcomed them with a humorous entertainment, at which a play—*Le Theatre de Neptune*—composed by Lescarbot, was acted.

[3] It would be interesting to compare the spring of 1607 with that of 1898. This year, over a fortnight before the dates mentioned by Champlain, the valley of the Annapolis was white with apple blossoms. But seasons vary; and there is no good reason to suppose that any marked change of climate has occurred.

[4] "The fifteen gentlemen who sat at the table of Poutrincourt, the governor, comprising the whole number of the order, took turns in performing the duties of steward and caterer, each holding the office for a single day. With a laudable ambition, the

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF NOVA SCOTIA.

BY A. H. MACKAY, LL. D., HALIFAX, N. S.

Everything points to the conclusion that the earth must have been contracting in its central parts, for its present skin is so wrinkled and folded that it must be looked upon as the original covering of a larger sphere. These wrinklings naturally show a parallelness such as we would expect according to this hypothesis. The Province of Nova Scotia is at present the crest of a low ridge rising (at some points about 2,000 feet) above the Atlantic for a length of about 370 miles, with an average width of about sixty miles. This ridge, interrupted by the Strait of Canso, falls suddenly from a height of over a thousand feet above the water at Cape North to as much below in Cabot's Straits before it reappears in Newfoundland beyond. The submarine valley separating this ridge from the more elevated ridges forming the mainland is seen in the Bay of Fundy, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Strait of Belle Isle. When the crinkled surfaces of the continents rise too high above the general level of the surface of the globe, the tremendous pressure causes them to sink, with the inevitable bulging out of another part of the surface to the same extent. From such causes the various wrinkles of the earth's surface are constantly either rising or falling for vast periods of years, the higher the rise the nearer

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Grand Master for the time being laid the forest and the sea under contribution, and the table was constantly furnished with the most delicate and well-seasoned game, and the sweetest, as well as the choicest, varieties of fish. The frequent change of office and the ingenuity displayed, offered at every repast, either in the viands or mode of cooking, something new and tempting to the appetite. At each meal a ceremony becoming the dignity of the order was strictly observed. At a given signal the whole company marched into the dining-hall, the Grand Master at the head, with his napkin over his shoulder, his staff of office in his hand, and the glittering collar of the order about his neck, while the other members bore each in his hand a dish loaded and smoking with some part of the delicious repast. A ceremony of a somewhat similar character was observed at the bringing in of the fruit. At the close of the day, when the last meal had been served and grace had been said, the master formally completed his official duty by placing the collar of the order upon the neck of his successor, at the same time presenting to him a cup of wine, in which the two drank to each other's health and happiness. These ceremonies were generally witnessed by thirty or forty savages, men, women, boys and girls, who gazed in respectful admiration, not to say awe, upon this exhibition of European civilization. When Membertou, the venerable chief of the tribe, or other sagamores were present, they were invited to a seat at the table, while bread was gratuitously distributed to the rest."—*Voyages of Samuel de Champlain.*

the period of renewed falling. What is now the province of Nova Scotia was more than once a part of the mainland, a peninsula, an island, and a submarine bank. Its area now is about 21,000 square miles in round numbers, or over 13,000,000 of acres, and it changes every day. The sea and the running streams are lessening the land every hour, and the tides in opposition are in many places building up marsh lands. But there is another power, more mysterious than either, pulling the whole peninsula down beneath the water, and it is going, going—slowly, and we don't know for how long, or whether it may change its rate, or plunge.

THE SUNKEN FOREST.

On the southern side of the isthmus connecting the province with New Brunswick and the continent, the stumps of trees—spruce, beech, pine and tamarac—forming forests are found from twenty to thirty feet below high-water mark, where they could never have grown under present conditions. In the excavations for the Ship Railway across the isthmus, I have myself seen the stumps of large trees at a depth of twenty feet below the surface of the land, and below the surface of high water, and I have dug around such a stump until I reached the layer of soil which formed the surface of the land into which its roots and those of its fellows grew long before even the Acadian was in the land. Although this evidence of modern subsidence is the most striking, it is not the only evidence. The sunken forests evidently belong to the present order of things, although they antedate history and tradition.

THE PLEISTOCENE.

But there is below the sunken forests, and spread in varying degrees of thickness over the planed, scratched and sometimes gravel-polished rock which lifts the province out of the water, what we call the soil. This is an older formation still, when no forest could have grown, for we find great banks of clay, with huge boulders baked up in them, without any order, just like what we find glaciers making at the present day, when they shove before them masses of powdered stone and mud. Then we find banks of stratified gravels, sands and clays, the result of the action of the water on the seashore or of the rivers and streams in the valleys and plains. In some of the beds we find the Arctic sea shells Tellina or Saxicava, which show that they were formed originally under the sea with an Arctic temperature. That also helps to explain the rubbing away of the rocks by glaciers streaming slowly down the mountain sides, as well as the carrying of rocks from the coast of Labrador to be dropped over the sea bottom where Prince Edward Island now rises, as well as on Nova Scotian land. It also indicates how some of the minerals from the Blomidon range should be found scattered over the province in a broad band out to the Atlantic coast. In many places these masses of gravels and boulder clays were cemented into loose conglomerates, or even rock. Sometimes they filled old ravines gouged out of the solid rock by the action of glaciers which appeared to have vanished, only to be succeeded by another glacial age when only a portion of the old valley was scooped out, the later ravine to be filled in with a different gravel of another retreating glacial period. But even in this age there were times and places where forests were growing, for the huge American mastodon was at some portion of this period browsing in the woods of Cape Breton, before he lay down to die in the valley of the Middle River near Baddeck. One of his thigh bones wanting only an inch of four feet is now in the Provincial Museum at Halifax.

THE TRIASSIC.

Going another great step back in time we come to the rock which could not be rolled around and mixed up again and again, now by river action, now by sea, and now by glacier; and we find the province lying lower in the water than it is now, but practically of the same general form, although an island. The Bay of Fundy opened clear into the gulf, and the arms of the Minas Basin extended wider east and west from the Salmon River to Annapolis Basin. On its bottom was deposited the red sandstone material which was later raised up above the water and again mostly worn down by the action of stream and river and open gulf water until on the Northumberland Strait the soft deposit was washed away, leaving the red sandstone only on the elevated bank which became Prince Edward Island. It was during this time the shrinking earth crust cracked along the North Mountain range and belched forth the volcanic ash and lava forming the so-called trap of to-day. This was the last of the volcanic eruptions which convulsed the foundations of the province so often before.

THE CARBONIFEROUS.

Many milleniums before this last period the whole province was lower still in the water. The whole coast line from Cumberland to

Cape Breton was submerged, and the waters of the ocean dashed up against the sides of the Cobequids and the highlands of Pictou, Antigonish, and the island of Cape Breton, and swept around the Cobequids as far south at least as the County of Halifax, perhaps further. The climate was tropical. Ferns and tree ferns, giant club mosses, and curious reptiles abounded. Tremendous tropical freshets tore down the mountain sides and laid in the sea the beds of sandstone, and shales, covered up the coral reefs and banks with shell-fish, filled lagoons and lakes with deported vegetation, and covered up now and again peat swamps with fathoms of vegetable matter, forming the coal producing basins of to-day. The islands and highlands worn away by the carboniferous seas were mostly bounded by

DEVONIAN AND SILURIAN

rocks, the relics of still older seashores which flanked the Cobequids, then a newly-formed range of mountains, and the highlands generally north of a line drawn from the region of the Annapolis Basin to Chedabucto Bay, near Canso. As in the Carboniferous, we find a special development of limestones, marbles, gypsum and alabaster, as well as coal and several other minerals, in the Devonian and Silurian we find the special development of iron deposits, as at Londonderry, Nictau, Torbrook, East River (Pictou), and so forth.

THE CAMBRIAN.

South of the line from Chedabucto Bay to the Annapolis Basin, the oldest rock found to a great extent in the foundation of the province occupies the surface. If it was submerged and covered with the deposits of the periods already mentioned, all such deposits have been thoroughly scoured off into the Atlantic, except what was left upon it during the Pleistocene; and extensive regions bear little else than stones and great boulders on top of the barren rock. But it is the region of gold. Its strata, several thousand feet thick, rose into great wrinkles or folds parallel to the general folding — no less than eight between the mouth of Halifax harbour and Mount Uniacke in Hants. But glacial action planed them off level, so that in the middle line of each fold, strata, hundreds and even thousands of feet deep in other places, come to the surface. The most of our gold mines are found in the proximity of these anticlines, as they are called. But there was even more tremendous volcanic action in these earliest times than when the North Mountains appeared. Vast masses of granite burst through the strata at various points from Guysboro and Halifax to Yarmouth, covering a great part of the interior of the Counties of Kings, Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne and Queens, and in some places running out to the coast.

AN ACADIAN MARCHIONESS.

By James Hannay.

Not many years ago a steamboat plied on the waters of the St. John river which bore the unfamiliar name of Soulanges. Many persons wondered for whom this vessel was named, and some, no doubt, supposed that it was called after one of the counties of Quebec; but the name had a different origin. The Soulanges was named after a man who, more than two centuries ago, was commandant, or acting governor, of Acadia, and who occupied the old fort in Carleton, which was consecrated by the heroism of Lady La Tour. Soulanges, himself, made no great figure in Acadian history, but he was the father of a woman who became a French marquise, or marchioness, and who was the wife of one governor-general of Canada and the mother of another, a distinction which no other woman born in New France has ever enjoyed. The proper name of the person, who is known in Acadian history as Soulanges, was Pierre de Joibert, and he was a native of the little town of Soulanges, in the old French province of Champagne. He was an officer in one of the French regiments stationed in Canada, and he had married Marie Francoise, one of the daughters of Chartier de Lotbiniere, who was then attorney-general of New France. Joibert, who at that time had assumed the territorial title of Soulanges and de Marson, first came to Acadia with the Chevalier de Grand-fontaine in 1670, when the Acadian forts were restored by the English to the French under the treaty of Breda. Grand-fontaine had been appointed governor of Acadia, and Soulanges was second in command. He received the surrender of Fort Jemseg, on the St. John river, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1670, and of Port Royal on the second of September of the same year. The old fort at the mouth of the River St. John appears, at that time, to have been in a ruinous condition, but early in 1671 Grand-fontaine placed a garrison in it and armed it with the cannon which had been in the fort at Jemseg. Soulanges was the commandant of both forts, but he took up his residence in the fort at the mouth of the river — old Fort La Tour. Here, in 1673, was born his daughter, Louise Elizabeth, who was destined to occupy so high a position in Canada. Frontenac, the governor-general, was her godfather, but he must have taken his vows by proxy, for Frontenac never was in Acadia; St. John and Quebec were then very far removed from each other, and communication between them was difficult. When Elizabeth de Joibert was an infant, but one year old, her Acadian home became the scene of a singular event. The Dutch were at war with the French, and thought that they might win some advantages in America; so, in 1674, they sent an armed ship, under the command of one Captain Arenson, to attack Fort La Tour, and he succeeded in capturing it, Soulanges being very ill-prepared to make a successful defence. The Dutch did not hold their new conquest long, and Soulanges was soon again in possession of his fort. In October, 1676, he obtained two valuable grants of territory in Acadia; one was of the fort or house of Jemseg, with a frontage of two leagues on the St. John river and two leagues in depth inland; the other grant was at the mouth of the Nashwaak, and comprised a seignory, to be named Soulanges, with two leagues front on each side of the St. John river and two leagues of depth inland. These two seignories had a combined area of more than one hundred square miles. Soulanges, however, was not destined to enjoy them long. In 1678 he became governor of Acadia, but in the same year he died, and his widow and children returned to Canada, where they had influential relations. The future marchioness was only five years old when this change in her residence took place. From that period her career was identified mainly with the province of Quebec. We have no details with regard to the life of Louise Elizabeth de Joibert from this time until the date of her marriage with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which was celebrated on the twenty-first of November, 1690, when she was only seventeen years old, the Bishop of Quebec officiating. She had been educated by the ladies of the Convent of the Ursulines. She was then a very beautiful woman, and of a superior understanding. She is described by a contemporary as a person of "solid virtue and noble spirit, with all the graces which would charm the highest circles, of rare sagacity, and exquisite modesty." The Marquis de Vaudreuil, at the time of his marriage to Mlle. de Joibert, had been several years in Canada. He had distinguished himself as an officer in the wars of France in Europe, and when he came to Canada it was to assume high command. He was nearly thirty years older than his wife, but their marriage seems to have been a happy one, and in his latter years she was a most valuable assistant to him in his work as governor of Canada. De Vaudreuil aspired to be governor-general as early as 1699, on the death of Frontenac; but he was disappointed in his desire, for M. de Callieres was then made governor. De Vaudreuil, however, received some compensation by being made governor of Montreal. De Callieres died in 1703, and then the claims of de Vaudreuil could not be ignored, and he became governor-general of New France. The chief objection urged against his appointment was the fact that his wife was a native Canadian. It was thought that his connection with a leading Canadian family might prevent him from performing, with strict impartiality, his duties as governor. He continued, however, to be governor until the time of his death, twenty-two years later, and it never appeared that his conduct gave reason to justify those fears which had retarded his promotion. The marchioness de Vaudreuil had no less than twelve children, and she seems to have been an exemplary mother, as well as a true helpmeet of her husband. The time when he was governor of New France was one of much anxiety, for at that period Acadia fell into the hands of the English, and it was already evident that the sparse population of New France, as compared to the English colonies, would soon place French power in America in great danger.

Madame de Vaudreuil sailed for France in 1708, but the vessel in which she took passage was captured by the English. She was, however, treated with distinction, and was allowed to proceed to her destination. She attracted much attention at the Court of Versailles, and became a favorite both of Louis XIV. and of Madame de Maintenon. She remained in France for several years, and did not return to Canada until 1716, her husband having in the meantime gone over for the purpose of escorting her home. Such long separations between husband and wife were then less thought of than they would be now, because it was sometimes necessary for high officials in New France to have a friend at court to look after their interests. Madame de Vaudreuil frequently acted as her husband's secretary when he was corresponding with the French government, and there is a letter of her's in existence, written in 1724, in which, on her own behalf, she claimed for her husband a larger compensation than he was then receiving. The claim is based on the great expense of living in Quebec at that time. A copy of this letter is among the archives of Canada, and the archivist says of it that it "is curious as to details, and the orthography is exceedingly quaint — for a person in her position." This, we suppose, means that the marchioness did not spell very well; but if so, there were at that time many high-born ladies, both in England and France, of whom the same could be said. Her husband died on the tenth of October, 1725, and she, within a few days, took her departure for France, where she continued to reside until her death, which occurred at Paris in June, 1740. She was a woman of great ability, and the place of her birth has every reason to be proud of this Acadian marchioness. Fifteen years after her death her son, Pierre François, Marquis de Vaudreuil, became governor-general of Canada, and he continued to hold that office until the French possessions in America passed into the hands of the English.

A CHAPTER ON NAMES.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A.

1.—The Old County of Sunbury.

There is a popular impression that the County of Sunbury once included the entire Province of New Brunswick. This is a mistake.

Nova Scotia was first divided into counties in the year 1759, and Cumberland, now the most northerly county of the peninsula, then included all the territory of Nova Scotia north of the Isthmus of Chignecto. The vast limits of the original County of Cumberland were curtailed in 1765 by the erection of the territory bordering on the St. John River into a new county called Sunbury. The bounds were not defined; it was merely resolved by the Governor and Council, at a meeting held in Halifax, April 30, 1765:

> That St. John's River should be erected into a county by the name of Sunbury; and likewise that Capt. Richard Smith should be appointed a Justice of the Peace for the County of Halifax.[1]

The bounds of the new county were not defined until on the 4th of May, 1770. From the description then given, we learn that it extended from the western boundary of the province as far east as a line running due north from Quaco Head to the Canadian boundary. This would leave all the eastern part of what is now the Province of New Brunswick still a portion of the County of Cumberland; and that this was actually the case is indicated by the fact that when word was received from England in the month of August, 1784, that the province was to be divided at the isthmus, the newspapers mention, as rather a curious circumstance, that by this division Fort Cumberland and the largest part of Cumberland County are placed within the new province, a thing contrary to the desire of the government of Nova Scotia. Prior to the division, the jurisdiction of the county seems to have been confined to the townships and settlements within the bounds of what are now Westmorland and Albert counties. The provost marshal and other officials at Halifax exercised their authority when necessary at Miramichi and the Bay of Chaleur. At the time of the division the territory north of the Isthmus of Chignecto seems to have had five representatives in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, namely, two for the County of Sunbury, two for the County of Cumberland, and one for the Township of Sackville.

2.—PARR-TOWN.

The name of Parr, or Parr-town, as applied to St. John, should be regarded merely as a passing episode which has received a great deal more attention than it deserves. In the first place the name was never applied to the city as a whole, but only to that part on the east side of the harbour south of Union street; and in the second place the period in which it was so applied was only of about eighteen months' duration. "St. John" has been the time-honored name, with this brief exception (if exception it can be called), ever since the memorable 24th of June, 1604, when Champlain first entered the harbour — a period of almost three hundred years.

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[1] This is good! Apparently in the eyes of His Majesty's Council a Halifax justice of the peace was as important as the whole County of Sunbury.

It is probable the Nova Scotia authorities had decided on the formation of the County of Sunbury before the formal adoption of the resolution above noted, since James Simonds had written from Halifax to William Hazen, on the 18th of March, "St. Johns is made a county, and I hope will make a formidable appearance."

There came into my hands, not very long ago, a fragment of a letter written on the 26th December, 1784, by Col. Edward Winslow to Sir John Wentworth, in which the former speaks of the dissatisfaction with which the Loyalists regarded the name of "Parr-town" (owing, evidently, to Governor Parr's unpopularity). He says:

> The proposed plan of incorporating the new towns at the mouth of the river, and forming a city by the name of St. John, has prevented a serious representation from the people. The town on the east side was christened by Major Studholme and others, in consequence of a letter from Governor Parr to Major S., wherein he makes the request pointedly, but says 'That the idea originated in female vanity.' The rude inhabitants of this new country have not yet acquired a sufficient degree of gallantry to indulge that vanity any further, and they were evidently uneasy. They are now satisfied.

The earliest mention of "Parr-town" that I have been able to discover among the official and other documents of the period, occurs in the month of August, 1783; but the name was not generally used, even by Major Studholme, until some months later. James White, who had been at St. John since the year 1764, in a letter to the Collector of Customs at Halifax, dated at Fort Howe, November 1, 1783, speaks of "the two towns now settling at the Harbour of St. John — names *unknown;*" and Major Studholme, as late as January 2, 1784, writes an official letter from the "Town on the east side of St. John's harbour."

On the 18th May, 1785, the towns of Parr and Carleton were incorporated as the City of St. John, a measure that gave much satisfaction to all concerned.

3.—SOME PROPOSED NAMES.

Sir Guy Carleton had proved himself so true a friend to the Loyalists in the hour of their adversity that there was a general desire to honor him by giving his name to some place which should be settled by them. Major Upham, later a Judge of the Supreme Court, was an enthusiastic admirer of Sir Guy, and he wrote Col. Winslow, Sept. 12, 1784:

> I beg you will use your influence that the district of country to be settled by the Provincials (or Loyalist regiments) be erected into a county and called

by the name of *Carleton*, and that the principal town on the River St. John be called *Guy*. Surely no man has so effectually contributed to the settlement of that country as Sir Guy Carleton.

The name of Carleton was given to the town on the west side of St. John harbor in honor of Sir Guy—not, as is commonly supposed, in honor of Col. Thos. Carleton, the first Governor of the Province. Respecting the suggestion of Judge Upham, that the principal city of New Brunswick should bear the name of "Guy," we can only be devoutly thankful that wiser counsels prevailed. It was at one time seriously proposed to call our good city of St. John "Clinton," after Sir Henry Clinton, the former commander-in-chief of the forces in America.

When Nova Scotia was about to be divided there was some speculation and many suggestions with respect to the name that should be given the new province. Col. Edward Fanning (afterwards Governor of Prince Edward Island) wrote to Lord Sidney suggesting that it should be called "Pittsylvania," in honor of Lord Chatham, whose character he and all other Loyalists regarded with enthusiasm. Quite early in the year 1784 the British government had practically decided on the division of Nova Scotia, and it was understood the name of the province to be created should be "New Ireland;" but some political complications caused the matter to be delayed, and when Governor Thomas Carleton came out in the autumn, it had been agreed that the name should be New Brunswick.

4.—OLD NAMES THAT ARE DISUSED.

The province was divided into counties and parishes shortly after the arrival of Governor Carleton, and in some instances old historic names were supplanted by new ones. In certain localities the old name persisted for years, and only gradually gave place to the new. This was the case at Fredericton, where the old name of St. Anns was common until after the removal thither of the seat of government in 1787. At Woodstock the old Indian name *Meductic* was at first employed by the people to designate their settlement. Within the last few years it has been revived as the name of a flourishing village at the mouth of Eel River. Other names, once familiar, have disappeared from the map altogether, and few to-day know the location of Aukpaque, Freneuse and Cleoncore, or of New Warrington, Amesbury, Conway and Morrisania. Respecting these, and other equally interesting names, there is a mine of information in Dr. W. F. Ganong's "Place Nomenclature of New Brunswick."

THE FORT CUMBERLAND SUMMONS AND REPLY, 1776.

By W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

The fall of Quebec, in 1759, brought joy and relief to the English colonists of America, for it heralded the end of French power on this continent. It was soon followed by English expansion, of which one phase was a stream of emigration from New England to Nova Scotia, particularly to the rich lands left vacant by the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755. Hence it came to pass that the opening of the American Revolution found the present Province of New Brunswick and the contiguous parts of Nova Scotia settled chiefly by New Englanders who were bound to their fellow-countrymen of Massachusetts and the neighboring States by the closest ties of kinship, love of fatherland, and constant intercourse. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the sympathies of many of these settlers should be with the American rather than with the British cause, and that they should wish to include Nova Scotia among the colonies in revolt. This in 1776 some of them tried to do, but without success, for the British power was too strong. After one attempt, some of them returned to the States, and the remainder gave their allegiance to England, and were afterwards, as their descendants are to this day, among the most loyal of British subjects. Their one armed attempt at revolution was their attack on Fort Cumberland, under the leadership of Jonathan Eddy, in November, 1776. Colonel Eddy, a brave, but rash, leader, gathered from Machias, Passamaquoddy, the River St. John, and Sackville a force of about one hundred and eighty New Englanders, French and Indians, all badly disciplined and badly armed. Fort Cumberland, whose ruins to-day overlook one of the fairest scenes and mark one of the most important historic sites in all the Atlantic Provinces, was strongly garrisoned by one hundred well-trained and well-armed militia under command of Colonel Gorham. Only eighty of Eddy's men were available for an attack, and with these he made an assault upon the fort on the night of November 12th, but was repulsed and his forces scattered. He escaped with the remnant of his men to the River St. John, whence he later retired into Maine.

Before beginning the attack, Col. Eddy sent a summons to the fort, which, with Colonel Gorham's answer, is given below. These two documents are amongst the most interesting in our history. Not only are they models of simple and forceful composition, but they reflect with great clearness the customs of the time and the characters of their writers. In Colonel Eddy's bold summons to a larger and better trained force inside a strong fort to surrender to his inferior one outside of it, and in Col. Gorham's calm rebuke of his adversary's disloyalty and expression of his own devotion to his Sovereign, we can read the minds of two very different men. In both documents, also, we note a characteristic of belligerents in all ages — the effort to make the enemy appear in the wrong. That in both papers the grammar is faulty and the spelling weak, does not detract from their interest, and they are here printed precisely as they occur in the work from which they are copied — Kidder's "Revolutionary Operations in Eastern Maine."

To Joseph Gorham Esq. Lieut. Colonel Commandt of the Royal Fencibles Americans Commanding Fort Cumberland.

The already too plentiful Effusion of Human Blood in the Unhappy Contest between Great Britain and the Colonies calls on every one engag'd on either side, to use their utmost Efforts to prevent the Unnatural Carnage, but the Importance of the Cause on the side of America has made War necessary, and its Consequences, though in some Cases shocking are yet unavoidable. But to Evidence that the Virtues of humanity are carefully attended to, to temper the Fortitude of a Soldier; I have to summon you in the Name of the United Colonies to surrender the Fort now under your Command, to the Army sent under me by the States of America. I do promise that if you surrender Yourselves as Prisoners of War you may depend upon being treated with the utmost Civility & Kind Treatment; if you refuse I am determined to storme the Fort, and you must abide the consequences—

Your answer is expected in four Hours after you receive this and the Flag to Return safe,

I am Sir
Your most obedt. Hble Servt
JONA EDDY
Commanding Officer of the United Forces.

Nov. 10, 1776.

SIR—

FORT CUMBERLAND, 10th Nov., 1776.

I acknowledge the receipt of a Letter (under coular of a Flagg of Truce) Signed by one Jonan Eddy Commanding officer expressing a concern at the unhappy Contest at present Subsisting between great Britain and the Colonys and recommending those engaged on either side to use their Endeavors to prevent the too Plentiful effusion of human Blood and further Summoning the Commanding officer to surrender this garrison—

From the Commencement of these Contest I have felt for my deluded Brother Subjects and Countrymen of America and for the many Innocent people they have wantonly Involved in the Horrors of an Unnatural Rebellion, and entertain every humane principle as well as an utter aversion to the Unnecessary effusion of Christian Blood. Therefore command you in his Majestys name to disarm yourself and party Immediately and Surrender to the Kings mercy, and further desire you would communicate the Inclosed Manifests to as many of the Inhabitants you can and as Speedily as possible to prevent their being involved in the Same dangerous and Unhappy dilemma—

Be assured Sir I shall never dishonour the Character of a Soldier by Surrendering my command to any Power except to that of my Sovereign from whence it originated.

I am Sir
Your most hble servt
Jos. Gorham, Lt Col. Comat
R. F. A. Commanding Officer
at Fort Cumberland.

THE SIEGE OF PENOBSCOT.

By Jas. Vroom.

The siege and relief of Penobscot must always rank among the most important events in the history of our Atlantic Provinces. Although the heroic stand made by the defenders and the sweeping victory of the relief were robbed of their just reward, when the Saint Croix instead of the Penobscot was made the boundary line of the new republic, yet the permanent check there given to the revolutionary forces saved to us the territory now forming the province of New Brunswick, and possibly the whole of Canada.

From the commencement of the American Revolution, the Loyalists of Western Maine had borne the heaviest persecutions that could be heaped upon them. East of the Kennebec, beyond the boundaries of the old province of Maine, in the territory sometimes called the District of Acadia and sometimes the District of Sagadahoc (then claimed by Massachusetts as a part of the District of Maine, but sending no representatives to the general court), there was less violence, and a larger proportion of the people, to use a cant phrase of the time, were "well-wishers of the government." Especially was this true in the neighbourhood of Penobscot, and the old fort, or military post, at that place was abandoned because its commander, a Loyalist, would not hold it in the interest of the Massachusetts authorities.

Some time in the spring of 1779, orders reached Halifax for the despatch of troops to Penobscot Bay to build and garrison a fort at that place. Brigadier-General McLean, an experienced officer, and a man of education and refinement, was placed in command of the expedition; his force consisting of the Seventy-fourth Highlanders and six companies of the Hamilton Regiment, about 700 men. His proclamation, on taking possession of the territory, expressly states that to afford a place of refuge and protection for the friends of the Crown in Maine was the principal object in establishing a military post.

A frigate and three small sloops of war convoyed the transports from Halifax to Penobscot. The landing safely made, the frigate departed, leaving orders for two of the sloops to return to Halifax.

The crest of a ridge on the peninsula of Bagaduce, or Majibaquiaduce (now Castine), lying on the east side of Penobscot River, where it widens to the Bay, was the site chosen for a fort and town. The landing took place on the 17th of June. About one hundred of the inhabitants volunteered to help in clearing the land of wood, and the work of planning and building the fort and outworks was commenced without delay.

When the people of Boston heard of the occupation of Penobscot, and learned that the British were few in number, they at once resolved to overwhelm them with a superior force.

By great exertion they quickly gathered a fleet of eighteen armed vessels, with a larger number of transports and storeships, and embarked an army of 3,000 men. This expedition reached Penobscot on the 23rd of July, just five weeks after the British had laid the foundations of their fort. Confident of success, the New Englanders laid siege to the unfinished works, and rejoiced in their anticipated victory.

General McLean was not wholly unprepared. Timely warning had caused the retention of the three war sloops for the protection of the harbour, instead of only the one that had been allotted to him. The attack, however, had come much earlier than was expected, and in much larger force.

As the forty or fifty New England ships paraded before the little harbour, they seemed indeed a formidable fleet. But the British general was not one to yield to a mere show of force. Though he had but one gun mounted, and his walls half raised, he would try to hold the fort. Changing the plan of his fortifications, therefore, to meet the emergency, and filling the openings in his masonry with logs and earthwork, he proceeded to make the best of his defences.

A full account of the siege is preserved in the diary of an officer.[1]

The three sloops of war were so managed as to hold the mouth of the narrow harbour, and baffle every attempt of the enemy's ships to force an entrance. On the 28th, after being several times repulsed, the New Englanders succeeded in effecting a landing on the outer side of the peninsula. This enabled them to throw up two batteries on the heights above the fort, and thus complete its investment; but the delay had given the British time to mount several guns, and to carry up the most necessary stores from the landing place.

Falsely informed that the garrison was short of provisions, the New Englanders, perhaps, refrained from attacking in force, waiting for hunger to do its work and give them an easier victory; yet not a day passed without some exchange of shot and shell, some assault or sortie from the fort, or some movement, either afloat or ashore, to be skilfully met by counter-movement, the defenders still continuing to strengthen their works while they held the enemy at bay.

The situation at Penobscot was known to the military authorities at Halifax; but their depleted garrison could furnish no relief until reinforcements arrived from England, and the expedition then sent out returned to port with some of its ships damaged in a storm off Cape Sable.

In the meantime, however, while the brave defenders of the Penobscot post were looking to Halifax for the help which never came, Sir George Collier had sailed from New York, with a fleet of six ships, to bring more efficient relief.

The beleaguered garrison was not entirely shut off from a knowledge of what was going on beyond the enemy's lines. Secret service men, at the risk of their lives, kept up communication with the outside world; and deserters from the enemy, at an equal risk, from time to time joined their ranks. From one of the latter they had learned that a large number of the loyal inhabitants had been taken on board the enemy's ships, where they were held as prisoners and treated with great cruelty, and that the property of these Loyalists had been destroyed, and their wives and children left destitute.

On the 13th of August there came in some deserters, who said that a council of war had been held on the commodore's ship to lay plans for a decisive action, and that it had been determined to force the harbor at next tide, and take or destroy the king's ships.

The disposition of the enemy's fleet confirmed this report, and every preparation was made for a desperate resistance. Night came on, and with it the full tide; but no aggressive movement was made by the enemy's ships, and at daybreak it was seen that the sudden arrival of Sir George Collier's fleet had disconcerted their plans.

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[1] Dr. John Calef, a Massachusetts Loyalist, surgeon and acting chaplain to the garrison.

The siege was raised with alacrity. In the words of one of the defenders[1] —

> The rebel fleet never attempted to make a stand, but ran up the river in the utmost confusion. Two of their vessels only were taken; the rest the rascals ran ashore and burned before our shipping could get up with them. Unluckily, they had intelligence of our fleet the day before, and in the night time their army got on board their shipping, and took along with them most of their cannon and stores.

The prisoners were set at liberty before the ships were burned, and the crews made the best of their way homeward through the woods.

The way in which the burning of the ships is glossed in a newspaper report of 1779 is curiously interesting, since it bears a strong resemblance to war news of later date:—

> The publick may be assured that only two ships have fallen into the enemy's hands. Admiral Staltonstal has taken effectual care to prevent their taking any more.

In spite of such deception, the excitable Americans were deeply chagrined by the defeat at Penobscot, and the Loyalists were equally elated. With the aid of the three sloops of war the king's forces had been able to hold out for twenty-one days against a fleet and army of more than six times their number and strength. The relieving fleet was composed of one ship-of-the-line, two frigates, and three smaller vessels. The British loss was seventy men in all — killed, wounded, and missing. The enemy lost nearly 500 in battle, besides their eighteen war vessels, twenty-four transports, and all their equipments and stores. After taking to the woods, the fugitives fought among themselves, seamen and soldiers accusing each other of cowardice. Many more lives were thus lost; others perished of famine; the remainder reached Boston in a most miserable plight.

Penobscot was held unmolested during the remainder of the war, and was the last place evacuated by the British troops after the treaty of peace.

An officer who took a leading part in the defence[2] thus sums up the result of the crushing defeat:—

> It was positively the severest blow received by the American Naval force during the War. The trade to Canada, which was intended, after the expected reduction of the Post of Penobscot, to be intercepted by this very armament, went safe that Season. The New England Provinces did not for the remaining period of the contest recover the loss of Ships, and the Expence of fiting out the Expedition. Every thought of attempting Canada and Nova Scotia was thenceforth laid aside, and the trade and Transports from the Banks of Newfoundland along the Coast of Nova Scotia, &c., enjoyed unusual Security.

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[1] Lieutenant Moore, of the 82d, or Hamilton Regiment, who had distinguished himself for personal bravery at the commencement of the siege; afterwards Sir John Moore, who ended a glorious military career, with a soldier's death, at Corunna.

[2] Captain Henry Mowat, R. N., commander of the three armed vessels which so successfully held the harbor.

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