# COLLECTIONS



OF THE

# Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEARS 1893-95.





VOLUME IX.

HALIFAX :
NOVA SCOTIA PRINTING COMPANY,
1895.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## CORRIGENDA.

Page 61. Strike out "David," signature to letter, and substitute "Daniel."

Page 93. Strike out "Not long," at the beginning of the last paragraph, and insert instead "Some seven years."

In the same paragraph strike out the words in brackets in the fifth line from the bottom, and substitute therefor, "Sir Thomas Andrew Strange."

# OBJECTS OF COLLECTION.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers, old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the wars of 1776 and 1812; biographical notes of our pioneers and of eminent citizens deceased, and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives and documents relative to the Loyalists, their expulsion from the old colonies and their settlement in the Maritime Provinces.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and all other publications, relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of pre-historic antiquities, especially implements of copper or stone, or ancient coins or other curiosities found in any of the Maritime Provinces, together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of all such articles to the cabinet of the society is most earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities, with their signification and all information generally, respecting the condition, language and history of the Micmacs, Malicetes and Bethuks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travels, and biography in general, and Lower Canada or Quebec in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of

institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced,—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the best of our ability.

9. The Society particularly requests authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library, where they may be expected to be found always on a file and carefully preserved. We aim to obtain and preserve for those who shall come after us a perfect copy of every book, pamphlet or paper ever printed in or about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island or Newfoundland.

11. Nova Scotians residing abroad have it in their power to render their native province great service by making donations to our library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, &c., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our Society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, &c., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.

# RULES AND BY-LAWS.

1. This Society shall be called The Nova Scotia Historical Society.

2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all documents, papers and other objects of interest which may serve to throw light upon and illustrate the history of this country; the reading at the meetings of the Society, of papers on historical subjects; the publication, so far as the funds of the Society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish; and the formation of a library of books, papers, and manuscripts, affording information, and illustrating Historical subjects

3. Each member shall pay towards the funds of the Society Five Dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars on the second day of January in each succeeding year, but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of Two Dollars and shall become a Life Member, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission pay to the Treasurer the sum of Forty Dollars in addition to what he had paid before. The sums received for Life Memberships shall be invested, and the interest only used for ordinary purposes. Persons not resident within fifteen miles of Halifax may become members on payment of Two Dollars at the time of admission, and One Dollar annually thereafter

No person shall be considered a member until his first fee is paid, and if any member shall allow his dues to remain unpaid for two years, his name shall be struck from the roll.

4 Candidates for membership shall be proposed at a regular meeting of the Society by a member; every proposal shall remain on the table for one month, or until the next regular meeting, when a ballot shall be taken; one black ball in five excluding.

5. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of every month, at 8 P. M. And special meetings shall be convened, if necessary, on due notification of the President, or in case of his absence, by the Vice-President, or on the application of any five members.

6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of February of each year, at 8 P. M., at which meeting there

shall be chosen a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer. At the same meeting four members shall be chosen, who, with the foregoing, shall constitute the Council of the Society.

The election of members to serve on the N. S. Library Commission, under the provisions of Chapter 17, N. S. Acts of 1880, shall take place each year at the annual meeting, immediately after the election of Officers and Council.

7. All communications which are thought worthy of preservation shall be minuted down on the books of the Society, and the original kept on file.

8. Seven members shall be a quorum for all purposes at ordinary meetings, except at the Annual Meeting in February, when ten members shall form a quorum. No article of the constitution nor any by-law shall be altered at any meeting when less than ten members are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for that purpose.

9. The President and Council shall have power to elect Corresponding and Honorary Members, who shall be exempt from dues; and the duties of the Officers and Council shall be the same as those performed generally in other Societies.

10. The Publication Committee shall consist of three, and shall be nominated by the Council. To them shall be referred all manuscripts &c., for publication; and their decision shall be final.

## General Lis

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| July 3 | History |
| Oct. 5 | Chapter |

# General List of Papers Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society

| Date. | Title. | Whence Obtained. | Published in Collections. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1878. | | | |
| June 23 | Inaugural Address | Hon. A. G. Archibald. | Vol. i. p. 18. |
| Sept. 5 | History of St. Paul's Church. Part I | Rev. Dr. Hill | do. 35. |
| Oct. 3 | Autobiography of Revd. Wm. Cochran | Rev. Dr. Cochran | |
| Nov. 7 | Telegraphy in Nova Scotia and neighboring Provinces | G. E. Morton, Esq | |
| 1879. | | | |
| Jan. 2 | Early Settlement of Shubenacadie | Miss E. Frame | |
| Mar. 6 | Journal of Colonel Nicholson at Siege of Annapolis | T. B. Akins, Esq | Vol. i. p. 59. |
| June 5 | Translation from the French, relating to the religious beliefs of the Indians prior to the discovery by Cabot | Robt. Morrow, Esq | |
| Nov. 6 | Journey to Yarmouth in 17—by Mather Byles | Hon. Dr. Almon | |
| 1880. | | | |
| Feb. 5 | Early Journalism in Nova Scotia | J. J. Stewart, Esq | Vol. vi. p. 91. |
| Mar. 11 | History of St. Paul's Church. Pts. II., III. | Rev. Dr. Hill | Vol. ii. p. 63. |
| Apr. 1 | Governor Cornwallis and the first Council | T. B. Akins, Esq | Vol. ii. p. 17. |
| May 6 | Witherspoon's Journal of the Siege of Quebec | do. | Vol. ii. p. 31. |
| " 13 | Walter Bromley and his labors in the cause of Education, by late John Young. (Agricola) | J. T. Bulmer, Esq | |
| June 3 | Sketches of the Winniett, DeLancy, and Milledge families | W. A. Calnek, Esq | |
| Nov. 11 | Revolutionary Incidents in Nova Scotia, 1776-1778 | J. T. Bulmer, Esq | |
| Dec. 3 | Sketch of Brook Watson, by Revd. Hugh Graham | do. | Vol. ii. p. 135. |
| | Brook Watson's account of the Expulsion of the Acadians | do. | Vol. ii. p. 129. |
| 1881. | | | |
| Jan. 6 | Early History of the Dissenting Church in Nova Scotia | Rev. Dr. Patterson | |
| | Biographical Sketch of Rev. Jas. Murdoch | Miss E. Frame | Vol. ii. p. 100. |
| Feb. 3 | Biographical Sketch of Alexander Howe | W. A. Calnek, Esq | |
| Mar. 14 | Account of the Manners and Customs of the Acadians, with remarks on their removal from the Province; by Moses Delesdernier, 1795 | T. B. Akins, Esq | |
| Apr. 7 | Letter (dated June 27, 1751) from Surveyor Morris to Governor Shirley, with a plan for the removal of the Acadians | do. | |
| May 5 | Extracts from the Boston News Letter, 1704-1760, and from Halifax Gazette, 1752 | Miss E. Frame | |
| Sept. 1 | Judge Croke (a Biography) | Hon. Sir A. Archibald | Vol. ii. p. 110. |
| Oct. 6 | Chapter from the life of S. G. W. Archibald | Israel Longworth, Esq | |
| Nov. 3 | Government House | Hon. Sir A. Archibald | Vol. iii. p. 197. |
| | Nicholas Perdue Olding, (a Biography) | Rev. Dr. Patterson | |
| Dec. 8 | Petitions to the Council of Massachusetts Bay from residents of Yarmouth, and from Council of Cumberland | T. B. Akins, Esq | |
| | Proposal of Capt. John Allen as to capture of Halifax and conquest of Nova Scotia | do. | Vol. ii. p. 11. |
| 1882. | | | |
| Jan. 5 | Who was Lebel? | Jas. Hannay, Esq., St. John, N. B | |
| Feb. 2 | Nomenclature of the Streets of Halifax | Rev. Dr. Hill | |
| Mar. 2 | A visit to Louisburg | P. Lynch, Esq | |
| July 3 | History of St. Paul's Church. Part IV | Rev. Dr. Hill | Vol. iii. p. 13. |
| Oct. 5 | Chapter in the Life of Sir John Wentworth | Hon. Sir A. Archibald | |

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE N. S. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Continued.*

| DATE. | TITLE. | WHENCE OBTAINED. | Published in Collections. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1882. | | | |
| Nov. 2 | Edward How and his family | W. A. Calnek | |
| Dec. 7 | M. S. Journal of Mr. Glover, Secretary to Admiral Cockburn, when conveying Napoleon to St. Helena in 1815 | Nepean Clarke, Esq. | |
| 1883. | | | |
| Jan. 4 | The Province Building | Hon. Sir A. Archibald. | Vol. iv. p. 247. |
| Mar. 1 | Early Reminiscences of Halifax | P. Lynch, Esq | |
| Apr. 5 | The Stone Age of the Micmacs | Rev. Dr. Patterson | |
| May 4 | Newfoundland, past, present and future | E. Hepple Hall, Esq. | |
| July 12 | Early Life of Sir John Wentworth | Hon. Sir A. Archibald. | |
| Nov. 15 | Nomenclature of the streets of Halifax. Part II | Rev. Dr. Hill | |
| Dec. 6 | Tour with General Campbell, in July and August, 1875, along the coasts of Nova Scotia, by Lieut. Booth, R. E | T. B. Akins, Esq | |
| 1884. | | | |
| Jan. 3 | Celebrated persons who have visited Nova Scotia | P. Lynch, Esq | |
| Mar. 6 | Ships of War wrecked on coasts of Nova Scotia and Sable Island in 18th century | S. D. Macdonald, Esq. | Vol. ix. p. 119. |
| May 1 | Hon. S. B. Robie (a Biography) | Israel Longworth, Esq | |
| Nov. 13 | Plans submitted to the British Government in 1783 by Sir Guy Carleton— 1. For the founding of a Seminary of learning at Windsor, N. S.; 2. For the establishment of an Episcopate in N. S. | T. B. Akins, Esq | Vol. vi. p. 133. |
| Dec. 4 | Samuel Vetch. 1st English Governor of Nova Scotia | Rev. Dr. Patterson | Vol. iv. p. 11. |
| 1885. | | | |
| Feb. 5 | Samuel Vetch. 1st English Governor of Nova Scotia. Part II | do. | Vol. iv. p. 64. |
| Mar. 12 | Exodus of the Negroes in 1791, with extracts from Clarkson's Journal | Hon. Sir A. Archibald | Vol. vii. p. 129. |
| Apr. 9 | Saga of Eric the Red, with an account of the discovery of Vinland. Translated (by Capt. Ove Lange) | P. Jack, Esq | |
| May 7 | Early History of St. George's Church (Pt. I) | Rev. Dr. Partridge | Vol. vi. p. 137. |
| Oct. 1 | Old Churches of Cornwallis and Horton | Rev. A. W. Eaton | |
| Nov. 5 | Letters from Rev. Jacob Bailey to Rev. Mather Byles | Hon. Dr. Almon | |
| " | Letter from Duke of Kent to Dr. William Almon | | |
| Dec. 3 | The League of the Iroquois | Rev. Dr. Patterson | |
| 1886. | | | |
| Jan. 7 | Expulsion of the Acadians, Part I | Hon. Sir A. Archibald | Vol. v. p. 11. |
| Feb. 11 | Method of the Acadian French in cultivating their lands, especially with regard to raising wheat. Judge Isaac DesChamps, 1785 | T. B. Akins, Esq | |
| May 13 | Bermuda | Hon. Sir A. Archibald | |
| Nov. 4 | Expulsion of the Acadians, Part II | do. | Vol. v. p. 39. |
| Dec. 2 | Centennial Memories | Rev. Dr. Burns | |
| 1887. | | | |
| Jan. 14 | Vinland | Hon. L. G. Power | Vol. vii. p. 17. |
| Feb. 3 | Early Reminiscences of Halifax, Part II | P. Lynch, Esq | |
| Mar. 3 | Early History of St. George's Church, Pt. II | Rev. Dr. Partridge | Vol. vii. p. 73. |
| " 16 | Acadian Boundary Disputes and the Ashburton Treaty | Judge R. L. Weatherbe | Vol. vi. p. 17. |
| Apr. 7 | Colonist Plants of Nova Scotia | Dr. Geo. Lawson | |
| " | Memoir of John Clarkson, by his brother, (the celebrated) Thos. Clarkson | Hon. Sir A. Archibald | |
| Nov. 10 | A Study of "Sam Slick" | F. B. Crofton, Esq. | |
| Dec. 8 | Early Journalism in Nova Scotia | J. J. Stewart, Esq | Vol. vi. p. 91. |

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE N. S. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Continued.*

| DATE. | TITLE. | WHENCE OBTAINED. | Published in Collections. |
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| 1888. | | | |
| Jan. 20 | Statement with reference to "French Cross" at Aylesford | John E. Orpen, Esq. | |
| " | The settlement of the early Townships, Illustrated by an old census | D. Allison, Esq., LL.D. | Vol. vii. p. 45. |
| Feb. 24 | T. C. Haliburton, Writer and Thinker | F. B. Crofton, Esq. | |
| " 29 | The Aroostook War | C. G. D. Roberts, Esq. | |
| Mar. 27 | Howe and his contemporaries | Hon. J. W. Longley | |
| Apr. 16 | The Loyalists at Shelburne | Rev. T. W. Smith | Vol. vi. p. 53. |
| Nov. 13 | Pictographs on Rocks at Fairy Lake | Geo. Creed, Esq | |
| Dec. 20 | North West Territory and Red River Expedition | Lt.-Col. Wainwright | |
| 1889. | | | |
| Jan. 15 | The Early Settlers of Sunbury County | James Hanney, Esq., St. John, N. B | |
| Mar. 12 | Memoir of Governor Paul Mascarene | J. Mascarene Hubbard, Boston | |
| Apr. 9 | Legends of the Micmac Indians | Rev. S. T. Rand | |
| Nov. 12 | United Empire Loyalists | C. F. Fraser, Esq. | |
| Dec. 10 | Inquiries into the History of the Acadian District of Pisiquid | H. Y. Hind | |
| 1890. | | | |
| Feb. 13 | History of Beaubassin | Judge Morse, Amherst | |
| Nov. 18 | Early Reminiscences of Halifax, Part III. | P. Lynch, Esq | |
| Dec. 9 | An Historical Note on "John Crowne" | Prof. A. McMechan | |
| 1891. | | | |
| Jan. 15 | Richard John Uniacke | Hon. L. G. Power | Vol. ix. p. 73. |
| " 20 | The Portuguese on the North East Coast of America, and the first European settlement there | Rev. Geo. Patterson, D. D. | |
| Feb. 10 | Facts and enquiries concerning the origin and early history of Agriculture in Nova Scotia | Prof. Geo. Lawson, LL. D | |
| Mar. 20 | Reminiscences of Halifax, Part IV | Peter Lynch, Esq., Q.C. | |
| Nov. 10 | | | |
| 1892. | | | |
| Jan. 12 | Extracts relating to Nova Scotia, from Boston paper, 1749 to 1762 | Miss Elizabeth Frame | |
| Feb. 9 | Hooped canon found at Louisbourg | Rev. G. Patterson, D.D. | |
| Nov. 8 | A Journal kept by Rev. Dr. Mather Byles during a visit to London in 1784 | Hon. W. J. Almon, M. D. | |
| Dec. 13 | A chapter in the History of the Township of Onslow, Nova Scotia | I. Longworth, Esq., Q.C | Vol. ix. p. 9. |
| 1893. | | | |
| Jan. 10 | Rambles among the Leaves of my Scrap-Book | W. H. Hill, Esq | |
| Feb. 14 | The Log of a Halifax Privateer in 1757 | Prof. A. McMechan | |
| Apr. 27 | Sir William Alexander and the Scottish Attempt to colonize Acadia | Rev. G. Patterson, D.D. | |
| July 28 | The "Royal William" | Sanford Flemming, Esq., C. M. G. | |
| Nov. 14 | The Voyages and Discoveries of the Cabots | Rev. M. Harvey, LL.D. | Vol. ix. p. 17. |
| Dec. 12 | The Recollect Fathers in Canada | G. Patterson, Esq., M. A. | |
| 1894. | | | |
| Feb. 13 | Critical Observations on Evangeline | F. Blake Crofton, Esq. | |
| Mar. 20 | Origin and History of names of places in Nova Scotia | Rev. G. Patterson, D.D. | |
| Nov. 27 | Louisbourg (An Historical Sketch) | J. P. Edwards, Esq. | Vol. ix. p. 137. |
| 1895. | | | |
| Jan. 22 | The Irish Discovery of America | Hon. L. G. Power | |
| Feb. 12 | Notes on the History of the Dock-yard at Halifax | C. Stubbing, Esq | |
| | Early Military History of Halifax | W. H. Hill, Esq | |

## PAPERS PRINTED IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BUT NOT INCLUDED IN FOREGOING LIST.

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|---|---|---|
| An Account of Nova Scotia in 1743 | Vol. | I., p. 105. |
| Trials for Treason in 1777 | " | I., p. 110. |
| Diary of John Thomas; Surgeon with Winslow's Expedition against the Acadians | " | I., p. 119. |
| Papers relating to Acadian French | " | II., p. 146. |
| Winslow's Journal of the Expulsion of the Acadians, 1755 | " | III., p. 71. |
| Winslow's Journal of the Siege and Capture of Fort Beauséjour, 1755 | " | IV., p. 113. |
| Papers connected with the administration of Mr. Vetch, 1710-13 | " | IV., p. 64. |
| Gordon's Journal of Second Siege of Louisburg | " | V., p. 97. |
| Letters and other Papers relating to the early history of the Church of England in Nova Scotia | " | VII., p. 89. |
| History of Halifax, by Dr. T. B. Akins | " | VIII., The whole. |

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# VOYAGE

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# THE VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE CABOTS.

BY THE REV. M. HARVEY, LL. D., OF ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND.

THE fourth centenary of the discovery of America has been celebrated with a pomp and splendor which throw all previous celebrations of the great event into the shade. The whole civilized world has shared in the imposing demonstrations. The Old World has joined hands with the New in worthily expressing their sense of the greatness of an achievement which must stand alone in the records of time as one which can never be repeated, and which has influenced the destinies of humanity more widely and permanently than any other single deed accomplished by the courage and genius of man. In world-history the discovery of America must rank next in importance to the wondrous birth at Bethlehem.

These celebrations all pointed to one name—the great name of Columbus—which must ever stand apart encircled with a halo of imperishable renown. In itself, his work was great in its influence on the course of human development. History has justly crowned him as the completer of the globe; as the conqueror who threw open the gates of ocean and subjected to us mighty realms; who scattered the dark phantoms that brooded over the watery abysses and gave us the waves for our ships and the greatest of the continents for the crowded populations of Europe. By laying open vast fields for human energy and enterprise, and giving new and exhaustless materials on which to work, he immensely widened the thoughts of man and the possibilities of human action.

Greater even than his work was the spirit in which Columbus wrought. In the depths of his own soul he conceived the great idea that by sailing westward into the unexplored abysses of ocean he would reach land. Gradually the thought rose from a shadowy possibility or a dim hope till it became a conviction, an inspiration which infused a solemn enthusiasm into his soul, before which doubt and fear vanished

and a lofty dignity and energy possessed the whole man. His sublime faith enabled him to "see the land that was very far off." Having struck out the daring project he held to it with a grasp like that of gravitation, and finally accomplished it in spite of mountains of difficulties and dangers and all the obstacles that ignorance and stupidity could fling in his path. He had a firm conviction that Heaven had destined him for a great work that would benefit the world. This nerved him to brave difficulty and danger and to bear patiently the world's scorn and opposition. It is this which touches so deeply the heart of the world to-day, and leads men to cherish his memory so gratefully. Not merely because he discovered a new world but because of the heroism, the moral grandeur which encircle his achievement is the great navigator remembered so reverentially after four hundred years have rolled past.

With all his wonderful genius Columbus was still a man of the fifteenth century, and could not overleap the limitations of his age. The impulses and ideas then current, the discoveries then made told on his sensitive, largely-enquiring mind, fired his imagination and gave a bent to his thoughts. It was a stirring era—the age of geographical discoveries and maritime adventures. In the preceding century the mariner's compass had been constructed. In 1452 the art of printing was invented. New ideas regarding the world and man's destiny in it had been awakened. Blind subjection to the past was repudiated. Science had entered on her great career. A wider theatre was needed for the development of the new life of men. The narrow strip of earth consisting of parts of Europe, Asia and Africa, on which history had hitherto transacted itself, was suspected not to be the whole. The Portuguese led the way in the new career of discovery. Away down the African coast their daring mariners crept, passing Cape Bojador—("the fearful outstretcher" as the name signifies)—which had barred the way for twenty years, penetrating the dreaded torrid zone, crossing the line, losing sight of the North Polar Star, and gazing in rapture on the Southern Cross and the luminaries of another hemisphere, till at length Bartholemew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, thus opening a new way to the shores of India. The earth was continually widening in man's view. What new discoveries might not the abysses of ocean yet disclose!

Deep in the soul of one man these wonders and mysteries had sunk. Columbus began to ponder on the secrets of the world now coming to light; he had no materials to work on except what were common to all,

and these were poor enough, being merely the cosmographical speculations of the day in which imagination largely mingled, the dreams of learned men, Portuguese discoveries, and vague reports of drift-wood seen upon the ocean. It required the quick instinct of genius on the part of Columbus to link all these together and divine from them a new world in the west with that strong conviction which bore him to its shores. How little others made of the same materials that were available to Columbus appears from the fact that for years he was in a minority of one, and that all the scientific men of the day condemned his scheme as visionary.

In spite of all, he arrived at the fixed conclusion that there was a way by the west to the Indies; that he could discover that way and so arrive at Cipango, Cathay, and the countries described in such glowing terms by Marco Polo. He by no means calculated on finding a mighty continent untrodden by the foot of any European. His theory was that as the earth was a sphere it might be travelled round from east to west; that only a third of its circumference yet remained unexplored; that this space was partly filled by the eastern regions of Asia, which he imagined extended so far as to approach within a moderate distance of the western shores of Europe and Africa; and that by sailing west across the intervening ocean he would land on the eastern shores of Asia, or as he always termed it, India. Thus what Columbus actually accomplished proved to be far greater than any thing he proposed. He hoped to find a new and shorter way to India; he discovered instead a mighty continent, undreamed of before, cut off from the old world by a wide ocean. Two fortunate errors entered into Columbus's calculations—he fancied the globe to be much smaller than it is; and he imagined Asia to stretch much further eastward than it actually does. These happy mistakes encouraged him to venture out into the western waters under the impression that his voyage would not be unduly prolonged before he touched some of the islands off the eastern coast of Asia, little dreaming that a broad continent blocked the way.

After years of struggle and waiting his great venture was at length fairly launched. The greatest scene in world-history was about to open. The man who was to burst the gates of the Atlantic stood ready for his task. The 3rd of August, 1492, dawned—a day to be for ever memorable in the annals of the world as that on which the three little caravals of Columbus sailed from the port of Palos in quest of the noblest trophy ever won by man. Seventy days after, on the 12th day of October, as

the morning mists cleared away, Columbus and his companions were gladdened with the sight of a beautiful green island which he named San Salvador. The work was done—not to be done again at all, for ever. The curtain was raised by the daring seaman never again to be drawn. Ere long, from end to end of Europe, the triumphant blast rings out, "A New World found." New light breaks in on the learned. The whole current of men's thoughts receives a new direction. The poor Geneose sailor is now the most famous man in all the world. His sublime faith in his idea has made him a world-conqueror. As he steps ashore at San Salvador he holds in his grasp the destinies of coming generations. The Columbian Exposition, with all its marvellous display, may be regarded not only as a monument to Columbus, but as the culmination of that civilization to which his genius gave the first and greatest impulse.

As the news of Columbus' great discovery flew from nation to nation it kindled in the minds of the more daring spirits of Europe a passionate desire to explore the secrets of the new hemisphere about which marvellous tales were rapidly circulated. Among those who felt this impulse most keenly were the Cabots, father and son, who were destined to achieve a discovery which though far from being so dazzling and brilliant as that of Columbus, yet in far-reaching results must be regarded as second only to his, and as one which places their names high on the rolls of fame. The Cabots were the real discoverers of North America. In virtue of their discoveries, England established her claims to the sovereignty of a large portion of these northern lands. The fish-wealth of the surrounding seas soon attracted her fishermen; and for their protection and development colonies were at first planted. Other nations, such as France, came to share in the spoils, but were finally compelled to retire from the field. That North America is now almost entirely occupied by an English speaking population, with all their vast energies and accumulated wealth, has been largely owing to the daring genius of the Cabots who, only five years after Columbus' landing, opened a fresh pathway into the northern portion of the new hemisphere, many hundreds of miles from the scene of the first discovery. But for the Cabots, Spain might for a long time have monopolized discovery in North as well as South America. English and French enterprise might have taken different directions, and the history of North America might have been shaped in a different fashion. The Cabots, like Columbus, boldly pushed out into the billows of an unknown

sea, braving its perils, and opened the way into new and boundless regions of vast natural wealth. Cartier, Marquette, LaSalle followed as explorers. "The Old Dominion" founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was the first of that cluster of colonies which finally developed into the United States. Quebec was founded, and the occupation of Canada commenced. All this was the outcome of the Cabots' voyages and discoveries in 1497 and 1498. As truly as Columbus pioneered the way in the south, did the Cabots open a pathway for a far nobler civilization in the north, the developments of which continue to expand before our eyes to-day. "The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire, of which these southern nations—so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy—were dreaming, stretched forth her hand, in quiet disregard of Papal Bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English supremacy was sounded when John Cabot's tiny craft sailed out from Bristol Channel on a bright May morning of 1497."—(Fiske's Discovery of America).

If then Columbus' great discovery merits a centenary celebration, should not the Cabots be accorded befitting honours? In four more years the fourth centenary of their discoveries will arrive. Surely the northern people will not permit the year 1897 to pass without some worthy celebration in grateful recollection of the man who first opened Northern America to European civilization. It would be no more than an act of tardy justice; for it is discreditable to England that one of the bravest of her sailors, who gave her a continent, has never yet had the smallest honour conferred on his name, or the most insignificant recognition of the vast services he rendered to his adopted country. No man knows where the ashes of John Cabot or his son repose. Not a cape, headland, gulf, or creek in the wide region to which they led the way bears the name of Cabot, with the exception of a small, rocky islet off the eastern coast of Newfoundland, to which the name of Cabot Island was recently given. No statue or monument has been raised to the memory of either father or son. Mr. J. F. Nicholls, city librarian, Bristol, who has written an excellent memoir of Sabastian Cabot, says: "He who gave to England a continent, and to Spain an empire, lies in some unknown tomb. This man who surveyed and depicted three thousand miles of coast which he had discovered; who gave to Britain, not only the continent, but the untold riches of the deep, in the fisheries of Newfoundland, and the whale fishery of the Arctic Sea; who

by his uprightness and fair dealing raised England's name high among the nations, placed her credit on a solid foundation and made her citizens respected; who was the father of free trade, and gave us the carrying trade of the world; this man has not a statue in the city that gave him birth, or in the metropolis of the country he so greatly enriched, or a name on the land he discovered. Emphatically the most scientific seaman of his own or perhaps many subsequent ages—one of the gentlest, bravest, best of men—his actions have been misrepresented, his discoveries denied, his deeds ascribed to others, and calumny has flung its filth on his memory."

Let us hope that when 1897 comes round, this reproach will be wiped away, and some suitable method will be devised for paying a tribute to one of the noblest names on the roll of England's great explorers. Canada might fittingly lead the way, as Cabot's landfall was, in all probability, on her shores, and his discoveries certainly pioneered the way for her settlement. Newfoundland, which specially claims him as her discoverer, should mark the approaching centenary by some becoming memorial or commemoration. Who will lead the way, and thus wipe out the disgrace of neglecting one of the noble dead who has left a landmark in history only inferior to that of Columbus?

It is deeply to be regretted that so little is known of the voyages of the Cabots, or of the personal history of either. While every incident connected with the voyage of Columbus has been carefully collected and minutely described, and while eloquent pens have told the story in every variety of picturesque detail, and while we are enabled to follow the hero through the various scenes of his chequered career, no narrative or journal of the voyages of the Cabots has been preserved, and of the life of father and son the accounts which have reached us are meagre and unsatisfactory. Not a fragment of the writings of either is known to be in existence. The little we do know admits of being briefly told.

John Cabot, or Zuan Caboto, in the Venetian dialect, was a native of Genoa, but after a residence of fifteen years in Venice, he was admitted to the full rights of citizenship, in 1476. He married a Venetian lady and had three sons, of whom Sebastian was the second and was born in Venice sometime before March, 1474. Little is known about the life of John Cabot in Venice, except that he was a mariner, merchant and cosmographer and had travelled as far as Arabia. He appears to have been a thoughtful, speculative man whose ideas travelled

beyond his daily routine of occupation, and led him to take a deep interest in those maritime discoveries that were then stirring the pulses of the world.

The news of Columbus's great discovery touched him deeply. He pronounced it "a thing more divine than human." After going to Lisbon and Seville to hear the wondrous tale, he was fired with an ardent longing to go and do likewise, and share in the glory of these new discoveries. His son Sebastian, then some twenty-three years of age, appears to have inherited his father's predilections and to have entered early, like Columbus, on a sea-faring life. The father could not hope for patronage in Spain or Portugal, and so he turned his face toward England, and with his wife and three sons, settled in Bristol about 1495. Doubtless he was attracted to Bristol from the fact that it was then the principal seaport of England, and that its merchants were known to be engaged in maritime explorations. He, too, like Columbus, was impressed with the idea of reaching the Cathay of Marco Polo by sailing to the west. After much pondering he reached the conclusion that by taking a north-west course, instead of following the track of the great discoverer, though he must pass through much stormier latitudes, he would find a much shorter route to the land of promise. Of the perils which he would have to encounter in these dark unknown seas which had never been furrowed by the keel of European ship, he knew nothing; but his stout heart did not quail.

Henry VII. was then on the throne of England. The over-cautious monarch was sorely chagrined that he had missed the proffered honor of having his name transmitted to posterity as the patron of Columbus, and thus becoming master of a New World beyond the western seas. When then John Cabot and his son Sebastian laid before him their scheme of discovering new lands in another direction, Henry eagerly listened to their proposals, and in 1496, granted to John Cabot and his three sons "letters patent" authorizing them "to sail to the east, west or north with five ships carrying the English flag; to seek and discover all the islands, countries, regions or provinces of pagans in whatever part of the world." The parsimonious monarch, however, stipulated in this legal document that the whole expenses were to be borne by the Cabots and their connections; but that the king was to have a fifth part of the profits. That they were able to meet such a heavy expenditure shows that they were possessed of considerable wealth, and that they were willing to risk their money as well as their lives for the glory of their adopted country.

Thus it came to pass that early in May, 1497, a little vessel called the *Matthew*, of the caraval class most likely, sailed out of the port of Bristol and turned her prow towards the west. She carried John Cabot and his sailor son Sebastian, and as her crew eighteen stout west-country sailors. Never was a voyage of discovery, the consequences of which were so far-reaching, entered upon with less pomp and circumstance. Without flourish of trumpets or any outward demonstrations, Cabot and his English sailors sailed away into the unknown waste of waters. What dangers they encountered; through what storms they passed; what fears and alarms they conquered; what feelings gladdened their hearts at the close—of all these we know nothing. No diary of the voyage has been preserved. All we know is that on the fifty-third day of their voyage—being June 24th, at 5 o'clock in the morning the glad cry of "Land! Ho!" rang out from the mast-head of the *Matthew;* and that Cabot named the headland which he saw "Prima Vista."

There is a local chronicle of which the following is an extract, first published by the author of the article "Bristol" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica":—"This year (1497) on St. John the Baptist day, the land of America was found by the merchants of Bristowe, in a ship of Bristol, called the *Matthew*, the which ship departed from the port of Bristowe the 2nd day of May, and came home again the 6th of August following." There is another old Bristol manuscript which records the event in still curter terms: "In the year 1497, the 24th of June, on St. John's day was Newfoundland found by Bristol men in a ship called the *Matthew*." Both of these ancient records agree as to the date of the discovery of land, and the name of the ship, and both ignore the discoverer whose genius and courage pointed the way which so many thousands have since followed. Such, too often, is fame among contemporaries. After generations recognise the merits of great men, but too frequently, the prophets are stoned or treated with bitter contempt in their own day. If we accept the foregoing date, which there is no good reason for doubting, the outward voyage extended over 53 days, and the whole time from the departure to the return of the *Matthew* was 96 days. We know for certain that Cabot was in London on the 10th of August, from the following brief entry in the Privy Purse Accounts of Henry VII, preserved in the British Museum: "August 10th. To him that found the New Isle, £10." No other official notice is known to be in existence of this momentous discovery. The stingy monarch 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. We must, however, in justice, remember that £10 were equivalent in purchasing power to £100 to-day; and that it appears from another source that the King granted Cabot a yearly pension of £20, to be paid out of the receipts of the Bristol Custom House. The discovery of a continent was, after all, cheap at such a price.

The people of England appear to have entertained a higher appreciation of the service of Cabot than their King. An old letter has been brought to light in Milan, written by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a Venetian gentleman then resident in London. It bears the date of August 23rd, 1497, and is addressed to his brother in Venice. The writer says: "This Venetian of ours who went in a ship from Bristol, in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence he discovered *terra firma*, which is the territory of the Great Khan. The King is much pleased with this intelligence. He has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself, and he is now in Bristol with his wife, who is a Venetian woman, and with his sons. His name is Zuan Cabot, and they call him the Great Admiral. Vast honour is paid to him and he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases." Pasqualigo adds that Cabot planted on the beach where he landed, the flags of England and of St. Mark, he being a citizen of Venice, and a large cross. From another source we learn that he prepared a chart of his discoveries, and also a solid globe. Both the Spanish envoys, Puebla and Ayala, writing between August 24th, 1497, and July 25th, 1498, mention having seen such a chart, and from an examination of it they concluded that the distance run did not exceed 400 leagues. The extract quoted above from Pasqualigo's letter, shows that he estimated the distance more correctly as 700 leagues. The original chart by Cabot is unfortunately lost; but as we shall see presently, a map engraved in Germany and bearing the date of 1544, has been discovered, which there is very strong reason for believing to have been after a drawing by Sebastian Cabot. This map throws light upon the much disputed land-fall of Columbus. There is no reason for supposing that Cabot, any more than Columbus, knew of the greatness of his discovery, or even suspected that he had touched the margin of a new continent. He reported, according to Pasqualigo, that he had reached the territory of the Grand Khan; so that, like Columbus, he thought the western coasts of the Atlantic which he had reached, were the eastern coasts of Asia. No

human being had yet suspected the truth ; and it took many subsequent voyages and many years to establish the existence of a new continent. In point of fact, the discovery of America was an evolution,—slow and gradual in its advances. Columbus and Cabot only raised the curtain. Sebastian Cabot, however, lived long enough to learn from the voyages of subsequent navigators the vastness of these new countries.

A second patent was granted to John Cabot, by Henry VII, dated February 3rd, 1498, authorizing him to sail with six ships "to the land and isles of late found by the said John, in our name, and by our commandment." This patent was evidently a supplementary commission. After this date John Cabot's name disappears from contemporary records ; from which it is inferred that he died before the second expedition was ready, or if he sailed as commander, that he died on the voyage. At all events Sebastian now takes his father's place, and is entitled to the credit of such discoveries as resulted from the second expedition. What these discoveries were, it is impossible from the meagre contemporary accounts and the confused narratives of later writers, to determine definitely. We do not possess a scrap of information regarding this expedition directly from Sebastian himself. What we do know is gathered from the Decades of Peter Martyr, the pages of Ramusio, Gomara and Galvano. These relate certain alleged conversations with Sebastian, years afterwards in Spain, most of them recorded from memory after a considerable lapse of time. Some are at second or third hand. Ramusio alone refers to a letter he had received from Sebastian many years before.

From these authorities, vague and often contradictory as they are, we can, however, gather that in this second voyage, in which Sebastian was the commander, in all probability a large extent of the coast of North America was explored, and we see how exalted was the courage and skill of the leader. A letter from Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish envoy then in England, and Stow's Chronicle, make it certain that this expedition sailed early in the summer of 1498, and that it had not returned in the following September. In fact we have no authentic account of its return. All the accounts agree in representing Cabot to have gone far north along the coast of Labrador till he was stopped by heavy masses of ice ; but they differ as to the latitude he reached. Ramusio gives 67°, 30′ as his highest latitude, alleging his recollection of a letter written to him by Sebastian Cabot many years before as his authority. Gomara gives 58° N. and another 56°. Ruysch alone fixes

it at 53°. All the accounts agree that being turned back by the ice, he followed the coast south,—according to one account to 38° N.; and at length his provisions failing him, he shaped his course for Bristol. Thus, whatever account we follow, it must be allowed that Cabot's second voyage was a great and important achievement, as it resulted in the discovery of 1200 to 1800 miles of the coast of North America. At the same time it seems to have been regarded in England as a failure, as it brought no immediate gain. In after years, however, when England put forth her strength to occupy these northern lands, and to reduce the power of Spain, these voyages of the Cabots then assumed a new importance, and furnished a ground for claiming sovereignty over them, on the right of a first discovery.

There is one other item of contemporary authority, regarding the discovery made on this expedition of 1498, which should not be overlooked. I refer to the famous map made in 1500, by the Biscayan pilot, Juan de La Cosa, who sailed with Columbus on his first and second voyages. In "Fiske's Discovery of America," Vol. II, 13 p., the writer says:—"So far as is known, this is the earliest map in existence made since 1492, and its importance is very great. La Casas calls La Cosa the best pilot of his day. His reputation as a cartographer is also high, and his maps were much admired. The map before us" (reproduced by Fiske) "was evidently drawn with honesty and care. He represents the discoveries of the Cabots as extending over 360 leagues of coast, or about as far as from the Strait of Belle Isle to Cape Cod; and the names from "Cabo de Ynglaterra" to "Cabo Descubierto," are probably taken from English sources. But whether the coast exhibited is that of the continent within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or the southern coast of Newfoundland with that of Nova Scotia, is by no means clear. The names end near the mouth of a large river, which may very probably be meant for the St. Lawrence; and beyond the names we see two more English flags, with the legend "Sea discovered by Englishmen." As it would be eminently possible to sail through the Gulf of St. Lawrence without becoming aware of the existence of Newfoundland, except at the Strait of Belle Isle, one is inclined to suspect that "Isla de la Trinidad" (on La Cosa's map) may represent all that the voyagers saw of that large island."

Thus it appears that this early map confirms the accounts referred to of Cabot's second voyage, and the extent and value of his discoveries. Dr. Kohl (History of Maine) identifies "Cabo de Ynglaterra" on La Cosa's map, with Cape Race.

After his return from this expedition, Sebastian Cabot lived for some time in England, loved and admired for his genial, modest disposition, and his ardent enterprising spirit, which was ever urging on new maritime adventures. His indomitable perseverance and high courage in carrying out his plans are attested by his contemporaries. At length he entered the service of the King of Spain, who estimated his worth so highly that he at once made him Pilot Major of the Kingdom, and he took up his residence in Seville. When in the service of the Spanish monarch, he made several voyages of discovery and explored the La Plata and Paraguay rivers. He took part in the famous conference at Badajos. He remained in Spain from 1512 to 1547, and then returned to England an old man. Edward VI. proved the high esteem with which he regarded him by creating for him the office of Grand Pilot of England. He also gave him a pension of £166 per annum.

Cabot was not idle even at his advanced age. In company with others he took an active part part in opening up the trade with Russia, and gained the life appointment of Governor of the Muscovy Company. All this proves the high esteem in which he was held. He died in London probably in 1557, sixty-one years after the grant of his first patent, and when close on 80 years of age.

His friend, Richard Eden, gives us a touching picture of the old man in the closing hours of his life, when bound for that country where there is "no more sea." The music of ocean was still in his ears; and in the wanderings of his fevered fancy, he spoke of a divine revelation to himself of a new and infallible method of finding the longitude, which he was forbidden to disclose to any mortal. The dying seaman in imagination was again on his beloved ocean, over whose billows, in his adventurous youth, he had opened a pathway. Soon he reached the quiet haven where the storms are hushed for evermore. His burial place was marked by no monument, and is entirely unknown.

Such in life and in death was one of England's boldest sailors, who undoubtedly first saw the Continent of America before Columbus, without being aware of it, touched its margin in the neighbourhood of Veragua, or before Amerigo Vespucci made his first voyage across the Atlantic.

### THE LAND-FALL OF CABOT.

When we come to inquire what was the land first seen by the Cabots, on the 24th of June, 1497, we find ourselves on debatable ground, where absolute certainty cannot be reached. Historians and

antiquarians differ as to Cabot's land-fall. Still, I think that an unprejudiced consideration of the various records available will show that the weight of evidence is strongly in favour of the conclusion that the northern part of the Island of Cape Breton was Cabot's land-fall. It is not wonderful, however, that there should be such a diversity of opinion on this point, when we remember how meagre and fragmentary are the records. Even in the case of Columbus' land-fall different opinions exist, notwithstanding that the records have been carefully preserved, and were most minute and abundant. Even yet the controversy on the subject has not ceased, though recently there has been among those best qualified to judge, a concurrence of opinion that Columbus' land-fall was not the island that bears the name of San Salvador, but Watling's Island. In the case of Cabot's land-fall there is far less reason for surprise at the doubt which hangs over it. Unfortunately, all Cabot's papers have been lost. That such an able and intelligent navigator wrote an account of his own and his father's voyages can hardly be doubted. Hakluyt in his "Divers Voyages," 1582, says Sebastian Cabot's papers "were in the custody of William Worthington, and were shortly to be printed." Nothing more is recorded of them, and it is not known that even a fragment of them is in existence. Biddle, one of Cabot's biographers, snggests that for certain reasons, these papers were "secured by the Spanish Court, and probably destroyed." Possibly, however, they may have been deposited in the archives of Spain, where one day they may be found. Such a "find" would be exceedingly valuable in working out the geographical evolution of the North American continent.

There are three leading opinions in regard to Cabot's land-fall. Some place it at Cape Bonavista, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland. Others hold that it was on the coast of Labrador, but differ as to the latitude of the place; while a third opinion is that it was Cape North, the northern point of Cape Breton Island.

The Bonavista theory finds now few advocates. Bishop Howley, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland," being its only recent supporter. The evidence in support of it is but slight. The records of the voyage which we possess do not at all accord with the appearances of the land at Cape Bonavista.

There is much stronger evidence in support of the Labrador theory, and high authorities might be cited in its favour. The great Humboldt held that the Cabots first saw land on the coast of Labrador, in 56° or

58° N. latitude. Biddle, who has industriously collected all the floating fragments referring to the voyages of the Cabots, and commented on them in a confused sort of way, held that Labrador was their land-fall. Other names might be cited in support of this opinion; but it is evident that some of the old authorities, such as Eden and Ramusio, mixed together Cabot's first and second voyages, and attributed to the former what occurred in the latter. Those who followed them have been led into a similar error On his second voyage, as we have seen, Cabot made the Labrador coast, and sailed along it northward till arrested by ice.

The grand authority for holding that Cabot's land-fall was Cape North, in Cape Breton Island, is the Mappe-monde bearing the date 1544, and attributed to Sebastian Cabot. This map was discovered by Von Martins in 1843, in the house of a clergyman in Bavaria, and deposited in the National Library, Paris, in 1844, where it still lies. It was engraved in Germany or Flanders, and is stated to be a copy of Cabot's Mappe-monde, drawn in 1544. At the north of what is now the Island of Cape Breton, the map bears the inscription "Prima tierra uista," "First land seen,"—"uista" being the old form of "vista" in Spanish. There is a marginal legend or inscription in Spanish and Latin, stating that this land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian.

This map was first re-produced by the distinguished French geographer, M. Gomard, in his great work, "Les Monuments de la Geographie, Paris, 1854." Since that date it has been frequently re-produced, in whole or in part, in various standard works, such as Bryant and Gay's "United States"; Judge Daly's "Cartography"; Dr. Justin Windsor's "Christopher Columbus"; Historical Magazine of America; Harisse's "Cabots"; Deane's "Nar. and Crit. History of America"; Dr. Kohl's "Discovery of North America," and Bourinot's "History of Cape Breton."

If this Mappe-monde be accepted as authentic, of course all doubts as to Cabot's land-fall are ended. There is not however, a complete concurrence of opinion on this point; but the weight of learned authority seems to me in favour of the acceptance of this map as being on the whole a trust-worthy copy of that drawn by Sebastian Cabot.

Some eminent historians still retain doubts on the subject, and probably for years to come the question will continue to be argued. No recent writer has given a more careful and impartial examination of the

various theories advanced than Dr. Bourinot, C. M, G., in his excellent "History of Cape Breton," and there is no one whose opinion is entitled to greater weight. After admitting the difficulties which surround the vexed subject, he considers that the great mass of evidence warrants us in accepting Cape Breton as the true land-fall, and the map as authentic; though he does not dogmatize on the subject. He says: "The land-fall of that famous voyage is still and is likely to remain in dispute; but as long as the Sebastian Cabot Mappe-monde, of 1544, is believed by many authorities on such subjects to be authentic, some point on the north-eastern coast of the Island of Cape Breton must be accepted as the actual "prima tierra vista" of 1497. The delineation of Cape Breton, then considered a part of the mainland, or the terre des Bretons, and the position of the Island of St. John (P. E. Island), named by Cabot, and the language of the legend or inscription on the map referring to the discovery on the 24th of June, go to support the Cape Breton theory." "It is a strong fact in support of Sebastian Cabot's claim to the authorship of this map, of which the legends could hardly have been written by one not present at the time of the discovery, that Hakluyt reprinted for the first time in Latin, with a translation "An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discovery of the West Indies, which is to be seen in Her Majesty's privie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses."

Dr. Bourinot cites several high authorities who hold the same view in regard to the Cabot map. One of these is Charles Deane, LL.D, "an authority in American History and Archæology. In his "Voyages of the Cabots," and "Nar. and Crit. History of America," "all the important works on the subject are cited with critical acumen. Dr. Deane believes that the weight of evidence is in favour of the authenticity of the map, and that there is no good reason for not accepting Cape Breton as Cabot's land-fall."

The Abbé J. D. Beaudoin, a writer of much learning and acumen, is also referred to by Dr. Bourinot, as a believer in the Cape Breton theory. "He goes over the ground travelled by all writers on the subject, and combats the arguments of Biddle and other supporters of the Labrador theory. He comes to the conclusion that it is difficult to deny the authenticity of the Cabot map, and that there is no reason not to accept the northern part of Cape Breton as tierra prima vista."

"Harrisse" (Cabots 65, 85 pp.) adds Dr. Bourinot, "favours Cape Percé (old name of the north head of Cow Bay); but he himself effectually disposes of the theory by stating that it is 129 miles distant from Prince Edward Island."

"Dr. Kohl in his "Discovery of North America," endeavoured to show how utterly impossible it is that the map was either drawn by Sebastian Cabot, or executed under his direction or superintendence; but even this learned man concluded by saying that "he does not pretend to speak decisively on the subject"—that the land-fall was not Cape Breton."

Two other authorities may be named. Mr. J. C. Brevoort, an able writer whose opinion is entitled to high respect, made a careful study of the whole subject, and in *The Historical Magazine of America*, (March, 1868), emphatically accepts Cabot's map as authentic, and as being decisive in regard to the land-fall. He re-produces a section of the map in connection with his article. Clements Markham, C. B., an eminent authority, in his recently published "Life of Columbus, (The World's Great Explorers Series) says (227 p.), "The *Matthew* sailed in May, and at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 24th of June, 1497, land was sighted and named "Prima Terra Vista." We learn from a copy of a Mappemonde, drawn by Sebastian Cabot in 1544, that "Prima Terra Vista" was the northern point of Cape Breton Island. On the map of Michael Lok, dated 1582, in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," copied from a chart of Verrazano, the inscription "J. Gabot 1497," is written across the land to a point named Cape Breton." Markham accepts the authenticity of the map.

One of the standing objections to the map is that the date of the discovery is given, in an inscription on the margin, as 1494; and it is alleged this is a proof that Sebastian Cabot could not have drawn it; otherwise he would not have fallen into such an error. The inscription runs as follows:—"This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, in the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ, MCCCXCIIII on the 24th of June." Now this is so evidently a printer's error, that it is surprising any stress was laid on it. To correct it, the first two letters after XC should be joned together at the bottom, making a V; and then it reads XCVII,—the correct date.

Assuming now that the land-fall is settled, what was the route followed by Cabot after sighting land? Judging by the records we possess, he did not immediately return to England, but continued for a

time coasting around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and finally passed out by the Straits of Belle Isle, and so shaped his course for Bristol. When at Cape North he must have seen Cape Ray on the Newfoundland coast which is only 58 miles N. E. of the former, and, being 1570 feet high, would be visible from the high land on Cape North, where, according to the account of Pasqualigo, he "landed and planted a large cross with a flag of England and one of St. Mark." Further—on his route homeward he must have coasted along the northern shores of Newfoundland, and is therefore justly reckoned its discoverer. On his map Newfoundland is represented as a cluster of islands. Such an impression was perfectly natural in the case of an explorer sailing along the coasts for the first time and viewing its great bays stretching far inland, on every side, to which no termination was apparent. The presence of fog, too, hiding the land formation, would tend to strengthen the impression of its being an archipelago. The fact of there being one great island was not clearly ascertained till a later period.

Another question presents itself:—How long did he spend in his explorations round the Gulf after seeing land? The letter of Pasqualigo, dated August 23rd, 1497, makes it certain that Cabot had then been in London for some time. The Bristol chronicle, already referred to, fixes the date of his return as August 6th. If we suppose that he had a favorable homeward voyage from the Straits of Belle Isle, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that it was accomplished in 25 days. This would leave him 18 or 19 days for explorations in the Gulf. In that time he may have coasted from Cape North to the Straits of Belle Isle—a distance of between 700 and 800 miles—allowing for inevitable delays in passing from point to point of an unknown coast. He saw the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts, but could have had no time for going farther north than the Straits of Belle Isle.

The competing theories of the landfall are now practically reduced to two—Cape North and Labrador. There seems to me to be one insuperable difficulty in regard to Labrador being the landfall on the first voyage. Its advocates fix the latitude of the landfall at 56° or 58°. If we assume a medium of 57° this would be further north than Nain, one of the most northern Moravian mission stations, and one degree south of Cape Mugford. It is absolutely certain that the 24th of June was the day on which Cabot first saw land. At that date the coast of Labrador is beset with ice and icebergs; and at such a high latitude as 57°, is rarely if ever accessible so early in the summer, especially to vessels approaching directly from the eastward. Even now, no captain of

a sailing vessel would think of venturing so far north at such a date. In any case had Cabot made his way to this part of the coast on June 24th, he must have encountered immense quantities of ice. Now, we have several accounts of his first voyage, the most reliable being that of Pasqualigo. He mentions that Cabot saw "felled trees," "snares for catching game," and speaks of "the tides being slack;" but never mentions ice or any difficulties presented by it. Had he met with ice fields or icebergs such a remarkable phenomenon would hardly have been omitted. At 57° N. on Labrador "felled trees would certainly not be found. The accounts of Eden and Ramusio, in which "great flakes of ice" are mentioned, and intense cold, clearly refer to the second voyage.

I am not aware that this weighty objection to the Labrador theory has been previously stated, or that it has been met by any of its advocates. Even if we take the lowest latitude named—53° or 54°—on Labrador, in nineteen cases out of twenty the ice difficulty would still present itself, though perhaps in a less serious aspect.

It seems to me, for the reasons assigned, that the landfall must be sought elsewhere than on Labrador, and that the probabilities are all in favor of Cape Breton. However this may be, we will all agree with Dr. Bourinot when he says that "the voyages of the Cabots commenced a new era in the history of North America." "As the Cabots laid the foundation of the claim of England to a large portion of the North American continent from Cape Breton to Florida, so Cartier gave to France the valley of the St. Lawrence, and prepared the way for the courageous Frenchmen of Brouage who, a few decades later, made on the heights of Quebec the commencement of that dependency which France in her ambition hoped would develop until it could dominate the whole continent of North America."

The following is a literal translation of the Spanish inscription on Cabot's Mappe-monde, as given by Dr. Bourinot in his "Cape Breton." "No. 8. This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ MCCCCXCIIII., on the 24th of June, in the morning, which country they called 'Prima Tierra Vista,' and a large island over against the said land they named the island of St. John, because they discovered it on the same day. The inhabitants wear skins of animals, use in their battles bows, arrows, lances, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soil is very barren, and there are many white bears and stags as large as horses, and many other beasts; likewise great quantities of fish, pike, salmon, soles as long as a yard, and many other sorts, besides a great

abundance of the kind called baccalaos. There are also in the same land hawks as black as ravens, eagles, partridges, redpoles, and many other birds of various descriptions." The error in the date contained in the foregoing has been already referred to, and the simple method for its correction.

Commenting on the foregoing inscription, Dr. Bourinot says:—"The northern part of Cape Breton in many respects corresponds with the general features of the description given of the new land, of its inhabitants, of its animals, and of its fisheries, in the legend or inscription on the map in question—a legend which has also given rise to much speculation as to its authorship and authenticity, but which nevertheless must be taken into account, unless we ignore the document in its entirety. The people clothed in the skins of animals that the voyagers saw on the shore, were probably the Micmacs, who were a coast tribe, and must have frequented the northern parts of Cape Breton in considerable numbers in early times, on account of the abundance of game. The great deer were no doubt the moose, which in great numbers roamed among the hilly fastnesses and fed on the barrens of northern Cape Breton, until they have been in the course of time almost exterminated by reckless hunters. The advocates of the claim of Labrador argue that the mention of the appearance of white bears in this new found land of Cabot is in favour of their contention; but it is not at all unlikely that these animals frequented the northern coast of Cape Breton in those early times when the island contained great numbers of wild creatures, many of which have entirely disappeared with the progress of settlement. It is a powerful fact in support of the Cape Breton theory that in a work written by one Pichon on "The Island of Cape Breton," two centuries and a half later than the Cabot voyages, he tells us in his chapter on the natural features of the country that the bears of Cape Breton and St. John "are much the same as those in Europe—and some of them are white"—a statement which is almost conclusive on the point at issue."

It may be desirable, in closing this paper, to furnish the text in full of the important letter of Pasqualigo, to which several references have been made:—

"*(From the Calendar of Venetian State Papers: I., 262, No. 752.)*

LORENZO PASQUALIGO TO HIS BROTHERS, ALVISE AND FRANCESCO:

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence he

discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham. He coasted for 300 leagues and landed ; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets ; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return saw two islands to larboard, but would not land, time being precious as he was short of provisions. He says that the tides are slack and do not flow as they do here. The King of England is much pleased with the intelligence.

"The king has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet. The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons ; his name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the Great Admiral. Vast honour is paid him ; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues beside.

"The discoverer of these places planted on his new-found-land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of S. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield.

LONDON, *23 August, 1497.*"

## NOTE.

A few years ago I prepared by request a short article on Sebastian Cabot for the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia. I mentioned among other things in this notice that "there is still in one of the private collections of England a portrait of Sebastian Cabot, painted for Edward VI, by Holbein." Soon after a letter appeared in *The Public Ledger* in which the writer said regarding this statement about Cabot's portrait : "I beg to correct it. The portrait of Sebastian Cabot was purchased from the family of Charles Joseph Harford, Esq., of Bristol, about 1831-34, by Mr. Richard Biddle, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, a brother of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, also a native of Philadelphia, who spent five years in London writing the life of the discoverer of North America. He brought the portrait to his home in Pittsburg where it was destroyed, together with his fine library and all his household effects, in the disastrous fire of 1845, which consumed more than a third of the city. The life of Sebastian Cabot is a work of deep and accurate research."

I have been honoured with a communication from the writer of the foregoing extract from the *Ledger*. She says, "The writer of Cabot's Life was a near relative of mine. I well remember the portrait with the black cap on the head and the white pointed beard. A heavy gold chain hung from the neck, sustaining (I think) a cross. The right hand held a pair of compasses and rested on a globe which I remember was of a vivid green. The picture was painted on panels of wood. It was usually covered, being highly valued; and I remember the curious old volumes and manuscripts which mentioned it, and attested its genuineness and history—all of which perished as aforesaid. It hung in the gallery of Whitehall, and in Cromwell's time, if I remember aright, found its way into the family of the Earl of Errol in Scotland. The loss of this picture, and all belonging to it, was a great trial to Mr. Biddle; more seemingly than all of the rest of his possessions. He did not long survive his misfortunes. Now that the subject of the discovery of America is uppermost in men's minds, and there is a disposition to rob Sebastian Cabot of the honour and give all the glory to Columbus, I feel moved to write to you now (April 26th, 1893,) as I thought of doing before when your article appeared in the *Ledger*."

"I see an article in the New York *Churchman*, by Bishop Perry of Iowa, who says: 'The world is invited to the city of Chicago to do honour to the Genoese discoverer, whose eyes never saw, and whose feet never trod upon any portion of the territory of the United States.' Be this as it may, Sebastian Cabot was certainly in advance of Columbus, and was the true discoverer of North America."

The writer then quotes from an article in *The North American Review*, by Geo. S. Hillard, on Cabot, as follows: "He is as much more worthy of a statue in St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey than any of her naval heroes, as the extension of empire by right of discovery, and the opening of new markets by honourable enterprise are more to be desired than provinces wrested from rival nations by the iron hand of war, and commercial privileges enforced at the point of the bayonet."

The loss of Holbein's portrait of Cabot, in the way described by the writer referred to, is a matter of deep regret. It must, I think, have been engraved before it was removed from England, as it was published a good many years ago by Mr. Nicholls, of the Bristol Library, in a tributary *brochure* to Cabot. I was enabled to give a partial reproduction of Nichols' engraving in my "Newfoundland—the Oldest British Colony."

# HISTORY

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# A CHAPTER

IN THE

# HISTORY OF THE TOWNSHIP OF ONSLOW, NOVA SCOTIA.

BY ISRAEL LONGWORTH, Q. C., TRURO.

IN the early history of Nova Scotia it was customary to call new settlements after men of note, in the civil and military service of Great Britain. In accordance with this practice it is believed that the government of the day named the Township of Onslow in honor of Arthur Onslow, an English statesman, who was born in 1691; speaker of the Commons from January 1727 to 1754; pensioned in 1761; died 17th February, 1768; and after whom a county, and shire-town, known as Onslow Court House, in North Carolina, had been called.

The erection of the township was ordered by Governor Lawrence in Council, 24th July, 1759, though the grant did not pass the great seal of the province till the time of Lord William Campbell. The formation took place upon the application of Joseph Scott and Daniel Knowlton for themselves and fifty others, of the Massachusetts Bay, for a tract of land at Cobequid. Several were of the Fort Cumberland expedition of the previous year, and were attracted to the province from what they had seen of it, and in consequence of Governor Lawrence's proclamations* for settling the townships. The fifty-two proposed grantees, with their families, were represented to number three huudred and nine souls. A grant of fifty-two shares or rights in the township to these persons passed the Governor-in-Council, 26th July, 1759.

The township was stated as being at the head of Cobequid Basin, to extend upon the north side of said Basin, and to run westerly six miles; from thence northerly about twelve miles; thence easterly about twelve miles; and thence southerly twelve miles; and thence to Cobequid Basin six miles. All to be laid out on the north side of Cobequid River.

* Governor Lawrence issued two proclamations for settling the Townships. The first in October, 1758; the second in January. 1759. (See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. II., page 359.)

Scott and Knowlton and their associates were to have 26,000 acres. Half were to settle in October, 1760, and the remainder in May, 1761.

That the grant might not be forfeited, Scott and Knowlton, on their return to the Massachusetts Bay, prevailed upon one hundred and sixty-four others, the principal of whom was Richard Upham, to sign a paper requesting an interest in the grant they had obtained, upon the same conditions, with which they promised to comply. Timothy Houghton and William Keyes came to Halifax as a committee chosen by these persons, and submitted to the Government the names of fifty-one they considered most desirable for settlers in Cobequid.

An order-in council passed 18th October, 1759, granting to Timothy Houghton and others, of the Massachusetts Bay, fifty-three rights or shares of 200 acres each in the township. Thirteen were to settle 30th September, 1760; twenty on the 30th September, 1761; and twenty on or before the 30th September, 1762.

The same date (18th October, 1759,) Joseph Twitchell and Jonathan Church obtained a grant of fifty shares in the township, for that number of persons including themselves, all of the same place, except Joseph Fairbanks of Halifax, gentleman.

It also appears by minute-of-council, dated 26th October, 1759, that Daniel Knowlton that day applied for one hundred and fifty more shares in the township; but there being only forty-one left, in order to accommodate him and his associates, it was resolved that another township should be erected by the name of Wolfe, adjoining Onslow, and on the River Shubenacadie, in which the shares desired should be laid out.

Besides Scott and Knowlton, the only individuals comprising the fifty-two first intending settlers who came to the township and became grantees thereof, were Jacob and Thomas Stevens, Jacob Lynds, William Tackles, Hugh Tackles, David Cutten, Abijah Scott, and William Whippie.

It is also worthy of remark that out of the large number of persons who would have been the grantees of Onslow and Wolfe, had all settled in the Province, no more came than were necessary to fill the requirements of the Onslow grant. This resulted in the proposed township of Wolfe going to others, about the same time, under—not the more euphonious, and certainly not the more illustrious name of Truro.

The names of the first settlers, in the order they appear in the township grant, are as follows:—

Richard Upham, William Hamilton, Anthony Elliot, Thomas Stephens, James Lyon, John Steel, James Wilson, Frances Blair,

Jonathan Higgins, Joseph Scott, John Carter, William Tackles, Hugh Tackles, Jacob Stephens, William McNutt, the heirs of Jacob Lines, Nathaniel Gallop, Edward Brooks, David Hoar, Martin Brooks, William Blair, Ephraim Howard, Joshua Lamb, David Gay, David Blackmore, Abner Brooks, Carpenter Bradford, George Howard, Ephraim Scott John Polly, Samuel Nichols, Peter Richardson, Ephraim Howard, jr., Robert Crowell, Abijah Scott, David Cutting, Isaac Ferrell, Daniel Knowlton, and Mary Knowlton, Elizabeth Blackmore, Abigail Upham, Caleb Putnam, Nathan Upham, Richard Upham, jr., Nicholas Blanchard, James Tackles, John Cutting, Soloman Hoar, William Blair, jr., William Whippy, Peter Wilson, James Brown, the heirs of Jabez Rude, Joseph Pierpont, John Howard, Daniel Calf, the heirs of Samuel Whippy, the heirs of Joel Camp, the heirs of Benjamin Brooks, Asa Scott, Francis Harris, John Barnhill, Samuel Bencraft, John Hewett, John Polly, jr., Reuben Richardson, William Crowell, Jonathan Higgins, jr., Mercy Brooks, Hugh Acton Tackles, Christopher Stevens, Jacob Stevens, jr., Abner McNutt, Jacob Lines, jr,, Silvanus Brooks, Edward Brooks, jr., Ebenezer Hoar, John Blair, and Deborah Wright.

For some unaccountable reason the grant was withheld for about eight years, during which period a number of the first settlers died, and their rights went to their heirs, widows, or daughters, whose names are included in the list of grantees.

"It appears from manuscript letters of the late Colonel Alexander McNutt, which are still extant, that the settlers encountered great difficulty in procuring their grant, and that it was not only different from what they had been led to expect, but also much more restrictive in its terms than that of the Township of Truro. The Onslow patent reserves to the Crown 'all mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, and coal,' and also '1000 acres for the use of a church, a school, and glebe.' It also differed from the Truro grant, in the manner in which the quit rent was reserved, 'being one farthing per acre in three years,' and in default of payment, the grant was declared to be null and void. It was also subject to forfeiture, if not registered and docketed at the Register's office within six months. It was signed by Lord William Campbell, on the 21st inst., audited on the 22nd, and registered on the 23rd of February, 1769. It would be interesting to ascertain the causes which occasioned this marked difference in the two grants, though perhaps it is now impossible."*

The first settlement took place about June, 1760; though if Haliburton, and the earliest recorded dates in the "Township Book,"

* Haliburton's History, Vol. I., page 44.

and in the "Book of Records for Deaths, Births, and Marriages for the Town of Onslow" are to be taken for authority on this point, it did not commence till the following year. It is matter of record, however, that the people of both Truro and Onslow applied to the Government for aid in opening up communication with Halifax, on the fifth of August, 1760. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the statement of Mr. Haliburton that "the first British settlers, who came from the Province of Massachusetts, and were of various origin, landed in Onslow in the summer of 1761, to the number of thirty families, and brought with them twenty head of horned cattle, eight horses, and seventy sheep," relates to the second instalment of the signers under Scott and Knowlton, who were to settle in May of that year.

By July, 1761, the inhabitants numbered some fifty-two families. They were located at the expense of the province about the end of May of that and the previous year. They immediately set to work to raise corn and roots for their subsistence, but the second year, it is said, a severe drought, followed by an early frost, destroyed the former. They succeeded, however, in raising some corn, but scarce roots sufficient; and cut hay for their stock. The first two or three years the privations they experienced were great, and it is matter of tradition that Joel Camp died from starvation, after eating the end of a tallow candle. The days of many were shortened from the hardships they encountered at this early period, and their sufferings would have been far greater had not Government supplied them with corn for food and for planting.

On the 17th of April, 1762, Governor Belcher sent this message to the House of Assembly :—

"From representations to me of the present distressing indigent circumstances of the inhabitants in several new townships, particularly those of Truro, Onslow, and Yarmouth, for want of supplies for provisions, and seed corn in the present season for improving their lands, I must earnestly recommend to your immediate examination the state of their necessities, that such relief may be speedily administered as the nature of their compassionate case may in all humanity deserve from the benevolent interposition of the Legislature, to whom alone their application must be directed, as there is no other method for their public assistance."

The members of the House having taken the communication into consideration, "Resolved that a message be sent to His Honor in answer thereto, to acquaint him that they find it impossible, by reason of the great load of debt due by the public, more than the present funds will

in any degree answer, to afford these poor people any present supplies. But as there may still remain in the Treasury some part of the old duty money, the Assembly would humbly request, that so much thereof as His Honor should think necesssary, may be applied towards this charitable purpose."

The determination of the Lower Branch having been sent to the Council for concurrence, that Body replied that they could not concur with the Assembly's request to the Governor, as he had expressly declared in his message to both Houses that "there was no other method of relieving the distresses and indigent circumstances of the inhabitants of the several new townships but from the interposition of the legislature."

The House, not disconcerted by the strange action of the Council, resolved to send their reply direct to the Governor, and appointed Jonathan Binney, member for the town of Halifax, and William Neville Wolsely, member for Onslow, a committee for that purpose. Those gentlemen shortly afterwards reported "that His Excellency would take the matter into consideration."

On the twenty-first of April, 1762, Archibald Hinshelwood, member for Lunenburg, by order of the Governor, laid on the table of the House an abstract of the old duty fund, showing abalance of £350 2s. 8d. remaining in the treasury, and acquainted the House that "His Honor was willing the same should be applied to the help and assistance of such persons in the new settlements as stood most in need of supplies."

The House thereupon passed a unanimous resolution agreeing with His Honor in the application of the fund. Four days later the following commission, for the relief of the inhabitants of Truro and Onslow, was granted by the Governor.

"By the Honorable Jonathan Belcher, Lieutenant Governor, &c., &c., &c.:

*Orders and instructions for Richard Upham, Esquire, of the Township of Onslow:*

You are to acquaint the inhabitants of Truro and Onslow that the corn to be delivered them is to be paid for at the rate of 3/8 per bushel, being the cost of the said corn, whenever the Government shall demand the same.

To deliver corn to those only in real want, and where he suspects those demand who have stock to swear them.

To be as frugal as possible in the distribution, not to deliver more than for one month at a time, allowing not more than one bushel per

month to one person over ten years, one bushel for two children under ten years. Those who have stock of their own by no means to be supplied. To keep a book of the supplies, taking receipts from the head of family, to whom supply is given, of quantity, which is to be delivered to the Secretary of the Province that it may be accounted for.

To consult with the committee of both towns that you may be the better informed of those truly necessitous, as a quantity of seed wheat and barley will be shipped for the use of the towns. To deliver it to those only who have lands fit for its reception.

*25 April, 1762.* J. BELCHER."

The order for the corn, given to Mr. Upham, was on Isaac Deschamps. It reads as follows :—

"BY THE HON. JON. BELCHER, ESQ., LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, &C., &C.:

You are directed to deliver to Richard Upham, Esq., 1000 bushels of corn to be distributed among the indigent settlers of Onslow and Truro according to the instructions delivered him for that purpose, taking his receipt for the same, or the quantity that may be delivered him at different times till he shall receive the whole."

*29 April, 1762.* J. BELCHER.

To ISAAC DESCHAMPS, ESQ.

That this timely aid to the Cobequid settlers was urgently required, and did no more than keep them alive, without materially improving their condition, may be inferred from an extract from Governor Montagu Wilmot's report of 27th October, 1763, to the Lords of Trade on the state and condition of Nova Scotia :—

"Within the Basin of Minas, on that branch of it called Cobequid Basin, are the two townships of Truro and Onslow. Onslow has about fifty families. These are the most indigent, as well as the most indolent people in the colony. Several families suffered very severely last winter, and some were famished. If they are not relieved this winter there will be great danger of their starving or quitting the colony. They have but a small proportion of stock to the other inhabitants of the province. Very few people of any substance among them. Five hundred bushels of corn will be scarce sufficient to keep them from starving. If one hundred bushels of wheat for seed were sent them early in the spring, it would in a great measure alter their circumstances."

By this report Onslow was stated to have fifty-two families ; one thousand four hundred acres of dyked marsh land ; one hundred cleared upland ; 98,500 woodland, or a total area of 100,000 acres.

A later report *(a)* from the first Governor to visit the townships, gives a more hopeful account of the settlers. Lieutenant-Governor

*(a)* Murdoch's History, Vol. II., page 581.

Marion Arbuthnot, in his letter of 15th August, 1776, to Lord George Germaine about his visit to the Townships of Windsor, Horton, and Cornwallis, to review the volunteer militia in each, under the command of Colonel Francklin, goes on to state :—

"After which I proceeded up Cobequid Bay and landed at Londonderry, Onslow, and Truro, three townships inhabited by the offspring of those Irish emigrants who first settled Londonderry, in the Massachusetts, Scotchmen and Irish people, who have been brought hither soon after the place began to be settled,—a strong, robust, industrious people—bigotted dissenters, and of course great levellers. But, my lord, how can it be otherwise, for, to my astonishment, no governor had ever visited these poor people, or sent any person among them, so as to form a judgment of the necessary steps to make those men useful subjects; but, on the contrary, they have been left to be the parent of their own works. I found full 500 men capable of bearing arms, the finest men in the province, settled on the best land, and the most flourishing, because they are the most industrious."

In striking contrast with the friction that prevails in England on the question of home rule for Ireland, a very significant passage appears in Governor Wilmot's report, which speaks volumes for the great wisdom of the soldier statesman into whose hands were committed the destinies of Nova Scotia in a crucial period in its history :—

"Upon application by the settlers from New England for townships to General Lawrence, among other things to induce them to come, this was not the least prevalent, that they should be entitled to the same privileges they enjoyed in the other colonies, and in particular that of being constituted into townships and having officers chosen by the respective towns to legislate their own affairs. This would be essential to establish peace and good order among them, and promote their welfare."

As the early proceedings of a newly organized branch of the body politic are interesting to the descendants of the actors, the records of the first two Town-Meetings are here given entire :—

"Att a meeting of the Propriators of the Township of Onslow Holden at sd. Onslow The 28th day of July, Anno-Dom. 1761, The following Vots ware passed—Capn. Ephraim Hayward chosen Moderator.

1. Granted unto Capn. Ephraim Hayward, David Hoar, and Jeams Wilson, the Privilege of a Mill-place on a Stream Lying west of sd. Wilson's first Devision Lott Next Ajoying to the sd. Lott : Joyntly and Eaquily to have the above mentioned Mill Place with the pondage and privialages Belonging Thereunto—for the above mentioned Hayward to Build a Grist-mill, And for said Wilson and Hoar to Build a Saw Mill.

Both said Mills to be Built on One Dam against or near above sd. Wilson's House."

Voted 2nd. "That the above mentioned Hayward have his Second Devision Lott Laid out Ajoying East on sd. Mill River Bounded South on the Mash. The same Wedth of the other proprietors.

Voted 3ly. That the above said Hayward have fifty acres of his Third Division Lott north of his Second Devision Ajoyning to To the same."

"The above mentioned privileges Granted to the above sd. Capn. Ephraim Hayward on Conditions that he Build a Grist Mill in the Place above mentioned With in one year from the Date here of and keep the Same in good Repair for the Term of Seven years."

Voted 4ly. That Jeams Wilson's Second Devition Lott be layed out on the East Side of sd. Mill River Bounding on the Same the Same Wedth of the Other Proprietors."

Voted 5ly. That David Hoar have his said Second Devision Lott Laid at the East End of the Improvements on the North Side Beginning 20 Rods north of a Little old house, Running West 30 Rods, Running North so far the same Wedth as to make the same quantity of Land With the other proprietors in the Second Division.

Voted 6ly. That Jeams Wilson and David Hoar have Three Hundred Acres of Land Laid out to Them as part of There Fourth Devision on the River East of said Hoar's Second Devision Lott, not Including any (Improvements or) Improved Land, Said Land to be Laid out in a Squar form Leaveing highwayes Sufficient Through the same."

The above mentioned Privilidges Granted to the above sd. Wilson and Hoar on Condition that they Build a Saw Mill in the Place before mentioned or Granted In three months from the Date, and keep the same in Good Repair for the Term of Seven years, on neglect or failer there said Last Grant is to Forfeit and of none Effect."

*Onslow, July 28, 1761.*
Transcribed by me,
EPHM. HAYWARD,
*P. Clerk.*

EPHRAIM HAYWARD, *Moddrator.*
JOSHUA LAMB, *P. Clerk.*

"Onslow, September the 7, 1761. We the Subscribers Petition to Charles Morris, Esq., in Onslow to have a meeting Caled of the proprietors of sd. Onslow to Chose a Moddrator. 2ly. To Chose a proprietor's Clerk. 3ly. To Chose a Committee to take Cair of and Deall out the Stoars to the Inhabitants, and Like Wise to Chuse a Committee to Devide the Mashes and the Improved Lands, and the first Devision of the unImproved Lands, Likewise to Chuse Commissioners to Take Cair about mending the Dykes, and a Comittee to Lay out High Ways and Surveirs to take Cair they are mended or any other necessary business to be done the day apoynted for said meeting; and to meet at David

Cuttins, jr., in sd. Onslow, at nine of the Clock on the 15th day of this Instant, September, att nine of the Clock, 1761.

| | |
|---|---|
| Petter Richardson, | Ephm. Hayward, |
| Isaec Warner, | Wm. Blair, |
| Ichabod Mechom, | Elijah Fitch, |
| John Polley, | Jeams Wilson, |

Thos. Stephens.

The Warrant for calling the Meeting :—

" To Mr. Ephraim Hayward, one of the proprietors of Onslow :

Aplycation being made to me that propriators may be Called then and there to act to act on the folowing perticlers :

First. To Chose a Modrator.
2ly. To Chose a Propriator's Clerk.
3ly. To Chose a Comittee for Calling Meetings for the future.
4ly. To Chuse a Comittee for Distrebuting the Corn.
5ly. To Chuse a Committee to Devide the Mash and the Improved Land, and the first Devision of the un Improved Land.
6ly. To Request of the Commander-in-Cheff to apoynt Commissioners for mending and Repairing the Dykes.
7ly. To Lay out High Ways or Roads, and to Chuse a Committee and Surveirs to Clean the Roads.
8ly. To Consider of Things that will be needfull and profitable for the propriaty.

These are Therefore to Desiar and Impower you to call a meeting of the said Propriators to meet at the house of Mr. David Cutten, in holder, in Onslow, on Monday, the 14th day of September instant, at Nine of the Clock in the fore noon.

Charles Morriss,
*Justis of ye Peace.*

*Onslow Sept. 7, 1761.*

Onslow, Sept. 14, 1761. At a meeting of the propriators of Onslow, pursuant to a warrant granted by Charles Morriss, Esq., for calling of said meeting, meatt aCording to said Warning and Voted :

First. David Cutting, Maddrator.
2ly. Ephraim Hayward, Propriators' Clerk.
3ly. Petter Richardson,
4ly. John Huett,
5ly. Ephm. Hayward,
} Be a Committee for Calling of Meetings for the future.
6ly. Petter Richardson,
7ly. Elijah Fitch,
8ly. Ephm. Hayward,
} Be a Committee for Receiving and Distrebuting the Corn.
9ly. David Cutten,
10ly. Elijah Fitch,
11ly. Wm. Blair,
12ly. Joshua Lamb,
13ly. Thos. Stephens,
} Be a Committee to Devide and Lay out the Mashes and Plow land and the first Devision of the un Improved Lands.

14ly. EPHM. HAYWARD,
15ly. ISACC WARNER,
16ly. PETTER RICHARDSON,
} Be a Committee to Request the Commander-in-Cheff for Commissionar for Repairing the Dikes.

17ly. Voted that the Comittee chosen to lay out the Mash and Improved Land and the First Devision of the unimproved Lands be a Committee for Laying out the Highways.

18ly. GEORGE HAYWARD,
19ly. JACOB LINDS,
20ly. NATHL. GALLOP,
} Be Suerveirs of High Ways.

21ly. Voted That Each Propriator owning one Right have one Hundred acres and a half Righ or Shair Fifty Acres in the First Devision of un Improved Land.

22ly. Voted that the Consideration of the Method of Laying out the Lands be ajorned to Tusday, the 22 Day of this Instant with the other Business Necessary.

Meet According to the Ajornment.

23ly. Voted that the 21 Vote Conserning Laying out 100 acres to a Right and 50 acres to a half Right be Reconsidered.

24ly. Voted That Each Single Right have Sixty Acres Laid out in the first Devision of the unimproved Lands, and a half Right Thirty acres.

25ly. Voted that the Propriators of Each Village Draw There Lotts in the first Devision Granted to be Laid out in the foregoing Vote by Them Selves.

26ly. Voted that The Meeting be Desolved.

DAVID CUTTING, *Moddrator.*
EPHM. HAYWARD, *Propr. Clerk.*

Transcribed from the original papers by me, EPH. HAYWARD, P. C., being a true copy.

In this account both the arrangement and the orthography have been retained, and the record, which is in the hand writing of Captain Ephraim Hayward, would do credit to the office of a modern attorney.

The settlement was originally held in common by the grantees, who settled different parts under their township rights, and occupied the same for a number of years, without having their lands set off in severalty. On the 8th day of February, 1780, George Thompson applied to the Supreme Court at Halifax for a Writ of Partition of the township on the petition of Samuel Lyons and others. The writ was granted and issued by D. Wood, junior, Dy. Clerk, July 28th, 1780. It was directed to the Provost Marshall of Nova Scotia or his deputy

and included the names of the grantees, and settlers, directing that each have forty days notice of division to be made before two justices of the peace on the oaths of twelve men of the county of Halifax, after hearing all of the evidence of ownership of proprietors. The justices who acted were Eliakim Tupper and Doctor John Harris of Truro; and the jury, consisting of :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Joseph Scott, Dy. Sheriff, | Thomas Gourley, |
| James Fulton, | Samuel Wilson, |
| Alexander Miller, | John Oughterson, |
| James Dunlap, | John Logan, |
| James Archibald, | John McKeen, |
| Adam Boyd, | Robert Johnson, |

with one or two exceptions were also residents of Truro.

They returned the writ, July 28th, 1783, dividing 51,750 acres into 98½ shares among 82 claimants, one being "the Church," and another "the School."

In Trinity Term, July 20th, 1785, the Supreme Court at Halifax having heard counsel on the Writ of Partition, gave judgment to confirm the proceedings thereunder, pursuant to the sheriff's return, saving only to Alexander McCurdy the possession of that piece of ground called the poundage, claimed under the return of said writ by John Barnhill, and in case it should appear that Alexander McCurdy had a greater proportion of land than he was entitled to, he should assign unto John Barnhill as much unimproved land as in the opinion of three indifferent persons appointed by the court was equivalent to the piece called the poundage reserved to Alexander McCurdy. To make the assignment under this order, the court appointed Lawrence Peppard and Peter McLellan of Londonderry, and Samuel Densmore of Noel.

To the Return a plan of the township, with the divisions made by the jury, was annexed. Copies of the plan and other proceedings were placed in the custody of the late Daniel McCurdy, with whose widow they remained for a number of years. The plan was made in two parts, one containing the marsh lands, the other the upland, which was divided into three large blocks, known as the First, Second, and Third Divisions. The plan of the marsh is still in a fair state of preservation, but a portion of the south-western corner of the upland plan is much mutilated and worn, there being no remnant of that part sufficient to delineate the lands of and surrounding Fort Belcher.

The original grant, neatly engrossed on two skins of parchment; the upland plan, and the field notes of the jury on the partition of the

township, are among the papers in the office of Nathaniel Marsters King, Town Clerk.

On the 31st day of March, 1856, an act passed the legislature entitled "An Act to make certain Records of the Township of Onslow receivable in evidence." There are two sections to this act. The first receives in evidence in any court of law the old copies of the Plans of Partition of the Township then in the possession of the town clerk of Onslow, or so much thereof as is not defaced or obliterated by use. And the second constitutes the old copy of the return of the jury executing the Writ of Partition, then also in possession of the town clerk, a part of the plan, and to be received in evidence as such.

The surveyor who assisted the jury to divide the lands, and survey and make plans of the township under the Writ of Partition, was Robert, second son of Major David Archibald, of Truro. He was a justice of the peace, and afterwards became a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was also a colonel in the militia. In 1787 he removed from Truro to Musquodoboit.

"The Book of Records for Deaths, Births, and Marriages for the Town of Onslow, in the Province of Nova Scotia, Began in the year of our Lord, 1761." This volume is well bound, though much worn from constant use. It remains in the custody of George F. Crowe, Esq., Central Onslow, a former town clerk, and a gentleman who has held the position of Municipal Councillor for the district.

Among the first births may be cited those of Jess, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Stevens, born July 22nd, 1761; Richard, son of Peter and Sarah Richardson, November 26th, 1761; and Cloe, daughter of Carpenter and Mary Bradford, January 4th, 1762.

The persons first to enter the bonds of holy matrimony were Captain Ephraim Howard and Sarah Blair, on the 8th of December, 1763; Joshua Lamb and Mercy Brooks, September 11th, 1766; Samuel Whippie and Jemmima Polly, February 17th, 1767; Robert Archibald, and Hannah Blair, April 2nd, 1767; and William Whippie and Ruth Hoar, 5th of December, 1771.

At a Town Meeting held on the 13th of September, 1763, of which Richard Upham was Moderator, and Ephraim Hayward, Proprietors' Clerk, it was voted, "14ly. That the East side of the Island in the Uper Mash be aloued and sequestred for a buring place."

Though the inscriptions on the principal monuments erected in this hallowed resting place of the first English settlers, are not so quaint as

one to be found on an Irish limestone, under "a death's head and hour glass and a codfish just taking the hook," in the Methodist graveyard at Carbonear, Newfoundland :—

"Expired in 85.
The prudent Mary,
Dear and only wife of Jemmy Geary,
Late of Carboneree.
Who awfully the laws of God did fear.
For whose good works
Let each who passes—pray
Her soul to rest full blest for aye."

Yet a few may be given to keep green the memory of the pioneers of civilization in a once wilderness section of Nova Scotia, which, under their labours, and the enterprise of their descendants, has become one of the finest agricultural districts in the Maritime Provinces.

"Here lies interred the
body of WILLIAM BLAIR
who departed this life on the
4th day of August, 1791,
aged 75 years."

"JANE BLAIR
Consort of William
Blair, Senior, who died
on the 8th day of January
1814, in the 91st year
of her age."

"Sacred to Memory of DAVID ARCHIBALD 7th
late Lieutenant Colonel
of the 7th Battalion
of the Nova Scotia Militia.
He departed this life 25 Nov. 1814
Aged 42 years."

"In Memory CAPTAIN JAMES
CLARK, a native of New England
District of Maine, who was un-
fortunately drowned in the Bay
of Fundy the 22nd June 1815
in the 55th year of his age,
being a freeholder in this
Township for 30 years."

"AARON CROWE, SENIOR,
who departed this life
October 30, 1818,
Aged 75 years."

"JOSEPH McLANE
Native Londonderry, Ireland
died 16 March, 1829
aged 76."

"THOMAS ROBERTSON
died Jan 26, 1842
aged 69."

"In memory of
JAMES KING
of Onslow who died
July the 18th 1848
aged 80 years.
He was a native of
Dumfrieshire
Scotland."

"WILLIAM HENRY KING
a senior student of
Acadia College, drowned
June 7th 1852, in company
with Professor Chipman
and three students.
aged 16 years.
He was universally beloved."

"In Memory of
JAMES McCURDY, SENIOR
died June 6th 1854
aged 88.
AGNES ARCHIBALD his wife
died May 7, 1851
aged 81."

"Erected by Mrs. Sarah
Ann Moran, to the
Memory of her Father
JOHN DICKSON, ESQ
who died
December 10, 1858
Aged 85 years.
Also his wife
LYDIA DICKSON
who died
April 29, 1866,
aged 89 years."

"Sacred to Memory of
JENIE GORDON
the beloved wife of
Rev. John I. Baxter
who fell asleep in Jesus
on the 8th day of June
A. D. 1862, in the 54th
year of her age.
With permission
the Presbyterian Ladies
of Onslow have erected
this monument as a
token of respect."

"MRS. SIMON KOLLOCK
died in Truro Sep. 21, 1863
aged 105 years."

Chapter 46, Acts of 1853, entitled "An Act relating to the Onslow Burial Ground," opens the burial island to all classes and denominations of persons, and provides for the appointment of three freeholders at any Town Meeting for voting money for the poor, whose name of office shal be "The Trustees of the Onslow burial ground." Under this Act the trustees have power to fence, make roads, improve, ornament, and protect the ground, and the inhabitants are authorized at any such meeting to vote and assess the sum they expend on the ground, not exceeding fifty pounds at any one time, to be collected by same means as other monies voted at the meeting, provided twenty days written notice of the amount to be voted for such purpose is posted at four public places in the township.

Chapter 43 of the Acts of 1880, being "An Act to amend the aforesaid Act," provides a mode by which persons interested in other burial grounds can be relieved from assessments thereunder.

At a Town Meeting held on the ——— day of November, 1853, David McCurdy, John King, and Silas Clarke, Esquires, were appointed trustees of the burial ground, being the first chosen under the Act of 1853. Those now in office are Silas Morrison, Charles Hill, and John A. Dickson, who will no doubt strive to carry out the intention of the law, and perform the duty imposed upon them by the inhabitants, by placing that beautiful resting place for the dead in the condition that all who feel a sentiment of veneration for the memory of their forefathers must desire to see it. May each consider with Daniel Webster that "the man who feels no sentiment of veneration for the memory of his

forefathers; who has no natural regard for his ancestors, or his kindred, is himself unworthy of kindred regard or remembrance."

By the seventh of August, 1761, the male freeholders over twenty-one years numbered fifty, and were entitled under the order-in-council of 20th May, 1758, to send two representatives to the General Assembly, as well as to vote in the election of twelve for the province. Truro was similarly situated. On the nineteenth of that month Governor Belcher issued warrants for the election of two members for each township. Onslow returned William Neville Wolsely of Halifax, and David Cutten, a resident. The former, who remained but a short time in the province, had the honor of being the first sitting member for the township. He attended the sessions of parliament from 17th of March, 1762, to July, 1763. On the 24th of March, 1762, he was chosen one of the five members of the House to confer with a committee of His Majesty's Council, and prepare a bill to regulate trade with the Indians, in furtherance of the Governor's message intimating that a treaty of peace had been concluded between His Majesty's government and the tribes of Indians of every district, and recommending that all reasonable methods should be pursued for preserving the same inviolate. He also acted as one of a committee of two, to intercede with the Governor for the old revenue duty, to aid his own constituents, and destitute settlers of other townships, in April of the same year, as already noticed. His last public act was to wait as one of a committee of two upon His Excellency (Governor Wilmot) 21st July, 1763, to request a recess till the 10th of August in consequence of the Council having replied in the negative to the House's message, "Whether they had any business to lay before the Assembly." Mr. Wolsely was Clerk of the Crown for the province towards the close of the year 1762, and in the former part of 1763. In the summer of this year he went to England on a visit, as it was supposed, when James Monk, junior, was allowed to perform his Crown duties till his return. On the 24th of April, 1764, however, Mr. Monk was appointed to the office, on account of Mr. Wolsely's continued absence from the Province, to which, so far as I can discover, he never returned. It appears by the Journals of the House under date of April 3rd, 1764, "That no attendance had ever been given by Mr. Cutten, and that Mr. Wolsely had left Nova Scotia." This statement of fact regarding Mr. Cutten's legislative career is doubtless correct, though it does not accord with the belief entertained by his descendants, who consider him the first member from Cobequid, and speak of his having

walked to the winter sessions of the House upon snow shoes, with a musket on his shoulder. If Mr. Cutten did not act, it was because he considered that his colleague, Mr. Wolsely, who resided at Halifax, was well qualified to look after the interests of the special constituents of both :—the people of Onslow ; and he did not deem it necessary that the town should be at the expense of sending him to the Assembly. Members pay of 10/ a day did not begin till 1787. The first representatives had to fight the battles of the country at their own costs and charges, or look to the people who sent them to parliament for remuneration.

A Town Meeting held " Pursuant to a Warrant Dated October, 1762, meat and Voted as foloeth :—

Daniel Knolton, Moderator.

Voted That Liett. David Cutten have four shillings a Day so long as he waits on The General Court at Halifax as our Representative, and The same to be Raised on the Rights of the proprietors proportionable as soon as he bring his acoumpt attested."

DANIEL KNOLTON, *Moddrator.*
EPHM. HAYWARD, *Proprs. Clerk.*

The right of the Cobequid, and other townships, to two representatives apiece, under the order-in-council 20th May, 1758, was only exercised by Onslow in the case of Cutten and Wolsley. Townships soon became too numerous to be allowed such a privilege, and in 1765 an Act passed giving one member to each.

In the election of 1765 James Brenton of Halifax, barrister-at-law, was returned member for Onslow. He was a young lawyer from Rhode Island, who came to the province at a very early period. He had a brother—the Honorable Jahiel Brenton—who remained in Rhode Island, and was the head of the family in the middle of the last century. He was father of Admiral Sir Jahiel Brenton, Baronet, and of Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, Royal Navy, also of Susannah Brenton, who married Dr. John Halliburton, R. N., father of the late Sir Brenton Halliburton, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Sir Jahiel married a lady of Halifax—Miss Stewart—daughter of Anthony Stewart, father of the old Judge James Stewart who died about 1830.—James Brenton was admitted an attorney of the Supreme Court on the 9th of December, 1760.

By the records of the court it appears that on the seventh of April, 1762, James Brenton, attorney for Caleb Lincoln, having charged the court with partiality by saying that, " they would not receive a verdict

in the cause *The King et al.* v. *Caleb Lincoln* unless it was against the defendant, and that there might be verdicts *ad infinitum*, and that he was not allowed the liberty of other attorneys in the court," whereupon "it was ordered by the court, that Mr. Brenton do make good his charge in a proper place, and that in the meantime he be not suffered to speak at the bar of this court." On the eighth of the same month, Mr. Brenton appearing in court and "making an acknowledgment (of his indiscretion), asked pardon of the court, and prayed that the suspension might be taken off." The court "ordered that it be taken off accordingly."

On the 31st of October, 1778, Mr. Brenton was appointed Solicitor-General, and on the 12th day of same month in the following year, he was sworn in Attorney-General. He held this office until the 8th of December, 1781, when he was raised to the Supreme Court Bench, vice assistant Judge Morris, deceased.

His conduct as a judge was brought in question in the House of Assembly, the 28th of November, 1787, by Major Millege, member for Digby, who made a motion which led to his impeachment along with Chief Justice Deschamp, on charges preferred by three attornies named Sterns, Taylor, and Wood. For having written in the newspapers about the charges Sterns and Taylor were disrobed by order of the Chief Justice on the first of April, 1788. The impeachment on thirteen articles took place in 1790. Murdoch says that :—

"Some persons deemed the attack on the judges as an unfriendly, if not a cruel act, to deprive men of their bread in the decline of life—men who could not live many years longer –men who had large families to struggle for, and who had served the public in difficult offices for many years, on charges of, at most, errors of judgment on one or two trifling occasions." He refers to them as "two old gentlemen, both highly respected and eminently loyal—and Deschamp having long been identified with the colony, and Brenton, formerly secretary to the Royal Commission at Rhode Island to inquire into the destruction of the vessels of war by the disaffected."

A contemporaneous writer treats the charges as futile. The judges remained under the odium of this affair till 1792, when they were acquitted by an order of the Privy Council.

In 1770 Joshua Lamb was returned member for Onslow. Mr. Lamb was among the first settlers, and a grantee of the township. He resided on the farm now occupied by Augustus McCurdy. He was the first Registrar of Deeds for the county, and kept the office in Onslow from March 2nd, 1770, to 1777. On the 17th of May, 1771, he was

commissioned a justice of the peace for the townships of Onslow, Truro, and Londonderry. He married Mercy Brooks, (not Mary, as stated by Thomas Miller in his invaluable Genealogical Record) September 11th, 1766, by whom he had three sons and two daughters in Onslow :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Caleb | Born, | 29th April, 1767. |
| | Died, | 7th June, 1775. |
| Huldah | Born, | 25th July, 1769. |
| Joshua | " | 13th June, 1771. |
| Sarah | " | 27th Nov., 1773. |
| John | " | 7th June, 1776. |

On the 10th of December, 1774, Mr. Lamb's seat was declared vacant for non-attendance for several sessions, and offering no apology to the House for his absence. In 1777 he sold his property and removed to New England. A year or two before taking his final departure he visited Machias, Maine, and had the honor of having his name mentioned as "Esq. Lamb, who last evening arrived here in a boat from Cobequid in Nova Scotia," in a letter from that extremely enthusiastic and erratic individual, the Rev. James Lyon, to the Honorable Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay. This letter was written in Mr. Lyon's usually extravagant and anti-British style. Among other things it suggested the propriety of allowing all who came from Nova Scotia to enlist in the companies of the State, to show their loyalty to the American cause, and strongly recommended the council to raise and commission a corps to take Nova Scotia, and reap the benefit for the State that would attach to such an undertaking. Mr. Lyon's letter also stated : "Enclosed I send your Honors a copy of a Summons from the High Sheriff of Nova Scotia to Mr. Adams Johnson of Cobequid, requiring him to take the oath of allegiance to the British Tyrant, by which may be seen the manner in which they use those who are friendly to the American cause in that Province."

As one of our earliest public men, and the first resident member who sat for Onslow, it would be interesting to know what became of Joshua Lamb in the United States, and how his descendants have fared in that great country. I have, however, been unable to ascertain anything further than that he lived to a ripe old age. On the 9th of May, 1800, his name along with those of David Gay and Martin Brooks, all grantees of the township who had left the province, and that of the notorious Adams Johnson, were reported to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, among 70 refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, who had presented claims as entitled to relief under the provisions of the Act of

April, 1798. To Lamb, Brooks and Gay were allotted 960 acres; and the sacrifices of Johnson in decamping from Cobequid to evade the consequences of the Sheriff's writ, as well as for his great devotion to the cause of the Rebellion, were recompensed with 320.

In 1777 Charles Dickson was returned member for Onslow. Having presented himself to take his seat the 11th of June of that year, the House, by resolution, excluded him, declaring that by the refusal of the people to take the oath of allegiance they had forfeited their right to representation in the Assembly. Thirty-nine persons, being all who were asked in Onslow, had refused to take the oath before John Cunningham and George Pyke, Esquires, two Halifax Justices sent by Government to administer it to the people of the townships in Cobequid. In consequence of this refusal the townships were disfranchised for a short period. At every election from 1777 to 1793 Charles Dickson was returned for Onslow. He was born in New England, and was son of that Charles Dickson of Horton, for whom William Nisbett memorialised Governor Wilmot in 1765 for a free grant on the north side of the Basin of Minas. The memorial states that Dickson had charge of a company under General Moncton at the taking of Beau Sejour, and was at considerable expense in raising men for that and other services during the war, as appears from his commissions; and shows by affidavit made by him before William Smith, a Halifax J. P., December 23rd, 1767, that he had received no grant.*

After the war Charles Dickson, Senior, gave up his business in New England and settled in Horton, from which place his son removed to Onslow about the year 1771.

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* As the descendants of Lieutenant Thomas Dickson of Cumberland, and some others, have started a contention that he is entitled to the honor of being the Dickson who was an actor at Beau Sejour, a letter from late Governor Sir Adams Archibald, whose widow is a grand-daughter of Charles Dickson of Onslow, is given as a foot note, as it throws some light upon a matter about which a difference of opinion appears to exist.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,
*Feb. 21, 1881.*

*My dear Longworth,*

In reference to your note of the 10th instant about Charles Dickson, I think you are right about the family but mistaken as to the person.

The Charles Dickson, Esq., of Horton, for whom Mr. Nesbitt interested himself, must have been the father of Charles Dickson of Onslow.

In the memorial to Govr. Wilmot, drawn by Mr. Nesbitt, it is stated as the ground work of the claim that the memorialist had incurred expense in getting up a company and serving at the taking of Beau Sejour.

This must have been in 1755. Mr. Charles Dickson of Onslow would appear at that time to have been only nine years old. In 1796, when he died, he was in his 50th year. He must have been born in 1746 and was a boy of nine at the siege of Beau Sejour.

But there can be no doubt, I think, that our Charles Dickson was the son of that Charles. His father probably had come in from the Old Colonies when the French

Here for several years he conducted an extensive mercantile business, farmed on a large scale, built vessels on either side of the Bay, became a large land owner in both townships, and was the most influential business man of his day. Some of his vessels were chartered by the government in 1792 in the deportation of the Maroons from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone.

The last vessel Mr. Dickson built was a barque of 500 tons. She was launched full rigged, and full of people, from his ship yard, now better known as part of the upland farm of the late John Bishop, now owned by John Dixon, Esq., near the Board Landing Bridge, and in front of which a large flat of splendid marsh has since been reclaimed from the Bay. While the vessel was gliding off her ways Tom Cotter, a well known piper of the period, discoursed appropriate music from the top of the cross trees of the main mast. On reaching the water, for want of sufficient ballast, she upset. Cottar's pipes were put out and all on board got a great scare and a good ducking, to the consternation of the spectators on shore, who believed that a fearful catastrophe had happened, but were soon relieved to know that no more serious accident had taken place than the injury sustained by the ship. In the language of a would-be moralist of the day, "*It was the Lord's mercy that they were not all killed and drownded too.*" This occurrence was witnessed by young and old for miles around, a launch in those days being a great event, and it proved an interesting topic of conversation in the settlement for many subsequent years.

Mr. Dickson was Registrar of Deeds for Colchester from 1777 to 1796. On September 16th, 1780, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Districts of Colchester and Pictou, in the County of Halifax. In 1772 he married Amelia Bishop of Horton, who bore him

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were about to be expelled, and after that event settled at Horton and applied for his land, which, it seems, was never granted. But having asked for it on the north side of the Basin of Minas he would seem to be directing his attention towards the part of the coast on which, (though much further up the Bay,) our Charles Dickson eventually settled. I see "Miller" says our Onslow Charles came to Nova Scotia when he was very young. It could not therefore be that he had carried on business in the Old Colonies. But if you suppose the father did and then removed to Horton, settled and traded there, brought up a family, of whom one was Charles Dickson, the whole thing is cleared of difficulty.

The Records of Deeds in the County of Kings would show the facts.

Old Mrs. Soley of Lower Village, who was a Hamilton, will probably know all about what took place within a mile or two of her residence.

Peter Hamilton and Mr. Bulmer both believe my solution to be the correct one.

Believe me,

Dear Longworth,

Yours truly,

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

I. LONGWORTH, ESQ.

a large family of sons and daughters. The girls were handsome and married well. Abigail married Andrew Wallace of Halifax, February 27th, 1798, and after his decease became the wife of Robert Lowden of Merigomish. Mary married Doctor John Murray Upham, son of Judge Upham of New Brunswick, in 1803. Olivia married Colonel David Archibald, 7th, father of the late Hon. Thomas Dickson Archibald, Senator, Feb. 5th, 1801; and after his death, John Henderson; Elizabeth married Nova Scotia's greatest commoner, Samuel George William Archibald, 16th of March, 1802; and Lavinia, who was noted for her beauty among the fairest daughters of Nova Scotia in the days of Lord Dalhousie, married April 27th, 1823, the Reverend John Burnyeat, of Loweswater, England, the first clergyman of the Church of England stationed at Truro, and father of Lady Archibald of Truro.

The sons were also good looking, tall, and of fine commanding presence. Three of them at least were colonels in the militia. They inherited much of the military bearing and spirit of their grandfather, Charles Dickson of Fort Beau Sejour fame. It is also worthy of remark that these brothers, Robert, William and Thomas, were members of the House of Assembly at the same time, along with their brother-in-law, the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, which made them men of great influence.

In 1796 Mr. Dickson visited the West Indies in one of his vessels. On his return he died of yellow fever at Halifax. At this time the highway from Onslow to the metropolis was in such a primitive state that it took Mrs. Dickson, on horse back, three days to get there. Her husband died soon after her arrival. His remains were interred in the cemetery opposite Government House. A stone is erected at his grave in the north-west corner of the ground, bearing the following inscription:

"Here lyeth the body of CHARLES
DICKSON, ESQ., who died Sept. 3rd, 1796,
in the 50th year of his age.
He lived Respected
and died Lamented."

In 1799 Daniel McCurdy, son of Alexander and Janet McCurdy, who emigrated from the north of Ireland, and were among the first settlers of the township of Londonderry, was returned for Onslow. He was born at Londonderry 1st of April, 1768, and while quite young removed with his parents to Onslow. His brother James, who married Agnes, second daughter of Matthew and Janet Archibald, according to "Thomas Miller," had a remarkable family,—seven sons and seven daughters,—all of whom grew up, married, and had families. Two of

the sons were ministers of the Gospel; and all of the others, one being the Honorable David McCurdy, M. L. C., were Elders of the Presbyterian Church. The good moral fibres which constituted the warp and woof in the life of the old members of this family appear to have been inherited from their ancestor, Daniel McCurdy, of Bellyhelly, Ireland, which may be inferred from the religious tone running through a long letter from him, dated May 24th, 1763, written to his children Alexander and Peggy McCurdy, who had, two or three years previously, emigrated to America, which letter is preserved as an heir-loom in the family of Hon. David McCurdy, at Baddeck, C. B.† Daniel McCurdy

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*My Dr Childn.*

I Recd Two letters from you last
year wch was great pleasure to us and
all friendsto hear from you & more so
as you let us know of yr Being so
happily fixed in a Coutry where I
Believe most of yr Countrymen has left it.
I and family is purty well. I myself
Enjoy but a Very Indifferent state of health,
But still has Reason to be Thankfull
to Divine providence for all his great
Mercies to me.
Dr son I find in yr letters that you &
pegey is both Living in a Gentleman's
farm &I believe by your accts that you
will both do very well. I pray God to grant
his Blessing with yr Endeavours,
yr Complain of not hearing from me
since you Left this, but be assured I sent
you Two letters last year & yr Cousin
James McElheron wrote to you likewise
and got no Answer of any of them. Dr
son you write to me Briefly to Come to
you but I am so much failed I Cannot
think of Coming But begs youl Miss
of no Oppty in writing to me as its
the Chief pleasure I have in hearing
from you Both. Our Markets here
has been very smart. Oatmeal is at 2s.
& Everything in Proportion."

Turn Over.

"Your Uncle patk & Aunt Moly & Aunt
Elizth & all Friends in Derry is well &
Desires to be Rembrd to you. Yr Cousin
James & Molley & Cousin Archd & wife
are all well and Desires in Love to be
Rembrd to you Both. Ann McColom
& Sister Desires to be Rembrd to you
& Ann has bound her son in Coleraine
to be a Dyster. Old David Miller
was not pleased you Did not Mention
him in yr letter. Jams Miller
DiedLast Winter & Tell pegey that
Willm Moore her Lover is Dead also.
My dear Childn I beg youl be
mindfull of yr Duty & always be
Mindfull of yr great & Bountifull
Creator in the Days of youth. Yr
Mother Joyns me in Blessing to you
Both yr Two little Brothers are Both
well—all Neighbrs is well & Desires
to be Rembrd to you wch is all at
at prest from yr affte father.

DAVID McCURDEY.

To ALEXANDER & PEGGY
McCURDY America.

† "BELLYHELLY, *May 24, 1763.*

married Eunice Wright, 4th of August, 1792. They had four sons and seven daughters. He died on the 18th July, 1815.

In 1806 Nathaniel Marsters was elected to represent the township, and he was returned for a second term in 1811. He was born in Massachusetts, June 6th, 1758. His father, Jonathan Marsters, and his uncle, Abraham, with their families, removed to Falmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1760 He shared largely in the trials and vicissitudes of a new country. He lived with his father, who was a farmer, until he was about 26 years old, when he came to Onslow, where he married Sarah, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Upham, 5th of July, 1787, by whom he had two sons. One of these—Richard Upham Marsters—became a skillful watchmaker. He invented an improvement on the chronometer, with which he went to England and presented it to the British Government. In about two years and a half after marriage Mr. Marsters wife died. He remained a widower for nine years, and on 5th of November, 1798, married Lydia, daughter of Thomas Lynds, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. One of the sons died young. The other—Jonathan Marsters—studied law, and was afterwards Judge of the Court of Probate for Colchester. His second wife died in 1830. Mr. Marsters was an active magistrate for upwards of thirty years. On the fourteenth of February, 1820, he was appointed Coroner for the District of Colchester, in place of Matthew Archibald, deceased, had a seat in the legislature for twelve years, and was for some time Registrar of Deeds. Though he was not what is termed an educated man, yet, possessing a vigorous mind, he rose with the improvements of the day, and perhaps for penetration of thought, ripeness of judgment, and wholesome counsel, he far exceeded many of superior advantages in literature. In 1790 he first became acquainted with the late Reverend Joseph Dimock. Mr. Marsters, then a widower, had been on a visit to Falmouth to see his parents and friends. In passing through Newport on his return, he made a statement in presence of Mr. Dimock, of the situation of Onslow, as it regarded the ministration of the Gospel, and dwelt on the effect produced by the preaching of Reverends Messieurs John Payzant, Harris Harding and Edward Manning. He urged the want of experimental preaching, and invited Mr. Dimock very strongly to accompany him home, which he did. Mr. Dimock had then been preaching some six or eight weeks. They made their way through newly cultivated farms and lonely deserts on foot, and in two days arrived at Onslow. The Reverend Henry Alline of New Light fame,

preached at this time in several parts of the province. Many opposed and ridiculed the cause of God, especially in the village where Mr. Marsters lived, and any one who appeared serious and attended Mr. Aline's preaching was branded as a New Light. What between the fear of losing his name or losing his soul, the conflict was very sharp, and Mr. Marsters often went to meeting by a back road through the woods to escape observation. In 1794 he was a member of the mixed communion body then called New Light, and clerk of the church. Mr. Dimock saw him again in the autumn before his death, and thus renewed an acquaintance of over fifty-two years standing, and was present twelve hours before he died. He preached his funeral sermon, on which occasion the Revd. John I. Baxter made the closing prayer. This period, and doubtless many circumstances in the life of the deceased, will recur to the old inhabitants on hearing the inscription on the stone at his grave in the Onslow Cemetery :

In Memory of
NATHANIEL
MARSTERS, ESQ.,
who died
July 19, 1843,
Ae 85 years.
He was for fifteen
years a member
of the House of As-
sembly, and for up-
wards of thirty
years a Magistrate
and Coroner for
the County.

"Faith led him on the pilgrim's road
And thus he made his way to God
From death's strong bands his spirit fled
To dwell with Christ his loving head."

This monument,
was erected by his
only daughter,
SARAH ANN KING.

In 1818 Robert Dickson, son of Charles, was the member returned. He was not in the next General Assembly. The seat was taken by John Crowe, who sat for four years from 1826, but was not returned again till 1843, of whom reference is omitted for the present, to give some account of the men who held the position during the interval, and whom Mr. Crowe succeeded as the last township representative.

In 1830 when the Brandy Election, so called, took place, the Archibald and Dickson influence proved too strong for Mr. Crowe, and Robert Dickson was again elected. Besides being representative, he was a Justice of the Peace, Commissioner of Sewers, Colonel of the Militia, and last, though not least, an extensive farmer. He married Lavinia DeWolf of Horton in 1798, who bore him seven sons and three daughters. He was born in the township July 8th, 1777, and died there Novr., 1836. He is the same person referred to in "Sabine's Loyalists" as "having settled in Nova Scotia, where he became a member of the House of Assembly and a Magistrate for the District of Colchester, whose death occurred in 1835." This notice, no doubt, was intended for his father, Charles Dickson, who died in 1796.

In 1836 Alexander McCurdy Upham, son of Luke 2nd, son of Nathaniel, who was the son of Richard Upham, Esq., the first person named in the township grant, was returned member for Onslow. He was a farmer, merchant and ship-builder. His residence and place of business was at Lower North River, on the property subsequently owned and occupied by the Rev. John I. Baxter. On the 25th June, 1826, Mr. Upham married Mary Cutten, by whom he had nine children. His eldest son, Henry M., born 11th of July, 1827, now a resident of Drayton, Walsh County, Dakota, U. S. A., is remembered as the first Inspector of Schools for the County of Colchester, under the Free School System of Education in Nova Scotia.

The session of 1839 opened on the 10th of January. On the 30th of March, the House was notified that Alexander L. Archibald and Alexander McC. Upham, two of the members, were absent without leave, and had returned to their respective homes at Truro and Onslow. The Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to go to their lodgings and ascertain the facts. On his report the Speaker informed the House that Mr. Archibald had returned home on the 26th instant, and Mr. Upham on the 29th, and had since been absent. Whereupon Honorable Mr. Uniacke "moved, that the twentieth standing Order, by which the members had subjected themselves to the censure of the House and had forfeited their pay for the session, be acted upon; and Resolved, that the Speaker sign no pay ticket for either, and that both remain under the censure of the House," which being seconded, Honorable Mr. De Wolf "moved an amendment not to interfere with the pay of the members, but to leave them subject to the censure of the House until they made a suitable apology before taking their seats next session." The amendment was lost and the original motion carried 19 to 10.

Besides filling the positions stated, with a fair amount of success, Mr. Upham was a deacon in the Onslow Baptist church for several years, and towards the close of his life he engaged in ship-building. Though a person of few words, and not given to debating, he was possessed of superior judgment for the advantages he enjoyed, and was looked up to as one of the best members of society.

His unexpected death, on the 10th August, 1841, at the early age of 39 years and 36 days, was long regretted by a large circle of relations and friends, as well as by the community in which he had passed a short, though by no means an inactive, nor an unimportant life.

To complete the list of township members we have only to add the name of John Crowe, already mentioned, who was the third son of John and Elizabeth Crowe, born at Onslow, August seventh, 1784. His father was one of six brothers, who with their father, James Crowe, senior, and sister Margaret, emigrated from Londonderry, Ireland, in the ship *Hopewell*, about the year 1761. They first settled at Windsor, from which place the brothers John and Aaron removed to Onslow. His mother, the eldest daughter of David Marshall and Sydney Holmes, was born in England in 1752.

Mr. Crowe went to sea several years while young, and afterwards became a successful farmer on the fine property now owned by his son George F. On the 7th of April, 1818, he married Agnes, daughter of William McNutt and Isabella Dickson. They had six sons and two daughters. The eldest son, James Nicholas, is a farmer at Old Barns, a county magistrate, a commissioner of schools for the district of Colchester, and has held the office of municipal councillor for the important district of Lower Village of Truro and Old Barns. John is a carpenter at Chicago, Illinois; Robie a miner at George Town, Colorado; George F. farms on the old homestead, is a justice of the peace, and an ex-municipal councillor for his district; while Homer, the youngest, is a practicing physician at Folly Village, in the township of Londonderry.

Mr. Crowe was first sent to the Assembly in 1826. In 1830, when the province was convulsed from the loss of revenue resulting from want of a proper understanding between the Upper and Lower House relative to the duty to be imposed on brandy, notwithstanding Mr. Crowe took the popular side of the question, he found the Archibald and Dickson influence too strongly in favour of the late member for him to be re-elected that year. Circumstances, however,

transpired which led to his being returned for a second term in 1843. Before the election of that year a public meeting was held in the church at Onslow to hear Joseph Howe and others speak on the great educational question then agitating this province. At eleven o'clock a. m. on Monday, the 9th of October, Mr. Howe entered the church accompanied by George R. Young, James F. Gray, William Annand, and others, and took their seats at a table in the middle aisle in front of the pulpit. The sheriff, Charles Blanchard, Esq., then read the requisition addressed to him, signed by a number of persons, authorizing him to call the meeting. Mr. John King, of Onslow, was proposed as chairman, and simultaneously the Sheriff was named, and to save a contest on the question of the chair, the friends of Mr. King waived their objection to Mr. Blanchard, and chose Mr. King as vice-chairman, when both took their seats as moderators of the meeting. The business of the day commenced by Isaac Logan, Esq., reading several resolutions and a speech favoring one college in Halifax, which was seconded by Isaac McCurdy, Esq. They were followed by G. W. McLellan, Esq., M. P. P. for Londonderry, who spoke at some length, giving his own views on the subject. On resuming his seat, Mr. John Ross moved several resolutions in amendment of the others. They maintained denominational colleges at Horton and Pictou, and proposed to concede to Mr. Howe's party to unite with the Catholics to found one in Halifax. Mr. Ross' speech contained a number of sallies and home thrusts of a political character, some of which were rather personal to Mr. Howe. E. F. Munro, Esq., seconded the amendment very forcibly, but at less length. Robert Chambers, Esq., next spoke, and adverted to the dispute of Mr. Howe with the editor of the *Christian Messenger* as the source of the present attack on their institution at Horton. He was followed by Mr. McLeod, a teacher in Onslow, and a student of Pictou Academy, who in a neat and able speech showed the beneficial effects of such institutions by contrasting the sort of teachers which he remembered in the neighbourhood where his youth was spent, with those which followed after the Pictou Academy began its influence. Mr. McLellan, an aged gentleman, the father of G. W. McLellan, M. P. P., made some remarks on the unfitness of a college in Halifax to benefit the country.

The Hon. Mr. Howe then rose. He spoke over two hours. His speech was chiefly a reply to Mr. Ross and Mr. Munro, and abounded in humorous comments. He charged the fall of Pictou Academy, not to the spirit of animosity between sects, but to the tory party in Halifax

and the country. Should it be admitted he had a bias against the Baptists, he asked what bias could Huntington, McLellan, Annand, or Stairs be supposed to have? He charged the commencement of these public agitations to the meetings of the Baptist Education Society. Four Secretaries of State, he said, had sanctioned the expedient of one college—and that the Attorney General, in a printed protest, had formerly maintained that position.

Mr. Howe then proceeded to argue against the expense and exposure to immoral influences of a town education, and urged many things he considered advantages—said they only required £800., which would enable them to start with seven or eight professors,—alluded to an address which he said was signed by hundreds of Baptists at Yarmouth, praying Mr. Huntington to become again their representative, and was very confident that more petitions would be signed throughout the province in favor of the proposed plan of a metropolitan college, and against the denominational system, than were ever signed in its favor.

Immediately on closing, the Rev. Edmund Crawley, whose presence was a great surprise to the requisitionists, addressed the meeting. He said he was a man of peace, and saw no reason why the subject should not be peaceably discussed, but that he must acknowledge he was astonished when he entered the meeting, and previously, to perceive the strong excitement that existed, and especially to perceive that so many of the Presbyterians, and as he was informed, all or most of the clergy who so late as last session of the Legislature were in favor of denominational colleges, and signed petitions to that effect,—nay, five of whom only two years ago signed the petition in favour of Acadia College, were now for destroying that institution, and their own Pictou Academy, and joining in with Mr. Howe for a metropolitan college. What, asked the reverend speaker, can have so rapidly changed the spirit so long cherished by the Presbyterian body, and sanctioned so many years by the name and efforts of the departed and venerated McCulloch?

Mr. Crawley then showed that Mr. Howe, at the late college meeting at Halifax, divided the income of the Windsor College by three instead of fifteen, the average number of students, so as to make it appear the expense of a student to the public was the enormous sum of £440 a year, thereby producing the most erroneous impression on the minds of the plain people among whom these miscalculations circulate. That Mr. Howe had thrown in £5000 which his own data excluded, and had also kept out of sight that a large academy, averaging at least forty

scholars, often having had fifty, sixty, and seventy students, had always been maintained at Windsor out of the money given by the province, while Mr. Howe's calculations went on the ground that all was expended on but three students a year.

Mr. Crawley showed also that the Hon. Mr. Bell had stated that nearly half the money given for education by the province was expended on the eighty youths said to be at college, together with five or six hundred lads now receiving their education in the various county academies.

Mr. Crawley also stated that Mr. Young had made it appear that Acadia College had received from the provincial treasury £5000 and still it wanted more.

Mr. Young rose to explain that he did not mean this. Mr. Crawley insisted that his words bore such a meaning, and read the paragraph from the report of Mr. Young's speech.

Notwithstanding all this miscalculation, and misinformation, continued the reverend gentleman, I have been charged with insulting the House for daring to say they were misinformed on this subject, and therefore not suitable persons to pass the unripe and hurried measure carried during the last session. He denounced strongly this endeavour to frighten the people out of freedom of speech, and with great animation and earnestness claimed on behalf of the people of Nova Scotia, the same latitude of remark on the proceedings of their representatives, as was acknowledged in the Mother Country to be the birthright of Englishmen,— the same that Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their band of fellow philanthropists used when opposing the slavery of the sons of Africa, and must necessarily be used by every minority, however small, that sought to repel measures they deemed unjust.

Mr. Crawley then dwelt upon the unfitness of a metropolitan college for the country, and when he spoke of the influence of fashionable habits, on the expensiveness of a town education, and the danger of immoral influences, the uncommon stillness of the assembly showed that the remarks met a very general response in the judgment of his hearers.

Mr. Crawley then proceeded to point out the political bearing of the college question. The proposed system of one college withdrew higher learning from the country, and thereby tended to deprive the people of that cultivation and mental power which is essential to the maintenance

of their liberties—whilst it placed all these advantages in the capital amongst the already powerful and the wealthy.

He closed by calling on the people to observe the true character of the plans proposed for their support, and to repel the threatened danger, for so surely as they allowed these measures to be ripened, and to operate as their contrivers seemed to design, the liberties of Nova Scotians were gone forever.

The vote of the meeting was taken by the people forming in two companies, east and west of the church door, till counted. The majority appeared obviously for country colleges. They afterwards formed on either side of the road. The sheriff passed through the double line, and declared the number to be 150 for the country, 170 for the town. Mr. King also passed through the lines, and declared the number to be for the country, 202, for the town, 161, making a majority of 41 in favor of denominational colleges. The sheriff subsequently conceded his mistake, and the majority stood as found by the vice-chairman.

Had the sheriff been right in his first count, it might appear that Mr. King had counted John Crowe for a large number, and thus followed a precedent set by Lord Grey as a teller in the House of Lords, on the passage of the "Habeas Corpus Act." If the precedent were to hold good, he might well have done so, for John Crowe was such a man as might have given a famous statute to England. He was a man of the finest physique, large and well proportioned, standing about six feet four inches in his boots.

By a note to Blackstone's Commentary, Vol. III., page 135, it appears that "Bishop Burnet relates a circumstance respecting the 'Habeas Corpus Act,' which is more curious than credible; but though we cannot be induced to suppose that this important statute was obtained by a jest and a fraud, yet the story proves that a very formidable opposition was made to it at that time." It was carried (says he) by an odd artifice in the House of Lords. Lord Grey and Lord Norris were named to be tellers. Lord Norris being a man of vapours was not at all times attentive to what he was doing, so a very fat lord coming in, Lord Grey counted him ten as a jest at first, but seeing Lord Norris had not observed it, he went on with this misreckoning of ten, so it was reported to the House, and declared that they who were for the bill were the majority, though it indeed went on the other side; and by this means the bill passed." (1 Bs. His. Ch. 11.—485).

"In the Oxford edition of Burnet's History, there is the following note by Speaker Onslow": "See minute book of the House of Lords with regard to this bill, and compare there the number of lords that day in the house with the number reported to be in the division, which agrees with the story."

Although John Crowe was a staunch Presbyterian he took the side of denominational colleges, and standing on a hummock when counted with the majority, he was the most noticeable man in the crowd. This circumstance, it is said, led to his being elected a second time in 1843, and in 1847, the last time the people of the township were privileged to have a representative, for a third term. The strong friends Mr. Crowe made by the stand he took on the educational question claimed that they would have returned him to parliament for Onslow as long as he was able to stand up and put a hat on his head, had not the township deen disfranchised; while Mr. Crowe himself asserted that his opponents could not unseat him and resorted to the expedient of turning him out of the House by an Act of Parliament. He sat till 1851 when township representation was done away with.

Mr. Crowe was always a conspicuous figure in any public gathering, while his quiet disposition, and the easy manners he acquired in following the sea, coupled with the large fund of information he possessed concerning the early settlers, and the great common sense he manifested in the affairs of every day life, made him an agreeable companion to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The closing sentence of the inscription on a chaste freestone monument recently erected in the Onslow cemetery gives a truthful account of the life and character of this worthy member of a former generation, who was the last successor of Wolsley in the representation of the township.

"Our Father,
JOHN CROWE
died
Aug. 30, 1878
Aged 96 years.
For many years
a member of the
Legislature for the
Township of
Onslow.
He died as he lived—a prudent
upright man."

And now Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the lateness of the hour and the already too great length of this paper, to which I must thank you for having given such a patient hearing, precludes the possibility, even if it was thought desirable to do so, of giving further details necessary to complete the history of the first to be laid out and settled, and originally, for a considerable period, occupying the unique position of the shire township of the District of Cobequid, the present County of Colchester. These must be left for another chapter, and a more convenient season, or better still, for some one else to furnish who can do greater justice to the view propounded by Matthew Arnold, so far as it relates to everything of importance in the history of Onslow.

"The harvest gathered in the fields of the past is to be brought home for the use of the present."

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# RICHARD JOHN UNIACKE.

## A SKETCH.

BY HON. L. G. POWER.

*Read before the Society, 15th January, 1891.*

### INTRODUCTORY.

YOUTH looks forward with hope, age looks backward, sometimes with regret, and rarely with unmixed satisfaction, and middle life busies itself as a rule with active work, looking not very much before or after. The atmosphere of a society such as ours should therefore be more congenial to those whose footsteps are on the down-hill slope of life, than to younger men, and so it is; but the man or the people who ignore the lessons of experience, of "philosophy teaching by examples," will have to try to clamber out of many pitfalls which might have been avoided. Hence history, particularly the history of our own country, should be, and in Nova Scotia is taught to children during their early years. The future of youth and the surroundings of middle age can be seen and understood more clearly by faculties trained in the school of the past: the "foot-prints on the sands of time" made by those who have gone before, are often useful guides for the traveller of to-day. A generation forgetful of the doings of its ancestors, is not itself likely to make much history that will be read with satisfaction by those who come after. Therefore we should treasure the memories of those dead, who in their day did good service to their country. As Mr. Howe says, in one of his most impressive poems:—

> "If fitly you'd aspire,
> Honor the dead; and let the sounding lyre
> Recount their virtues in your festal hours:
> Gather their ashes: higher still, and higher
> Nourish the patriot flame that history dowers,
> And, o'er the old men's graves, go strew your choicest flowers."

Upon the narrow stage of our Nova Scotian history, some men have played their parts who, in a larger sphere, might have won the attention of the whole English-speaking world; and they have had rivals and

followers who, in ability and influence upon their times, were separated from them by comparatively small intervals. Some of those by-gone men are well known, their names are on every lip; some are known to students through memoirs and similar records; and the names of others have almost passed into that sea of oblivion which flows over the life stories of most of Adam's children. I do not know any work in which the members of the Historical Society can engage, more appropriate than that of trying to rescue from this impending fate, the names of our provincial worthies. My paper to-night is a humble and imperfect attempt to do this for one who for many years filled a large space in the eyes of most Nova Scotians, but who has now passed almost out of sight. The independent existence of Nova Scotia may be said to extend from about 1775, when her direct connection with New England ceased, to 1867, when her individuality became merged in the Confederation. Those four score and twelve years are covered by the lives of three men, Richard John Uniacke, Samuel G. W. Archibald and Joseph Howe. Their lives overlapped one another; nay, the "old Attorney General," as Uniacke was called in his later years, lived to see Howe in his early prime; but yet the period of greatest activity of each had closed when that of his successor began. Archibald entered the House of Assembly at the opening of the session of 1806, Uniacke having ceased to be a member at the close of that which preceded; and, when Howe was first returned in 1837, Archibald's work in the chamber where he had so long been almost without a rival, was practically ended.

The principal events in Mr. Howe's life, and his most striking characteristics, are fairly well known and have been duly chronicled; although possibly enough of the strong feelings which his career called forth still remains to make the appearance of the calm, judicial biography which he so well deserved, hardly to be looked for until a further lapse of time shall have extinguished the embers of the controversies in which he was engaged. Mr. Archibald's career has been dealt with at considerable length by Mr. Longworth, in an able and interesting essay; and his great abilities and admirable social qualities are duly recognized, even in our school histories.

As to Mr. Uniacke, the case is altogether different. As far as I am aware, his name is not mentioned in the histories used in our schools. In Campbell's work it is mentioned and no more; and the same is true as to Haliburton's. Fortunately, Mr. Murdoch, who studied law in his office, knew him well and admired him, has given many interesting glimpses of his work and character. But not many persons, outside of

those making a special study of our history, undertake to read Mr. Murdoch's three invaluable volumes of Nova Scotian annals; and, in any case, the references to Mr. Uniacke are so scattered as to convey to the ordinary reader an indefinite impression. It is, I fear, almost too late to hope for a satisfactory biography of the "old Attorney General." His public and official record can to some extent be gathered from the Journals of the two Houses of the Legislature, the Minutes of the Executive Council and similar sources; but the vivid light thrown upon one's individuality by the reminiscences of contemporaries is not largely available. The people who knew him in this life have nearly all gone to join him in another, and instead of actual reminiscences we have, except in very few cases, traditions of reminiscences; and, as usual, those traditions contain a fairly large proportion of fiction.

This condition of things is much to be regretted While I do not undertake to institute any invidious comparison between his abilities and those of the two gifted men whom I have spoken of as his succesors, his was without any doubt a striking and picturesque figure, and there was about his career a halo of romance which was absent from theirs. I have long felt that something should be done to bring into clearer light the life and character of one who has many claims on our gratitude and respect; and as no other volunteer presented himself, I have, rashly no doubt, undertaken the work. I regret that it has not fallen to the lot of one better qualified, and also that an unexpected pressure of other occupations has deprived me of the leisure which I had hoped to employ in acquiring the knowledge of my subject in which I am so painfully lacking.

This paper has no pretensions to completeness or to the title of biography. It purports to be merely an imperfect and somewhat irregular sketch of Mr. Uniacke's career. That this sketch may be filled in at a future day by one who shall have given to the task the care, ability and labor which it deserves, is my earnest wish. Meanwhile, the sketch is my humble contribution towards a worthy object.

### UNIACKE'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN NORTH AMERICA.

There is a certain flavor of romance about the story of Richard John Uniacke's first connection with the Province of Nova Scotia. Mr. Moses Delesdernier, a native of the Canton of Geneva in Switzerland, but for many years a resident in this Province, went to Philadelphia in the year 1774, to look for settlers to place upon lands near Fort Cumberland, owned by himself and certain associates. One day, so the tradition runs,

while at the river side, he noticed amongst those landing from a vessel which had just arrived from the West Indies, a tall, athletic young man with a lively aspect and an elastic tread, whose dress and bearing were very unlike those of the ordinary immigrant. Struck by his appearance, Mr. Delesdernier accosted the young gentleman and asked him where he came from, and was told that he was last from the West Indies, and originally from Ireland. To a further question as to his motive for coming to North America, the answer was, that he had left Ireland to seek his fortune, and finding that nothing was to be done at the island to which he had gone, had come to see if there were not better prospects on the mainland. Being asked by Mr. Delesdernier what kind of work he would be prepared to do, young Uniacke, for he was the newly landed immigrant, replied that he was ready to do anything. Mr. Delesdernier who had been interested in the youth at first sight, thereupon employed him for the purpose of going to the Cumberland settlement and acting as a kind of clerk or superintendent for the proprietors. This he accordingly did.

### LINEAGE AND ANTECEDENTS.

Having got the hero of my story on the stage, it may be as well to tell my hearers something of his lineage and antecedents. His genealogy will be found set forth at considerable length in the second volume of Burke's "Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland."

Richard John Uniacke was the fourth son of Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, of Castletown Roche, in the County of Cork, by Alicia, daughter of Bartholomew Purdon of Gworane, or Garran James, in the same county. Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke of Castletown, was the third son of James Fitzgerald Uniacke, of Mount Uniacke, who commanded a troop of cavalry for William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne, and whose military services are said to have been of material benefit to the Mount Uniacke branch of the family. Burke traces the family back to the fifteenth century, and says that "it appears by the ancient public records that the family of Uniacke was settled at an early period in the south of Ireland, and had possessions in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary." Castletown and Mount Uniacke are in the eastern part of Cork, not far from the beautiful Blackwater River, which for some distance up from the sea forms the boundary between that county and Waterford. For those who take an interest in heraldry, it may be stated that the arms of the Uniacke family are: "*Argent a wolf passant proper, a chief gules*"; that the crest is a dexter cubit arm, erect, gauntletted proper, holding a hawk's lure or, and that the mottoes are "*Unicus Est*," and "Faithful and Brave."

One would naturally conclude that there was some connection between the former motto and the peculiar name of the family; and this would seem to have been actually the case. Mr. Richard Gordon Fitzgerald-Uniacke, a grandson of A. M. Uniacke, Esquire, the youngest son of the subject of this sketch, published in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society* for the year 1894, a carefully prepared history of the Uniackes of Youghal. From this history, kindly loaned me by Robie Uniacke, Esquire, I find that Canon Hayman, in 1862, gave the following account of the origin of the name, in the *Youghal Parochial Magazine:*

"Soon after the great Geraldine race had settled in Ireland, their chieftain in the West and South, who owned the whole territory called Desmond, was at war with one of the native princes. A desperate attempt was to be made on some castle or town wall, or some narrow breach entered where one should lead the way. When the proposal was made to the whole army as to who would undertake this exploit, or 'lead the forlorn hope,' as it would be called in modern times, one young knight, a Fitzgerald, instantly came forward and undertook to do so. He succeeded beyond the expectations of all; and as no one else had seemed inclined to venture, or probably would have ventured, he was ever afterwards called '*Unicus*,' (the only one); and this appellation, after remaining among his immediate posterity in the form of Unick (or Unak) for a time, gradually glided into the present family name of Uniacke."

"The same tradition," Mr. R. G. Fitzgerald-Uniacke says, "is alluded to in a letter written by Sir Thomas Judkin Fitz-Gerald, of Lisheen, to Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms, dated 6th May, 1801." Be the tradition well-founded or not, it is certain that there has always been a warlike strain in the family, and that in modern times representatives of every generation of Uniackes have been in either the army or the navy. Two points in the earlier history of the family it may be well to note. The first of the name of whom we have any record is Bernard Unak, who appears from an entry on the Plea Roll in Bermingham Tower, Dublin, to have been living at Youghal in 1305. Maurice Uniacke, of Youghal, who died in 1649, and his wife, Margaret Kearney, are "the common ancestors of all the various branches of the Uniacke family known to exist at the present day."

Norman Uniacke, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a well-to-do country gentleman. Richard John was his fourth son, and was born at Castletown on the twenty-second of November, 1753. He is said to have gone to school at Lismore, on the Waterford side of the Blackwater, and there is an impression amongst some of his descendants

that he afterwards studied at Trinity College, Dublin. This impression does not seem to be well founded, because on the fourth of October, 1769, while in his sixteenth year, he was articled to a Dublin attorney named Garde. The Indenture of apprenticeship is preserved at Mount Uniacke, in Hants County, in this Province, and as it is not very long, and is for more reasons than one, an interesting document, it may be as well to give it in full :

"THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, *Between* Richard John Uniacke, fourth son of Norman Uniacke, of Castletown in the County of Corke Gent of the one part and Thomas Garde Gent. one of the Attorneys of His Majestie's Court of Exchequer in Ireland of the other part

WITNESSETH that the said Richard John Uniacke by and with the consent of his father the said Norman Uniacke *Doth* by these presents put himself an apprentice to the said Thomas Garde with him to live and dwell as an Attorney's clarke or apprentice for the term of five years to be computed and to commence from the day of the date hereof during which time the said Richard John Uniacke his master's lawfull commands shall observe his secrets keep hurt to his said master he shall not do nor suffer to be done practice as an attorney he shall not without the leave of his said master matrimony he shall not contract taverns or ale houses he shall not frequent at cards or dice or any other unlawfull game he shall not play but in all respects shall behave to his said master as becometh an apprentice.

*And* the said Thomas Garde for the considerations aforesaid and in consideration of one hundred and fifteen pounds to him paid by the said Norman Uniacke at or before the time of the perfection of these presents *Doth* covenant and undertake to find and provide for the said Richard John Uniacke in the City of Dublin competent and necessary dyet and lodging during the said term but the said Richard John Uniacke is to provide at his own expence a horse for his own use and all other necessarys whatsoever except said dyet and lodging : the said Thomas Garde Doth further promise at the expiration of said five years to use his utmost endeavours to procure the said Richard John Uniacke at the proper cost and charges of him the said Richard John to be admitted and sworn one of the Attorneys.

IN WITNESS Whereof the said parties have hereunto sett their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Signed sealed & delivered in presence of
NORMAN UNIACKE
WM. MCCREIGHT "

RICHD JON UNIACKE (L.S.)
THOS GARDE (L.S.)

This Indenture is marked as "Entd in the Chief Remem'rs Office the 13th of Nov., 1769.

CLANBRASSILL."

Young Uniacke did not remain with Mr. Garde until the end of the five years, but left Ireland in December, 1773, to seek his fortune beyond the Atlantic. The cause of his departure I have not been able to find out, but there is little doubt but that it was a serious quarrel with his father. This is made clear by extracts from Norman Uniacke's will, given in Mr. R. G. Fitzgerald-Uniacke's history of the family. The testator entails lands upon his eldest son James, with remainder to his third son Norman, remainder to his fifth son Crofton, remainder to his daughter Mary. He also devises other lands to his eldest, third and fifth sons, passing over the second and fourth, Bartholomew and Richard John. Of these two he speaks in exactly the same terms, and they deserve to be quoted. To his fourth son Richard John he bequeaths five pounds sterling "which sum is to be in full of all demands he may have as my child to my real or personal estate, he having highly disobliged me." The will also contains a provision that when his eldest son comes into possession of certain lands, he is to pay "the sum of twenty pounds sterling, by two half-yearly payments, to each of my sons Richard John and Bartholomew Uniacke." This will is dated 17th March, 1774, three months after Richard's leaving Ireland, and nearly two years after Bartholomew had joined as an ensign the 60th Regiment, then stationed at Antigua, in the West Indies. In what way Bartholomew and Richard John had "highly disobliged" their father does not appear. It may be added that the testator died in the end of 1776 or the beginning of 1777, and the will disinheriting his second and fourth sons was proved on the 3rd of March in the latter year. Through the kindness of the Reverend James B. Uniacke, the present owner of Mount Uniacke, I have had an opportunity to read a paper written by his grandfather, describing his voyage to the West Indies, a portion of which I may be pardoned for quoting. Its present condition is seemingly fragmentary. It covers something over eleven pages of foolscap, and ends abruptly. It is headed "Observations on the West Indies and North America by Richard John Uniacke, in a voyage he took from Ireland in the ship *Catharine*, Captn Robert Torrance, 7th December, 1773—Left Cork." It begins with an apparent inconsistency. "Richard Jno. Uniacke sailed from the Cove of Cork the 6th Dec., 1773, in the ship Catharine, Capt. Robt Torrance, for the West Indies, with a fair wind." On the 25th they made the Madeira Islands. On the 26th of January, 1774, they saw Antigua and Montserrat, the latter of which is spoken of as "mostly inhabited by Irish." In the afternoon of the same day Nevis was sighted, and at midnight the ship came to anchor

off Basseterre, the chief town of the Island of St. Kitts, where the voyage seems to have ended. Some of the youthful traveller's reflections upon what he saw at this island are interesting. He tells us that: "No race of people in the world can equal what we call the Creole English in laziness, as far as I have had an opportunity of seeing them they are very fond of show, and in general very proud. However, they do not all come under this rule. A Creole lady will not stoop for a pin, but must have a black girl to reach it her, while she reclines all day long on a sofa." Again, "I have often thought how ridiculous it was that a nation, whose ancestors knew so well the value of liberty as to have maintained it with the last drop of their blood should be instrumental in enslaving a race of people whose only crime, if I judge right, is that the same Being which created them, for reasons beyond the capacity of mortals, made them black instead of white, yet with the same ideas, and I daresay, when they have had the opportunity of polishing themselves that the English have, of superior capacitys."

The man who used this language in 1774, more than thirteen years before Wilberforce took the first step in his campaign against the slave trade, was no ordinary youth of twenty. It may be noted that the "Observations" contain no hint of the reasons which led the writer to take the voyage in the ship *Catharine*.

### HISTORY RESUMED.

Resuming our history where we broke off for the purpose of giving our hero's antecedents; it would appear that young Uniacke remained at Cumberland with Mr. Delesdernier and his associates from 1774 until the end of 1776. In one respect he seems to have been like the typical virtuous apprentice, for on the third of May, 1775, he was married to Martha Maria Delesdernier, daughter of his employer. The groom was a little over twenty-one, and the bride had not attained the age of thirteen. In the latter part of 1776, Jonathan Eddy and other sympathizers with the revolted colonists, laid siege to Fort Cumberland, but the fort having been reinforced by 200 marines under Major Batt, they abandoned the undertaking on the 28th of November, and dispersed. Amongst those arrested, on suspicion of being implicated in the rebellion, and brought as prisoners to Halifax, was Richard John Uniacke.

I am informed that the sergeant of the guard charged with the duty of conveying the prisoners to the capital, was an Irishman named Lawlor; that young Uniacke appealed to his fellow-countryman to take

the hand-cuffs off him, pledging his honor at the same time to make no attempt to escape, and that the sergeant granted the request. Lawlor afterwards left the army and settled back of Dartmouth. He was a Roman Catholic, and made it a rule to come to Halifax every spring for the purpose of making his Easter Communion. After Uniacke's admission to the bar, when he was one of the leading men of the place, he did not forget the comparatively humble man who had befriended him in the day of his distress, but always insisted that during those Easter visits Lawlor should make a home of his house.

## 1776–1781.

There is not a little mystery and uncertainty as to young Uniacke's life from November, 1776, until the spring of 1781. Most of those settlers near Fort Cumberland who had come from the older colonies, sided with the revolutionists. The same was true, I believe, of those who came from the North of Ireland; while the Yorkshire men, Mr. Bulmer tells us, remained firm in their allegiance to King George. It is not unreasonable to suppose that an ardent youth like Uniacke should have sympathized with his associates, more particularly when we learn that his father-in-law was more than suspected of disloyalty. Mr. Bulmer, in a paper printed in the first volume of the proceedings of the Historical Society, throws a good deal of light upon the case of the Cumberland rebels, including Mr. Uniacke. Of the prisoners brought to Halifax, charged with being concerned in Eddy's rebellion, as it was sometimes called, Dr. Clarke and Thomas Falconer were tried respectively on the 18th and the 19th of April, 1777, and found guilty, but pleaded the King's pardon before sentence and were respited. James Avery escaped from jail. Uniacke, who had apparently promised to give evidence on behalf of the crown, failed to do so or to appear in court. It is supposed that some prominent Irishmen, of whom there were several in Halifax at the time, and some officers of the garrison who knew his family in Ireland used their influence to prevent his suffering for what might reasonably be looked at as a youthful escapade. The only evidence against Uniacke is contained in the deposition of William Milburn, and is not altogether conclusive as to his guilt. Milburn swears:

"That on or about the 11th of November, (1776) being sent a message by Colonel Goreham commanding ye garrison at Fort Cumberland, to a place called Number 1, to one Mr. Smith, which having delivered, and the next morning being about to return to the garrison, one Mr. Richard J. Uniacke, who liveth at No. 1 aforesaid, said that he must go

along with said Smith to the rebel camp, which the deponent at first refused, but said Uniacke insisted he must go, otherwise the rebel sentries would carry him there by force, and that Colonel Eddy, as he called him, of the rebels would never forgive them if he would not go to him and would imagine they harbored any person from the garrison, he would never forgive him."

I have been unable to discover Uniacke's whereabouts, or to follow his movements at and about the time fixed for the trial. Doctor Akins was of opinion that his friends got him placed on board a ship leaving for the old country; but if so, it could not have been for some months after the proceedings in court described by Mr. Bulmer; because I find, in the office of the Registrar of Deeds, a deed from Richard John Uniacke, Gentleman, and Martha Maria his wife, to James Brown, Gentleman, bearing date the twenty-second of August, 1777, by which for the consideration of four hundred pounds the grantors transfer to Mr. Brown the lot and house in Hollis Street, Letter C, Number 4, in Foreman's Division. This lot was on the lower side of Hollis Street, south of the property now occupied by Longard Brothers, and had been devised to Mrs. Uniacke by her aunt Martha, the widow of Paul Pritchard. On the same day, Mrs. Uniacke's father, Moses Delesdernier of Cumberland, assigned to Mr. Brown, a Bond made to him by Paul Pritchard in his life time. Both instruments were witnessed by William Lloyd, (the Deed from Uniacke and wife being witnessed also by Delesdernier) and were proved by him and recorded on the following day. It is clear then that on the twenty-second of August, 1777, Uniacke was in Halifax. He probably sailed shortly after that date; and it is possible that the proceeds of the sale enabled him to oomplete his law studies. This Mr. Murdoch thought he did in England, while Dr. Akins's opinion was that it was in Ireland. The latter would seem to have been right. At Mount Uniacke I saw the following certificate and receipt:

"Trinity Term 1779.

These are to certify that Richard Jno. Uniacke Gent. was admitted a member of the Honorable Society of the King's Inns, Dublin, as an Attorney of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, and hath paid his

| | |
|---|---|
| Admission fee | 13.4 |
| Steward | 5. |
| | £ 18.4 |

Rec'd. for the use of this Honorable Society.

Dated the 22nd day of June, 1779.

JOHN ROBINSON
Steward."

There is no reason to doubt that young Uniacke completed his term of apprenticeship in Dublin, presumably with Mr. Garde, to whom he had been articled four years previous to his departure in the ship *Catharine*. Inquiry at the King's Inns in Dublin, has elicited the information that he did not, after being admitted as an attorney, proceed to seek admission to the Bar. It is barely possible that he may have gone from Dublin to London, and there studied with a view to being admitted barrister, in which case Mr. Murdoch's statement would be partially correct. It can hardly be doubted that during his stay in Ireland he revisited his home at Castletown, particularly as his father had died while he was in Nova Scotia. It may be remarked that he does not seem to have borne any ill will towards his father, as he called his own eldest son Norman Fitzgerald — presumably after the boy's grandfather.

## EARLY CAREER AT THE BAR.

Wherever Richard John Uniacke went after being admitted an attorney in Dublin, no mention of him as being in Nova Scotia is to be found until his admission as a barrister and attorney on the third of April, 1781. He was probably absent from the Province for something over three years. In any case, we may assume that the time between June, 1779, and April, 1781, was well and profitably spent. He does not appear to have been obliged to wait as long for practice—he certainly had not for professional advancement—as the average young lawyer. Mr. Bulmer says that the records of the court are full of him from the date of his admission. On the 29th of December, 1781, he was commissioned by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, as Solicitor General, in the room of Richard Gibbons, appointed Attorney General upon Mr. Brenton's promotion to the bench of the Supreme Court. On the sixth of January, 1782, Lieutenant-Governor Hamond wrote to Lord George Germaine, and, speaking of Mr. Uniacke's appointment, said he had been well recommended as a fit person, from his abilities and character, for the position of Solicitor General. Mr. Uniacke was sworn into office on the fourth of January, 1782. On the 22nd of May, 1782, a second commission as Solicitor General was issued by the Lieutenant-Governor pursuant to the King's mandamus. A practice prevailed in those days of making appointments under the hand of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, which in a strict sense were only provisional, and which were afterwards confirmed by royal mandamus. In the case of appointments to His Majesty's

Council the practice was to have the commission issued from London in the first instance; and this continued to be the rule until the coming into force of the British North America Act on the first of July, 1867. The second commission issued to Mr. Uniacke contained a reference to His Majesty's confidence in the loyalty of Mr. Uniacke, which indicated a marked change of sentiment during the five years which had elapsed since his arrest in Cumberland, and also a provision intended to prevent an abuse which was not uncommon at that time, "and you the said Richard John Uniacke are to enjoy the said office in your own person except in cases of sickness or incapacity." Mr. Uniacke apparently had influential friends who started him on the road to success; and he was able to do the rest for himself. As Murdoch says, "he attained professional eminence, wealth and honors by great natural eloquence, talent and industry."

Judge Morse, of Amherst, has kindly placed in my hands a letter written on New Year's Day, 1782, by the newly appointed Attorney General Gibbons, to Col. J. F. W. DesBarres, then in London, which throws not a little light upon the doings of the official people of that day, and contains an interesting reference to his successor in the office of Solicitor General. I quote the passage in question, with the preliminary remark that the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia was an Irishman named Bryan Finucane:

"In short ignorance and partiality, except in the office of Chief Justice, are as prevalent in this country as formerly. *Apropos*, the Chief Justice is embarked for New York *en route* to England, he is professionally much my friend, although he appears to be tinctured with national attachments which with some Irish recommendations has induced him to procure one Uniack (who was associated with the Rebels in attacking Fort Cumberland) to be appointed Solicitor General in my place."

### A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The next important event in Mr. Uniacke's history, of which we have any record, was his election, in 1783, to the House of Assembly as member for the township of Sackville. The fact that he was elected for this constituency would go to show that during his former residence in the neighborhood he had made a favorable impression upon the people of the district. It is a somewhat interesting circumstance that there is a piece of land—I believe on the New Brunswick side of the Missiguash River—which is, to this day, known as Uniacke's Hill.

The Legislature met on the sixth of October, 1783, when the newly elected member for Sackville Township took the usual oaths and his seat. A perusal of the Assembly's journals will show that he at once took a leading place in the House. On the opening day, James Brenton, Charles Morris Jr. and Richard John Uniacke, Esquires, were appointed a committee to prepare an answer to Governor Parr's speech. It seems contrary to all our ideas of parliamentary propriety that a member of the House who had been elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court, should, after his appointment, continue to occupy his seat. Yet this was what Mr. Brenton did. It is also contrary to our practice that the duties of clerk should be discharged by a member, but in 1783 Mr. Richard Cunningham, member for ———— was also Clerk of Assembly.

There were in those days many anomalies and abuses, or what would now be regarded as such, in the mode of conducting the public business; and Mr. Uniacke worked vigorously, persistently and with a large measure of success to remove several of them. The journals of the House contain a meagre record of his official acts as member; and in order to gain some idea of the character of his activity, it may be well to look a little closely at this record for the first two sessions of his membership. On the second day of the session of 1783, it was, on motion of Richard John Uniacke, Esquire, Resolved, that the clerk of the House should be obliged to take an oath to the following purport: "You A. B. do solemly swear, that you will faithfully and impartially discharge the office of Clerk of this House, and keep the Journals thereof without prejudice or partiality"; and thereupon the oath was duly administered to Mr. Cunningham. It was also resolved at the same time that no person chosen to be clerk after that session should be at the same time clerk and member of the House. It can be readily understood that a clerk who was also a member would be more strongly tempted to prejudice and partiality than one who was not; and as oaths of office were probably taken more seriously then than they are now, Mr. Uniacke's resolution strikes one as being useful and proper. On the same day he was appointed on the joint committee of both Houses to examine and report on the public accounts; and on the eighth of October, Judge Brenton and he were ordered to examine and report to the House such laws as were near expiring. On the same day Mr. Uniacke obtained leave to bring in a bill to regulate the appointment of sheriffs, and at the next sitting introduced a bill for regulating the

charges to be made by innholders. He was also appointed with Messrs. Cochran, Cunningham and Pyke on a committee to confer with a committee of the Council on a bill respecting the times of holding the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. On the 13th he, Chipman and Ritchie (grandfather of the present Judge Ritchie) were appointed a committee on the printing of a revised edition of the statutes which had been prepared by Judges Deschamps and Brenton and approved by the House. On the same day the Council sent down to the House an extract from a report made by two of the judges on the losses and suffering arising out of the Cumberland rebellion of 1776. Thereupon the House, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, resolved that the consideration of the business be deferred until the whole report be obtained from His Excellency the Governor; and Mr. Uniacke and Mr. J. Gay were ordered a committee to wait on His Excellency for that purpose. To this committee Martin Gay, just elected for Cumberland, was added next day.

On the 15th of October an address to the Governor was decided upon on Mr. Uniacke's motion, asking that a new county should be created westward of Queens, and that another new county should be established which should comprehend the District of Colchester; and it was ordered that Uniacke, Fillis, Harris and John Cunningham be a committee to prepare the said address. The case of the proposed county west of Queens was looked upon by the House as being decidedly more urgent than that of Colchester, while to-day the population of Colchester is greater than that of Queens and Shelburne together. In 1783, however, Shelburne was comparatively a much more important place than it is to-day. On the sixteenth a committee whereof Uniacke was the first named, was appointed to confer with a committee of the Council with respect to a bill of Uniacke's dealing with the butchers. I fancy that there are many heads of families in Halifax to-day who would not be displeased to see some prominent public man take such action in 1891 as would make good meat a less expensive luxury than it has been during the past few months.

On the following day it was, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, resolved that the Clerk of the Crown furnish the committee on public accounts "with a list of the names and space of time of confinement of all the prisoners, who have been committed, confined and supported at the suit of the Crown, in the county gaol of Halifax, for the last fifteen months past."

On the 18th was presented a petition from Richard J. Uniacke to the effect that he had discharged the duties of Solicitor General for nearly two years without compensation. The house allowed him £150 for his past services, and thenceforward an item of £100 for the Solicitor General appears among the yearly appropriations. On the 20th of October it was resolved, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, that an address be presented to the Governor asking him to remove William Black, James Law and Charles Dickson, Esquires, from the commission of the peace in the County of Cumberland. On the twenty-first he moved, "That the key of this room be constantly kept in the possession of the Clerk of this House," and thereupon resolved that it should. On the 24th Uniacke moved that a day be fixed for a committee of the whole to take the report of the Committee on Public Accounts into consideration; and the following day was fixed. On the 25th the report of the committee, a carefully prepared and important document calling attention to several abuses, and signed on behalf of the Assembly by Messrs Uniacke, Thomas Cochran and J. G. Pyke was submitted, and was considered on that and several following days. The House appointed four distinct committees to deal with as many separate portions of the report. The committee on the Poor House, in connection with which institution there seem to have been gross abuses and extravagance, was composed of Uniacke, Cochrane and Pyke. Uniacke was also a member of the committee on the revenues, which reported three bills dealing respectively with the duties of customs, or as the term then was, impost, and excise, the duty on licensed houses and the transient poor, On November 7th, Uniacke moved that a day be fixed for the final discussion and determination on all the public accounts, and the next day was accordingly fixed. The bills above referred to were all passed by the House, but met with vigorous opposition in the Council; and all failed to become law during the session of 1783.

On the tenth of November Uniacke was one of a committee appointed to confer with a committee of the Council, as to a revenue bill. On the eleventh he was appointed a member of a committee to inspect and report on the public buildings. On the 13th the House rejected the Council amendments to the customs and excise bill, and as the Council adhered to their amendments, a committee of conference was appointed on the 17th, of which Uniacke was a member. The Council agreed to withdraw some of their amendments, but adhered to others, and the House held this to be a rejection of the bill. On the same day

he was ordered to prepare an address to His Excellency asking him to appoint collectors of customs and excise in certain districts, and on the next day he was one of a committee appointed to wait on the Governor and present the address. On the same day, the eighteenth, Uniacke submitted to the House a form for the accounts of collectors of revenue, which upon his motion was entered on the Journals. It was then, upon his motion, resolved :

That this form be used by collectors, who shall account quarterly :

That collectors shall keep accounts of permits for dutiable articles removed into other districts ;

And that the Treasurer receive no account not duly sworn to from any collector, and that no unsworn account be passed by the House.

On the 19th Uniacke moves a resolution in favor of obtaining supplies for the light house, and is one of a committee to decide upon the forms to be used in accounts against the province.

On the 21st Messrs Brenton, Uniacke, Cochrane, Fillis and Pyke were appointed a committee to correspond with Richard Cumberland, who had recently not discharged his duties as agent for the Province in London in such a way as to give satisfaction to the House. On the 22nd, Messrs Cochrane, Uniacke, Pyke, John Gay and Martin Gay were a committee to present a congratulatory address to Governor Parr and the address was passed, which amongst other things asked His Excellency to accept a gift of £500 from the province towards the maintenance of his table. An address was passed on the same day to Chief Justice Bryan Finucane, who had just got back from a visit to the old country, congratulating him on his safe return, and presenting him with £400 to defray the expense of his voyage. Those money votes were of a most unusual character ; and I have little doubt but that Mr. Uniacke was responsible for that to the chief justice, who was a fellow-countryman, and I believe a particular friend of his own.

On the 25th of November, it was on motion of Mr. Uniacke resolved, " That no person in future be furnished with any Minutes or Journals of this House, or be permitted to peruse or inspect the same, unless a member of this House, until such Journals shall be printed." The reason for the adoption of this resolution is not disclosed, but it was probably that the Council got through unofficial channels accurate information as to the doings of the House earlier than the members of the latter deemed desirable. On the same day, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, John Whidden, John Chipman, Thomas Caldwell and Daniel Dickson

were appointed a committee to lay out a road from the bridge of Cornwallis River to the forks of Windsor River, and thence to the Halifax road. It was likewise resolved that the committee appointed to correspond with the provincial agent in London should take measures for the improvement of trade, to have judges appointed during good behavior instead of at pleasure, and to improve the manner of holding Courts of Admiralty.

On the 26th, it was resolved on Mr. Uniacke's motion, that the seats of such members as had not attended during the present session be vacated. He also moved that no member be minuted in future as having attended to his duty on any day, unless he be present at the opening and closing on that day; and also that no member be allowed pay unless he attended two-thirds of each session, and also at the prorogation. This resolution was agreed to as to future sessions. On the same day Messrs Cochran, Newton and Uniacke were appointed a committee to inform the Governor that there was no business before the House.

On the 27th it was announced by message that the Council would not agree to the Appropriation Bill without their amendments, whereupon the House sent the following message: "The House of Assembly have heard the resolves of His Majesty's Council of this date read, and find the same of so extraordinary a nature, that they cannot on any account take the same into further consideration."

The prorogation was on the second of December, when amongst other bills assented to was one for the relief of Roman Catholics, less liberal in its provisions than that passed during the session of 1782, which had been disallowed in England.

I know that I have dealt with the proceedings of this session at such length as to be tedious to my hearers; but the record is well calculated to show the extent and character of the activity of the new member for Sackville, who was apparently the leading man in the House, and an ardent supporter of its constitutional rights, which were seriously interfered with by the proceedings of the Council with respect to the revenue and appropriation bills. The conflict upon the questions of ways and means and supply, was not finally ended until two months after Mr. Uniacke's death in 1830.

The session of 1784 began on the first of November, and during it, as well as during that which had preceded, Uniacke seems to have been the leading, or at least the most effectually active member. I do not propose to deal with what he did as much in detail as in the case of the

session of 1783; but there are certain matters which seem to cal for brief notice. During the session of 1783 the seat of Winckworth Tonge, member for Kings County, had been declared vacant, and the House had resolved that a writ should issue for an election to fill the vacancy. The writ had never been issued; and, on the first day of the new session, Uniacke brought the matter before the House, and an address was voted to the Governor, complaining of the disrespect shown to the decision of the House. On the third of November the committee appointed to wait on His Excellency with the address, reported that the writ had been issued. On the same day Uniacke moved, That a proper part of the House should in future be allotted for all persons who were freeholders of this province to hear the debates, reserving to the House the power to exclude strangers where desired. The motion was seconded by Mr. Philipps, and adopted. It can be readily seen what an important step this was towards that publicity which seems so essential to our modern parliamentary life.

It was also on Uniacke's motion resolved, that the clerk copy the rules of the House, and omit the fourteenth, which restrained members from taking notes of each other's speeches, or conversing about the same out of the House. If is difficult to see any justification for the existence of the rule thus got rid of. On the fourth of November Uniacke introduced a bill to make lands liable for the payment of debts.

The committee of the whole House digested and agreed upon a plan for raising revenue for the support of the government during the ensuing year; and the Solicitor General was, on the 10th of November, appointed to draft bills embodying the decisions of the committee. He accordingly introduced four bills, all of which passed the House. On the 18th Uniacke moved for a return of defaulting accountants. On the 22nd the House resolved, that George Deschamps, Esquire, Collector for the County of Hants, was a public defaulter, and that large sums of money were due from him. Thereupon, Mr. Uniacke moved that Mr. Deschamps (who was also member for ————) be expelled from the House, and Mr. Delancey moved in amendment that he be only censured. The amendment was adopted.

On the 23rd the House received a message from Governor Parr, complaining of the non-submission of the Journals in conformity with the previous practice. A motion to conform was voted down 17 to 8, the Solicitor General voting with the majority. It was then resolved and ordered, that the Governor be furnished with the Proceedings of the

House in the same manner as the King was supplied with the Proceedings of the House of Commons in England. Then, upon motion of Mr. Uniacke, it was "Ordered, That the clerk of the House furnish His Excellency the Governor with the Journals of this House regularly as they may be printed."

On the 24th, Uniacke submitted the draft of an address to the Governor in answer to his message with respect to the Journals, to the effect that the House has given orders that the Journals as fast as they come from the press should be delivered at the Government House instead of at the Council Chambers. The address also begged His Excellency to send his messages to the House under his own signature, and not under that of the Secretary.

On the 27th November, the House decided to remove Richard Cumberland from the position of agent in London for the province; and, upon motion of Mr. Uniacke, Brook Watson, Esquire, was unanimously chosen in his stead.

On the 29th it was resolved, on motion of Philipps, seconded by Uniacke, That interest on the Treasurer's notes and warrants for the year 1785, amounting to £716 12 7, be paid out of impost and excise duties; and that ten per cent of the said duties go into a sinking fund to pay off the provincial debt. On the same day, William Shaw a member for Annapolis County, who had been found a defaulter in the office of Sheriff of Halifax, was expelled from the House; after which a resolution, moved by Uniacke, to the effect that if any member in future received any public money out of the treasury, without a vote of the House, his seat should be vacated, was unanimously adopted. At a later part of the same sitting it was resolved that, "The House of Assembly consider any amendments made by the Council to the Revenue or Money Bills, which bills originate in this House, to be an Innovation on the Rights and Privileges of the House of Assembly, and therefore cannot allow the same to be done." An address was agreed upon, to be presented to the Governor by Delancey, Uniacke and Newton, dealing with the subjects of defaulters, the limits of counties, collectors of revenue, and justices of the peace keeping taverns.

The Council's amendments to the Revenue bills having been rejected by the House, were adhered to by the Council, whereupon the House, on the second of December, adopted an address to the Governor upon the subject, which, upon motion of Uniacke, it was resolved should be presented on the next day. On the third of December the Council, probably

feeling that they had been wrong, informed the House that the bills had been rejected by mistake and the bills were passed. As part of a compromise, which had probably been agreed upon, Uniacke on the fourth introduced a bill to exempt molasses, rum and certain other articles, imported for the use of the navy, from duty. On the eighth of December, 1784, prorogation took place, and thus ended the active life of the fifth General Assembly,—the Long Parliament of Nova Scotia,—which had existed since 1770. The work of Uniacke during its last two sessions was varied in its subjects, large in amount, and useful and popular in its character.

### MATERIAL WELFARE.

I am sure that my readers will not object to quit the House of Assembly for a time, and I regret that I feel called upon to take them at first to what is usually looked upon as a prosaic and uninteresting place,—the Registry of Deeds. There I find a deed dated 30th January, 1784, from Richard John Uniacke and Martha Maria, his wife, to James Browne, late of Halifax, but now of Ireland, Gentleman. This deed recites that of the 22nd of August, 1777, already mentioned, and states that in consequence of the non-age of Mrs. Uniacke it was void, that she had attained her majority in December, 1783, and for the consideration of five shillings renews the conveyance. The reference to Brown, the grantee, as now living in Ireland, tends to strengthen the impression that the conveyance of August, 1777, was part of a plan contrived by Uniacke and some Irish friends to enable him to get away from Nova Scotia, and pay his expenses during absence, and possibly to maintain his wife. I find also a deed of the seventh of May, 1784, from Anthony Henry, printer, and Margaret his wife, to Richard John Uniacke, for the consideration of thirteen hundred pounds, of certain lots on the western side of Argyle Street, being lots 9, 10, 11 and 12, in Block Letter C, in Ewer's Division of the Town of Halifax, and also of Lot 3 in Letter H of the same Division, which was on the opposite side of the Street. This property seems to have become Mr. Uniacke's town residence; and it was only in 1872 that the dwelling and out buildings on the west side of the street, ceased to be occupied by his son Andrew. Mr. Uniacke gave Mr. Henry a mortgage for £500, which was shortly afterwards paid off and released. The purchase of this property, and the promptness with which the comparatively large price was paid, would go to show that Mr. Uniacke's practice was considerable. In the same month in which he purchased what became the family residence, Mr.

Uniacke was commissioned by Governor Parr as Advocate General in the Vice-Admiralty Court within the province, in the place of William Nesbitt, deceased. Inasmuch as England was almost continuously at war with France from the beginning of 1793 until the battle of Waterloo, and was also engaged in hostilities with the United States in 1812, 1813, and 1814, the business of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax was very extensive during the periods mentioned; and, as the fees of the Advocate General were calculated upon a liberal scale, this office brought in large sums to Mr. Uniacke. In fact the largest part of the handsome fortune which he acquired was derived from it.

### A DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONSEQUENT FEUD.

In December, 1784, (23rd), Gibbons, the Attorney General, was appointed Chief Justice of Cape Breton, then just erected into an independent province, and Sampson Salter Blowers was appointed Attorney General of Nova Scotia in his place, the claims of Uniacke, the Solicitor General, being ignored. I fancy that from this time may be dated the rivalry and ill feeling between Blowers and Uniacke, which never altogether disappeared until the grave closed over the younger man. In addition to the personal feeling, there was a general absence of cordiality between the loyalist refugees,—the "new comers," as they were called—and those whom they found here, and who were known as "old comers." Blowers had occupied a somewhat prominent position at the Boston bar, and was about eleven years older than Uniacke; but the latter might be pardoned if he felt dissatisfied that the natural course of his professional promotion should be broken in upon, and one whom he might naturally regard as an interloper placed ahead of him, in the position to which he had reasonably looked upon himself as entitled. Certain subsequent events were calculated to increase this feeling.

Not long after the appointment of Blowers, as we learn from the recently published correspondence of Thomas Barclay, who came to Nova Scotia from New York in 1783, and returned thither as British Consul General in 1799, a dispute took place between the Attorney General and Uniacke, "about a negro man whom the latter had dismissed, and Blowers took into service. On this occasion Uniacke said some rude things; Blowers challenged; the Chief Justice (probably Bryan Finucane), interfered and bound them both over in £1500." The general tone of Barclay's letter betrays a bias against Uniacke, such as might be expected from a 'new comer' in the case of a quarrel between one of his own friends and an 'old comer.'

The fifth General Assembly, which had been in existence for more than fifteen years, was dissolved by proclamation on the 20th October, 1785, and the writs were returnable on December the first. The poll opened at Halifax on November the eighth, and S. S. Blowers, John George Pyke, Richard John Uniacke and Michael Wallace were elected for the county.

The new House met on the fifth of December, 1785, and Mr. Blowers —the Attorney General—was unanimously chosen speaker. This must have intensified the feelings of annoyance and disappointment which Uniacke already entertained in connection with the Attorney Generalship, Here was he, who had been, as we have seen, about the most prominent and active member of the House during two sessions, ignored, and the headship of the House bestowed upon a "new comer," who now took his seat for the first time. In pursuance of the resolution adopted at the beginning of the session of 1783 a clerk was chosen from outside the House, and the choice fell upon James Boutineau Francklin, who held the position for forty-two years, and retired with a pension in 1827. Mr. Francklin was a son of the Honorable Michael Francklin who had died three years before, and a grandson, I believe, of Peter Faneuil, after whom Faneuil Hall in Boston was named. His residence was on the south-western corner of Morris and Pleasant streets, and his daughter married Mr. Uniacke's son, the Reverend R. Fitzgerald Uniacke.

The rivalry between Blowers and Uniacke soon showed itself. Almost immediately after the opening of the session a question arose as the legality of the election of Isaac Wilkins, grandfather of the late Martin I. Wilkins and Judge Wilkins; and, when the House went into committee, the spectacle was presented of the Attorney General—who was also Speaker—leading the party who thought Wilkins entitled to the seat, and the Solicitor General leading the other party who thought that the election should be declared void. In this case Blowers triumphed; but in other cases in this and subsequent sessions Uniacke had the majority on his side. While Mr. Blowers was Speaker, Uniacke continued to be, as far as one can judge from the Journals, the leading member of the House, although Major Barclay and one or two others were also very active.

SPEAKER.

In January, 1788, Blowers was appointed to the Council, and when the House next met—on March the fifth, 1789—Uniacke, proposed by Captain A. Howe, was chosen Speaker over Barclay, proposed by Mr.

Putnam; and thenceforward his name, naturally, does not very often appear in the Journals.

On the first of April the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Deschamps presiding, struck Jonathan Sterns and his partner Taylor off the roll of attorneys for certain publications reflecting on the judges. Complaint having been made to the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General united in an opinion that the Supreme Court had not exceeded its authority, or misused the power vested in it by law.

On the 16th June, 1789, Mr. Uniacke was appointed by t Lieutenant Governor one of the trustees of the Grammar School forthwith to be established in Halifax. On the second of March, 1890, the House being in committee of the whole on the state of the poor-house, Speaker Uniacke made an important speech on the subject. He showed that the expenditure upon the institution for 1789 had been over £1600, about one-fourth of the whole revenue of the province, and pointed out certain remedies for this unsatisfactory state of things. He said that, in the year 1784, he had acted as overseer with Messrs. Cochran, Newton and Pyke; that the expense of the house in 1783 had been over £1200; that they had reduced the province's share of this charge to between £400 and £500, and laid out besides £200 in repairs on the house, and that they had also reduced the town-charge to less than £200. "It was true, he said, he believed they had been rather too economical in their arrangements, for the keeper they employed, so far from making money by it, was so far reduced that the succeeding overseers were obliged to receive him as a pauper into the poor-house." This concluding sentence of the speech has a strong flavour of the humour which was a marked characteristic of Mr. Uniacke. On the same day the Speaker read a draft of a letter which, at the request of the House, he had written to the London agent of the province. The substance of the letter is given by Mr. Murdoch, and it contained many enlightened and valuable suggestions. On the 4th of March a series of resolutions respecting the poor-house, drawn by the Speaker, was adopted by the House. On the 10th of March Major Barclay exhibited thirteen articles of impeachment against Judges Deschamps and Brenton. When he had resumed his seat, "The Speaker referred to the modes of proceeding fit to be adopted, and concluded by recommending the House to proceed temperately and deliberately, and to avoid all unnecessary warmth."

The articles of impeachment were adopted by the House, as also a resolution asking the suspension of the judges; but Lieutenant Governor Parr (he had been only Lieutenant Governor since 1786), having referred the question of suspension to the Council, and that body having voted five to one against suspension, declined to act upon the resolution of the Assembly. Mr. Murdoch, in referring to the then House of Assembly, speaks of the great talent displayed by various members, and, in giving the characteristics of certain leading members, mentions in the first place "the flowing sentences and racy humor of Uniacke." He thinks that there was a weight and a charm about the proceedings of the House, that were only twice or thrice repeated in succeeding years.

A Septennial Act was passed during the session of 1792. Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, who had been appointed in place of Mr. Parr, deceased, dissolved the Assembly on the 22nd January, 1793; and the election was held in February. Mr. Uniacke was not re-elected, and does not seem to have even been a candidate. The reason for his temporary retirement I have not ascertained. It may have been that the influence of an unfriendly element, represented by Mr. Blowers, rendered his contesting Halifax County, for which he had sat in the last House, hopeless. When the new House met on March the 20th, Barclay was chosen speaker.

### FOUNDER OF THE CHARITABLE IRISH SOCIETY.

The pause which at this time took place in his political career naturally offers a chance to look at Mr. Uniacke's life from other points of view. While attending to his own private business and to the public affairs of the home of his adoption with great care and marked success, he never forgot the land of his birth, but was always thoroughly Irish in his sentiments and sympathies, and always a friend to fellow-countrymen in distress. He had hardly made his professional and political footing good, when he turned his attention to the interests of Irishmen in distress. In 1786 he, in conjunction with the Bulkeley's, the Cochran's, the Sherlock's, the Kavanagh's, the Hill's, the Cunningham's, Gerald Fitzgerald, Andrew Finucane, Michael Tobin, and others, established the Charitable Irish Society, which still flourishes in our midst, and the members of which, in 1886, when celebrating the centenary of its foundation, did not fail to pay due honor to the memory of the first president of the Society—generally spoken of as the 'Founder'—Richard John Uniacke.

Doctor Akins was strongly of opinion that there was an earlier Irish Society in Halifax than that established in 1786, and that of this society Gerald Fitzgerald, Finucane, Bulkeley and Thomas Beamish were members, as was also Uniacke; and he thought that it collapsed owing to the first American war. Mr. Beamish was a native of the County of Cork, was Port Warden of Halifax, and was the grandfather of the late Beamish Murdoch, of Doctor Thomas Beamish Akins, and of Mr. Francis S. Beamish, barrister. Dr. Akins told of a prejudice which Mrs. Beamish (his grandmother) entertained against Uniacke, who had come home with her husband at a very late hour from a St. Patrick's dinner, because as a result of some prank of his a punch bowl which she valued was broken. The theory of Dr. Akins with respect to an earlier Irish Society is borne out by the fact that Beamish was not a member of the existing association. On the other hand, it appears somewhat doubtful whether Uniacke ever resided in Halifax before 1777. I find it stated at p. 146 of Mr. N. F. Davin's *Irishman in Canada* that, "The President of the Irish Charitable Society was in 1755 appointed one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Nova Scotia." If this statement is accurate, it refers to Charles Morris and establishes the truth of Dr. Akins's opinion.

To return to the Charitable Irish Society: at a meeting held at the house of Mr. John O'Brien—the Golden Ball at the south-western corner of Sackville and Hollis streets—on the 17th of January, 1786, it was "Resolved, that as there are several gentlemen, merchants, and others inhabitants of this His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, who from an affectionate and compassionate concern for any of the Irish nation, who shall be reduced by sickness, old age, shipwreck or other misfortune, have thought fit to associate themselves for the relief of such of their poor and indigent countrymen and their descendants as may hereafter be found worthy of their countenance and protection; for the due accomplishment of such laudable purposes, it is agreed, that we the subscribers do associate ourselves together, by the name and title of the Charitable Irish Society." The draft constitution submitted at this meeting, which was probably the work of Uniacke and Gerald Fitzgerald, was adopted at a meeting held on the 17th of the following February, when the following officers were elected:

President; Richard John Uniacke:
Vice-President; Thomas Cochran:
First assistant Vice-President; George Wm. Sherlock:
Treasurer; Charles Hill; and
Secretary; Gerald Fitzgerald.

It will be seen that the first officers were all well known and prominent men. Uniacke was for many years the leading member of the Society and gave to it money, time and attention. In 1789 he presented £50 to the funds of the Society. He was president in 1786, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1795, 1798, 1800, 1809, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815 and 1817, in all twelve times, besides filling at different times subordinate offices. When holding office, he was regular in attendance at the meetings of the Society, and even when a mere private member he was nearly always present at the important meetings—those held in February and November of each year. At the May meeting of 1794, Mr. Uniacke and Mr. Charles Hill were appointed a committee to revise the constitution of the Society; and at the meeting in February, 1795, reported a draft. A special meeting was held on March the 25th to consider the revised constitution, which was adopted with only three dissenting voices. The constitution covered some sixteen folio pages, and has with but few amendments governed the Society since its adoption. There is little doubt but that it was chiefly the work of Mr. Uniacke, and it is a monument to his capacity for disinterested, prolonged and troublesome labor in what he deemed a good cause.

He was also prepared when necessary to do work of another kind. In 1315 an emigrant ship, on her way from Dublin to New York, put into Halifax. It became known that the emigrants had been badly treated by the captain; and Uniacke, who was president of the Society at the time, had the captain arrested and severely punished.

A hospitable Irishman himself, I fancy that Mr. Uniacke is to be largely credited with the character which the celebration of the festival of Saint Patrick assumed from a very early stage in the history of the Society. In 1793 the members, with a number of public and private guests, dined together on the evening of the 17th of March. The public guests on that occasion were, the Admiral, the General, Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, the Commissioner of the Naval Yard, and Charles Howard, Esquire. The same practice was adopted in the following year; and in 1795, Mr. Uniacke being president for the fifth time, His Royal Highness, Edward Duke of Kent, was a guest of the Society. One hundred and nineteen persons sat down to the dinner, which took place at the British Coffee House, and went off most satisfactorily. H. R. H. again dined with the Society in 1796, 1797, 1798 and 1800. The connection of the Uniacke family with the Charitable Irish Society was not confined to the subject of this paper.

His son, Crofton, was president in 1810, Richard John the Younger in 1819, 1820 and 1821, and James Boyle in 1828, 1839, 1840 and 1846.

### A MILITIA OFFICER.

War broke out between England and France in February, 1793; and the tide of loyalty and warlike feeling was very strong in Nova Scotia. It was probably increased in volume by the presence of the Duke of Kent, who first arrived at Halifax in May, 1794. The number of regular troops in the province during the earlier part of the war was small, and was supplemented by volunteers and militia. Mr. Uniacke was Lieutenant Colonel of the 8th Battalion of Halifax Militia. The men were no doubt the raw material for capital soldiers; but they were very raw, as would appear from an incident which I relate on good authority. On the occasion of a review on the King's birthday—the fourth of June—Lieutenant Colonel Uniacke was requested by the Duke of Kent to put his battalion through a few movements. He replied, "If your Royal Highness only knew how much trouble I have had in getting them into line, you would never ask me to break it."

### ATTORNEY GENERAL.

It is now time to return to the serious business of Mr. Uniacke's life. At a Council meeting held on the ninth of September, 1797, Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth submitted the resignation of the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, (who had accepted the position of Recorder of Fort St. George, in Bombay), and stated that he had His Majesty's authorization to appoint Attorney General Blowers, Chief Justice, Solicitor General Uniacke, Attorney General, and Jonathan Sterns, Solicitor General. The last-named gentleman died on the 23rd of May, 1798, and James Stewart succeeded him. Mr. Uniacke held the office to which he was now appointed to the time of his death, a period of over thirty-three years; and the title of Attorney General is that by which he was best known.

The Legislature met on the 8th of June, 1798, and the Attorney General, who had lately been elected for the County of Queens, took his seat. Relying probably upon his son-in-law's influence, Moses Delesdernier presented to the House a petition "for compensation, stating his visits to Holland, Germany and Switzerland, by orders of the Board of Trade, and losses caused by the Indians and Acadians in 1758. Says he is over 73 years old, and has been 46 years in the Province."

The petition was treated courteously, but the claim was not entertained, on the ground that it would be an injurious precedent, and would open a door to numerous applications.

On June 30th the House, on motion of Attorney General Uniacke, voted £500 to purchase a star to be presented to Prince Edward, and also an address to accompany the presentation. The language of the address strikes us as being rather high-flown ; but a few days afterwards the Attorney General showed that he was not altogether a courtier. The Lieutenant-Governor on the 26th of June, by message desired the House to establish a scale of fees for the office of Superintendent of Trade and Fisheries, to which he had just appointed George Leonard, who was probably a favorite of his own ; and on July the sixth the House, on motion of Mr. Uniacke, declined to comply with His Excellency's request.

On the 18th October Prince Edward, who was about leaving for England, owing to a serious hurt caused by his horse falling with him, was presented with an address from nearly 400 of the inhabitants of Halifax, by the Attorney General. The fact that he was selected to present this address, would go to show that Uniacke was held in high esteem by his fellow-townsmen.

On the 23rd May, the magistrates and principal militia officers of Cornwallis had a dinner with loyal toasts at the house of Philip Marchinton, Esquire. Among the distinguished guests present were Chief Justice Blowers, Judge Brenton, Hon. Thomas Cochran and Attorney General Uniacke.

### AGAIN SPEAKER.

In 1799 the Assembly met on the 7th of June, and, Speaker Barclay having accepted the office of Consul General for England in the Eastern States, Attorney General Uniacke was elected Speaker. At the prorogation the Speaker in addressing the Governor, referred to the great changes which had taken place in Nova Scotia during the past fifty years, and to the flourishing state of the province. On the 6th of September Prince Edward arrived in Halifax in the frigate *Arethusa ;* and the Speaker was one of those who received him on landing and escorted him to Government House.

A general election was held in November and December, 1799, and the Attorney General was elected for Queen's County without opposition. The Assembly met on the 20th of February, 1800, and Mr. Uniacke, who was proposed by Mr. Milledge, was chosen Speaker by a handsome

majority over Mr. William Cottnam Tonge, who was proposed by Mr. Moody. A great part of the time and energies of the House was occupied by a lively controversy with the Council over the vexed question of the Council's right to amend money bills. It is rather difficult to understand on what ground this right, which had not been claimed by the Lords in England since the revolution of 1688, was insisted upon by the Council here. Lieutenant Governor Wentworth sided with the Council; and, owing to his advice, the House, for the sake of peace at home—when there was war with foreign enemies,—yielded a portion of its undoubted right. The Speaker, when presenting the Appropriation Bill to His Excellency at the close of the session, claimed merit for the House for the sacrifices it had made to close controversy and avoid discord. Sir John Wentworth mentions this speech of Uniacke's as being his individual act, and was no doubt more or less shocked at his departure from established custom; but the Speaker was not a man to be deterred from uttering his sentiments—when he thought it his duty to do so—by the consideration that it was contrary to modern practice.

Upon the death of the Hon. Thomas Cochran in August, 1801, Lieutenant Governor Wentworth recommended the appointment of Treasurer Michael Wallace, Attorney General Uniacke and Charles Hill, to His Majesty's Council; but this recommendation was not acted upon for some time.

When the Assembly met on the 28th November, 1805, the Clerk read a letter from Speaker Uniacke, stating that he had leave of absence for six months, to visit England and Ireland, and that in 22 years as member he had never been a day from duty, and asking the House to appoint a Speaker *pro tempore*. William Cottnam Tonge was so chosen. On January 15th, 1806, the House voted £350 to the Attorney General for revising the laws, which had just been printed in one large volume.

Mr. Uniacke returned from Europe in August, 1806, just after the general election, and was never again a member of the Assembly. Mr. Murdoch says that he brought out with him an "instrument by which the Archbishop of Canterbury annulled all the statutes passed by the Governors of Windsor College. They had been framed on some rules of Oxford, and were considered by His Grace too restrictive and illiberal." There is not much doubt but that the Primate's attention had been called to the character of those statutes by Mr. Uniacke, who, while a staunch Episcopalian, was liberal and tolerant to members of other

denominations, forming in this respect a strong contrast to Judge Croke, who had inspired the original statutes.

### DOMESTIC MATTERS.

Here it may be well to notice some events not directly connected with Mr. Uniacke's political life. On the first of July, 1796, we find his eldest son, Norman, commissioned as second lieutenant in the 8th (Lt.-Colonel Uniacke's) Regiment of Halifax Militia. His second son, Crofton, who—as well as Norman—had studied law at Lincoln's Inn, received a commission as a Notary Public on the 30th of August, 1805. A weighty affliction befell Mr. Uniacke in the beginning of 1803, in the death of his beloved wife, at the early age of forty years. I may perhaps be allowed to give the inscription placed on her monument in Saint Paul's Church by her husband, which I believe spoke nothing beyond his real and constant sentiments, for I find similar expressions of feeling in his will, written more than twenty years after her decease.

"Consecrated to the memory of Martha Maria Uniacke, whose remains lie interred beneath this monument: She was born the III day of December MDCCLXII, and was married to Richard John Uniacke Esq. His Majesty's Attorney General for this Province on the III day of May MDCCLXXV.

She was the mother of six sons and six daughters: eleven of whom, with their Father, were left to mourn their sad loss. This excellent woman during her short life fulfilled every duty with the most religious exactness, and left an example to her family never to be forgotten.

It pleased God to remove her to a better world on the IX day of February, MDCCCIII, when she closed her innocent and virtuous life, after a tedious and painful illness, which she supported with true Christian patience and resignation."

In the appendix to Chapter 20 of the third volume of Murdoch's History are to be found the following announcements:

"Married, at Halifax, May 3, 1805, by the Rev. the Rector of St. Paul's, Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. commander-in-chief of H. M. Fleet on that station, to Miss Mary Uniacke, eldest daughter of R. J. Uniacke, Esq. of this town; and

Thomas N. Jeffery, Esq'r, Collector of H. M. Customs, to Miss Martha Maria Uniacke, second daughter of the same gentleman."

Lady Mitchell survived her husband and died in 1825 aged 43 years, leaving one daughter, Martha Maria. Mr. Uniacke's son by his second wife was called after Sir Andrew Mitchell.

It has already been seen that Mr. Uniacke spent part of the year 1806 in Europe. On this occasion he re-visited his early home at

Castletown, and, as the family tradition runs, entered into conversation with his eldest brother James, then the head of the Castletown branch of the family, who did not recognize him. After some talk on other subjects, Richard John was mentioned, and the Attorney General of Nova Scotia made himself known as being the missing brother.

### UNIACKE'S LAWS.

The volume of the laws of Nova Scotia, as revised by Attorney General Uniacke, was printed in 1805 by John Howe & Son, King's Printers. It was, strictly speaking, a revision and not a consolidation. It gave the various unrepealed statutes and parts of statutes passed from the beginning of the session of 1758 to the end of that of 1804; but there was no attempt to codify or consolidate, to place the several enactments dealing with each subject in a title or chapter by themselves. The result of the first attempt of that kind is to be seen in the First Series of the Revised Statutes published in 1851, of which it is safe to say that it has not been excelled by any later series. Uniacke's Laws, as the volume now under consideration is sometimes called, were dedicated to the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Wentworth, and are introduced to the reader by a long, elaborate, and as some would think, rather high-flown preface. If we compare this introduction with that of Blackstone, we shall find not a little general resemblance. There is the seme admiration for the British constitution, and the same conviction expressed, that the people who enjoy its blessings ought to be the happiest people on earth, and the most thankful to the Almighty. True, Mr. Uniacke seemed to think that Nova Scotians were even better off than their fellow subjects; and he laid more stress upon the religious duties of the people subject to the laws with which he dealt, than did Blackstone; but it must be remembered that 1805 was only sixteen years after the beginning of the French Revolution, and that during most of that time England and her colonies had been at war with the revolutionary government.

In the volume, as stated in the preface, "The Acts of each Session are distinguished from those of the succeeding one, and the names of the Governor and principal officers belonging to the Legislative branches, are published in the title page of each Session; marginal notes are affixed to each act, referring to all subsequent acts which have been made in amendment or addition thereto." * * * "To enable the people at large, for whose use this work is principally intended, thoroughly to understand the statute law, and to turn with facility to each particular

subject or section, I have carefully abridged every act under its appropriate head, and have added thereto a copious index, with proper references, in the hope thereby to make our laws intelligible to the meanest capacity ; and I have no doubt the reader will with pleasure contemplate the exertions of this infant colony, in every stage of its legislation, to establish religion, and suppress vice and immorality."

The abridgment of which Mr. Uniacke speaks, is a most valuable feature of the work, and must have involved a great deal of labor. It is a digest of all the then existing laws of the Province under appropriate general heads, giving the chapters and sections of the enactments respecting the several subjects, and a brief abstract of the substance of each enactment. All that would have been necessary to have made the publication a consolidation of the Statutes would have been the printing of the acts at length under the same titles, and in the same order as the brief abstracts are given in the abridgment. No such digest appears in any subsequent volume of revised laws, up to the publication of the Consolidated Statutes of 1851, in which the commissioners did in full what Mr. Uniacke had done by way of abstract.

There is an index to the abridgment, and the titles and sections of the statutes at large relating to any subject will be found at the place in the abridgment referred to in the index.

While I have not examined the book with sufficient care to be able to give a detailed and well considered opinion as to its merits, I may say that, from the examination which I have made, I am led to the conclusion that the work was well done, and the results satisfactory. Perhaps while upon this subject, I may be permitted to refer to a story, with respect to this volume of laws, told by Mr. Longworth, in his Life of S. G. W. Archibald. "On one occasion in court it became necessary to turn up the statute on the subject of *Administrators*. The index was referred to, but in vain. The word *Administrators* was not to be found. Mr. Uniacke himself was in court, and was applied to. He was asked under what head the law was to be found. He replied under the head of *Wills*. 'Precisely,' said Mr. Archibald, 'look under *Wills* because there is no *will*. If you want *rain* look under *sunshine*.' Such was the style of Mr. Uniacke's mind." Whether anything like this incident actually occurred or not I cannot say ; but in any case, the smart saying attributed to Mr. Archibald was hardly justified by the facts. I have myself examined the index to Mr. Uniacke's book, and have found three entries under the head of *Administrators*, and two others under that of

*Administration.* The references are, it is true, to a portion of the abridgment headed by the title WILLS ; but the substance of the acts respecting administrators is given there with the chapters and sections which deal with the subject. It was convenient to have all the statutes relating to the estates of deceased persons placed under one title, and that of *Wills* was as good as that of *Administrations*, although a more general title than either might have been found.

### WALKER'S CASE.

In the case of Thomas Walker, returned for the Town of Annapolis at the election of 1806, the House of Assembly resolved that undue influence had been used by the sitting member to obtain a vote, and declared his seat vacant. On this, the Speaker by letter asked His Excellency to issue a new writ. Sir John Wentworth took the advice of the Council on the matter, and they recommended him to take the opinions of the law officers. Attorney General Uniacke on the 12th of March, 1807, "gave his opinion, that the House acted legally in vacating the seat of Mr. Walker, for his having used undue influence to procure a vote at the election ; that the law and usage of Parliament extended to this Province, and that the representative body had similar powers to the House of Commons ; and he quoted a resolution of the English Parliament, and several legal authorities, which supported the course pursued in Mr. Walker's case. The opinion of the Solicitor General (James Stewart), dated 20 March, was to the same effect." The Lieutenant-Governor, influenced no doubt by Chief Justice Blowers, President of the Council, whose opinion differed from those of the law officers, still withheld the writ, and sought the advice of the Home Government. This came after the lapse of several months, in the shape of an opinion from V. Gibbs and J. Plumer, respectively Attorney General and Solicitor General of England, which entirely endorsed that of the Nova Scotia law officers. This opinion bore date 7th July, 1807, but did not reach Halifax until the end of the following February. In January, 1808, (14th) Mr. Hutchinson reported to the House from the Committee on Privileges, to whom had been referred Walker's case and another, amongst other things "that the Attorney General, who had been Speaker of several Houses, informed them by letter 'that he never communicated the reasons of the decision of the House to the Governor when he applied for a new writ, and that he never knew of an instance of a writ not being issued upon an application for that purpose.'"

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Time and space will not allow me to deal with many more events of Mr. Uniacke's life; and any that are mentioned must be spoken of very briefly.

At page 275 of his third volume, Mr. Murdoch gives the following extract from the Nova Scotia *Royal Gazette*, of Tuesday, January 19th, 1808: "Married, Thursday evening, by the Rev. Dr. Stanser, Richard John Uniacke, Attorney General, &c., to Miss Eliza Newton, daughter of the late Captain Newton, of H. M. 45th Regt." This lady, who survived her husband for some eighteen years, was the mother of Andrew M. Uniacke, who still lives in comparatively vigorous health in England. It will be observed that about five years had elapsed since the death of Mr. Uniacke's former wife.

I notice that a ball, given by the gentlemen of Halifax to Sir George Prevost and the officers of both services, on the 28th of April, 1809, was opened by Sir George and the Attorney General's daughter, Lady Mitchell.

On the 8th of September, 1811, Moses Delesdernier, the father of Mr. Uniacke's former wife, died, in the 95th year of his age.

## MEMBER OF COUNCIL.

Sir George Prevost arrived here as Lieutenant-Governor on April the 7th, 1808, and on the 18th Attorney General Uniacke was sworn in as a member of H. M. Council. It would seem as if some unfriendly influence had prevented Mr. Uniacke's promotion by Sir John Wentworth to this, the highest position to which he attained, as he had been recommended for a seat in the Council as far back as August, 1801, and several appointments had been made since that date, of persons whose claims and qualifications for the office were far inferior to his. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that he was appointed almost immediately upon the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor.

Dr. Croke, the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, who administered the Government during the absence of Sir George Prevost on the expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe in 1808-9, refused his assent to the Appropriation Bill in January, 1809. In writing to Lord Castlereagh he says, speaking of the claim of the Assembly to control money bills: "This principle, till the present session, has always been strenuously resisted by the Council, but I am sorry to find amongst some of the new members of that board, a disposition to court popularity by

supporting the Assembly in their favorite views." Subsequent events show that Mr. Uniacke was one of the new members whose motives were so charitably regarded by Dr. Croke.

On the 10th of March, 1809, the Administrator asked the Council whether, in the absence of an Appropriation Bill, the Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-Chief had power, with the consent of the Council, to draw by warrant on the Treasury for moneys voted by the Assembly and Council. On the 14th the Council asked the opinions of the law officers. On the 22nd those opinions were read, and were against the Administrator's claim. Croke then took a vote of Council on the point. The treasurer, Mr. M. Wallace, alone voted "Yea," while Belcher, Brenton, Hill, Morris and Uniacke voted in the negative. Croke put other questions to the Council. The division on one of the Revenue Bills was the same as that on the Appropriation Bill; in that on a second Revenue Bill, Wallace, Belcher, Brenton, and Morris voted in favor of the prerogative, and Hill and Uniacke dissented. Brenton afterwards asked to retract his vote as erroneous. In writing to England, Dr. Croke spoke of the legal opinions of the Attorney and the Solicitor General as likely to be influenced by the fact that certain sums were annually voted them by the Assembly.

Sir George Prevost got back to Halifax on April the 15th, and on the 25th submitted to Council the question,

"Whether the money votes which had been concurred in by both Houses, were a sufficient authority to him to draw warrants for money on the Provincial Treasury. On a division, four members voted in the affirmative, viz., C. J. Blowers, Dr. Croke, and Messrs Butler and Wallace; in the negative, Messrs Belcher, Brenton, Hill, Uniacke and Morris. Monday, 1st May, he asked the advice of the Council as to what course he should take, when the opinion of the majority was in favor of proroguing the Assembly to Thursday, 25 May, then to meet for despatch of business: majority, Belcher, Brenton, Hill, Uniacke, Morris; minority, Blowers, Butler, Wallace." So the popular cause triumphed. It may be observed here that, before the entry of Mr. Uniacke into the Council, that body does not seem to have ever paid any regard to the rights of the people when they conflicted with the wishes of the Lieutenant-Governor. The instances we have given show that Mr. Uniacke did not, upon entering the Council, abandon, as other gentlemen did both before and since, the constitutional principles which he had upheld as a member of the Assembly.

I have not gone through all the Journals and Minutes of the Council, and cannot therefore trace Mr. Uniacke's political career while in that body. It has been seen that the transfer from the Assembly had made no immediate change in his way of looking at things He was not an extreme man. When in the Assembly he had not been over democratic, and in the Council he was apparently not disposed to unduly favor the executive. While he sang "God save the King" with great energy and in a loud voice, he did not forget the people.

It may be that during the last few years of his life he became too conservative; and that his views after he had passed the age of seventy, were not identical with those of thirty or forty years before; but most men become conservative as they grow older—Mr. Gladstone's example to the contrary notwithstanding. At the time of the controversy over what is known as the Brandy Question, when S. G. W. Archibald called attention to the Attorney General's alleged change of opinion, the latter officer was in his seventy-seventh year; and it would be unfair to base our judgment of him as a public man upon his action of that day. And yet, when we turn to the Journals of the Legislative Council for the First Session of 1830, we find evidence that the Attorney General's intellect retained not a little of its old time vigor, and that the action of the Council, in which he concurred, was not altogether inconsistent with the views with respect to revenue bills which he had held and expressed when in the House of Assembly. The views of the Council are set out with great ability in resolutions prepared by a committee, consisting of the Attorney General, Judge (afterwards Chief Justice) Halliburton and Mr. Prescott. These resolutions show also a thorough acquaintance with the English constitutional doctrine on the subject with which they deal, and recognize most fully the fact that the Council had no right to initiate or amend money bills. They, however, claim that the bill in question was one which the Council had the right to reject and give reasons for their doing so, the force of which cannot be denied; even though we may admit that at the present day the exercise of the right would occasion general surprise. A perusal of the Council Journals also shows that the charge brought against the Upper House, of having rejected the Revenue Bill before a conference between the Houses at which its rejection was discussed as a thing of the future, was not well founded. The resolutions, it may be observed, were adopted unanimously. As a result of the extremely strong language, with respect to the Council and its members, used by various speakers in the Assembly, a resolution of non-

intercourse, moved by Judge Halliburton, was adopted by the Council on the thirteenth of April, and was conveyed to the Administrator of the Government by a committee composed of the Attorney General, Charles Morris, and Robie, the Master of the Rolls. On the same day Mr. Uniacke, being the senior member present, acted as President and refused to receive a message brought from the Assembly by Mr. Whidden, the Clerk of that House. Almost immediately afterwards the Administrator —the Honorable Michael Wallace—came to the Council to prorogue the Legislature, and after the close of His Honor's speech, to quote from the entry made by the late John C. Halliburton, at that time Deputy Clerk of the Council: "Mr. Attorney General, (acting President of the Council,) by His Honor's command, then said:—'*Gentlemen.*—It is His Honor's will and pleasure that this General Assembly be prorogued until Thursday, the first day of July next, to be then here held, and this General Assembly is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the first day of July next, to be then here held.'"

These were the last words spoken by Mr. Uniacke as a member of the Legislature which he had entered nearly forty-seven years before. When it met again in November, his active brain was still and his eloquent tongue was mute forever.

Here I may express my regret that the impression made upon one's mind by reading Mr. Longworth's Life of S. G. W. Archibald is too unfavorable to Uniacke and the idea is conveyed that the feeling between those two distinguished men was much more hostile than it really was. Their families mixed together in social life; and it may be noted that the Attorney General's grandson married the Solicitor General's granddaughter.

### THE SUCCESSION TO THE CHIEF JUSTICESHIP.

The Chief Justiceship had been for many years the great object of Uniacke's ambition. Blowers had got ahead of him in early life, improperly as Uniacke probably thought, and, after Blowers had gained the highest prize within reach of a provincial lawyer, nothing was left for the younger man—in his own opinion—but to wait for the succession. He did not care for any inferior office; probably did not care to sit below his old rival. He had allowed no less than six assistant judges to be appointed after he became Attorney General, the place of any of whom he could probably have had. One can therefore readily understand that, when the long coveted prize seemed almost within his reach, the Attorney General should have felt not a little annoyed to find that his

junior in office and in age, who had been little more than born when his own professional life began, should have been secretly endeavoring to secure the prize for himself.

The late Dr. Akins used to relate an amusing incident which occurred when he was a student at law. Chief Justice Blowers seldom, if ever, came to court, although he taxed costs and did chambers business at his house—the present Infirmary. The Attorney General also rarely came into court. It was understood that Blowers would not resign to make way for Uniacke, although he would for Halliburton, who usually acted as Chief Justice, and possibly for Archibald or some other candidate. There was a strong desire among the barristers to have Halliburton or some other younger man than Uniacke appointed. It happened that one day Mr. Akins was in the court room — now the Legislative Library—when he heard a great creaking of shoes and rustling of silk, and to his surprise the Attorney General came into the room for the purpose of trying two prisoners charged with grand larceny. Before beginning the trial, Mr. Uniacke—having first fortified himself with a liberal pinch of snuff—and speaking with a decided brogue, which he often used when he wished to be particularly impressive, delivered a short address to the judge (Halliburton, I believe,) and jury, to the following effect :

"*My Lord and Gentlemen of the Jury.*—You may perhaps be surprised to see the Attorney General, who rarely comes to court, here this morning ; but I have come for the purpose of showing you that I am not that old horse turned out to grass that I have been represented to be."

Then he asked the clerk for the indictment, and tried and convicted the prisoners.

Mr. Uniacke was in nearly every sense a successful man, but, like most men, failed to win the one prize upon which his heart was particularly set.

### LIFE AT MOUNT UNIACKE.

After 1815 Mr. Uniacke ceased to take a very active part in professional or public life, and devoted much of his time and attention to his property at Mount Uniacke. Many persons have no doubt wondered why such a man as he should have selected so out of the way a place for a country seat. It is said that he might have had a considerable tract of land on the peninsula of Halifax, fronting on the North West Arm, if he had chosen ; but he preferred Mount Uniacke, because, as he said, near Halifax people could get at him and he would have no real retire-

ment or privacy, while the difficulty of access at the Mount would render him comparatively safe from interruption. It is also said that he passed close by Mount Uniacke on his way from Cumberland to Halifax as a prisoner, and that he was then struck with the resemblance which the place bore to the family seat in Ireland and said that he would like to own it. In confirmation of this statement, which seems rather apocryphal, it may be mentioned that on the sixth of October, 1786—very early in his career—Mr. Uniacke received a grant of one thousand acres of land in Hants County and on the Windsor Road. This was the original Mount Uniacke property, to which 4000 acres were added in 1819. In his later years Mr. Uniacke, as has been said, spent much of his time at the Mount, improved the property and indulged his taste for agriculture. He was, I am informed, a leading member of the Agricultural Society of the time. He collected a remarkably fine library and devoted much of his indoor leisure to reading. I have myself seen in the library at the Mount the large chair in which it was the custom of the old Attorney General to sit and smoke and read. His life at Mount Uniacke was in many ways truly Arcadian; but in Arcadia there were no books, nor newspapers, nor tobacco.

Monseigneur Plessis, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, paid a pastoral visit to this province in 1815; and an extract from his private diary, given by Archbishop O'Brien in his *Memoirs of Bishop Burke*, serves to illustrate the character of Mr. Uniacke's hospitality and to give a vivid impression of life at Mount Uniacke in the summer of that year. Speaking of the first day of his journey from Halifax to Digby County the Bishop says:

"We were to stay that evening at a superb country house belonging to Mr. Uniacke, (the elder,) a Member of Council, Attorney General, Judge of the Admiralty, &c., who had urgently entreated the Bishop to rest there in passing. It is nine leagues from the town. We arrived very late. * * * * Madam Uniacke and Lady Mitchell, her step-daughter, received us with as much courtesy as these English ladies, stiff and starched as they usually are, can show. After tea to each of us was apportioned an immense room perfectly furnished with chairs, tables, chests of drawers, stoves, (mounted all the year round it appeared,) and excellent beds, each large enough to accommodate a whole family. The following morning we had time to look at this immense and costly house, with its innumerable dependencies, bath rooms, billiard rooms, balconies, servants' quarters, well kept groves on the borders of a large and rather deep lake, the waters of which are carried to the sea by several small streams; nothing that could render this place charming has been neglected." "After breakfast," the Archbishop tells us, "which was

served with the 'same elegance and ceremony' of the night before, the party 're-entered their carriage; the cart received its load and we left for Windsor.'"

In Mr. W. H. Hill's "Rambles among Leaves from my Scrap Book," read before the Society in 1893, there is a description of one phase of the life at Mount Uniacke, which, by his kind permission, I copy:

"In the summer when the birds were carolling their sweetest and when the newly mown hay perfumed the air with its rich aroma, or in the autumn when the maple tree blazed in the forest with its coat of scarlet and gold, like a young dragoon guardsman, Mount Uniacke was thronged with guests. There you would meet * * Sir James Kempt, the judges of the land and their wives and families, the beauty and fashion of Halifax, and the *élite* of England who happened to be on our shores at the time. It was almost like a fashionable watering place: *Tempora mutantur.*"

## SOCIAL LIFE.

If Mr. Uniacke fled to Mount Uniacke we know it was not because he was unsociable, but because he felt that if he remained near his friends he and they could not keep apart. He was a most sociable man and a most agreeable companion. His keen sense of humour and inexhaustible flow of witty talk combined with his other qualities to make him generally popular and to make him everywhere a welcome guest. Always a fluent and often an eloquent speaker, he shone particularly at festive gatherings, and, apart altogether from his connection with the Charitable Irish Society, was often chosen to preside on such occasions. We have seen that in 1797 he presented the townspeople's address to Prince Edward; and when a public subscription dinner was given at Masonic Hall on August 15th, 1815, to celebrate the victory of Waterloo, he took the chair. I rather think that this was the occasion when no less than 101 toasts were given, and when the Attorney General was met by a friend next morning and was asked if the dinner was just over and answered, not at all that he was going home for his snuff box and was then coming back to finish the list of toasts.

In 1820 Lord Dalhousie, who had been appointed Governor General a short time before, attended the dinner of the Charitable Irish Society, of which the Attorney General's third son Richard John was then President. At this dinner Judge Brenton Halliburton, President of ths North British Society, proposed the health of the Attorney General ae the founder of the Charitable Irish Society. As the history of the Society states: "Mr. Uniacke responded to the toast in such a humorous

speech that it kept the company in roars of laughter." Some of this laughter I am afraid was at the expense of Judge Halliburton, for, unless I am mistaken, this was the occasion when the judge, in descanting on the many good qualities of Scotland and her sons, brought his praise to a climax by informing his hearers that there were no beggars in Scotland, and when Uniacke, in replying, concurred with his 'friend the Judge' as to the many admirable features of the Scotch character, but said that he could readily understand why there were no beggars in Scotland, because every one knew it was useless to ask charity from a Scotchman.

Occasionally the joke was against Uniacke. On one occasion, when dining at Government House, he told some most improbable story to a colonel who sat beside him, and undertook to give it credence by saying, as he ended, "'Pon my word, Colonel, I should not have believed it if I had not seen it myself." Whereupon Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who was Lieutenant Governor at the time, added: "Then, Mr. Uniacke, you will pardon me if I do not believe it."

At a dinner given on the 17th of May, 1820, at Masonic Hall by the inhabitants of Halifax to Lord Dalhousie, the Attorney General returned thanks for his old rival the Chief Justice:

"He said he had known the chief justice from early life, they had in their youth been rival candidates for fame, and each one valuing his abilities more than those of his antagonist, the most unpleasant consequences had ensued—they had both lived to be advanced in years, and it was time those fiery passions should subside—for his part they most certainly had, and he must thus publicly express his opinion of his Lordship that from the knowledge which a long and extensive practice at the bar had afforded him of his character, he could assert, without the fear of contradiction, that he is an honest, impartial, and upright judge." —*3 Murdoch, 454.*

His last appearance, so far as I know, on any public social occasion was at a dinner given on the 23rd July, 1823, to Lord Dalhousie, then on a visit to Halifax, when the Attorney General occupied the Chair, and Speaker Robie the Vice Chair.

Before quitting the social aspect of my hero's later years I may be allowed to borrow once more from Mr. Hill's bright and amusing paper:

"Whilst I am speaking of Mr. Uniacke, let me tell you an anecdote of him told me by the late Judge Wilkins, whose daughter, by the way, married a grandson of the Attorney General. I think the Judge must have heard this anecdote from his father.

On one occasion an evening party was taking place at the residence of a gentleman (the Honorable Charles Hill) on Hollis Street, situate off

the street on the western side, midway between Government House Lane and Morris Street. As the evening wore on a dance was proposed ; but alas, there was no instrument of music! What was to be done? One proposed one thing and one another. At last Mr. Uniacke, who was a tall, powerful man, and proud of his strength, said he would solve the difficulty. 'I'll go over to the corner and get Nancy's piano.' This was received with shouts of delight and applause. 'I'll go alone, entirely by myself,' he said. Now two maiden ladies, well-known and liked in fashionable society in those days, lived at the north-east corner of Hollis and Morris Streets. These two were the proud possessors of what is called a spinet, and whose musical tones compared with those of a modern 'Steinway' or 'Chickering' would be as a tin-kettle to a full military band. But in those days it was considered most delightful music. 'Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise.' An oyster is perfectly happy in its mud bed. This is no reflection on our revered forefathers ; it is but the accident of time. It was about ten o'clock at night, a time when most of the inhabitants of the town were fast asleep. Early to bed and early to rise was the good old primitive practice amongst many if not most of the people in Halifax then It was considered a very late and fashionable dinner party, for instance, that sat down at four o'clock in the afternoon. But to continue my story. Mr. Uniacke started, and knocked and pounded at the door. Presently a window was cautiously raised, and two heads enveloped in two night-caps appeared. A female voice called out 'Oh, my gracious! Who is there? At this time of night? Oh, my! Man! Who are you? What do you want, waking ladies up in the middle of the night? Is there a fire in the town?' 'I'm Mr. Uniacke, the Attorney General. In the King's name open the door, or I'll break it in!' This had the desired effect. The ladies laughed, and, when they had attired themselves after a fashion, stepped down and opened the door. Mr. Uniacke explained the purport of his visit ; and, being good natured people, the ladies willingly entrusted the instrument to his care. He was, as I said, a tall, powerful man ; so putting it on his shoulders, he carried it over to the party ; and they danced to their hearts' content to the 'wee sma' hours ayont the twal.'"

### HIS SON'S DUEL.

In 1819 occurred an event which must have caused Mr. Uniacke much grief and anxiety. It is thus related by Mr. Murdoch (Vol. III, p. 441) :—"At this time some remarks made by R. J. Uniacke, Junior, a barrister, in the course of a jury trial, gave umbrage to Mr. William Bowie, a merchant interested in the cause, and thus led to a duel between them, on Wednesday, 21st July, in which Bowie was mortally wounded, and expired in a few hours. The grove on the government north farm, near the present railway terminus (at Richmond) was the place of combat. This was the only instance of a fatal duel in Halifax that I am

aware of. The survivor and the two seconds were tried for this on Wednesday, 28th April, and acquitted." As far as I have been able to learn, this duel was not at all of young Uniacke's seeking; but the code of honor of that day obliged him to accept Bowie's challenge. The story is that neither party was injured at the first fire, and that, while both principals were willing that the quarrel should end there, Uniacke's second, a fire-eating Irish doctor, insisted upon a further exchange of shots, with the result mentioned by Mr. Murdoch. One striking incident related in connection with the trial was the entrance into court, with young Uniacke, of his father, who at that time allowed his white hair to flow down to his shoulders, and when walking carried a high staff; and who, on handing his son over to be dealt with according to law, made a pathetic and polite little speech to the judge and jury, which probably helped to bring about the desired verdict. There is a sort of popular tradition that Richard John, the Younger, who I believe was the flower of the family, rarely smiled after this duel, and that regret for his part in it caused his death not long afterwards. For this tradition there does not seem to be much solid foundation. Young Uniacke took an active interest in life after this misadventure. He was President of the Charitable Irish Society in 1820 and again in 1821; was for some years a very prominent member of the House of Assembly; went on the bench of the Supreme Court in 1830, shortly before his father's death, and died only in 1834—fifteen years after the duel.

### ENCOUNTER WITH A BULL.

Some three years before the Attorney General's death he had an encounter with a bull at Mount Uniacke, of the story of which are different versions. I am happy to be able to give the correct one, as contained in a letter from Mr. Uniacke's youngest son, Andrew M., now living in England, written on the fifteenth of January, 1895, and showing both in handwriting and composition remarkable strength and clearness for a man in his eighty-seventh year.

"The encounter my father had with the bull is quite true; it occurred at Mount Uniacke. I was there at the time. The animal was a great favourite of his and would come up to him when he entered the field where he was, and would take a piece of bread or a lump of sugar from his hand. The evening the bull attacked, he had forgotten to take either with him. The bull came up to him as usual; my father having neither bread or sugar put his hand out intending to pat him on the neck, when the bull, as he supposed, being disappointed at not receiving his accustomed delicacy suddenly drew back and made a lunge at him,

striking him on the hip with his forehead. Fortunately my father turned sideways so his horns passed on each side of him. It threw him down, but being a strong man and having a stick with him, he struck the bull over the nose, which my father thinks prevented the bull making a second attack on him, as he turned away. This was the account he gave us when he came in. He was badly bruised, but we felt very thankful he was not seriously injured. He had the animal killed."

### LATER YEARS AND DEATH.

The general course of Mr. Uniacke's life during his later years is thus briefly described in the letter from his son Andrew just quoted :

"In 1813, having built the present house at Mount Uniacke, he relinquished the largest share of his civil practice, and resided there during the summer, going to Halifax when the duties attached to his office of Attorney General required him to do so. In the winter, during the meeting of the Legislature, he remained in town and took a leading part in all the public business submitted to the Legislative Council for their consideration."

His end came peacefully at Mount Uniacke. On the night of the tenth of October, 1830, after family prayers, which he always said, he retired to rest. As he did not appear at breakfast next morning, his room was entered and he was found lying in bed lifeless, having died without a struggle and apparently while asleep. The instructions in his will, to the effect that he should be buried in the country without any display, were disregarded and his remains were interred beneath Saint Paul's Church in this city, being attended to their last resting place by a great concourse of people. A marble tablet marks their last resting place and contains the following inscription :

"Sacred to the memory of
RICHARD JOHN UNIACKE,
Fourth Son of Norman Uniacke
of Castletown,
In the County of Cork, Ireland :
Many years member of
His Majesty's Council
And Attorney General of this Province.
He died at Mount Uniacke,
October 11th, 1830,
In the 77th year of his age.
His Remains were removed
and deposited in a Vault
Beneath this Church.

This Monument is erected by his Children,
In gratitude to God
For the invaluable Gift
And in sorrow for the Loss
Of a good and affectionate Parent

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The memory of the Just is Blessed.

Proverbs, chap. 10, ver. 7th.

Underneath the inscription are the family arms and the motto, "Faithful and Brave."

### CHARACTERISTICS.

Mr. Uniacke's domestic life was much nearer to our ideal of what such a life should be than is usually the case; he was a faithful and loving husband, and a thoughtful and affectionate father. The greatest affliction of his life was probably the early death of his first wife, as her companionship had been his greatest blessing. His reference to her in his will, written twenty years after her death, is most striking and touching. In his children he was more fortunate than most distinguished men. His sons were all physically remarkable men, were—most of them—gifted with abilities much above the average, and several of them attained, during their father's life time, and largely through his instrumentality, important public positions.

Physically, Mr. Uniacke himself was a striking and remarkable figure—a perfect son of Anak. He stood at least six feet two inches and—in his later years—was stout in proportion.

He was kind to his servants and to humble folk generally. He was a thorough Irishman, but yet did not unfairly favor his fellow-countrymen; and he loved, admired, and earnestly and conscientiously served his adopted country, Nova Scotia.

It is clear from what we know of the routine of Mr. Uniacke's domestic life as well as from some of his public utterances, and perhaps most of all from his will, written with his own hand in the retirement of Mount Uniacke, that he was a devout and practical Christian, attached to the Church of England, but prepared to "treat all other denominations of Christians with respect," as the will advised his sons to do.

In his will, executed on the twenty-ninth of November, 1823, he says that he was always happy when he followed the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and unfortunate when he yielded to the influence of the evil

spirit, and adds, "Now that I am employed in reviewing my past life, it is manifest to me that I have been fearfully and wonderfully guided through the vicissitudes of a wayward and eventful existence."

Taking him altogether, in his various capacities, as lawyer, citizen, politician, husband, father, member of the social circle and Christian, Richard John Uniacke was an admirable and noteworthy man, a man to whom this Province owes a deep debt of gratitude, and upon whose record his descendants can look with justifiable pride and satisfaction. He was broad and human, resembling in that respect the late Mr. Howe; and the face that looks at one from the picture at Mount Uniacke (in this Province) is calculated to inspire affection as well as respect and confidence, the face of one of whom it would be naturally said;

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

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NOTE.—My obligations to *Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia* are many and apparent: most of the other sources from which information has been drawn are referred to in the body of the foregoing paper; but I think it only right to mention the names of the Reverend George W. Hill and B. G. Gray, Esquire, from both of whom various suggestions have been received. Although the original paper was read in January, 1891, I have thought it best, when preparing it for the press, to embody information acquired at later dates. The remarkable dearth of unprinted documentary sources of knowledge, respecting a public man whose correspondence was as extensive and interesting, and whose more formal writings were as numerous as those of Mr. Uniacke must have been, is due, I believe, to the ill considered action of one of his sons, in whom the historical sense would seem to have been altogether wanting. Items of interest relating to Mr. Uniacke will be thankfully received by the writer, from any reader within whose knowledge they may be—with a view to possible future publication.

# SHIPS OF WAR

## Lost on the Coast of Nova Scotia and Sable Island, during the Eighteenth Century.

BY S. D. MACDONALD, F. G. S.

*Read March 6th, 1884.*

WHILST compiling a wreck chart of this Coast I was surprised to find figuring among the wrecks so many vessels of war, regarding the loss of which but little seems to be known. It occurred to me that an investigation into the circumstances attending such losses, together with some interesting particulars, would form a subject worthy of the attention of this Society. To this end I have from various sources such as History, Public Records, Admiralty Reports, and the Press collected some scattered fragments which I have arranged according to their respective dates. The result of my research, or at least that portion of it relating to the 18th century, I beg leave to lay before you this evening.

Under the term "lost" I have included vessels however destroyed —whether by burning, scuttling, stranding or foundering near the shore. Of course the details of wrecks are not always of a pleasing nature. But in a Society like this we have to deal with the dark as well as the bright side of history.

The first wreck of which history makes mention was one of the most terrible, involving great loss of life and property, and casting on the neighboring province of Quebec such a gloom as required several years to dispel. Unfortunately we have but very few details in connection with this wreck, as not one soul was left to tell the tale. The whole may be summed up as follows :—

Early in July, 1725, the line-of-battle ship *La Chemeau*, said to be the fastest and most thoroughly equipped ship of the French navy, left France for Quebec, having on board in addition to her full complement

of men a large number of passengers, among whom were M. DeChazel, who was to succeed Begon as Intendant of Canada; deLouvigny, the Governor elect of Three Rivers; the Governor of Louisburg; several Colonial officers and ecclesiastics. On the 25th of August, while approaching the harbor of Louisburg for the purpose of landing the Governor, she was overtaken by a furious south-east gale, and during the night was totally lost on a reef near the entrance to that harbor, with all on board. In the morning the shore was strewn with the bodies of men and horses, and the debris of war material mingled with the sacred utensils and vestures of the Church.

In the year 1746 the French Government, on receiving intelligence of the fall of Louisburg, became exasperated at the loss of such a fortress, which had cost an enormous sum of money and twenty-five years of incessant labor to render it, as it was supposed, impregnable, and at once directed an armament to be prepared of greater force than had ever yet been sent to America. Accordingly, during the winter and spring of that year an expedition was fully equipped consisting of 70 vessels, among which were 11 ships of the line and 30 frigates, and 30 transports carrying 3000 soldiers, which sailed the following June under command of Duke D'Anville, whose instructions were to retake and dismantle Louisburg, capture Annapolis, destroy Boston, and ravage the New England coast. This fleet had barely got clear of the French coast when it encountered westerly gales, which so retarded its progress that it did not reach the longitude of Sable Island until early in September, when nearly all the ships were dispersed in a violent storm during which several were lost on that island. D'Anville, with only two ships of the line and a few transports, arrived at Chebucto after a passage of ninety days. In the harbor he found one of the fleet, and in the course of the next few days several transports arrived. But D'Anville was so agitated and distressed by the misfortune which had befallen the fleet that he fell suddenly ill and died, it is said, in a fit of apoplexy. In the afternoon of the same day the Vice-Admiral, D'Estournelle, arrived with three ships of the line and succeeded to the command of the expedition, while Jonquière—a naval officer who had come out in the flagship as Viceroy of Canada—was made second in command. Finding the expedition so greatly reduced in strength by the dispersion of the ships and the sickness of the men, D'Estournelle held a council of war on board the *Trident*, and proposed to abandon the enterprise and return to France. Jonquière and nearly all the officers were of the opinion that Annapolis, at all events, should be reduced

before they returned. After a long debate the council decided to attack Annapolis. Irritated at the opposition he met with the Vice-Admiral grew fevered and delirious in which he imagined himself a prisoner, ran himself through the body with his sword and expired a few hours afterwards. On the following day both the Admiral and Vice-Admiral were buried side by side on a small island near the entrance to the outer harbor, said to be Georges Island.

During the long voyage across the Atlantic a scourbatic fever had broken out and carried off more than 1200 men before the ships reached Chebucto. As the ships arrived the sick were landed and encamped on the south shore of Bedford Basin. But in spite of every care and attention over 1100 died during five weeks' encampment. The Indians also, who flocked thither for arms, ammunition and clothing, took the infection, which spread with such great rapidity among them that it destroyed more than one-third of the whole tribe of Mic-macs. At length, however, its ravages were stayed by the seasonable arrival of supplies of fresh meat and vegetables brought to them by the Acadians from the interior.

On the 11th of October several of the fleet arrived. The next day a cruiser came in with a vessel captured off the harbor carrying dispatches from Boston to Louisburg. Among the papers was a communication from Governor Shirley to Commodore Knowles, informing him that Admiral Lestock was on his way from England with a fleet of 18 vessels, and might be hourly expected. It is said these dispatches were allowed to fall purposely into the hands of the French to induce them to leave Chebucto. The intelligence of the nearness of Lestock so alarmed the French in their crippled condition, they determined on sailing immediately for Annapolis. The encampment was broken up; the crews hurried on board; those ships that had lost their crews were either scuttled or burnt, together with several prizes captured off the coast. And on the 13th of October, with five ships of the line and twenty transports—five of which were used as hospital ships, Jonquière sailed from the inner harbor of Chebucto—now Bedford Basin. They were, however, again doomed to disappointment. Off Cape Sable the fleet encountered a severe storm which once more dispersed the ships and compelled them to return to France in a sinking condition. The number destroyed in Bedford Basin is uncertain. The naval chronicle states the flagship was sunk and the *Parfait*—54 guns, and the *Caribou*—60 guns, were accidentally burnt. Other accounts state that from circumstances attending the death of the Admiral, the crew who were encamped

on shore refused from superstitious motives to embark in her again. For this reason, and also she being very much injured during the storm, Jonquière decided on scuttling her, while the prizes and several of the smaller ships were burnt. Those lost on Sable Island were—three ships of the line, one transport, and a fire ship.

In 1755 the British settlements in North America, principally in Nova Scotia, being greatly disturbed by the encroachments of the French, it became necessary for the English Government to send out a fleet to check their proceedings. The departure of this fleet was no sooner known to the French than 43 ships of the line were fitted out and dispatched. On intelligence being received in England of the sailing of this powerful French fleet, Vice-Admiral Boscowen was ordered to the coast of North America; and immediately after Vice-Admiral Holbourne was dispatched with his fleet to reinforce Boscowen, and had the good fortune to fall in with him off the banks of Newfoundland. On the 21st of June they sighted three of the enemy's ships which had been delayed—gave chase and captured one, on board of which were the Governor of Louisburg, £30,000 in French coin, and many valuables. Admiral Boscowen finding the remainder of the French fleet had arrived safe at Louisburg, bore up for Halifax. On entering the harbor the *Mars* struck on a sunken rock and was totally wrecked; the crew were, however, saved and landed at Camperdown. This ship mounted 64 guns and was one of the D'Anville expedition dispersed off Cape Sable Island and afterwards taken by the *Nottingham* off Cape Clear after two hours' close action. She was then added to the English navy.

Two years later, Lord Howe arrived at Halifax with a fleet and army on his way to attack Louisburg. But on intelligence being received of the arrival of a powerful French fleet and army at that place, and the season being so advanced, the attempt was deferred. Vice-Admiral Holburne, however, resolved to satisfy himself as to the enemy's force at Louisburg, and sailed with the fleet to reconnoitre. On the 24th of September, the squadron being 20 leagues to the southward of Louisburg, there sprang up a gale from the eastward which, during the night, vered round to the south and blew a perfect hurricane, and continued until 11 o'clock the next day, when suddenly it shifted to the north, thereby saving the whole fleet from destruction, which at the time was close in among the rocks on the Cape Breton shore. The *Tilbury*, however, struck a rock near Louisburg and was totally lost. The *Grafton*

also struck but forged off again, while the *Ferret*—a 14 gun brig, foundered during the night. After this the fleet returned to Halifax in a very shattered condition. The *Tilbury* was one of the finest of the fleet, mounted 60 guns, and commanded by Captain Barnaby, who perished together with the most of his crew.

On the 28th day of May, 1758, Admiral Boscowen again sailed for Louisburg with a powerful fleet and army for a final attack. This expedition, consisting of 22 ships of the line, 15 frigates, and 120 transports with 12,000 soldiers, arrived off that city five days later. Several days elapsed before the troops could be disembarked on account of the heavy surf which broke with terrible violence on the shore. On the 7th the troops were distributed in three divisions and ordered to effect a landing—the right and centre under the command of General Whitmore and Governor Lawrence, which were to make a shew of landing to distract the attention of the enemy, while the real attempt was to be made by General Wolf in another quarter. Time will not permit me to follow those generals through their various exploits. Let us return to the fleet.

During the night the enemy sunk four of their ships across the entrance to the harbor. Those ships were fastened together by strong chains and their masts cut off just below the surface of the water. Three days after two more were sunk in like manner. On the 21st a shell set fire to the ship of the line *Entreprenant*—74 guns, and before it could be extinguished she blew up. The flames communicated with the *Capricieux*—64 guns, and the *Célèbre*—60 guns, totally destroying them. There remained only two other ships in the harbor, which Admiral Boscowen was determined to either sink or destroy. For this purpose he ordered 600 seamen to be sent in the boats of the fleet divided in two squadrons—one commanded by Laforey, the other by Balfour—the two senior officers, who started at midnight and, favored by a thick fog, entered the harbor in perfect silence, going close past the Island battery and within hail of the town without being perceived. Having discovered the position of the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, Laforey's division immediately rowed close alongside the former and Balfour's alongside the latter, giving three British cheers in answer to the fire of the sentinels. On the order being given the crews, seizing their arms, followed their brave leaders and boarded the ships on bow, quarter and gangway. Surprised and confused by such an unexpected attack, the enemy made little resistance, both ships were taken with the loss of only one officer and three or four seamen. The report of fire-

arms and the well-known cheers of the British seamen soon let the garrison know that their ships were in danger. Regardless of the lives of friends as well as foes every gun that could be brought to bear from the town and the point batteries was discharged against the ships and the English boats. But nothing daunted the brave sailors.

Having secured the French crews below under guard, the next point was to tow off their prizes—a work not easily accomplished in the face of the fire of the French batteries. Notwithstanding, the *Bienfaisant* was carried off in triumph to the head of the north-east harbor, out of reach of the enemy's guns. But the *Prudent*, being fast aground and also moored with a heavy chain, was set on fire—a large schooner and her own boats being left alongside to give the crew the means of escaping to the town. All obstacles being now removed, the Admiral next day went on shore and informed General Wolf that he intended to send in six of his heaviest ships to bombard the town from the harbor. But this proved unnecessary, for while the two commanders were conferring together a messenger arrived with a letter from the Governor offering to capitulate, and on that evening terms were agreed upon.

Thus we have in this short siege the destruction of ten of the French fleet, as follows :—

By fire : *La Prudent*, *L'Entreprenant*, *Le Capricieux*—74 guns each ; *Le Célèbre*—64 guns.

Sunk at the entrance to the harbor : *L'Apolon*—50 guns ; *LeFidele* 36 guns ; *La Diana*—36 guns ; *La Chevre*—16 guns ; *La Biche*—16 guns ; (unknown)—32 guns.

At Sable Island some years ago a tempest completely removed a sand hummock, exposing to view a number of small houses built from the timbers of a vessel. On examination, those houses were found to contain besides many articles of ship's furniture, stores put up in boxes, bales of blankets, quantities of military shoes, and, among other articles a brass dog collar on which was engraved the name of Major Elliot, 43rd Regiment. It was afterwards ascertained that the transport carrying this regiment to Halifax after the siege of Quebec, was wrecked here, but the name was not mentioned. I have sought for the name of this ship through every available channel and had the assistance of the librarians of the garrison, but so far it has eluded our search. The date of this wreck would be about the year 1760.

In the year 1775, the armed sloop *Savage*, carrying eight guns, was wrecked on the Cape Breton coast. Of this loss there are no particulars recorded.

On the 17th of November, 1780, the brig *St. Lawrence*, chartered by the British government, left Quebec with Lieutenant Prenties of the 84th Regiment, charged with important dispatches from General Haldimand, Commander-in-chief of Canada, to Sir Henry Clinton of New York. Off Gaspe they encountered head winds which delayed them several days. During this time the weather became intensely cold and the ice began to form to an alarming degree. The wind kept gradually increasing until the 1st of December when it blew a perfect gale, causing the ship to leak so badly that the pumps had to be kept constantly worked. During the 2nd and 3rd the ice formed so on the ship's sides as to impede her way, and the leak continued to gain on them. On the following day they fell in with a cutter which had sailed a few days after them with Ensign Drummond of the 44th Regiment, carrying duplicate dispatches of General Haldimand to New York. The cutter, far from being able to render them any assistance, was as leaky as the ship, having ran on a reef while coming down the river through the neglect of the pilot. A heavy snow storm set in, and in order not to part company a gun was fired every half hour. Through the night the cutter ceased to answer the guns from the ship, having foundered with all on board. On the 5th the gale increased, and the ship's crew being now overcome with cold and fatigue, seeing no prospect of gaining on the leak—the water having reached four feet in the hold—nor the prospect of making any port, abandoned the pumps and declared themselves quite indifferent as to their fate, prefering the alternation of going down with the ship to that of suffering such severe and incessant labor in so desperate a situation. The sea was now running very high and the heavy falling snow prevented them seeing twenty yards ahead of the vessel. The mate had judged from the distance run that they were not far from the Magdalen Islands. His conjecture was well founded, for in less than an hour the sea was heard breaking upon the rocks, and soon after Deadman's Island was discovered close under the lee. Having happily cleared the main island they were still far from being secure; for almost immediately they found themselves in the midst of the smaller islands, and there appeared little probability of their passing clear of all in like manner—not being able to distinguish any one of them in time to avoid it. They were thus obliged to leave the vessel to the direction of Providence, and fortunately or rather miraculously ran through them all without damage.

The excitement and anxiety among the crew while in the midst of those rocks may be easily imagined. And now that the danger was

over it proved a fortunate occurrence, for the sailors being ready to sink under exposure and fatigue, acquired fresh spirits from the danger through which they had just passed, agreed to continue their efforts a little longer, and again the pumps were manned. But all endeavours to prevent the ship from filling were now vain. The leak so increased that in a short time she was entirely full. Having no longer, as they thought, the smallest foundation for hope, they resigned themselves with as much fortitude as possible to their fate. Notwithstanding when the ship was quite full she was observed to have settled but very little deeper than before, which may be accounted for by the fact of her having but little cargo, and being so thoroughly iced up she was not in a condition to founder. This recalled hope ; and, by keeping her directly before the wind she was prevented from overturning.

The captain reckoned from the course ran through the night that they were not far from the Island of St. John, (Prince Edward Island,) and labouring under great dread lest she should strike on the dangerous rocks that skirt its north-east side, proposed lying too to keep her off the land, which Lieutenant Prenties and the mate strongly opposed, as it amounted to almost a certainty that she would be overset in the attempt, and she was allowed to run helplessly before the gale.

Small as their expectations were now of saving their lives, the lieutenant thought it incumbent on him to take every precaution to save the important despatches with which he had been entrusted, especially as their duplicates had gone down in the cutter. So, taking them from his trunk he lashed them around his waist, at the same time offering his servant some money to the amount of about 200 guineas, requesting him to dispose of it as he thought proper, regarding it as an encumberance in the present emergency rather than a matter worthy of preservation. The servant, however, thought otherwise, and took care to put the money up as carefully as his master did the despatches. The weather continued thick as usual till about one o'clock, when suddenly clearing up land was discovered right ahead. Already they had entered the breakers of a reef, and it was expected that their fate would be determined there. But she went through without striking, and before her lay a bold shore and a sandy beach. Now was the time for every man to be on the alert, as she might be expected to go to pieces immediately on striking. At the first stroke the mainmast went by the board. At the same time the rudder was unshipped with such violence as to disable several of the crew. The seas swept her in every part, each roller lifting her nearer the shore. In a short time her stern was beaten in

and all hands were clinging to the shrouds. In this awkward situation they remained till the vessel was swang broadside on, thus affording them shelter to the leeward. The boat was with great difficulty cleared for launching, although it seemed scarcely possible for her to live in such a sea for a single minute. From the intensity of the cold the surf as it broke over them encased their clothing in a mass of ice. At length the boat was got into the water, but few were found willing to attempt a landing. Lieutenant Prenties, the mate and a few sailors, however, jumped into her and cast off. The ship was lying about 40 yards from the shore. When about half way a wave broke over them and nearly filled the boat, while the next dashed them high on the beach. The cries for help from those left on board could be distinctly heard. But what help could be given them. The shattered boat was beat high upon the beach, while the sea was running to such a degree it was not in the power of man to afford them any assistance.

Night was now approaching. They were obliged to wade with extreme difficulty up to their waists in snow to the shelter of a thick wood about 300 yards from the shore. This furnished some relief from the piercing north-west wind; yet a fire was wanting to warm their frozen limbs, but they had not the wherewithal to kindle it. Freezing as they stood there was nothing to be done but to keep their blood in motion by exercise. In less than half an hour one of the party lay down to sleep in spite of all endeavours both by persuasion and force to rouse him, and soon was stiff. The death of this one could not deter the rest from giving away to this drowsy sensation, and three more lay down. Finding it impossible for to keep them on their legs, the lieutenant and the mate broke branches from the trees and beat those men continually through the night to prevent them from sleeping, and thus preserved the lives of the crew and their own as well.

At last the long-wished for day appeared. The vessel had by this time beat nearer the shore and those alive on board continued to swing themselves from the jibboom at low water to within a few yards of the shore. The captain had fortunately previous to coming on shore put into his pocket material for striking a fire, and soon they were warming their frozen limbs. On the morrow a small remnant of the provision was secured from the wreck, consisting of two barrels of pork, one barrel of onions, and about twelve pounds tallow candles.

I shall not here recite the sickening details of the sufferings of this unfortunate crew after the store of provisions was exhausted. Suffice it to say that for over two long winter months one portion of them

coasted the shores of Cape Breton in a leaky boat day by day as opportunity occurred and their limited strength allowed them, in search of relief, living on kelp and the seed bulbs found on wild rose bushes in winter; until, by their snail pace progress, over one hundred miles had been accomplished, and, doubling Cape North, they were discovered by Indians when about laying down to die.

As soon as intelligence was received at the Indian encampment of the other portion of the crew being left behind, and their probable whereabouts, an expedition was at once set on foot to succour them, and, on the following day a band of Indians on snow shoes with provisions and sledges set out across the country. After being absent about three weeks they arrived with three men who were the only survivors, ten of their number having died from starvation and cold and were afterwards eaten by their companions. The survivors remained at the camp until the following spring, while Lieutenant Prenties with Indian guides continued overland to Canso. Learning here that the coast was infested by American privateers, and fearing capture if he should take passage as intended, he procured fresh guides and proceeded inland and arrived at Halifax early in May, from which he took passage to New York with his dispatches in a very demoralized condition.

Three-and-a-half miles S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. from Seal Island light at the western extremity of this province, lies a sunken rock having an area of a quarter of a mile in length and several hundred feet in width. This is known as the Blonde Rock, and few places on our coast have been more prolific of wrecks. From the following circumstances it has derived its name:

In 1782 H. M. S. *Blonde*, a 32 gun frigate, commanded by Captain Thornborough, while on her way to Halifax, having in tow a large ship laden with masts which she had just captured, struck on a sunken rock and was totally lost. The prize escaped the danger and arrived at her destination. Captain Thornborough and crew constructed a raft by means of which they got to a small island where they continued for several days in the utmost distress. Providentially an American privateer came in sight and relieved them from their perilous position. For the generous and humane treatment Captain Thornborough had shown his prisoners, the Americans in return landed him and his crew at New York. In the same year the *Gigg*, an armed sloop employed by the government, was cast away at Port Matoon. The loss of which there are no particulars.

At the close of the American Revolution in 1783 a large number of Loyalists, among whom were many discharged soldiers and sailors, conceived the idea of removing to Nova Scotia. On the 27th of April of that year a fleet of 18 square rigged vessels, under convoy of two ships of war, arrived at Roseway—afterwards called Shelburne. Among those vessels was the ship *Martha*, having on board a corps of the Maryland loyalists and a detachment of the second Delancey's, in all 174 men. This ship struck between Cape Sable and the Tuskets and 99 perished. The remainder were saved by fishing boats and carried to Shelburne.

We now come to the loss of a ship almost at our own doors, in sight of this meeting to-night,—that of the *Tribune*. This vessel was a 44 gun frigate, lately captured from the French, commanded by Captain Barker, and on her way from Tor Bay to Quebec—acting as a convoy to a fleet. But becoming detached from her charge she bore up for Halifax. As our worthy President, Dr. Hill, remarks in his memoir of Sir Brenton Haliburton, "This story has been sometimes erroneously narrated." And as Sir Brenton was at the time of the disaster the officer in charge of York Redoubt, and an eye witness of what occurred, having aided in the attempt to save the ship, I have taken the liberty of adopting the report as contained in this memoir by Dr. Hill in a somewhat abridged form.

Early in the morning of November 23rd, 1797, Mr. Haliburton was standing on the top of the abrupt elevation on which the fort is built looking out toward the sea. It was a dark autumnal day and the rising wind blew freshly from the E.S.E. Above and beneath were signs of a coming storm. Beside him stood Sergt. McCormae who addressed Mr. Haliburton as they were both watching a ship approach: "If that ship does not alter her course, Sir, she will be ashore within a quarter of an hour." His prediction was two truly fulfilled, within five minutes she was stranded upon Thrum Cap Shoals. It is generally supposed that the wind at this time was blowing violently and a heavy sea was raging. This, however, was not the case. The gale was but in its infancy. I was the self-satisfied opinion of the master that caused the stranding of the ship.

As early as 8 o'clock she had made the harbor, and running before a fair wind was rapidly nearing it. The captain had suggested to the sailing master the propriety of engaging a harbor pilot to conduct the vessel in. But that officer replied that they was no necessity as he knew the harbor well. The captain, fully confiding in the master's skill

and knowledge, went below to arrange his papers to hand to Admiral Murray on his landing. Now it so occurred that there was on board a negro named John Cassey who had formerly belonged to Halifax, to this man the master looked for assistance in piloting the vessel to her anchorage. But he misplaced his trust. About 9 o'clock the ship approached so near Thrum Cap Shoals that the master himself became alarmed and sent for Mr. Galvin, an officer holding the rank of master's mate, who was simply a passenger on board the *Tribune*. This gentleman, who knew the harbor well, had offered to pilot the ship but his offer had been refused, and not being well he had retired to the cabin. On being summoned, however, he hastened to the deck, his opinion was asked, but before he could form it the noble ship was stranded on the shoals. Signals of distress were immediately made to the military posts and the ships in the harbor. Mr. Haliburton, whose station was nearest, proceeded at once on board, and presenting himself to the captain he enquired what aid he could render. The captain replied, the only thing you can do is to signal the Dockyard for help. Calling to his boats crew he at once proceeded to the station to see to the transmission of the message. The signal staff immediately repeated the facts and the danger, the message was acknowledged, and everything apparently put in fair train for meeting the emergency. Boats were manned both at the Dockyard and the Engineer's yard, while others proceeded from several of the military posts near at hand. Whilst these were making their way to the shoals, the crew of the *Tribune* threw overboard all the guns except one which was retained for making signals of distress. In the hurry and confusion which prevailed they took the easiest method of lightening the ship, and unfortunately threw their cannons over to leeward. As the wind grew stronger, and the tide arose, the ill-fated vessel surged and beat upon these iron breakers. The heavy boats sent from the Dockyard made slow progress against the storm. One of them reached her under the guidance of Mr. Rockmer, boatswain of the yard. Several reached her from the Engineer's yard a little earlier, besides these, one or two, as already mentioned, put off from the military posts in sight of the disaster. In these were three officers, two of whom, Lieutenants North and Campbell, belonged to the 7th Royal Fusileers, one, Lieutenant James, belonged to the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment. While these gentlemen were on board it grew dark.

Capt. Barker, fretting under the probable disgrace that awaited him for the stranding of the ship, grew imperious and dogmatical. It appears

that a short time previous a brother officer in command of a ship had been cashiered for abandoning her when in a similar peril, though he saved the lives of his crew and passengers; and this it is supposed influenced Capt. Barker to refuse permission to any one on board to leave the *Tribune*. Whether he gave the tyrannical order that none should disembark, is now doubtful, but circumstances seem to bear out the tradition. He probably feared that all might take alarm if any were allowed to go, and that his ship and his prospects would be alike ruined. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, P. M., the rudder was unshipped and lost. At half-past eight the tide had so risen that the *Tribune* began to heave violently, and in half an hour she was afloat. But no sooner was she fairly free from the shoals than they discovered seven feet of water in the hold. She had been beaten in and shattered by her incessant rolling upon the guns which had been so injudiciously thrown to the leeward side.

Capt Barker, who had been very indignant that no officer of higher naval rank had been sent to his assistance than the boatswain, now took his advice, and let go the best bow anchor. This failed, however, to bring up the drifting ship. Two sails were hoisted by which they endeavoured to steer, and the cable was cut. But the ship was unmanageable, and she drifted to the western shore,—a fearful coast of precipitous rock against which the surf broke with terrific fury. As the last hope, they let go the small anchor in 13 fathoms of water. It held, and the mizzen was cut away. It was now 10 o'clock, and at this juncture Lieutenants North and Campbell left the ship in their own boats, one of them having jumped out of the port hole into the water. But Lieut. James unhappily could not be found at the moment. They had not gone half an hour when the ship gave a sudden roll, and then righting again, immediately sunk with her masts erect. Two hundred and forty men, women and children floated for a few seconds on the boiling waves. Some were dashed to pieces against the rocks. Forty reached the two remaining masts that still stood some feet above the water, and clung with the energy of despair to the yards and ropes. As the night advanced, the main top gave way, and all who were trusting to it were once more plunged into the sea. On the last topmast remained by morning light only eight of the large number who had clung to it. The cries of these were heard all through the night by the watchers on shore. But so fearful and terrific had the storm become, that they were either cowed or paralyzed, and made no effort to rescue the unhappy people. Nor was it until 11 o'clock the following morning,

when a noble deed was performed by a mere child, which, had it been done in a country better known, would have ranked him among heroes. This boy, who had scarce attained his fourteenth year, put out alone in his little skiff from Herring Cove, at great peril of his own life succeeded in reaching the wreck, and with great skill backed his boat close to the fore-top, and took off two of the men. Upon this occasion there was a noble instance of magnanimity on the part of two seamen. Those men, whose names were Munro and Dunlap, had during the night preserved their strength and spirits, and done everything in their power to sustain their less fortunate companions, refused to quit the wreck until two others who were so exhausted as to be unable to make any effort for their own safety, were taken on shore. They accordingly lifted them into the skiff, and the gallant boy rowed them off in triumph to the shore, seen them safe in his father's cottage, and again put off in his skiff. But this time all his efforts were unavailing, his exhausted strength being unequal to the task, he was obliged to return. His example, however, had the effect of inducing others to make the attempt. Larger boats were manned and they succeeded in bringing to shore the remaining six. This boy was afterwards brought to Halifax and placed as a midshipman on board the flag ship, but being so much out of his element in his new surroundings, he became unhappy and was allowed to return home.

In July, 1798, H. M. Sloop of War *Rover*, 14 guns, sailed from Halifax for Sydney, with Lieut.-Gen. Ogilvie and staff. On the evening of the third day, while sailing before a nine knot breeze, she struck on the outside reef off Scatari. Owing to the thorough discipline maintained in the emergency, all hands with the exception of one man were landed safely on the Island. A short time after the ship went to pieces.

The following account of a double wreck at the entrance to this harbor, taken from the *Chronicle* of Dec. 14th, 1799, will speak for itself: Last Sunday morning (11th) between one and two o'clock, H. M. Sloop of War the *North* (20) and the armed ship *St. Helena*, coming into the harbor from Spanish River (Sydney) during a heavy S. E. gale, were driven on shore about one mile from the light-house. By which accident both ships were unfortunately lost, and about 170 persons perished. Among the *North's* passengers were Capt. McLean of the 84th Regt., and Lieut. Butler of the Marines. Capt. Selby and the whole ship's company, with the exception of two seamen, were lost. On the *St. Helena* were Lieut. Robertson of the transport service, and three officers

of the 74th Regt. Happily all were saved with the exception of one seaman.

Eight days had scarcely elapsed when there occurred another most notable wreck, that of the *Princess Amelia*, or *Francis*, as I think we must in future call her, at Sable Island, and shortly after the loss of the Gun Brig *Harriet*, sent in search of her, at the same place. With the loss of the *Francis* are connected some affecting incidents. In the early part of the year 1799, Mr. Copeland, the surgeon of the Duke of Kent's favorite regiment, the 7th Fusileers, who was also on the personal staff of the Duke, obtained leave to visit England with the intention of taking his family out with him on his return to Halifax. He was directed also to superintend the embarkation of the Prince's property, consisting of furniture from his Royal Highness's house at Knight Bridge, several valuable horses, and a most extensive library. Mr. Copeland, in addition to his staff appointment, was also the Duke's librarian. With these valuable effects under his care Mr. Copeland declined the offer of a passage in the sloop of war sailing with the convoy; but resolved not to lose sight of his charge, he embarked on board the *Francis*. Having arrived within a few hours of his destination, he perished with the vessel and her crew. His wife and youngest child shared his melancholy fate.

Lieut. Scrambler of H. M. Cutter *Trepassey*, on his passage from Halifax to Newfoundland, was directed to stop at Sable Island to obtain information if possible of the *Francis*, or any other unfortunate vessel that might have been wrecked there during the winter, and to land some valuable animals which His Excellency Sir James Wentworth had committed to his care. The Lieut. thus writes to Capt. Murray, the senior officer of the station.

H. M. CUTTER "TREPASSEY,"

*Sydney, May 17, 1800.*

SIR,—Agreeable to your orders, I proceeded to Sable Island on Tuesday, May 13. I went on shore and landed stock sent by Sir James Wentworth. After staying there an hour without discovering any person on the island, and seeing a schooner at anchor near the N. W. end, some distance from the cutter, I immediately weighed anchor, made sail, and spoke her. She proved to be the *Dolphin* of Barrington, laden with fish, seal skins, and seal oil. She had several trunks very much damaged on board, which appeared to have been washed ashore. One was directed to His Royal Highness Prince Edward. Another was directed to Capt. Stirling, 7th Regt. of Foot. Both empty. There was also one large trunk containing two great overcoats, the livery being that worn by servants of His Royal Highness. The master of the

schooner informed me that he had two men on Sable Island during the winter connected with the sealing trade, who had built a hut on the east end of the island. One of the men being on board, I learned from him that about the 22nd of December last, after a very severe gale from the S. E., a woman was found washed on shore on the south side; also the trunks before mentioned, 12 horses, some farming stock, and a portion of three boats. Further information was gathered from the other man, whose story ran: That on the 22nd of Dec. they observed a large vessel at a little distance from the N. E. bar. She was endeavoring to beat off all day, but the wind was so extremely light and baffling that she made no great progress. As the day shut in the weather began to thicken, and was soon followed by a tremendous gale from the S. E., which continued with great violence through the night.

In this gale the *Francis* must have been driven on the sands, and in the course of time have gone to pieces, as neither the ship nor any part of her was to be seen in the morning. Soon after the storm abated, the corpse of the lady above mentioned was discovered She had a ring on her finger, but being unable to get it off they buried it with her.

From the above official report we must infer this vessel must have been the *Francis*, and not the *Princess Amelia* as generally understood. Further, I find there was a *Princess Amelia*, an 80 gun ship, in the fleet off Louisburg in 1758. The *Francis* being chartered for the use of Prince Edward, may have been known as the Prince's ship. In this way the names of Francis, Prince's, and Princess Amelia have been confounded. The *Francis* was about 280 tons burden, and reported an excellent sailer. Besides the valuable library, household effects, &c, of Prince Edward, there was a new military equipment on board, which was ordered by the Prince before leaving England, at a cost of £11,000. Strange to say this was the seventh equipment lost by Prince Edward. The rest being captured by French cruisers, except one which was lost while crossing Lake Champlain in the ice. This ship sailed on the 25th October from Portsmouth in company with the *America*, a mast ship, and a number of other vessels, under convoy of *H. M. S. Bonetta*. A succession of gales followed their departure. The *America* got back to Portsmouth, and the *Bonetta* with great difficulty reached Lisbon, a perfect wreck. The *Francis*, being more fortunate than the rest, had nearly reached her destination when her progress was arrested by those fatal quicksands. Among her passengers were Dr. and Mrs. Copeland and child and maid-servant; Capt. Stirling, 7th Fusileers; Lieut. Mercer, R. A.; Lieuts. Sutton, Roebuck and More, 16th Light Dragoons; household servant to Prince Edward; soldiers, &c., in all upwards of 200, of which not a soul was rescued. In the following May, (1800) on

receipt of the intelligence forwarded by the commander of the *Trepassy*, the Government ordered the gun brig *Harriet*, Lieut. Torrens, to the Island to investigate matters, when she too was wrecked. The Lieut. and his crew barely escaped with their lives, and had a protracted stay at that place.

Thus the last years of the century were marked by several wrecks of unusual prominence. The *Tribune* in 1797, the *Rover* in 1798, the double wreck of the *North* and *St. Helena* in 1799, and the *Francis* in December of the same year, form a memorable yet melancholy close to a century of peculiar interest in the history of our country, as having witnessed the termination of the stubborn and long-continued struggle between the French and English for supremacy on this continent, to which are attributable many of the wrecks herein enumerated.

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# LOUISBOURG:

## AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

BY JOSEPH PLIMSOLL EDWARDS, LONDONDERRY, N. S.

*Read before the Society, 27th November, 1894.*

FEW more romantic and strange episodes exist in North American annals than the story of this fortress of Ile Royale. A colony and government removed to a lonely spot on the shore of a vast uninhabited island; a city, a naval depot, and a citadel of enormous strength springing up there under the flag of the most powerful military nation in Europe, and resulting in an armed metropolis which menaced all the Atlantic coast, became one of the trade-centres of the continent, and formed one of the great bulwarks of French power in America. Suddenly and almost ignominiously it changes masters; all its costly works, buildings, and armament become the property of Great Britain. In a year or two, with equal suddenness and greater ignominy, it reverts to France, and for a few years more holds a dominant position. Again it falls; and its captors expunge the entire establishment from the face of the earth; searcely is one stone left above another. Its inhabitants drift elsewhere, and in a few years it is apparently forgotten as if it never had been. All this within half a century—a man's short life.

But it has left deep marks on the pages of the history of North America; and while in a sense less purely Canadian than continental, it has been left chiefly to Canadian writers to tell its story with amplitude of detail. The value of these histories is enhanced in that they give us the annals of all Cape Breton from its discovery down to recent dates; yet this very comprehensiveness leaves room for a sketch confined to the fortress which made the island famous. Such I have endeavored to portray in the following pages.

Prior to that treaty which may be termed the legal beginning of Anglo-Acadian history—signed at Utrecht in 1713, Louisbourg under that name did not exist. The bay or harbour was known to the French as Havre à l'Anglais—to the English as English Harbour. An early

traveller, Capt. Leigh, has left a very interesting account of his voyage along these shores in 1597, and refers to the bay as Port Ingleese or English Port. Of these early days there is little known in connection with the place. Pontgrave, the companion of DeMonts in his memorable voyage of 1604, landed there on his arrival on this side and built a boat: so far as we know this was the first vessel built by Europeans on what is now Nova Scotian soil. A quarter of a century elapses before we again hear of l'Havre à l'Anglais, and this time it is true to its name. British colours had temporarily supplanted those of France over all Acadie and Cape Breton, thanks to the enterprise of a certain Captain Argall. He, in the summer of 1613, set out from the newly settled village of Jamestown in Virginia, and, in the informal method of those days, attacked and beat off the few French then in this colony, and proclaimed the whole country as belonging to Britain. Eight years later a grant of all Acadie, Cape Breton, and part of Canada, was made by King James the first to Sir William Alexander, Secretary of State for Scotland. That astute nobleman divided his huge grant into lots and sold as many as possible to gentlemen anxious to go in for colonization work on a large scale. Among the purchasers was Lord Ochiltree, a Scottish nobleman, son of the Earl of Arran. With a following of 60 emigrants he sailed for Cape Breton in the spring of 1629, and settled his little colony within a few miles of English Harbour; they erected a small fort and began to clear the land. But their residence there was a short one. A Captain Daniel, in the service of the King of France, had, or imagined he had, a grievance against my Lord Ochiltree for alleged interference with French fishermen; and, without warning or explanation, landed a strong party on the 18th Sept. of that year, (1629,) took the little fort by assault, razed it to the ground, and deported the entire settlement, their arms, ammunition and stores—first to the harbour of Ste Anne, near by, then across the Atlantic—some to England, others to France. So bold a deed, in times of nominal peace between the two Crowns, created no little excitement, and voluminous charges and counter-statements were promptly forthcoming. But the Stuarts ruled England in those days, and French influence had great weight; and it does not appear that any of the settlers so suddenly and unceremoniously thrust back on their native shores received redress.

By treaty signed on 29th March, 1632, Cape Breton was restored to France; but for more than three-quarters of a century thereafter, English

Harbour remained undisturbed by the hum of commerce, and the deeper notes of war with which the adjacent coast resounded from time to time throughout this long period.

Port Royal, the capital of Acadie, surrendered to the British Crown —as represented by the Provincial General Nicholson, with four regiments of New England troops and as many ships of war—on the 4th of October, 1710. With its fall Acadie and Cape Breton became nominally British possessions. Port Royal became Annapolis, in honour of the reigning Sovereign ; and the name of Acadie was replaced by that of Nova Scotia. Two and a half years later the treaty of Utrecht was signed, which confirmed to Britain Nova Scotia and the French settlements in Newfoundland, but restored Cape Breton to France.

The establishment of a strongly fortified harbour to be a rendezvous and shelter for the French fleets on the North American station now became an imperative and immediate necessity. The treaty had cut off from France all the sea coast on the northern part of the continent except that afforded by Cape Breton, while inland the vast districts under her sway stretched along the St. Lawrence, embraced the great lakes, reached to the Rocky Mountains, and, sweeping south, covered the rich and fertile countries of the Ohio and Mississippi. Of all her Atlantic possessions Cape Breton alone remained, on guard over this enormous territory.

But it was as the sentry-box without the sentinel. No garrison of any strength existed on the island ; no fortified harbour offered shelter to friendly shipping. To these wants France gave immediate attention.

When the ratification of the treaty became a certainty—in fact when it was still only a probability— Louis XIV. and his ministers took the first steps towards strengthening this, his last remaining North Atlantic possession. We learn that in 1712 an Order-in-Council was passed ordering that a ship-of-war be sent to Plaisance— as Placentia, Newfoundland, was then called—thence, under directions from the Governor of that place, M. de Costabelle, to proceed to Cape Breton to choose the most suitable harbour and site for the new capital. It was not, however, until the following summer that these orders were carried into effect. The King's ship—named the *Segnelay*, and commanded by M. de Contreville—sailed for Plaisance in August, 1713. She had a double duty to perform—a mission of survey and of colonization, and carried among her company officials and settlers for the new colony ; chief among these being M. de Ste. Ovide de Brouillan, a naval officer, and Major L'Hermite of the Engineers. In the name of the King

they formally took possession of the island; and, as predetermined by the Home authorities, re-named it Ile Royale In fact a general rechristening of all the chief harbours of the island very soon took place, preceding their actual settlement. The harbour of Ste. Anne became Port Dauphin; St. Peter's became Port Toulouse; and Havre à l'Anglais, Louisbourg. Of all these changes the latter alone survives; but its single greatness outweighs the lapse of the other three. The brilliant period of active French rule in America, and the valour of the New England militia and of British linesmen and blue-jackets cannot be forgotten while the name of Louisbourg lives.

As to the most suitable harbour to fortify and build up into a naval capital there had been a marked difference of opinion, the Governor of Plaisance—backed up by no less a personage than the Viceroy of New France—favoring Ste. Anne's; but the excellence of the harbour of Louisbourg, the depth of water at the entrance, and its comparative freedom from ice, carried the day, and that place was definitely chosen as the metropolis of the island province. To Louisbourg the immigrant-bearing ship of 1713 came, and on the shores of its harbour most of the new-comers settled.

On the 12th of June of the following year, M. de Costabelle formally delivered up Plaisance to Colonel Moody, the British representative, and, with his staff, moved over to Ile Royale, and fixed his head-quarters at the embryo capital. The land in the vicinity was poor, but the fishing was excellent, and a large additional number of colonists came over from Newfoundland and from France, and settled in close proximity to the harbour. Elaborate plans of the proposed fortifications were drawn up and submitted to the Home authorities, and all looked promising for the creation of a prosperous and progressive town, as well as a point from which the *fleur-de-lys* would extend its triumphs in the western world. But the ill-luck—to put it in the mildest form—which so closely waited on the enterprise was apparent even in this its first year of active life. Instead of the regular and systematic attention which the isolated settlement demanded from the Ministry, signs of neglect were already visible. The pay for the troops employed on the new defences was not forthcoming; lack of discipline and a state not far from mutiny were the results. The supply of provisions for the settlers was painfully scanty, and misery and wretchedness naturally followed To add to the troubles of the period, several vessels were, in November, 1714, lost in making the voyage from Plaisance to Ile Royale.

And to the praise of these people, then neglected and now utterly forgotten, it should be remembered that many of them had voluntarily left behind them in Plaisance their homes and holdings, and had followed the flag of France over into the wilderness of Ile Royale. Coercion may have been hinted at, and promises of work and fortune held out; doubtless such was the case; but the fact remained that they exchanged a certainty for an uncertainty, chiefly for their country's sake. Of all the former French inhabitants of Plaisance, only four or five remained and swore allegiance to the King of England. The rest, true to their colours, deserved better treatment than they received.

Over this infant settlement there was no lack of rulers and persons in high authority; in fact, as an over-governed colony, its record is perhaps unequalled. In addition to M. de Costabelle, the Governor-in-Chief, there was M. de Soubras, the Commissioner-Comptroller, of almost equal rank and power with de Costabelle. There was a King's Lieutenant, M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan; a commander of the troops, M. du Ligoudez; a King's Engineer, Major L'Hermite, temporarily succeeded in 1715 by M. de Beaucour; and a writer to the King, M. de La Forest. There may have been others of equal note, but the foregoing all appear as having been in active correspondence with the authorities in France.

Of the life and doings at Louisbourg during these early years there is little which is worth recording. Building went on steadily, if not with remarkable speed. Supplies of various sorts were sent out from France, and from the French colonies, and all chief business matters were regulated from Versailles. Cut off, to a very great extent, from the French possessions in Canada, the Louisbourg government and people were to an unusual degree dependent on the mother country. Every petty detail of civic and colonial life was reported at length to Paris, and full instructions as to the necessary action were sent out by the Council of Marine. Immigrants from France came in but slowly, especially during the first few years; the sunny climate of New Orleans—at this period being laid out for settlement—proving a more tempting bait to warmth-loving Frenchmen than the cool summers and icy winters of Ile Royale. Strong efforts were made by the local authorities to induce the Acadians to leave the now English province of Nova Scotia and cast in their lot with their compatriots in the new island province; but the Acadians, not framed in the sternly-heroic mould, were loath to leave their fertile farms and marshlands. They noted the leniency with which their new masters

treated them as regards their allegiance, and showed their worldly wisdom in remaining as long as possible French subjects on British territory. A few went to Ile Royale, and more to the fertile lands of Ile St. Jean ; but the great majority remained at home, in the hope, we may suppose, of developments which would at one and the same time enable them to retain their nationality, appease their rulers, satisfy their consciences, and fill their pockets.

M. de Costabelle, the energetic and capable governor of Ile Royale, died in 1717. His last days appear to have been clouded over with a sense of wrong, or, at least, of lack of appreciation of his services, for his latest reports to the Ministry deal with the troubles of his *régime*, and of his personal expenditure in the interests of the government, and he prays "for justice." He died in France, having gone over in 1716. M. de Ste. Ovide de Brouillan, the King's Lieutenant, seems to have taken charge during the Governor's absence, and eventually succeeded him ; M. de Beaucour arriving at Louisbourg from France in November, 1718, to take de Brouillan's place as Lieutenant.

Work continued to be done on the fortifications and on the town, but evidently not with undue haste ; churches, hospitals, and other public buildings were slowly evolved from the chaos of stone and mortar which covered the area of the place. Contractors (civilian) controlled the erection of the fortifications. The garrison does not appear to have been large ; in 1720, for instance, it consisted of but seven companies of marine infantry—perhaps 500 men in all. A source of anxiety to the government was the illicit trade carried on with the New England colonies. Ordinances were levelled against it, but Yankee ingenuity often found means to evade these, and to continue a trade which, though risky, was undoubtedly profitable. I will again have occasion to speak of this when referring to the business of the port, in which New England's share was by no means a small one.

Intercourse with the neighbouring English colonies was singularly small. In connection with the all-important question of French backing and aid to Indians in their attacks on the English settlements and fishing boats, two men of note in Nova Scotia—Hibbert Newton, Collector of Customs at Annapolis and Canso, and Capt. John Bradstreet —were sent to Louisbourg in 1725, as a deputation to the French Governor. M. de Brouillan's reply to their requests was most polite, but evasive, and gave little satisfaction to the Annapolis authorities. Among the matters mentioned by the deputation in their report made

after their return, was that they had found fourteen English vessels actively engaged in trading between Louisbourg and New England and Nova Scotian ports.

The call was duly returned. One dull November morning, eight years later, there sailed into the port of New York a small vessel, hailing from Louisbourg, and having as passengers two officers of the French garrison there, Mm. de Gane and de Laronde. In the brilliant uniform of their rank, they must have made quite a sensation in the dull little town, as they strode up to the residence of Governor Cosby. Their mission was one of trade. The stock of provisions at Louisbourg was unusually low ; a long winter was coming on, and the prospect was not a cheerful one. So De Brouillan had despatched this embassy to purchase flour and pease ; and as they brought plenty of money with them, the legal impediments which stood in the way of their doing business (trade with Cape Breton being nominally forbidden) were set aside by a meeting of Council, specially called for the purpose, and they were permitted to buy as much as they pleased and could pay for. The episode was duly reported by the Governor to the Lords of Trade, and the benevolent and philanthropic aspect of the transaction was enlarged upon ; but His Excellency omitted to mention the fact that the visitors had brought for him, as a peace-offering from de Brouillan, four casks of Bourdeaux wine and two barrels of the best brandy. He, however, winds up his report with the following statement, significant in view of after events, " their (the French) present necessitys . . . . . furnishes me with " this observation, that a garrison at so great a distance from France, " from whence they are supplied with Beef and Pork, and the uncertain " crops of grain in Canada from whence they are to expect their bread " (for on Cape Breton they raise nothing from the earth) must make " that place in time of War very precarious, especially if our Men of " war, which must necessarily be on that coast to Guard our settlements " at Annapolis and Canso and our fishery, are active and constant in " their Cruises between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, for they can " hardly fail of intercepting all vessels that are sent from France with " supplys for them or with Merchandise to Canada."

It is evident that the idea of a capture of the French stronghold was even then vaguely present : in time it took root, and suddenly matured, and almost as suddenly developed into an accomplished fact.

Among the tragic incidents which are stamped on the story of life in North America during this period, one is closely associated with

Louisbourg. This was the loss of the French man-of-war "Le Chameau" on the rocky coast near the harbour on the night of the 25th August, 1725. She was on her way to Quebec from France, and carried crew and passengers numbering probably between two and three hundred, including many distinguished officials and ecclesiastics. Every soul perished; 180 of the bodies were subsequently recovered and were buried at Louisbourg.

DeBrouillan, after long and faithful service in the Navy, as King's Lieutenant at Louisbourg, and as Governor of Ile Royale, retired in 1739, and was succeeded by M. de Forant, who accepted the position solely on compulsion, the King himself having intimated that such was his wish. He arrived at Louisbourg in September and was accompanied by a new Commissary-General—no less a personage than M. Bigot, whose fame as a master in the art of wholesale peculation still lives. The new Governor, evidently a hard working and conscientious officer, very soon after his arrival made a thorough examination into the state of the fortifications, garrison, and town; during the next three months his reports to the Minister on these and kindred subjects are voluminous. But his *regime* was of short duration. He died at Louisbourg in May, 1740, eight months after his arrival; and M. Duquesnel reigned in his stead.

De Forant is worthy of special mention in that he bequeathed an endowment or foundation sufficient to defray the board and tuition of eight pupils, daughters of officers, at the chief convent of the town. This is probably the first act of the sort that took place in any part of the province—certainly the first of which I have been able to find any trace.

The new Governor, an appointee from France, reached Louisbourg early in November. He would seem to have been somewhat of a *bon vivant*, as his first letter to the Home authorities is an application for more money to defray debts contracted "in the discharge of the duties of his office." It is easy to infer what tradesmen constituted his chief creditors. We are not informed if this very frank request was granted, but presume that it was; if not, his colleague, M. Bigot, no doubt got him out of the scrape by methods peculiarly his own. Duquesnel ruled for four years only, and, like his predecessor, he died in office. During the winter preceding his death (1744) an appointment was made, of interest in view of after events; the King's Lieutenant, M. de Bourville, retired, and was succeeded by Major Duchambon who commanded the

garrison during the eventful siege of 1745. Duquesnel died just in time to spare himself the trials of the bombardment, and the humiliation of the surrender.

The shadow of the cloud which burst on Louisbourg in 1745 seemed to have hung over the town for at least the three preceeding years. Requests and complaints are common in all the correspondence exchanged between Governor and Minister; but between 1742 and 1745 they gathered weight. They were too numerous and couched in too plain language to have any source but in a sense of actual deficiencies and urgent requirements. Such phrases as: "The desperate state of the colony;" "The pressing needs of the colony;" "The sad condition of the colony;" "Distress increasing;" "Famine increasing;" "Things are in a deplorable condition," need no comment or explanation. Desertion seems to have been rife Letter after letter mentions the arrival of recruits, and yet the complaint is ever going forward, "We want more troops." "The fortifications are undergarrisoned," and the like. Absence from duty is frequently mentioned, and it is evident that the free and open life of the woods possessed charms to the French soldier of that day which drew him to them, and recruited the ever-growing numbers of the *coureurs-de-bois*. Lost to civilization, they became in a great measure lost to the service of their mother-land; and as time and circumstance rendered more secure and more lasting their indentification with their savage allies, the policy of the latter largely governed both, and the renegades could no longer claim the rights and privileges of French citizenship.

Troubles in the garrison reached a climax in the last winter of the first French *regimé* (1744–5,) when an open mutiny broke out, which reached serious proportions. It had been the custom for the greater part of the troops to be employed in the construction and repairs of the fortifications, for which they received extra pay. But those in authority forged for themselves another link in the fateful chain which was to bind them to disaster, by attempting to force the troops to work on the repairs without granting the usual remuneration. It is to be feared that the spirit and influence of that master of peculation, Bigot, had so spread that the money withheld from the men was appropriated by the officers. In December, the garrison,or a portion of it—chiefly, it is said, a Swiss corps known as the Karrer regiment—mutinied, and although severe disciplinary measures were promptly taken, and several of the offenders executed, serious trouble existed throughout the

entire winter; and Duchambon, the Commandant, in writing to France and to Quebec early in April, expressed his wish that the whole garrison should be sent back to France and new regiments sent out. In one particular his wish was granted. The troops did return to France that summer, but in a manner very different from that proposed by the gallant Major. But I anticipate.

The business, growth, and general civic life of Louisbourg during these years can be briefly told. Fish was the chief, in fact almost the only staple of native production; the trade in this was large and profitable. Several merchants owned as many as 40 or 50 vessels, each with a crew of three or four men, whose pay depended on the quantity of their catch. But fearful and wonderful were the restrictions on trade in those days. Only vessels from France or from the French colonies were permitted to trade freely and bring in what goods they chose; imports from New England were by law strictly limited to provisions, cattle, timber, and such goods as could not be produced in the mother country and her West Indian colonies. For outward or return cargoes vessels under the British flag were dependent on the unsold portion of the shipments of sugar, molasses and similar products which constituted the cargoes of vessels hailing from the French West Indian ports. English skippers were strictly forbidden to take away with them any specie; all they sold must be taken out in merchandise. Dry goods, clothing and general household and personal effects were supposed to come from France, and from France alone. To add to the detriment to business in general, and to their own traders in particular, the New England laws had, since 1686, forbidden trade of any sort with Cape Breton or any other French dependency. But as a matter of fact many Yankee skippers, thus repressed and yet determined on business, quieted their sensitive consciences by balancing matters in breaking the laws of both nations. They not only traded with Louisbourg, but brought in contraband goods, which were smuggled with little difficulty, the customs officers of that port being generally open to persuasion of a financial character. Not only so, but whole cargoes of codfish itself, the great and only Cape Breton staple, were brought over from the English colonies, sold to West Indian merchants, and transferred to their vessels in Louisbourg harbour under cover of night, or in some other port in broad daylight. False bills of lading and similar documents were freely used. The English-cured cod was inferior in quality to the Cape Breton article, but could be sold at a much lower figure.

There were other interesting features of the commerce of the port, but limited space forbids me to enlarge on the subject. Knowing that no dependence could be placed on Cape Breton as the sole source of food supply for the garrison and townsfolk of Louisbourg, it had been from an early date the policy of the government to encourage settlers, both from France and from the French residents of now English Acadia, to take up land in the fertile island of St. John. The first came in 1719, and from that date to the downfall of French rule in America, the population showed a steady although small increase, amounting in 1758 to about 4,000 souls. Port-la-joie—now Charlottetown—was made the capital, an officer being stationed there as commandant with a garrison of about 60 men, under the orders of the Governor of Cape Breton. The supplies from this island helped to eke out the stores required for Louisbourg. In neither island did the population increase as rapidly as was wished. As already noted, few Acadians came to Cape Breton ; and the measure which had most effect in augmenting the number of residents was one which legally ordained that every vessel which sailed from France for the island should carry a certain number of men known as "*engagés*," who had agreed to remain there at least three years. Most of these men stayed permanently, and many of them rose to positions of importance in the mercantile life of the town. It may be here noted that while very few of the Acadians came to Cape Breton. to again live under their old flag, they seem to have taken excellent care to use Louisbourg as a means of self-enrichment. De Beauharnois and Hocquart, respectively Governor and Intendant of Canada in 1745, in writing to the Home Ministry, state, "They (the Acadians) are "extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Ile Royale "they have drawn from Louisbourg, 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." Neither as settlers, soldiers, or tradesmen did these vaccillating and unfortunate neutrals prove of much value in upholding the *fleur-de-lys* on this continent.

Matters ecclesiastical were of considerable importance in Louisbourg. Six missionary priests of the Recollet order, six brothers of the Charitable Confraternity, and several nuns, were thought necessary to attend to the spiritual, charitable, medical, and educational needs of the town. These were paid by the King, and the remuneration was not meagre. Each priest received 500 livres per annum, and the sum of 1000 livres

was allowed for their maintenance; they had also three country residences in different parts of the island. The hospital was the finest civic building in Louisbourg; it had a grant of 3,000 livres for general expenses and 600 livres for medicines, as well as an allowance for each patient. Of the character of the clerics Pichon gives a poor account, and states that much of their time and attention was devoted to inciting the Indian to attacks on English settlements; his remarks on their duties and behaviour are rather amusing. He speaks in high terms of the nuns. Governor de Brouillan seems also to have been dissatisfied with the clergy of his day,—which was many years before Pichon came on the scene,—as we find him in 1726 complaining bitterly about the Brothers of Charity who, he says, devote their whole time to trade, instead of attending to the patients in the hospital. In another letter he objects to the appointment of Canon Fournel as curé of Louisbourg, which had just been made by the orders of the Bishop of Quebec, who held spiritual jurisdiction over Ile Royale. This protest was repeated a couple of years later, and indicates that there must have been a very pretty and long drawn-out quarrel between the head of the state and the head of the church in the little capital. As a rule, the official correspondence has little or no reference to ecclesiastical matters. There was only one church in the town (with the exception of a small chapel attached to the hospital), and it was built, strange to say, in the centre of the King's bastion, inside the defensive works, and little more than one hundred yards from the crest of the glacis. The nunnery and hospital were both in the town proper.

The government of Louisbourg was essentially a military one; but the authority was divided. The Governor (subject however, to the Viceroy of Canada) controlled all purely military matters, and those relating to the Indians of the island; while the Commissioner or Intendant had sole direction of the pay and subsistence of the troops as well as the administration of justice, and the hospitals. This division of authority in a place so far from Paris or Quebec, led at times to serious trouble. Governor and Commissary did not see eye to eye on all occasions, and the result was not edifying. Of the lesser lights, there were a King's Lieutenant, an Attorney General, a Secretary, a Tipstaff, and four or five Counsellors, usually chosen from among the merchants of the town; these, with Governor and Commissary, constituted the Supreme Council, of which the latter was president. The civil administration and police of the island were under the control of an inferior council, or Bailiwick;

while all the customs and shipping matters were in the hands of the Admiralty Court, a council of four members. We are told that they all had accumulated considerable fortunes; their courtesy in permitting New England vessels to land contraband goods may have been met with equal kindness on the part of the skippers, and of fully as practical a nature; M. Bigot had lived in Louisbourg for several years, and his policy and habits may have set the fashion to many.

Naturally, matters connected with trade and shipping, with import and export, attracted the chief attention of the civil authorities; but there were other objects on which they had of necessity to bestow much thought, and often vigorous action. Prominent among these was the liquor traffic. From the earlier years of the settlement, ordinances regulating the sale of spirits were promulgated, and were continually being amended as abuses became noticeable, or as the rulers and controllers of this business thought best to ordain. Not a little of the correspondence with the Ministry at Versailles was devoted to the subject, and it is evident that generous indulgence in the flowing bowl was the order of the day year in and year out. Louisbourg was first and foremost a military and naval station, and the soldier and sailor of that day were no less partial to conviviality than are their successors. Owing to the large trade done with France and the West India Islands, brandy, rum, and the like were amazingly cheap; and knowing this, and the utter stagnation of the place for half the year, it is small wonder that intemperance was rampant, and that its devotees often gave trouble to the lords who ruled the town. For even at its best it must have been a dull little city, this Louisbourg, and a place where petty jealousies and petty gossip were bound to exist, and to influence both official and private life. Away at the extreme north-east corner of a vast continent, in which war and savage life were still dominant, isolated by dense forests and stormy waters from those of their kith and kin in America, and completely shut out from the stirring life of France and Europe, service in Louisbourg must have been tedious and irksome to both soldier and civilian, and when is added lack of food and supplies, it cannot be wondered at that some of the humbler class of its defenders sought a freer and more adventuresome life in the woods. But whether the sufferings and straits which the little colony had at times to endure resulted from neglect on the part of France, or from the faults of its own rulers and people, it is difficult to determine. Probably both were to blame. All correspondence and authorities indicate that the officials of the colony were, as a whole, greedy for emolument and

decorations,—a trait incompatible with good governing qualities. On the other hand, the treatment accorded by France to her Louisbourg subjects, presents a strange medley of alternate surfeit and starvation. Millions were lavished on fortifications, while the troops who were to man them could often scarcely obtain the necessaries of life. Store-houses, wharves, and civic buildings were evolved at vast expense, while the garrison (until the last few years) was a meagre one,—in sharp contrast to the number of officials who ruled in both town and fortress.

But while none can deny that the Mother Country was both in honour and duty bound to be ever generous, we must not forget that during almost the entire period in which Louisbourg existed as a fortress, France was in the throes of war and of commercial distress, and had pressing need of every soldier and of every shilling. Startling events had followed each other in rapid succession, and the interest of those in power had of necessity been closely fixed on European and domestic occurrences. Although, as we have seen, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in April, 1713, war had been prolonged for another year. Absolute peace had existed for only a few months when Louis XIV died, and all the excitement and change consequent on the accession of new rulers, monopolised public attention. Under the regency which followed, a startling and unprecedented series of financial measures were adopted; and the excitement thus occasioned had scarcely subsided before France was again at war, this time with Spain. Concurrently with these events, the vast bubble of speculation fathered by the Scottish adventurer, Law, had been swelling beyond all bounds of reason; it burst in 1720, and the disastrous consequences permeated the kingdom, ruining thousands of families, and leaving the financial condition of the country in utter chaos. Peace was declared in 1721, and the Regent and his successor Louis XV, were able to devote a few years attention to domestic troubles; but in 1733 the sword was again drawn, and, with few intermissions, remained unsheathed for fifteen years. It will be seen, therefore, that France and her rulers had much to do at home, which palliates her sins of omission in the garrisoning and victualling of her Cape Breton seaport. Throughout all, the people of that seaport were true to their colours, and never wavered in their loyalty. Save the occasional desertion of soldiers often harshly treated, often insufficiently fed, we read of no neglect of duty, no dalliance with the power which ruled the adjacent provinces, and which held at least a nominal sway over the still nearer colony of Nova Scotia. The mutiny of 1744 was a revolt against gross injustice, and was wholly free from treasonable intent.

## II.

The first thirty years of the life of Louisbourg formed, as we have seen, a period of steady growth and of comparative quiet, and were unmarked by the occurrence of any great event. But a startling change was at hand. This fortress and naval station, of enormous strength, well armed and equipped, and the very embodiment of all martial pomp and circumstance, had attained its great power and influence during a time of comparative peace; now, by a strange mockery, it was to lose its renown and fail in its purpose when first confronted with the reality of war; equally strange, that to such a fortress so unlooked-for a fate should come at the hands of raw and undisciplined militia. Such was the outcome of the New England expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. To briefly sketch the fortunes of this enterprise must be our next task.

Prior to attempting this, it might be of interest to have a look at the town and harbour as they appeared in the spring of 1745. Approaching the place from the sea we come to the entrance, a sheet of water about one-third of a mile in width, cleaving the rugged shores and leading into the harbour. Passing through, the high bluff on the right was crowned with a lighthouse, which did noble work in its day in warning the mariner from its dangerous shore. To the left was a bunch of rocky knolls and islands, the largest of which,—about 150 yards long by 60 wide,—was strongly fortified with a work known as the Island Battery. Behind it and still further to the left, was the sharp point of land which formed the apex of the triangle on which the town and fortress were built. Passing on, the visitor would find that his craft had entered a beautiful body of water, two miles in length and about half a mile in breadth, with a depth varying from 18 to 36 feet. In from Lighthouse Point, on the east shore of the harbour, was a careening wharf, where ships of the largest class could be treated; while on the other side, but further north, extended a row of buildings containing naval stores. On the west side, directly opposite to and facing the entrance, was a strong defensive work called the Grand or Royal Battery, armed with twenty-eight 42 pounders and two 18 pounders.

As already mentioned, the town proper occupied the greater part of a triangular-shaped piece of ground which lay between the sea and the south-western end of the harbour. It covered an area of about 100 acres, and its site was elevated several feet above the level of the land

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to the west and north, which was, as a rule, low and swampy. Its founders, possibly from unpleasant experience of tortuous lanes in cities in the Old World, and in Quebec in the New, laid out Louisbourg in a regular and precise manner. Six wide streets ran east and west, seven ran north and south; the houses, as a rule, were of wood, but with stone foundations.

The fortress of Louisbourg was one of enormous strength; nothing to equal it had ever been seen on this continent, and it was aptly termed the Dunkirk of America,—a simile which, a century and a half ago, was equal to a comparison with Gibralter at the present day. The more important portions of it, covering attacks from land, were built on the most approved of Vauban's principles, and had cost, it is said, thirty million livres; to build it had taken little less than twenty years, and repairs and alterations had been since going on almost continually. A walk around the works, along the ramparts, would have involved a tour of nearly two miles. A ditch, eighty feet in width, was cut from harbour to sea, covering the front of the west or main line of works, and also the shorter section, including the Maurepas and Bourillon bastions which faced due east. The west front or main line of fortifications comprised two bastions, the King's and the Queen's, and two demi-bastions, one of which, called the Dauphin's, was at the extreme north-west end of the line and close to the harbour; at this point also was the West gate (leading out into the country), and the Circular Battery (armed with sixteen 24 pounders) which covered the West gate. The south, or sea end of this line of works, was protected by the Princess' demi-bastion. All were connected by the usual curtains. The citadel, a massive stone building, stood in the gorge of the King's bastion. Here centred the authority which controlled the garrison; for here was the Governor's dwelling, and the various offices where the duties of the head-quarter staff were performed. Church and State were of necessity in union in one sense, if not in all; for immediately adjoining the gubernatorial apartments was the parish chapel. Close by was a long stone barracks; and immediately east of both buildings lay the Place d'Armes. Bomb-proof vaults extended to a considerable depth underneath the flanks of this bastion, and here also were six dungeons for refractory prisoners. The lines of defence which ran parallel to the harbour and to the sea were of lighter construction,—a wall of masonry with banquette; but the short, north-eastern face of the fortress was of the more massive and elaborate type. The north-east corner of the town had no wall or

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defensive works for a space of about two hundred yards; but it was protected from attack by a large pond, which extended along its front. A somewhat similar gap existed on the sea face, between the Princess and Brouillan bastions, a palisade and ditch being the sole defences; but in front, shoals, rocky islands, and a continuous heavy surf formed an effectual barrier against hostile attack from this quarter.

Here it may be mentioned that all writers on the subject have stated that the fortifications were not begun until 1720, seven years after the foundation of the place. This statement must be taken with considerable qualification. Louisbourg was by no means without fortifications for the first six or seven years of its existence; naturally one of the very first steps taken was to erect defensive works; and the official correspondence and reports from Governor to Ministers as early as 1715, contain frequent reference to the fortifications, and the progress which was being made on them. Whether these works were part of the great system which eventually surrounded the town, or merely of a temporary nature, it is difficult now to speak with absolute certainty. The fact that a medal was struck, bearing the words, "LUDOVICOBURGUM FUNDATUM ET MUNITUM, MDCCXX," lends colour to the latter supposition; but the above inscription may have referred to the citadel, and the central and dominating work which surrounded it; or the word 'fundatum' may have been used in the sense of "making secure," a rendering common enough in old days. Be this as it may, both record and reason indicate that fortifications were begun certainly not later than 1715, and also fail to give any ground to the supposition that the works existing in 1720 were then supplanted by a new system. So startling and costly a change would undoubtedly have left many traces in the contemporary official letters, reports, and memoranda.

The period when they may be fairly considered as completed is also an uncertain one, but a study of the communications and reports sent home would indicate that about 1733 the main defensive works were practically finished. True it is that the official correspondence, even as late as 1744, shows that there still remained work to be done; but it is safe to conclude that much of this additional work was the result of after-thought, and of the new ideas that suggested themselves from time to time to the chief engineer of the day. As an outcome of one of the many odd phases of human nature, it has been the almost invariable rule in fortresses and strong defensive works, that each incoming governor, commandant, or chief engineer should deem it his bounden duty to suggest

alterations and additions,—often very considerable ones,—to the original plan ; this not necessarily to imply ignorance or lack of care on the part of his predecessors, but to show to his superior officer that he has a mind and ideas of his own, and that he is fully up to date in his profession,—in a word, that he is a valuable man. Apart from this, it seems indisputable that for all practical purposes, the fortifications of Louisbourg were completed many years before the arrival of the New England Armada. As early as 1728 the Governor, de Brouillan, in a despatch to the Minister of Marine, states that the fortifications are almost finished, and in October, 1733, he reports that they are completed. Six years later de Brouillan was succeeded by de Forant, who reported officially a few weeks after his arrival : " We have found the " fortifications in good condition, considering the fact that in this climate " mortar will not hold when exposed to the air ; and this is so well " known that settlers who have the means to do so, face their houses " with boards. M. Verrier has done well in getting the battlements " and remainder of the new enciente faced in that way." Further correspondence speaks of more work being necessary ; but such undoubtedly had reference to repairs, or additions decided on after the completion of the main defences. As to the exact armament of the various works in the spring of 1745, there is a wide difference of opinion among the authorities on the subject. The chief fortifications, enclosing the town, had embrasures for 148 guns ; but by what seems to have been extraordinary carelessness, there was not much more than half that number of cannon in position. The Royal batttery, on the west side of the harbour, mounted 18 forty-two-pounders and 2 eighteen-pounders ; while the Island battery, which commanded the entrance, had by actual count immediately after the surrender, 26 heavy guns and 4 swivels. The garrison amounted to about 1800 men, regulars and militia ; the population of the town itself was about 4000.

War between France and England was declared by the former power on the 15th March, 1744, and the news reached Louisbourg early in May. The Governor at once adopted measures both defensive and offensive, little thinking that the effects of the latter would, within one short year, recoil on himself, or rather on his successor ; for, as we have already noted, he died in the following November. England was now his active enemy ; and he lost no time in striking at her power.

While Britain had by treaty been the sovereign lord of Nova Scotia for over thirty years, her hold on that colony was in reality a very

feeble one. A few isolated posts alone existed to maintain King George's authority, almost the whole settled part of the country being occupied by the Acadians, nominally neutral, but in reality ardent well-wishers to French success. British colonial policy was at this period of the most feeble and vacillating type; European affairs monopolized the attention of the Ministry, and the North American dependencies were almost wholly left to shift for themselves. Nova Scotia was especially weak both in troops and in loyal inhabitants. Writing home in December 1743, Mascarene, the Governor of that colony, says, in reference to the possibility of war with France: "This province is in a far "worse condition for defence than the other American plantations "who have inhabitants to defend them; whilst, far from having any "dependence on ours we are obliged to guard against them." He then goes on to describe the two forts which guarded the colony. That at Canso consisted of a wooden block-house, built at the expense of the fishermen of the place, and garrisoned by four companies of soldiers; at Annapolis there existed a rather dilapidated earthwork, its deficiencies patched up with timber, and held for the King by less than two hundred of his men. Such were the sole defences of Nova Scotia; and for the French Governor to have made no attempt to seize so rich and ill-guarded a prize, would have indeed seemed a gross omission of faithful duty to his sovereign.

The attempt was made and made quickly. On the 12th of May, a very few days after the receipt of the news of the declaration of war, an expedition—made up of a few armed vessels containing about 900 men—set out from Louisbourg for Canso, and took possession of that fort, and of the little garrison, and carried the latter to Louisbourg as prisoners of war. The news soon reached Annapolis, and caused no little dismay among the troops who occupied that post; and for this the ruinous state of the defences afforded ample reason. They feared that the restless energy of France, as personified by the Governor of the great Franco-American fortress, would use all possible means to sweep from Acadia every vestige of British power; and events soon proved their apprehensions to be well founded. On the 1st of July a party of about three hundred Indians appeared in front of the fort, and invested it in the usual way,—much irregularity, unexpected attacks, and an expenditure of great energy on the cutting off of stragglers and small detached parties; but the arrival of reinforcements for the garrison from Boston disheartened the savages, and they gave up the siege, and returned

to Minas to await the strong party of troops which had been sent from Louisbourg, via Chignecto, to attack Annapolis. This party, under the command of M. Duvivier, an officer of the Louisbourg garrison, arrived at Minas towards the end of August; and the combined force, numbering not less than 700 fighting men proceeded without delay to the British stronghold. Stout old Major Mascarene, the commandant, had not been idle in the interval between the two attacks, and now made as brave a show as was possible. His numbers were small—barely one-third of those of his opponents; but his defence was vigorous and whole-hearted. The French commander did his utmost to induce Mascarene to capitulate, and swore that a formidable naval force was *en route* to take part in the attack; but the negotiations failed, and, not long afterwards, the siege came to an inglorious end, Duvivier and his troops making their way back to Louisbourg, his expedition an utter failure. His naval auxiliaries did not materialize, and he received practically no aid from the Acadian settlers.

Small and insignificant as had been these events of the campaign of 1744, they engendered a feeling of marked unrest in the neighboring English colonies; and especially was this felt in Massachusetts and its capital. A force of 500 men was organised for frontier defence; but these, scattered throughout the province in small detachments, would have been able to render but little aid had Boston been attacked, an event which might be looked for so long as the fortress of Louisbourg existed. And now the question of the possibility of the removal of this formidable menace began to creep into the brains of some of the bolder of the provincials. We have already seen that in 1733, Governor Cosby, of the province of New York, in sending home his report of the visit of a deputation from Louisbourg to purchase food supplies, had hinted at the possibility of the capture of that much dreaded fortress. It is more than probable that his veiled suggestions met with no response from their lordships, for there the matter ended. Eight years later his successor in office, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke—a man who had been for almost half a century connected officially with the province—devoted one of his letters to the Duke of Newcastle to the subject of "how we may dispossess the French of the footing they have got on the back of all the English colonies on this continent." Here appears the first definite proposal for the capture of the Cape Breton fortress. To quote the plain and business-like statement of the veteran governor:

"To the Northward of the Lake, viz: in Canada and at the Island "of Breton the French are stronger both in men and Fortifications, so "that a much greater force will be required to subdue them; the "harbour of Louisbourg at Breton is strongly fortifyed and the entrance "defended by a Battery of fifty guns, there is depth of water sufficient "for the bigest ships, and the harbor is capable of containing a very "large fleet; its situation gives them all the advantages, they can wish "for, it secures their own navigation to Quebec, and gives them but too "great opportunities to annoy and interrupt our Fishery; in the Winter "they have few men upon the Island except their garrisons, but are "secured by the cold, the snow and ice. In summer they are strengthened by the great numbers of men employed in their fishery; the "only time therefore to attempt with most advantage the taking of the "place will be at the breaking up of the winter, and before their ships "come from France, and this may be done; for if His Majesty's ships to "be appointed for that service winter at Boston, they may block up the "harbor of Louisbourg before any ships from France can arrive there, "and His Majesty's troops may land when the least opposition can be "given them, and for this expedition I am pursuaded that four or five "thousand men may be raised in New England, if the Officers, as they "were for the expedition against the Spaniards be appointed in these "provinces, but then I presume it will be necessary they be disciplined "before they embark, so that if the orders and commissions be sent "over the summer before, and a sufficient number of subalterns to "teach them their exercise, they may before the ensuing spring be fit "for service, but I presume some veterans from England will be "absolutely necessary to join the Americans, under the command of an "experienced General If we take Cape Breton and have constantly "there and at Placentia in those months wherein those seas are navigable, a sufficient number of ships of war to guard our Fishery, they "may intercept the French Ships bound to or from Canada, and thereby "reduce that Country to great necessity, and their communication with "Messasippi being cut off by the means proposed that country will "become an easier conquest."

Governor Clarke's proposal was a shrewd and sensible one, and it fairly well outlines the plan of the expedition which followed. Two years later he returned to the charge, for in a report sent home in the spring of 1743, entitled, "State of the British Provinces with respect to the French who surround them," he says:

"If ever it be thought adviseable to attempt again to take Canada, "the dispossessing the French of their mastery on the Lake and of the "Fort at the Crown point, will greatly facilitate the Enterprize, but "before we begin the work, I presume to think we ought to take Cape "Breton, a Place well fortifyed, and from whence the French can annoy "our Fishery at Newfoundland, and guard their own navigation to and "from Canada. That place is such a Thorn in the sides of the New

"England people, that its very probable a large body of men may be "raised there to assist in any such design. And if proper Officers are "sent from England in the Summer to exercise them, they may by the "ensuing spring be well disciplined, as all their Youth are expert in the "use of fire arms. from the unrestrained liberty of Fowling, which "obtains in all the Provinces, and I conceive the Spring is the most "proper season to attack the place before the Men of Warr and Fishing "Vessells come from France, for in the Winter they have few men "except the Garrisons, and Boston being a proper Port for our Fleet to "harbour in the Winter, we may block up the Harbour of Breton "before the ships from France can come upon the coast."

It will be noted that these primary representations of the great desirability of the reduction of Louisbourg came from New York; the next plea emanated from an official of the province of Massachusetts Bay, Judge of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty for that province and for New Hampshire. His proposal is dated from his lodgings in Cecil-street, London, the 9th of April, 1744, but was not published until July of the following year, when it appeared in pamphlet form, entitled, "The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation, "humbly represented by Robert Auckmuty, Judge, &c., in New England. "N. B. Upon the plan laid down in this representation, the island was "taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperill on the 14th of "June, 1745." Auckmuty's proposal also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that month (July). It suggests an expedition similar in general design to that which set out, and states that there would likely be little or no objection on the part of the provincial governments to bear their share of the burden; to use his own language, "Having "experienced the loyalty of the Massachusetts for twenty-seven years, "I presume to engage they will cheerfully furnish their complement."

All the foregoing proposals for the expedition were, be it noted, written by civilians, not soldiers; and to this fact it may possibly be due that they appear to have evoked no responsive echo in those to whom they were addressed. They were for English eyes alone; and to the Englishman of that day Cape Breton was practically a myth. On the minds of the King's Ministers, colonial matters and colonial troubles sat lightly, and we can well imagine were at this time quite eclipsed by the checquered events occurring nearer home. War with Spain had been declared in 1739, forced by the merchants and trading classes who had for years felt the strong hand of Spanish repression on their business, and even on their rights, in the South American trade. Unknown to Walpole, England's First Minister, a compact for mutual

aid existed between Spain and France; and the latter soon joined forces against Britain. The combination was a strong one and had the best of it during the earlier years of the war; and Walpole, who had strenuously supported a peace policy, was forced to resign office early in 1742. For a year or two Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville) directed foreign affairs, and during his regime the decisive victory at Dettingen brightened English hopes In 1744 nothing of great moment was effected by the naval and military forces, and during that year and the following winter and spring public attention was absorbed in politics, a change of ministry occurring in November. We may safely conclude that even those residents of England who were aware of the existence of such a place as Louisbourg, seldom allowed the subject of its relation to their American dependencies to present itself over-frequently to their minds. Little did either Ministry or people think that during that winter there was being evolved, far off in New England, a project, the result of which would have no small effect on old-world policy.

We have seen that the small post at Canso had been taken by an expedition from Louisbourg early in 1744. The British garrison had been brought to that fortress as prisoners of war, but subsequently were sent to Boston; and, after their arrival there, it would have been more than strange had not their chief topic of conversation been about their residence in the French citadel. The idea of an attack on the fortress was freely discussed, and the benefits to be derived from its capture were enlarged upon; but no action was taken until about the end of 1744, when it entered into the mind of a New Hampshire gentleman-trader, William Vaughan by name, that the much dreaded Louisbourg could perhaps be captured by an expedition, chiefly if not wholly from the New England colonies. Vaughan was a man in the prime of life, well educated, and of good social position; he had irrepressible energy, and when embarked on an undertaking put forth more than ordinary determination to accomplish his ends. In the latter trait he was fully equalled by the then governor of Massachusetts Bay, William Shirley, an Englishman, trained to the law, but with an uncommon interest in military matters, and no small conceit of his as yet undeveloped ability in this line.

To Shirley, Vaughan propounded his plan; it was as a spark to the train, and the fire ran swiftly. Nothing could have pleased the Governor better than to father such a proposal, and without delay he called together the General Court of Massachusetts—the little Parlia-

ment which held sway over the colony—and, after swearing the members to absolute secrecy, he laid before them the proposal for an attack on the Cape Breton capital, and asked their authorization of the necessary ways and means. It was a startling suggestion to the quiet and peace-loving legislators who composed the Court, and, with the prospect before them of probable great loss in money and men, it is not surprising that after several days deliberation they rejected the scheme. But in the meantime the news had leaked out—possibly, as Pepperrell's biographer tells us, through the religious fervor of one of the members of the Court whose prayers for Divine guidance in this momentous question were so loud as to be overheard. Shirley and another well-wisher to the scheme, James Gibson, drew up a petition to the Assembly praying that they reconsider their decision, and had it signed by a large number of New England merchants, to whose trade Louisbourg had been a deadly enemy. This carried great weight. Vaughan and Shirley put forth all their energy and powers of persuasion. The Assembly reconsidered their decision, and finally, by a majority of one, authorised the expedition.

This all-important preliminary settled, recruiting was briskly gone on with, and the neighbouring provinces were promptly called on for aid in men and shipping. Shirley no doubt was sanguine that hearty and generous responses would follow his appeal; but if so he was quickly undeceived. Each colony was jealous of its neighbour, and the patriotism of each was of the most narrow type;—dominated by self-interest it was confined to provincial limits and existed solely for provincial ends. The spirit of Imperialism which now runs so strongly through Greater Britain had no counter-part in the British America of 1745. Although France was the common enemy, and Louisbourg the common menace, only three provinces—New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island—could be induced to promise to give substantial aid in men to the expedition. New Hampshire guaranteed a regiment of five hundred men, of whom one hundred and fifty were to be paid by Massachusetts; Connecticut, soldiers to the number of five hundred and sixteen, on condition that one of her officers should be second in command. Rhode Island, at first generous enough to promise one hundred and fifty fighting men, subsequently decided to limit her help to an armed vessel. New York, the richest of all the provinces, was naturally looked to for a measure of assistance befitting her premier position; but in spite of the earnest efforts of Governor

Clinton, the Assembly—who as a whole were singularly lacking in patriotism and public spirit—would only vote the paltry sum of £3000, after debating the question for a fortnight. The governor, justly incensed at this and other evasions of duty, dismissed them to their homes; and then busily applied himself to aid the New England troops by forwarding them ten pieces of cannon—a most useful and timely gift. The new Assembly did not meet until the 25th of June, and would then only increase the grant to £5000. The energetic governor subsequently raised by subscription £2000 for provisions for the New England men, as much more for clothing, and £900 for gunpowder. But all's well that ends well; and as the British Government subsequently repaid the entire cost of the expedition, the meagre measure of aid given to Massachusetts in this patriotic enterprise made no practical difference to her treasury.

The command of the whole expedition was given to William Pepperell, a merchant of Kittery, then a part of Massachusetts. The choice was an excellent one in every way. He had little or no martial training, but was by no means deficient in courage; he had tact, a quiet temper, and above all, a fund of good common sense. As a citizen-soldier he could better handle a newly raised army of like nature than could one trained to the letter of strictest discipline, and to the command of veterans. Pepperell was at this time in his forty-ninth year.

Within seven weeks the little army was recruited, and all necessary preparations for the expedition completed. The call for active service against the French had met with a ready response from the hardy yeomen of Massachusetts, those from Maine (then a part of the first-named province) being especially eager in offering their services. There was apparently no age limit, nor was a medical examination deemed necessary; seeming good health and vigour, and freedom from physical defects, comprised the qualifications for acceptance. Each man was to receive pay at the rate of twenty-five shillings provincial currency a month, but supplied his own arms and uniform, of which a scarlet coat or tunic formed part. When completed, the force comprised eight regiments from Massachusetts, commanded respectively by Colonels Bradstreet, Waldo, Dwight, Moulton, Willard, Hale, Richmond and Gorham. Colonel Burr was in command of the Connecticut regiment, while the New Hampshire battalion was led by Colonel Gorham. General Wolcott of Connecticut was second-in-command of the whole force. The total strength was 4070 men, 3250 of whom were from Massachusetts, 516 from Connecticut, and 304 from New Hampshire.

A fleet of from eighty to ninety transports was required to convey the army to its destination. These vessels were secured without difficulty, as every New England seaport swarmed with small craft available for this purpose. By the side of the ships now employed in similar service the transports of 1745 would indeed be pigmies ; from the size of these cockleboats their passengers had a minimum of space and a maximum of discomfort. As convoy while *en route* and for possible naval operations when in the enemy's waters, a small but sturdy company of sloops, schooners and the like was got together, armed and made ready for war, and placed under the command of Captain Edward Tyng, a naval officer of excellent reputation for courage and efficiency. Amid loud and heartfelt enthusiasm, and closely followed by prayer and blessing, the main body of the expedition set sail on the 23rd of March.

Of the voyage across that short but stormy bit of ocean between Boston and Breton there was everything to depress these eighteenth century crusaders,—nothing to brighten. In the grip of the Atlantic, which was in a fierce and scornful mood, the little transports pitched and rolled incessantly ; and most of the passengers, all military ardour gone and forgotten, longed with an intense longing for an end to their journey, be that end what it might. For several days they tossed about, often in imminent danger ; but the marvellous good-luck or Providential care—call it what you wish—which attended so closely on the enterprise, guarded it from the very first, and not a single transport was lost. The harbour of Canso was their destination, and during the first few days of April they came dropping into port, until the roll was complete. The New Hampshire contingent was the first on the ground, having arrived before the end of March, while the Connecticut regiment did not turn up until about the tenth of April. Here it was that, only eleven months previously, a French detachment from the Louisbourg garrison had fired the first shot in this war ; truly their chickens had now come home to roost.

Steady drill and hard work was at once the order of the day. The troops were raw and lacked all technical training in their new profession as well as the more subtle and more effective quality known as discipline. There was no sprinkling of veterans in the ranks of the force to impart to it a soldierly tone, nor had the greater number of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, any practical experience. So great was the necessity for drill, that even Sundays could not be observed as days of rest ; the chaplain, Father Moody, held service it is

true, but it was concurrent with parades and the exercising of recruits. A block-house was built and armed with a few light guns, and a guard of 90 or 100 men detailed as its garrison. None were idle. Several of the cruisers were sent forward beyond Louisbourg, to watch for any French ships which might endeavour to slip into the harbour with reinforcements and supplies, and did effective work in this way. Another party was sent to Baie Verte—where a settlement existed and flourished even at that early date—to do all possible damage, and especially to try to cut off food supplies which were at times shipped to Louisbourg from that place; but they did nothing beyond burning the houses and boats of some inoffensive settlers. They were able to beat off the frigate *Renommée*, on her way from France with despatches and stores for the Louisbourg garrison, and also made several small prizes.

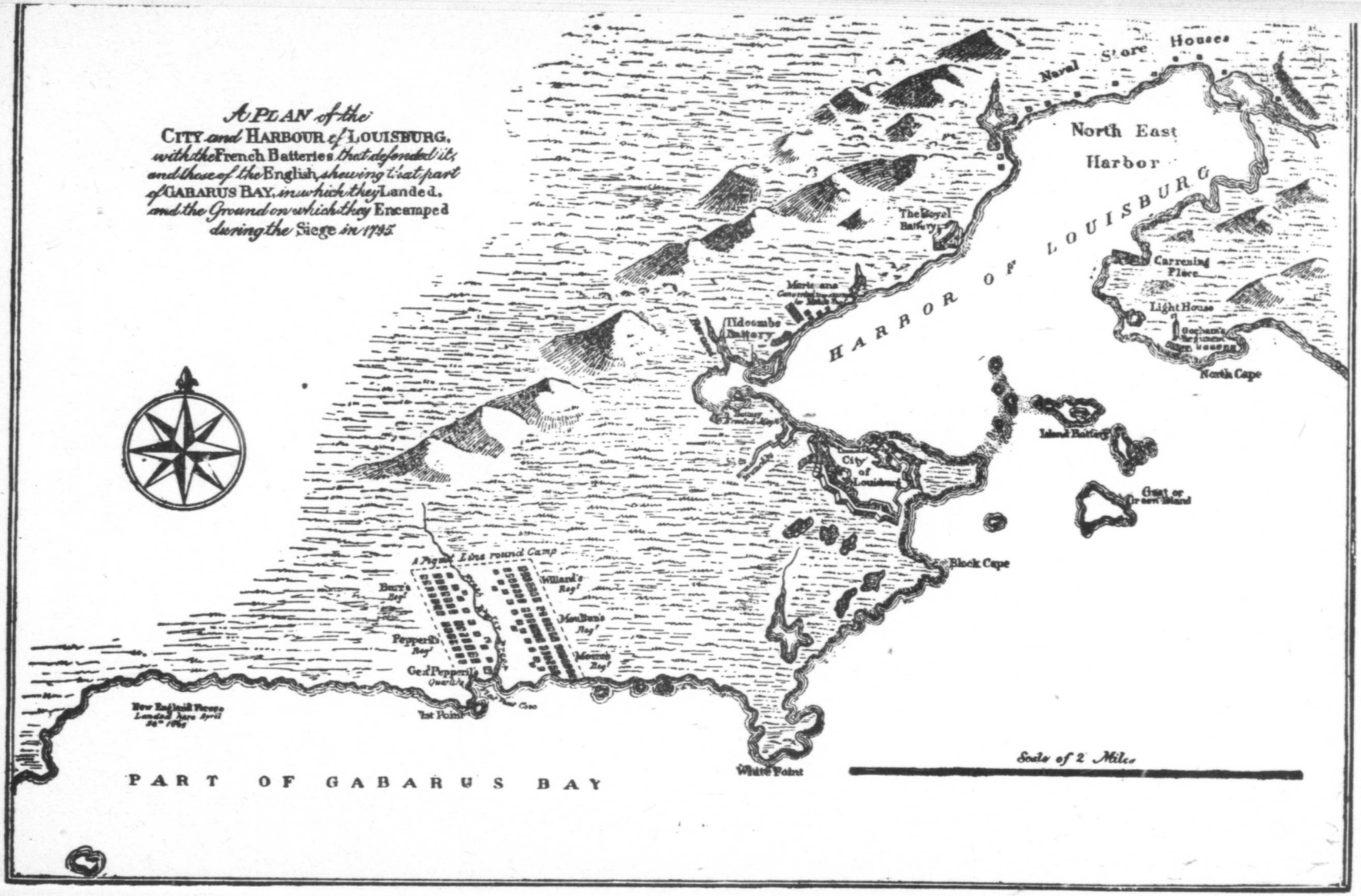
During all this time, other agencies had been quietly but powerfully at work adding force to the crusade. While drawing his main strength from New England, in men, money and ships, Shirley had not been forgetful of other potent strings to his bow. By a happy measure of foresight—one which turned out to be that on which the final success of the attack hinged—he had, in the fall of 1744, written to the Duke of Newcastle to say that some of the King's ships would probably be required on the New England and Nova Scotian coast to protect the fisheries from French attack; whereupon the Duke of Bedford, First Lord of the Admiralty, instructed Commodore Peter Warren—then in chief command of the North American squadron—to sail for Boston and act with Shirley in the furtherance of British interests. Despatch vessels were very slow sailers in those days, and before these instructions reached Warren he had received word direct from Shirley, conveying the startling news of the New England expedition, and asking for more assistance. As the project did not have the King's sanction, Warren declined to help; but on receipt of the instructions from England a few days later, he set sail at once for Boston. While *en route* he met a schooner hailing from that port, which brought news of the departure of the flotilla for Canso; to Canso he therefore proceeded without delay. He carried his flag on the *Superb*, a 60-gun ship; and with him were two 40-gun frigates—the *Launceston* and *Mermaid*. The other vessels under his command were also ordered to Cape Breton.

On the 22nd of April the first ship of the fleet sailed into Canso harbour,—she was the *Eltham*, a fine frigate of 40 guns, commanded by Captain Durell. Her appearance must have gladdened Pepperrell's

anxious heart; and still more must he have rejoiced when he heard that the Commodore himself, with his three best ships, might soon be expected. With the promptitude characteristic of his profession, that officer arrived on the following day; and, after but a short stay in Canso, went on with his ships to assist Captain Tyng's plucky little squadron in blockading Louisbourg harbour.

While the stay in Canso had been most useful—in fact almost essential—in giving some idea of drill and discipline to the invaders, it had been largely an enforced one, as the ice which blocked the proposed landing-place during nearly the entire month of April rendered disembarkation for attack an impossibility. But by the 26th news came that the coast was clear; camp was struck and preparations were hurriedly made, and early on the morning of the 29th, the army took ship—a detachment of two hundred and seventy men to destroy the fort and settlement at St. Peter's— the rest for the goal of their desire, Gabarus Bay, near Louisbourg. They had hoped to arrive that same night, and push on to the attack under cover of darkness, in accordance with the highly theoretical plan laid down in Boston by Shirley; but the wind fell, and it was not until the following morning that they reached the vicinity of the town. We can well fancy with what intense eagerness the soldiers crowded the decks of their transports to gaze on the famous fortress. Before them were the massive walls and battlements which enclosed what was to the New England soldiery the chief prop of the power of France in the new world; and misgivings must have crowded into many hearts when their owners saw for the first time the formidable proportions of the casket which enclosed the prize. But the very richness of the latter, exaggerated beyond all reason in their simple minds, was in itself no small incentive to perseverance in their design; while the *elan* characteristic of volunteers aided them in looking forward with confidence to the result.

Meanwhile, were not the French hard at work during all this time, making active preparations for a warm reception to these unasked and unwelcome visitors? To the discredit of the governor, Duchambon, the answer must be a negative one. Several historians of the campaign have stated that the garrison was entirely ignorant of the existence of the expedition until the ships were visible; but this seems difficult to credit, from the fact of the long wait at Canso, the skirmishes there with French and Indians (some of whom would assuredly have sent word to the town) and the appearance of the war-vessels in front of the




PLAN OF LOUISBOURG HARBOUR AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

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fortress for so many days previously. In fact a certain unique pamphlet ("Lettre d'une habitat de Louisbourg") quoted by Parkman, states that the garrison had heard of the proposed expedition, but judged the news too improbable to be true. Duchambon—sharing in the thorough contempt in which French officers held militia—doubtless pooh-poohed the whole affair, and laughed at the idea of such men taking such a fortress. Beyond having stationed a detachment of forty men on the shore of the bay to watch for and resist a landing, the French commandant appears to have made absolutely no preparations to meet the incoming wave, although so big and vehement in its hostility to France. But he was rudely startled from any sense of comparative security which he may have entertained, by the appearance, on the morning of the 30th of April, of a vast cloud of transports under British colours, their decks crowded with scarlet-clad foemen ; and he hastily sent out eighty men under command of a trusty officer, to prevent the landing of the invaders. Here Pepperrell's rough-and-ready common sense was more than a match for the formal methods of the French commander. He made the pretence of attempting to land a few boat-loads of men at a place called Flat Point, about three miles from the town ; but recalled them to the flagship and then suddenly sent them off at hot speed to Freshwater Bay, a little inlet about a mile and a half to the westward. The French ran to intercept them, but the boats reached the appointed spot first ; and the New Englanders hastily landing, dashed at their enemies, killed six, took as many prisoners, and drove the rest headlong into the town. Morpain, the French commander, was one of those captured.

First blood had now been shed, and the invading Britons, raw militia though they were, had shown no signs of funk—in fact quite the reverse. So far everything had resulted in their favour. A host of other boats of the fleet, all crowded with men, followed close in the wake of the attacking party, and soon secured their footing on shore. Two thousand men were landed that day, followed on the morrow by the remainder of the force. Once established they quickly made themselves at home and, after spending a night in the open with little or no shelter, they moved towards the town and pitched their tents on the banks of a little stream near Flat Point, about two miles from the walls of the fortress. Much latitude appears to have been given by Pepperrell to his regimental commanders, for it is on record that at least one of these officers formed his encampment considerably nearer the town than did the rest of the army ; but his tents were soon a mark for the enemy's gunners, and he and his men had to beat a hasty retreat.

PLAN OF LOUISBOURG HARBOUR AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

The British general lost no time in useless delay. With him, probably in the capacity of a staff-officer, was Vaughan, the originator of the expedition and one of its most zealous officers. To him was entrusted the playing of the first card in the game now beginning; and he played it uncommonly well. As soon as the troops were landed he was despatched by Pepperrell at the head of a party of four hundred men, towards the north-east end of the harbour, to gain information and to do all possible damage to the enemy. With an audacity of which only militia would be capable, the detachment, when on the high ground opposite the town, halted and gave three cheers; they then proceeded to their destination, avoiding the Royal battery *en route* (which, as we have before noted, was a strong and heavily-armed work on the north shore) and burnt all the naval storehouses which were dotted along the bank of the north-east harbour. A dense smoke arose, which, wafted into the Royal battery, added to the fears of its garrison. Thierry, the commanding officer, had already recommended to Duchambon that the battery be abandoned, the cannon spiked, and the works blown up. This advice the governor had determined to follow, except the demolition of the works, to which the King's engineer, Verrier, had objected. In a senseless panic, Thierry and his men now hurried over to the town, spiking the guns it is true, but leaving a most valuable lot of ordnance stores intact. But all this was then unknown to Vaughan and his detachment. They spent the night in the neighbourhood of the burning storehouses, and in the morning were returning to camp in an irregular manner when Vaughan, with a party of sixteen men, while passing the battery noticed its apparent absence of life; struck by this, he stopped, and bribed a friendly Indian to reconnoitre. The work was empty. Vaughan and his handful of men ran in and took possession, and without delay sent a messenger to General Pepperrell stating that they had entered the Royal battery, and were waiting for a reinforcement and a flag. To make temporary amends for the latter, one of the men, William Tufts by name, doffed his red coat, gripped it with his teeth, and, with reckless bravado, climbed the flag-staff and made fast the scarlet symbol at the top. When the gunners in the town saw the improvised bunting they hurled at it a shower of shot but to no effect. Seeing but a small party of the invaders in possession, a French detachment of a hundred men was hastily sent to re-occupy the battery, their main object, doubtless, being to bring off the valuable stores which had been left there; but Vaughan and his handful of men ran down to the

beach, and in the most courageous manner stood there firing on the boats. In the meantime Pepperrell had hurried off a reinforcement which came to Vaughan's assistance at this critical juncture, and the Frenchmen returned to the shelter of their fortress.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of this acquisition to the besiegers. Their great weakness lay in lack of heavy guns; and so utterly deficient were they in this respect, that had their opponents been able to retain the Royal Battery, or even to have taken time before leaving to render the cannon useless, it is doubtful if the main object of the expedition would have been accomplished; their blind panic in this instance was the most fatal of their errors. They fired heavily at the work all that day and for many days after; but the mischief was done. The English commander immediately had a staff of men at work drilling out the touchholes of the pieces, and in two or three days his gunners were doing serious damage to the Louisbourg defences with French shot fired from French cannon. Other batteries were also established and at work in short order. Although the guns which the New England men had brought with them had to be dragged a distance of nearly two miles across a deep marsh, the vehement spirit of the men enabled them to quickly accomplish this, each piece of artillery being loaded on a rough sledge and then pulled through the mire by a gang of two hundred soldiers. The base of the artillery attack was a clump of hills which lay due north of the town; and here on the 4th of May, the besiegers opened fire from a battery of four light pieces of cannon and three mortars, two of which were, however, found useless. On the 7th, ten coehorns were placed in position at a spot 900 yards from the town; and within a few days, this battery was strengthened by the accession of eight 22-pr. guns, and by those from the battery which had been first erected. The fire from this, and from the Royal battery, was most destructive; the shot tore through the walls, knocked over houses, and caught the citadel and King's bastion in flank. Five hundred men manned these batteries; and all ammunition, stores and provisions for their use had to be transported through the knee-deep mud from the camp at head-quarters, two miles distant. Governor Shirley—but a theorist in military matters—had expected the immediate capitulation of the fortress, having planned (on paper) for its complete surprise. This may account in part for the woeful lack of stores, which was one of the features of the expedition; but the ignorance of its leaders on all matters—except courage and pluck—which constitute military efficiency,

was no doubt mainly responsible for the deficiencies which existed—deficiencies which resulted in a vast deal of sickness, much loss of life, and, but for weather extraordinarily favourable, might have brought about the utter failure of the expedition. For the men lacked tents, extra clothing, often even necessary food ; and in spite of their unconquerable spirit, an epidemic of sickness clung to the camp, as many as fifteen hundred men being down at one time.

But Pepperrell and his militia-men stuck to their guns, fired them so constantly (and, possibly, so injudiciously) during the day that many of them burst, and, under cover of night and fog, toiled and strove at bringing fresh batteries into play closer to the city walls. On the 16th, the coehorns and two other mortars were pushed forward to a point about 440 yards from the west gate of the town ; and, on the next day an advanced battery was planted at a distance of only 250 yards from the west gate. This was armed with 18 and 42 pounders, dragged at night by squads of men from the Royal battery, two miles distant by road. On the 20th, more heavy guns were put in position on a piece of rising ground opposite the west gate, across the harbour. This last was known as Titcomb's battery, from the officer of that name in command. From morning till night these groups of cannon kept hammering away at the French fortifications, and also did a vast deal of damage to the buildings of the town itself. There was a great scarcity of experienced gunners among the New England men, and many and disastrous were the accidents which happened ; the bursting of cannon was of daily occurrence, and almost as many men were disabled from this cause as from the fire of the enemy. With the exception of the ten guns given by New York, those which had been brought over proved in many instances worse than useless.

From the very beginning of the siege the two commanders, Warren and Pepperrell, acted in close concert. The former appears to have been an excellent type of the naval officer of that day—brave, impulsive, strong in his convictions, and inclined to be overbearing in his demeanour towards soldiers and civilians. Had a fiery and hot-tempered warrior been in command of the New England forces, it is more than probable that continual clashing would have ensued between the two chiefs, with the result of serious harm to the service on which they were employed ; but as it was, Pepperrell's calmness, good nature and good sense enabled him to discuss and plan arrangements with Warren in the most amicable manner, and to ignore those ebullitions of apparent

temper which at times cropped out in the correspondence of the impatient commodore. Both were loyal and enthusiastic Britons and equally zealous for the success of His Majesty's arms.

The two commanders, alike untrained in the somewhat tedious methods of military engineering, and with little sympathy for the slow formalities of a methodical siege, were bent on bringing matters to a crisis with least possible delay. The battery on the island at the entrance to the harbour—a heavily-armed and well-defended work—was a *bete noir* to Warren, eager to work his ships into the port and assist in the bombardment ; and three or four days after the landing a joint attack on this battery was talked of, to come off as soon as Pepperrell's guns were in position. On the 7th, the British leader summoned the town to surrender—an invitation which was promptly declined by Duchambon ; following which, Warren urged a night attack on the island, and on three successive evenings preparations were made for the assault ; on each occasion rough weather prevented the embarkation. The storming of the town itself was decided on for the night of the 9th ; but soon after the decision, more prudent thoughts prevailed, and the attack was postponed. The energies of the New England men were then concentrated on the bombardment and on the work of pushing their batteries closer to the town—work most laborious and demanding all the available strength of the little army. Both Warren and Pepperrell had before this written for more men and stores, the former to the governments of the southern colonies, the latter to Shirley. Eighteen transports were sent to Boston to bring the expected reinforcements, but failed to return during the period of the siege.

Up to this time the chief work and honours of the campaign had fallen to the share of the land forces ; to Warren's squadron, hitherto confined to a passive and uneventful blockade, the opportunity now came to take a more active share in hostilities. On the 19th of May they saw a large man-of-war under French colours, making for the entrance to the harbour. This was the *Vigilant*, a sixty-four gun vessel, commanded by the Marquis de la Maison Forte, and carrying stores and munitions of war for the beleagured garrison. Intercepted and attacked by the British cruisers she made a brave fight ; but, single-handed, she had small chance of success, and finally had to strike her flag after a loss of eighty men. Her cargo proved a most welcome addition to the commissariat and ordnance stores of the besiegers, the latter of which at this time was at a low ebb. Pepperrell's stock of powder and heavy

shot was, in fact, entirely finished long before the end of May, and his necessities were thereafter supplied by the naval authorities. Warren began to receive accessions to his little fleet, which, at the beginning of June, stood as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Superb*, | 40 | guns..... | Capt. Somers. |
| *Eltham*, | 40 | " ..... | " Durell. |
| *Launceton*, | 40 | " ..... | " Calmady. |
| *Mermaid*, | 40 | " ..... | " Douglas. |
| *Princess Mary*, | 60 | " ..... | " Edwards. |
| *Hector*, | 40 | " ..... | " Cornewall. |
| *Vigilant*, | 64 | " ..... | " Montague. |

In addition to these there were the Provincial cruisers which have been already mentioned.

The whole flotilla was now kept on the *qui vive* in the expectation of attack from a strong French squadron which had been fitted out at Brest, and of which the *Vigilant* was supposed to have been the forerunner. This intensified the fiery commodore's anxiety to gain possession of Louisbourg prior to possible reverses by sea or by land; for rumours were current that a strong expedition of French and Indians were on the way to attack the New England troops in rear. The fact that more than one-third of the latter were unfit for duty by reason of sickness did not make the prospect more cheering; and Warren vehemently urged on Pepperrell the necessity for an assault on the town, sending him (on the 24th of May) a proposition embodying full details. These were not agreeable to Pepperrell's officers, and the storming of the place was therefore deferred; but an immediate attack on the island battery had been decided on, and at midnight on the 26th about three hundred men put off in small boats to make the assault. This appears to have been informally and irregularly arranged, and was far less creditable to those who planned it than to those who took part in its dangers. The latter seem to have elected their own officers for the occasion—a thing in itself flagrantly subversive of discipline— and, under command of a man named Brooks, pulled quietly for the island. The boats reached its shores safely, but found a very contracted landing place. When about one-half of the party had been safely disembarked, they had the imprudence to give three loud cheers; the French garrison sprang to arms and opened a heavy and effective fire on their assailants and on the crowded mass of boats waiting to land their living cargoes. The rear vessels sheered off and got out of range as quickly as possible; and

although the men on shore made a bold dash for the ramparts and even succeeded in planting scaling ladders against the walls, they were practically at the mercy of their opponents. They made a plucky fight of it till daybreak, and then surrendered at discretion. Their total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was one hundred and eighty-nine men. The effects of those three hasty cheers made a sad hole in the little English army.

This reverse was a startling lesson in discipline to the besiegers; but instead of disheartening, it nerved them to new efforts. Gorham's regiment had been encamped at Lighthouse Point, at the eastern end of the entrance to the harbour, and directly opposite to the island battery. It was now determined to put heavy guns in position at this point, and to endeavour to crush out the effectiveness of the French work by artillery fire. Strong working parties were forthwith employed on the duty of transporting heavy cannon and mortars from the main attack to this position; but the work was necessarily slow and most laborious, and it was the 11th of June before any guns were ready to open fire. For their reception and defence Gorham and his men had built a strong battery, with embrasures directly flanking the line of French cannon on the island. Every shot told; and the island battery, which had so long divided the British naval and military forces was, in turn, now wholly dominated by its new adversary.

During all this time, an unremitting artillery battle had been going on between the English guns in front of the west gate, and the circular battery and other heavy ordnance which guarded that part of the fortress. On both sides the labours of the combatants were most severe, the nights being employed in attempting to repair the damage done by the opposing cannon during the day. But the French works suffered most, and, in spite of the toil and engineering skill of their defenders, gradually fell into a ruinous and almost helpless condition. Everything favoured the besiegers. The weather continued singularly fine; the nights grew shorter, and the screen of darkness necessary for repairs to the damaged masonry became less as the necessity for such repairs increased. Experienced gunners and ample supplies of ammunition for the attacking guns were obtained from the ships; and the New England Britons—scorning the accepted theories of slow and laborious attack—worked forward their batteries in a manner which almost savored of bravado, and which, as in the strife of line against column of later days, startled their machine-trained opponents. No aid

came to the besieged from their allies in the vicinity. The New England troops had made several forays on the neighbouring settlements, burnt houses, barns and boats, and established for themselves a wholesome fear in the minds of all French partizans, red and white. Indeed this merciless destruction of the property of the unfortunate settlers and fishermen appears to have been carried to a totally unwarranted degree; on one occasion (May 10th) the practice brought a loss to the besiegers which they could ill spare. A party of twenty-five men, while busily employed plundering some dwellings, was attacked by a force of French and Indians, and all but three were killed or taken prisoners. The fleet from France did not appear; while Warren's squadron was, on the 10th and 12th of June, augmented by the arrival of four of the King's ships—the *Chester*, *Canterbury*, *Sunderland*, and *Lark*—with a combined armament of 210 guns.

By a strange weakness on the part of the officers in command of the beleagured garrison, the only measure which could have brought them relief from their environment was not tried. This was a sortie in force against Pepperrell's raw and undisciplined troops. It is true that one had been attempted when the siege was barely a week old; but it had been a weak and irresolute effort, more of a reconnaisance than anything else. A vigorous attack in force, if well supported, would have been almost certain of success; but the French officers mistrusted their men, and would do nothing to bring them into contact with the enemy—an error of judgment fatal to their cause.

The Marquis de la Maison Forte, the officer who had commanded the *Vigilant* when under French colours, now a prisoner, involuntarily did a good turn for his opponents at this period of the siege. Early in June it was reported that some of the New England men who had been taken, were being badly treated by the Louisbourg authorities; whereupon the French captain was requested by Warren to write to Duchambon, protesting against such treatment, in view of the fact that he and his brother officers had received all possible attention and courtesy from their English captors; and incidentally reported the loss of his ship the *Vigilant*. This letter was sent into the town by a naval officer named McDonald, under a flag of truce. McDonald, although a fluent French linguist, feigned ignorance of that language, and spoke through an interpreter; and the comments of the French governor and his officers on the contents of the missive were free and unrestrained. This was the first intimation they had received of the loss of the *Vigilant*,

and it seemed almost a death-knell to their hopes. Subsequent events were in no small degree the outcome of this communication, the despondency unwittingly displayed by the besieged infusing fresh vigour into the British commanders—vigour which quickly bore fruit. It is a singular coincidence that an officer of the same name, fourteen years later, was also by his knowledge of the French language instrumental in aiding the success of Wolfe's army when on its way to scale the cliffs above Quebec, in the early morning of the thirteenth of September, 1759.

Preparations were now made for a general assault on the town by the combined forces. All felt that a crisis was at hand, and the artillery fire on both sides became unusually heavy. On the 11th, Warren sent to Pepperrell final instructions, explaining the signals which would be hoisted on his ships prior to their forcing an entrance to the harbour; and Pepperrell busied himself to the utmost in the all-important preparatory work. All through the latter days of the siege he had been hampered by his lack of powder, and was now entirely dependent on the fleet for this essential; on the 13th, he was forced to borrow fifty more barrels. Scaling ladders were taken to the advanced batteries, and other necessary details attended to. The powder reached him on the 14th; and as that day was the anniversary of the King's accession to the throne, it was celebrated from noon until dusk by an unusually heavy fire from all the batteries. On the 15th, Warren came on shore, inspected the troops, and both he and Pepperrell addressed them in brief but stirring words on their duties in the coming assault; and the commodore, not forgetting a more substantial and welcome tonic, sent them a hogshead of rum with which to drink his health. Six hundred of the men were sent aboard the ships of the fleet to assist in the expected fight, and the vessels moved towards the town and anchored in an imposing line.

While all were thus on the *qui vive* for action, the end came suddenly. A little after twelve o'clock on that day (15th) the French drums were heard to beat a parley, and a flag of truce came from the fortress to the camp. Captain Sherburn, who commanded the advanced battery, went forward to meet the party and conducted them to head-quarters; they brought a note from Duchambon, proposing a suspension of hostilities until formal articles of capitulation could be submitted. To this the British commanders acceded in the following quaintly-worded note:

"CAMP, *June 15th, 1745, 8½ P M.*

"We have yours of this date, proposing a suspension of hostilities "for such a time as shall be necessary for you to determine upon the "conditions of delivering up the garrison of Louisburg, which arrived "at a happy juncture to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, as we "were together and had just determined on a general attack. We shall "comply with your desire until eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and if "in the meantime you surrender yourselves prisoners of war, you may "depend upon humane and generous treatment.

"We are, your humble servants,

"PETER WARREN,
"WILLIAM PEPPERRELL."

The proposed conditions duly came from the French governor on the following morning, but were unsatisfactory to the British chiefs, who thereupon submitted counter proposals—and exceedingly liberal they were. Duchambon realized this and promptly accepted them, adding his wish that the garrison be allowed to march out with the honours of war. This was conceded, and on the 17th a detachment of Royal Marines took formal possession of the island battery, while Pepperrell, at the head of his army, marched into the town through the west gate to the Parade, where the French troops were drawn up in line to receive them. The scene was one long to be remembered by the participants; and the honest and well-earned joy of the New England men at the success of their efforts was mingled with wonder at the vast strength which still characterized the fortifications, and, doubtless, with self-congratulations on the fact that they had been spared the certain danger and probable defeat of a direct assault on so strong a fortress. The appearance of the garrison may not have specially impressed the victors; continued loss of sleep, irregularity of food and lack of attention to personal appearance must have told heavily on them; but they had fought hard and well, had been singularly loyal to their colours, and were of the same breed as the men who were even then honoring France with their devotion and valour in Flanders. Salutes were fired and guards mounted by the incoming Britons; the French then marched out, and, in accordance with the terms of the capitulation, were with the least possible delay embarked on vessels for conveyance to France. They numbered about two thousand men; and with them went as many more ex-citizens of Louisbourg, and the sailors previously taken in the *Vigilant*. About thirty, however, of the total number remained and were subsequently sent to Quebec.

The losses to both armies during the siege were comparatively light, —that of the British being one hundred and thirty killed or died of disease; of the French probably less than one hundred. Between seventy and eighty French cannon and mortars and a quantity of stores and ammunition (except powder) became the property of King George.

News of the surrender was sent as quickly as possible to the American provinces and to England; and colonies and mother-land alike rejoiced in the acquisition. The despatches for Governor Shirley were sent off on the 18th June, by a schooner under Captain Bennet; but, although supposed to be a fast-sailing vessel, she did not reach Boston until early on the 3rd of July. The news quickly spread and the roaring of cannon and the clanging of bells gave a partial vent to the joy which pervaded the town. In the evening the streets were brilliantly illuminated, while bonfires and fireworks showed that the people were making merry; events all the more remarkable in view of the general quietness of the townsfolk of the Boston of 1745. Nor was the public offering of thanks to the Almighty omitted; a day of general thanksgiving was proclaimed throughout Massachusetts, and was heartily observed. Similar expressions of public joy were shown in New York, Philadelphia, and many other towns and villages in the British-American colonies.

The method of rejoicing indulged in on this occasion, (and the simplicity and good nature of a people who would tolerate and sing most distressing doggerel,) may be judged from the following extract from a New York paper of 29th July, 1745:—

*Jamaica, on Long Island, July 20.*—The good news of the Surrender of Cape Breton coming to us in the Middle of our Harvest, obliged us to defer the Time of publick Rejoicing till yesterday; when the Magistrates, Military Officers, and many other Gentlemen, &c, of this county, met at this place, feasted together, and at Night gave a Tub of Punch at a fine Bonfire, drank the Public Health, and especially of the valiant Commander immediately concern'd in this great Action, and joined in chorus to the following song:—

Let all true Subjects now rejoice,
The sev'nteenth Day of June,
On Monday Morning in a Trice
We sung the French a Tune.
A glorious Peace we shall have soon
For we have conquer'd Cape Breton,
With a fa la la.

Brave Warren and Bold Pepperrell,
Stout Wolcot, and the rest
Of British Heroes, with Good Will,
Enter'd the Hornet's Nest.
A glorious Peace, &c.

A Health let's to King George advance
That he may long remain,
To curb the Arrogance of France
And Haughtiness of Spain.
A glorious Peace, &c.

In England, the news was as a gleam of sunshine in a black sky; for at this time national affairs were at their worst, and the hearts of patriotic Britons were sore. The greater part of the army was on the Continent acting in concert with the Dutch against the French under Marshal Saxe; and, more by the timidity of their allies than by any lack of valour on the part of the British, the events of the campaign were markedly unfavorable to the Anglo-Dutch force. At Fontenoy, Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend, the excellent generalship of the French commander, and the all-round inefficiency of the Dutch, brought disaster to the allies; while in Scotland, the Pretender was rapidly gathering around him the many faithful and honest hearts still loyal to the House of Stuart. The capture of Louisbourg, and a continued succession of victories at sea by detached and stray ships over French opponents, alone maintained British prestige, and relieved the almost universal gloom.

A glance at some of the English papers and periodicals of this year shows their warm recognition of the courage and endurance of Pepperrell and his New England men. Comparatively little attention was given by the writers of that day to Warren and his tars, and to their share in the successful consummation of the enterprise, although we know how essential it was; almost the whole praise was bestowed on the provincial troops and their leader. Rewards and honours were promptly forthcoming, and tokens of public joy were, as in America, immediately shown. Captain Montague, who carried to London the official account of the surrender, received from the Admiralty a present of five hundred guineas; salutes were fired from the Tower as soon as the intelligence had been received, while at night the city was ablaze with bonfires and illuminations. Warren was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and Pepperrell had the honour of being appointed a Baronet of Great Britain, and was also given the King's commission to raise and command a regiment of the line. To Shirley a similar commission was granted.

Louisbourg was now under British colours, and held by a British-American garrison. Almost immediately after the surrender heavy wet weather set in, and the site of the late besiegers' camp became an uninhabitable swamp. Here was a singular instance of the extraordinary good luck which attended the expedition, for had the rain come earlier, or had the surrender been delayed, it would have been almost impossible for Pepperrell to have maintained his ground. In the best of weather a very large proportion of his men were unfit for duty, and heavy rains would have been absolutely fatal to the continued manning of his works and batteries. And yet the winning of the town brought fresh troubles to the simple and impecunious New England men. By the greater number of these Louisbourg was supposed to be a city of vast wealth, and visions of the glittering booty which would be theirs if successful had doubtless been a strong incentive in their steadfastness. But there was little gold and silver and precious stones in the Cape Breton capital; and what there was must remain in the hands of its lawful owners. It was galling to the once expectant New Englanders to have to mount guard over the houses of the vanquished foe; but, alas, such was their duty immediately after the surrender. They broke loose at times, however, from the restraints of discipline. As a contemporary chronicler (quoted by Parkman) puts it: "A great Noys and hubbub a mongst ye Soldiers a bout ye Plunder; Som Cursing som a Swarein;" and it is recorded by one of their generals that on a Sunday when Father Moody was holding service there was "excessive stealing in every part of the town." This feeling of lack of sufficient recompense for their services was intensified at a later date when rich harvests of spoil came to the men of the fleet, who had endured little toil in the siege, and had suffered practically no loss. In the attack on Louisbourg, as has often been the case, the glory fell to the share of the army; the gold and silver to the navy.

The famous French fortress was now transformed into a bustling British garrison town and naval depot. The scarlet uniforms of the landsmen and the blue jackets of the tars dotted the streets; but hard work was the order of the day and idlers were few. No time was lost in repairing the damage which the walls and fortifications had received during the bombardment, and in fitting up quarters for the new occupants. Although the great struggle was over there was still no lack of incident, and this often of an exciting nature; but now it was the turn of the ships-of-war and their crews to be the chief participants. French prizes were wanted, and were invited into the harbour by the

very simple ruse of keeping the French flag flying over the town. The bait took well, and within six weeks three large vessels had been taken in this peaceful manner, the cargoes and hulls enriching their captors to the tune of £175,000 stg. A month later came the great catch of the season ; this was the treasure-ship *Notre Dame de la Déliverance*, with a cargo of gold and silver valued at £800,000, which now became British property. This vessel had as a passenger a distinguished Spaniard, Don Antonio D'Ulloa, who has left to posterity a very interesting account of his travels ; considerable space is devoted to the *contretemps* which happened to him at Louisbourg, and a full description of that town is given. So far as is recorded, this gentleman was the first scientist of note to visit the Cape Breton capital ; and seldom, if ever, has one had a heartier welcome. The romantic circumstances which led to his call, the princely amount of treasure which accompanied him, and which he left in the custody of the naval authorities, lent a special charm to his visit. One half of the value of all these seizures went to the Crown, the remainder to the officers and men of the fleet ; the land forces, who had borne the lion's share of the work, not getting a single penny. This was in accordance with precedent ; but in all fairness, precedent should have been waived under such circumstances. It is said that every seaman in the squadron received 850 guineas as his share.

The New England troops naturally expected to leave for home soon after the surrender ; but only seven hundred had this good fortune. The latter were replaced by the Rhode Island contingent, and a reinforcement from Massachusetts. The regular regiments ordered from Gibralter to garrison the newly-captured fortress were detained by unavoidable circumstances until so late in the season that their transports had to take them to Virginia for the winter ; the provincials were therefore obliged to remain in Louisbourg during that season. They suffered much from illness, and lost from that source alone about eight hundred men, more than six times their total fatalities during the siege. Warren had been appointed governor by the Home authorities, but Pepperrell remained in command of the provincials ; thus a joint control was exercised over the fortunes of the town and its garrison. It was no sinecure ; the duties involved considerable labour, and called for the exercise of great tact and nice discrimination. After the first few weeks the troops had comparatively little to do ; idleness fermented discontent, and there was no little growling among the Massachusetts men about the

alleged insufficiency of their pay ; but Governor Shirley, who arrived in Louisbourg in August, settled this by advancing the rate to forty shillings per month. Martial law had to be maintained throughout the winter, to prevent or remedy excesses arising from the reckless acts of the garrison who, disappointed at not going home, and lacking training and soldierly self-control, were often riotous and well-nigh unmanageable. The combination at the head of affairs could not have been a better one ; Warren, an experienced officer, well accustomed to deal with and command men ; Pepperrell, a man of high character, possessing tact and patience, and whose life was governed by principles of religion and justice. Loyal to God and to the King, he proved himself to be one of Britain's most faithful servants during these two arduous years.

Warren and Pepperrell acted as judges over the court which was held on three days of each week for the trial of offenders. Among the records is one of the case of a Captain Piercy, who, as Parsons tells us, was charged by three complainants with drinking "Long life to the Pretender," which at that time was deemed high treason. Piercy was arraigned before the court, and the charge and affidavits being read in a solemn tone, the question was put, "What is your defence, Sir." "May it please your Honors," said the captain, "the complainants entirely misunderstood me. I drank "Long life to the potatoes!" The captain's defence was deemed satisfactory.

Towards the end of March, 1746, the long expected relief of the garrison took place. Two regiments of the line, the 29th (Fuller's) and 56th (Warburton's), and a detachment of the 30th (Frampton's), comprising in all 1875 men, arrived at Louisbourg ; and the New England troops were in a very short time afterwards permitted to return to their distant homes. A few remained, enlisting for regular service in the new regiments, (the 65th and 66th of the line) which were being formed under the commands of Shirley and Pepperrell. With the new garrison came a considerable number of civilians, presumably as settlers or fishermen. Warren and Pepperrell left for Boston in May, and met with a most enthusiastic reception on their arrival. Commodore Knowles assumed the governorship of Louisbourg, with Col. Warburton, (of the 56th regt.,) as second-in-command. During the summer the garrison was kept on the *qui vive*, expecting attack from the powerful squadron of the Duc D'Anville, which had left Brest on 22nd June, with instructions (amongst others) to dismantle Louisbourg. At the same time the French authorities in Canada sent a force of 1600

men to Baie Verte to be prepared to act in concert with D'Anville in the attack. A strong British fleet,—12 ships of war, manned by about 3550 men,—was gathered at Louisbourg, under command of Vice-Admiral Townshend; and all things looked promising for the renewal of hostilities on a large scale. But Providence or Fate—call it which you will—intervened, and the magnificent French fleet met with a series of disasters unparalleled in modern naval history, and which can only be compared to those which befell the Spanish Armada of 1588. Louisbourg was not even attacked.

When Warren sailed for Boston he left Commodore Knowles in chief command of Louisbourg. Large wooden barracks were erected near the Queen's Gate for the accommodation of the garrison, and the fortifications and armament were kept in a thorough state of efficiency. The winter of 1746–47 was a comparatively quiet one; it may be noted that this year for the first time the coal of the island was used for fuel in the barracks and town. Knowles was unpopular—hated Cape Breton—and did his best to injure her fair fame in the eyes of the Home authorities; possibly his representations had something to do with the subsequent re-transfer of the island to the French king. In April, 1747, that sovereign, undeterred by the fate of D'Anville's ships and men, fitted out another strong fleet particularly to retake Cape Breton, and generally to strike at British power in America. But he was fighting a nation whose rulers made it their paramount business to hold world-wide supremacy at sea; and Admirals Anson and Warren (of Louisbourg fame) intercepted the French fleet, and fought and totally defeated it on the 3rd of May, off Cape Finisterre. The Cape Bretoners breathed freely for another year; and the only thing which seriously troubled them and their new governor—Colonel Hopson—was the petty warfare waged by roving bands of Indians and Frenchmen against the settlers and settlements in the vicinity of Louisbourg. This despicable species of warfare waged by the French during the whole period of these wars was the great thorn in the flesh to all British America. It had little practical effect beyond annoyance, but produced such a degree of irritation that the ultimate entire expulsion of French interests from North America was looked on by all classes as an absolute necessity.

What the sword could not do was accomplished by the pen. In April, 1748, a treaty of peace was arranged at Aix-la-Chappelle between the two Powers, one of the conditions of which was that all conquests which had been made by either nation since the beginning of the war (1744) should be restored. This of course included Cape Breton; and

instructions were sent out during that summer for the evacuation of Louisbourg, and the removal of the stores to Annapolis. The work could not be completed that season, and it was not until the early summer of 1749 that the new French garrison arrived, and the troops of King George took their departure. Of the latter, however, a large portion was disbanded prior to the evacuation, and of course the various recently-appointed civic officials were officials no longer. Their sadness at loss of position was doubtless increased by the fact that living in Louisbourg at that time was marvellously cheap,—cheap to a degree which, a century and a half later, fills us with envy. Beef was two-pence a pound; a fat ox, four pounds ten (worth in Boston £70 to £80); and rum—the real old Jamaica article—was but ninepence a gallon.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the restitution of Cape Breton to France was looked at with the utmost disfavour both in England and the British colonies in America; and especially galling to national pride was that clause which provided that two English noblemen should be sent to France on the conclusion of the treaty to remain there as hostages until the surrender of Louisbourg should be completed. Even the Pretender Prince, then a defeated and disappointed exile, had enough British pride to say: "If ever I mount the throne of my ancestors, Europe shall see me use my utmost endeavours to force France in her turn to send hostages to England." The effect of Britain's brilliant naval victories was more than counterbalanced by the excellent generalship of the famous Marshal Saxe in Flanders, and the disastrous alliance in which Hanoverian policy had entangled British troops. The English ministry of that day was deplorably weak, and French diplomacy scored a brilliant triumph; Cape Breton, so gallantly won, was the sacrifice offered on the Gallic altar.

With peace came the repayment to the American colonies of the total expenses they had incurred in the expedition against Louisbourg. The division was as follows:

| | £ | *s* | *d* |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Massachusetts Bay | 183649 | 2 | 7 |
| New Hampshire | 16355 | 13 | 4 |
| Connecticut | 28863 | 19 | 1 |
| Rhode Island | 6332 | 12 | 10 |
| James Gibson, (an officer in the Provincial army who had served without pay or allowance) | 547 | 15 | 0 |
| | £235749 | 2*s* | 10*d* |

This sum was paid over in hard cash, silver and copper, sent to Boston in H. M. S. *Mermaid*. It proved to be financial salvation to

Massachusetts. That province was in debt to the extent of two million pounds currency ; and as one pound sterling was worth eleven pounds of the old tenor currency, and thirty shillings of the new, the provincial rulers were able to buy in almost the entire debt.

Back to Louisbourg duly came the French in the early summer of 1749. M. Desherbiers was the new governor, and he brought with him the two largest ships in the French navy, and twenty transports carrying the new garrison. Here he found British red-coats still in possession, their shipping not having arrived ; and, anxious no doubt to see the last of them, Desherbiers loaned them his transports, and they embarked for the new settlement on Chebucto Bay. For at the very time that Louisbourg ceased to fly British colours, there was springing to life under that flag a new town on the Nova Scotian coast, destined from its beginning to be the naval and military centre of the whole district. The men of the Louisbourg garrison proved a welcome addition to the population of the infant capital ; many remained there permanently, receiving grants and allotments of land in the same manner as had been given to the settlers who had come from over the sea. With the founding of Halifax a new life and a new spirit entered into the conflict between France and England in Acadia ; for though peace nominally reigned, it was peace reddened by blood, and widely torn by steel. Louisbourg was no longer sole mistress of the peninsula ; she had a sturdy rival, which grew and flourished in spite of cruel opposition. From the very first the Louisbourg authorities strove to crush it out of existence ; within but a few weeks of his landing on Cape Breton shores, we find a letter from the new governor, Desherbiers, stating that he "has engaged Abbé Le Loutre to distribute the usual presents among "the savages, and M. Bigot has placed in his hands an additional gift of "cloth, blankets, powder and ball, to be given them *in case they harass* "*the English at Halifax. This missionary* is to induce them to do so." A few months later and Desherbier's letters are again in evidence against his good faith ; he, Bigot, and that *bete noir* of Acadian history, Le Loutre, reporting secretly to King Louis that they were inciting the Acadians to resist all inducements to swear allegiance to England, and also that they were continuing the dastardly work of paying the Indians to attack the British settlements. The French king warmly endorsed their actions, and also recommended that they should take steps to aid English deserters from the Halifax garrison. So we see that the incoming Louisbourg authorities went promptly to work in endeavoring

to thwart British interests in Acadia; but in spite of their efforts, the sturdy settlers of the new town held together and flourished.

With the new French garrison had come an old friend to Ile Royale, M. Bigot, again as commissary; here he remained several years before going to the scenes of his greater triumphs in Canada. The paternal and benevolent qualities of King Louis came well to the front in this and succeeding years, for the official correspondence shows that he granted subsistence to all the inhabitants of the town and vicinity, numbering altogether about 3200 souls. Many Acadians came in and took up land; and several German families, who had come out to Halifax, were induced to migrate to Ile Royale. Recruits for the garrison were sent out in considerable numbers; one large party must have endured considerable badinage on their arrival, as for some unexplained reason their nether garments went a-missing —a deficiency which they had to supply from empty sacks. In 1751 Desherbiers retired, and was succeeded by the Count de Raymond, an Anglophobe of the most pronounced type. By a curious irony of fate his secretary was M. Pichon, who subsequently deserted to the British, and published a valuable and interesting book on Cape Breton, now of considerable rarity. Raymond was a capable officer, and spent 100,000 livres in opening a road from Louisbourg to Port Toulouse,—a work for which he was severely censured by the authorities at home. In November of the same year he reported the discovery of coal near La Baie Espagnol, (Sydney), and wished to form a fortified settlement there without delay. He was evidently of an arbitrary temper, was continually quarrelling with the commissary, and in 1753 was recalled at his own request. To succeed him M. d'Aillebout came out from France in December; but his reign did not exceed twelve months, and M. de Drucour was installed as governor at the end of 1754. During these years few matters worthy of special mention occurred in the town. In Acadia the war—if such it can be called—was being carried on, and items concerning its varied fortunes occupied a large share of the official correspondence. Louisbourg still called loudly for recruits, provisions, arms and stores of all kinds, indicating either a culpable degree of neglect on the part of the Home authorities, or a high degree of efficiency on the part of the English men-of-war cruising on the station, in capturing French supply vessels bound for the port; and, from the correspondence, it would seem that this was the real cause of the dearth.

The peace between the two powers had been to a large extent a nominal one so far as America was concerned; petty acts of hostility—

resulting in the aggregate in the loss of many lives—occurred almost continuously, and the renewal of warlike operations on a large scale was felt by all to be a certainty in the near future. In the spring of 1755 matters came to a crisis, and although war had not been officially declared, both France and England sent large armaments across the Atlantic. Certain vessels from each fleet came across each other,—a fight followed, and two of the French ships were, early in June, captured and taken into Halifax. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, and hostilities on a large and lively scale followed in quick succession. Part of the French flotilla was for Louisbourg, and the garrison thereby received a large addition to its strength. On the 21st the residents of the town were startled by the appearance of the whole British squadron which drew up opposite the entrance in fighting array, and for the next ten days cruised along the Cape Breton coast, preventing all communication between Louisbourg and the outside world. On the 1st of July, they reappeared before the town, anchored in order of battle, and apparently made preparations for an assault; but in the night vanished as suddenly as they had come. That summer was a most eventful one in Nova Scotian history; Fort Beausejour was taken, and the Acadians, still as a body opposing English rule, were expelled from the country; but Louisbourg remained undisturbed. In September, the King, evidently uneasy as to the security of the town, sent out another frigate to aid in its defence; and at the same time assured the governor "That whatever "occurs in Canada, Louisbourg requires the greatest attention, and he is "disposed to bestow such upon it." Thus, doubly fortified by royal deed and word, the officials waited with confidence fresh developments.

The almost unnecessary official declarations of war were made early in the following summer; by England on the 18th of May, by France on the 9th of June. Long before this the rival fleets had been making ready, and Louisbourg was not forgotten by either party; and in the formal instructions given in April to Admiral John Byng—afterwards the scapegoat for the sins of a weak ministry—that unfortunate officer was directed to assist in strengthening the force which was to operate on the Cape Breton coast. But the French were well prepared, and although twice attacked by a strong squadron under Commodore Holmes, they, although defeated, were enabled to avoid any serious disaster; one ship of war and one storeship being their only loss. These vessels—carrying about six hundred and fifty men, and a large quantity of stores—were taken into Halifax.

The control of British interests in America was now vested in the Earl of Loudon, an officer whose conduct of the war has met with criticism mainly of an unfavourable nature. By some writers he has been condemned in the most unsparing terms ; from others he has received a certain measure of defence. A labored argument of forty-five printed pages was published in his behalf early in 1758, in which the writer—to his own satisfaction in any case—acquitted the noble earl of all imputed errors in judgment and tardiness in action. One thing is clear, and that is that his efforts were unquestioned failures. He was a man of ordinary parts ; while that campaign to have been a success, called for a leader brilliant in conception, quick in action, and abounding in tact. In these qualities Lord Loudon was singularly deficient.

In the fall of 1756 he proposed to the ministry a plan of campaign for the following summer, which had for its first and main object, the reduction of Louisbourg. This met with their concurrence ; but their part of the programme, the despatch of a large fleet and a powerful military force to co-operate with Loudon, was performed in so dilatory a manner, that it was not until the fifth of May that the fleet left England. It reached Halifax (the pre-arranged rendezvous) early in July, where its commander, Vice-Admiral Holbourne, found Loudon with about six thousand troops just arrived from New York. The combined forces now numbered at least eleven thousand men, and twenty-two ships-of-war were in the harbour ready to convey them to immediate attack on the Cape Breton capital. But the worthy commander-in-chief was seized with sudden fear that his men were insufficiently drilled, and that the commissariat stores required replenishing ; a brilliant series of sham fights and other manœuvres was indulged in, and much time and care devoted to planting large quantities of vegetables to grace the mess-tables. This work occupied all hands fully until the 1st of August, when it was thought to be time to go on with the main object of their expedition ; the troops were leisurely embarked, and all was ready, when on the 4th, a schooner arrived from Newfoundland with news that the enemy had got together in Louisbourg harbour a fleet of twenty-three large vessels, and that the fortress was garrisoned by a force of not less than seven thousand men. To the Earl of Loudon this was most alarming intelligence. His most active brigadier, Lord Charles Hay, had been placed under arrest a few days before for having stated that the commander-in-chief's policy had resulted in "keeping the soldiers' courage at bay, and "expending the nation's wealth in making sham-fights and planting

"cabbages"; and his lordship's right-hand man now was Major-General James Abercromby—notorious, if not immortal, for the way in which he conducted the siege of Ticonderoga, and the campaign of 1758. A council-of-war was held, and it was decided to give up the enterprise. Loudon left some of the troops to garrison Halifax, sent off detachments to Forts Cumberland and Annapolis, and returned to New York with the remainder. But the attempt was not wholly abandoned. Admiral Holbourne made a reconnaissance in force towards Louisbourg; and on his return to Halifax, finding that a reinforcement of four ships-of-the line had just arrived, determined to cruise off the Cape Breton coast, and try to tempt the French admiral to come out and risk an engagement. He returned, but the Frenchman declined the invitation, and remained snugly sheltered in the harbour; and on the night of the 24th of September a furious gale burst on the British fleet, wrecked one ship, dismasted and injured others, and scattered the rest of the squadron. Some vessels sailed direct to England, others to Halifax.

Throughout all these threats of attack and ponderous demonstrations against their peace, the authorities and residents of Louisbourg appear to have been calm, and strong in the belief of their ability to successfully cope with their foes. Despatches sent to Montcalm early in February informed him that the battalions which comprised the garrison were fully up to strength and in excellent condition. By the end of June the squadrons which had been sent out from France had arrived in the harbour, and formed in all a magnificent fleet of eighteen ships-of-the-line, and six frigates, carrying fourteen hundred and seventy-two guns; which, as an official writer states, "puts us at ease respecting all the attacks the English would make in this quarter," adding rather naively, "you cannot believe how it makes us settle affairs "of state; everybody already wants Acadia to belong to us." Without doubt, everything was satisfactory in this way; but the very strength of the defence in men accentuated its weakness in supplies. For in spite of all this brave showing there was a most lamentable dearth of provisions, and at times the garrison and residents appear to have been on the verge of starvation. In May the governor writes: "The greatest scarcity exists throughout the colony." In October, "The colony is in a sad condition owing to the want of "food." And in December, with doleful thoughts, no doubt, as to prospects for good cheer at Christmas and New Year's, "That there is "hardly a servant of the meanest gentleman of the kingdom of France

"that is not better off than are the officers of the Louisbourg garrison." There is a measure of pathos in such statements that cannot but command our respect and sympathy. The governor's allies and friends added to his perplexities in this matter, they being evidently blessed with very healthy appetites, as in a despatch acknowledging the arrival of provisions he adds that the Acadians and Indians consumed vast quantities.

Montcalm, who had by this time acquired a knowledge of the dogged persistency of the English in their warfare, did not overlook the probability of another attack on Cape Breton. In September he writes: "We have apprehensions for Louisbourg; it would require a principal "man of more strength than those who are there." On the 4th of November of this year, he reports to the Home authorities that the chief engineer officer (de Pontleroy) had left Louisbourg on the 27th of September, and "he has reassured us for this year against all attacks on "Ile Royale on the part of the English (by reason of the storm). . . But adds: "Will not the English winter their troops at Halifax and "New England, in order to be beforehand with us next year if they "can?"

The French commander's apprehensions were well founded. England had been in a ferment of political excitement, which ceased only on the re-appointment to power of the Great Commoner, William Pitt, who inaugurated an administration, which—in the eloquent words of Lord Mahon—was "the greatest and most glorious, perhaps, which "England had ever yet known—an administration not always, indeed, "free from haste or error in its schemes, and, no doubt, owing their "success in part to the favour of Fortune, and to the genius of generals; "but still . . . . pre-eminently strong at home, and victorious abroad." The new minister was stung by the failure of Loudon's expedition, and publicly censured him in the House of Commons. To retrieve the failure was his first step in dealing with the affairs of the war in America. Preparations for an expedition on a large scale were begun in the autumn, and early in February, 1758, everything was ready for a start. Admiral Boscawen held the chief naval command, and the combined force was a remarkably strong one, comprising forty-one ships-of-war, with an army of over eleven thousand men. Major-General Jeffery Amherst was in command, with three brigadiers, Lawrence, Whitmore and Wolfe; but the genius of the latter dominated the whole enterprise. On the part of the French ample preparation had been made for the coming storm, of which they had been kept fully advised through a spy

in London. Twenty-two ships of the line (as well as frigates) were destined for Louisbourg, to aid in its defence; but only twelve were able to cross the Atlantic; for, concurrently with the main British expedition under Boscawen, a squadron had been detached to watch the Mediterranean, and thrust back any French vessels heading for America. The patrol was a most effective one, and no succour reached Cape Breton or Canada from this quarter. The others made Louisbourg harbour in safety; six of them remained there and shared the fortunes of the siege, and the remainder got off to Quebec in good time. On the vessels which remained were about three thousand sailors available for defence; and as the garrison of regular troops mustered at least an equal number (besides a strong body of militia and Indians) the French commandant might well be confident of maintaining a successful resistance, and especially as the recently-arrived ships had brought an ample supply of provisions and stores.

May came and was gone, and there was still no sign of Boscawen and his fleet; but this tranquillity vanished almost with the month, for on the second of June the distant horizon was white with the sails of the stately squadron and of the wide-spreading fleet of transports. In all there were one hundred and fifty-seven vessels; seldom if ever before had so powerful a flotilla left British shores. Gabarus Bay was the *rendezvous*, and from it the rocky coast was reconnoitred without delay. As at Quebec, one of the strongest features of the defence was the forbidding and almost inaccessible shore for many miles east of the fortress; and Drucour had spared neither vigilance nor men in guarding the few spots at which a landing was possible. Two-thirds of his whole military force was detached on this duty; batteries were erected, trenches dug, breastworks thrown up, and all things made ready for a reception of appalling warmth to be given their scarlet-coated visitors; the lesson of Duchambon's first great blunder, thirteen years before, had not been lost on his successor.

But the French commandant had as his opponent the most brilliant soldier of the period, one whom nothing could daunt. For several days the sea was too rough to attempt a landing, and it was not until the morning of the 8th that the effort could be made. Three divisions of boats, under the respective brigadiers, Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe, threatened the shore; but, as usual, the real attack was controlled by the latter. His division was the left of the three, and was made up of grenadiers, light infantry, and New England Rangers,

supported by Fraser's Highlanders. They pulled hard for the shore, but were greeted with such a storm of shot and shell that they recoiled; however, three boats on the right, manned by light infantry-men, dashed towards the beach, and made good their landing; clinging to the rocks they defended themselves as well as was possible, until their comrades came up, and with fire and steel made a fatal gap in the French line of defence. It is said that during all the time that the men were lying low in the boats under the heavy fire of the French batteries, Wolfe alone disdained all cover, and stood upright, directing the actions of the rowers along the line,—a central figure to which all looked, and from which all drew confidence and patient valour. Here, as throughout the whole siege, he was the soul and energy of the undertaking.

The landing was now an assured fact, and had been made at a surprisingly small loss of life, six officers and forty-four men having been killed or drowned, and three officers and fifty-five men wounded. The men in the other divisions of the attacking army were quickly on shore, and the French were hurriedly driven back into the town, after losing about seventy-five men; all their cannon, (thirty-three pieces) stores, and tools, fell into the hands of the British. Once on shore the encampment was quickly formed; but the continued heavy weather made the landing of the artillery and ammunition a very slow affair.

Limited space forbids my giving much detail of this, the second and last siege of Louisbourg. Much has been written about it, and its events are familiar to every student of our history; but it may be noted that the most complete and accurate journal yet published of the siege is that which appeared in one of the earlier volumes of this Society's "Collections." A brief summary can alone be attempted here.

No time was lost in getting to work. On the 12th, Wolfe, with a detachment of twelve hundred men, marched around the harbour and took possession of Lighthouse Point, securing his communications with the main body by establishing small fortified posts on the circuit. On the 17th, Amherst fixed on the point from which to begin his trenches for the main attack on the fortress, and work was forthwith begun. On the following day Wolfe, having by this time got up some heavy guns near the Lighthouse, opened fire first on the shipping, then on the Island Battery; by the 25th the latter work was destroyed, and its fire ceased. This left the harbour open to the British war-ships; but the French commander promptly met this emergency by sinking six of his ships across the narrowest part of the channel. From this time on the

story of the seige is one of slow but steady growth of the besiegers' works and batteries, and a corresponding increase of murderous fire. But the defenders were by no means idle. Frequent sallies were made, which kept the British troops on the *qui vive* of expectancy; the remaining ships in the harbour, so placed as to cover the weakest spots in the fortress, kept up a persistent fire, one little frigate of thirty-six guns, *L'Arethuse*, being especially ably handled, and galling and worrying the Britons with her well-directed cannonade. She was the first of the "Saucy Arethusa" family, and as well as her successors in the British service she deserves a generous share of the reputation which belongs to that name in naval annals. The fire from the fortress was heavy and well-judged, and allowed the enemy's approaches and works to be made only under cover of darkness, or the equally dense Cape Breton fog. Around the camp lurked small parties of Indians, who carried off stragglers, fired pot-shots at out-lying sentries, and generally did what damage they could. To add to the troubles of the besieging army, small-pox broke out among the artificers and carpenters, and nearly one hundred men of that most useful body fell victims to the scourge within a few days.

But from the first, unless a miracle had taken place, the fall of Louisbourg was almost a certainty. He was a plucky fellow, Monsieur le Chevalier de Drucour, and omitted nothing that would aid his cause, and hinder that of his opponents; but he was pitted against a man of singular pertinacity and resoluteness of purpose, and one who had a strong and confident army under his control. The siege of Louisbourg brought Amherst at one bound into the front rank of the general officers of his day, second only to his brigadier, Wolfe. Only five French ships remained in the harbour, and on the evening of the 21st three of these were destroyed by fire; four days later the remaining two were cut out by a detachment of six hundred seamen sent in from the blockading fleet. This disaster, combined with the burning of the main barracks, and the ruinous state of the ramparts and town, brought matters to a climax, and on the following day the French governor sent in proposals for a capitulation, claiming the honours-of-war,—as had been allowed, two years previously, by Marshal Richelieu to an English garrison on a somewhat similar occasion. After so gallant a defence, it is difficult to understand why Amherst should have refused this; but refuse it he did, and insisted that the garrison must surrender solely and absolutely as prisoners-of-war. This, at first indignantly refused by Drucour, was subsequently accepted; and on the 27th of July a British detachment

took possession of the West Gate, and the garrison delivered up their arms and colours. Stores were duly transferred, and the prisoners were sent to England on the 14th of the following month. The British loss in killed and wounded during the siege was five hundred and twenty-four officers and men, one hundred and seventy-two having been killed and three hundred and fifty-two wounded. Of the French army, about three hundred and thirty were killed and wounded ; the total number included in the capitulation was nine thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, of which about four thousand were inhabitants of the town. The ordnance and stores surrendered included two hundred and sixteen cannon, eighteen mortars, about twelve thousand rounds of shot and shell, and large quantities of ammunition for small-arms. The settlers, as a whole, appear to have been undisturbed in their lands and possessions, but the official correspondence mentions that twenty German families (Protestant) were removed to Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, then as now the leading German settlement in the province. During the progress of the siege most of the deserters to the British were Germans, who had doubtless been forced into the French service.

The victory was a most important one, and was the first of the closing acts of the tragedy of the Seven Years War. It practically annihilated a French army and a French fleet ; it wholly freed the Atlantic seaboard from the presence of the enemy ; and it enabled the British government to devote its energies to the conquest of *la Nouvelle France*. The bloody defeat of Abercomby at Ticonderoga on the 8th of July only accentuated the importance of the capture of Louisbourg ; despite such a check, success followed so close to Amherst and Wolfe that in little over a year British colours were flying over the ramparts of Quebec, and Canada was practically lost to France. The capture of Louisbourg in 1745 was a brilliant incident ; in 1758 it was a decisive event.

The official despatch announcing the victory reached England on the 18th of August, and evoked unbounded enthusiasm and demonstrations of joy. Captains Amherst and Edgecumbe, who brought the news, each received £500 from the king ; a general thanksgiving service was held in every church in England ; congratulatory addresses to His Majesty poured in from almost every city and town in the kingdom ; and on the 7th of September, the French colours given up after the capitulation were formally presented to the king, and then with great ceremony escorted to St. Paul's Cathedral, and deposited there for the nation. Boscawen and Amherst received the high honour of the official thanks of the Parliament of Great Britain, while Wolfe was promoted to the rank of

major-general, and his brilliant and heroic services throughout the siege resulted in his appointment to the chief command of the great expedition which immediately followed. Equally hearty was the joy in British America on receipt of the news. New York, Boston and Philadelphia vied with each other in demonstrations of pleasure, although, as Parkman tells us, in Boston "certain jealous souls protested against "celebrating a victory won by British regulars, and not by New England "men." But miserable curs such as these were strongly in the minority, and their whinings were little heeded. Wherever Britons and loyal subjects lived, and in every camp and garrison in British America, there was loud and heartfelt rejoicing.

The war over, Wolfe was the first to leave for new fields of activity; with two regiments he sailed for Gaspe on the 28th of July. On the following day other battalions left for Halifax and more distant points, leaving a permanent garrison in Louisbourg of four regiments of the line,—the 22nd, 28th, 40th, and 45th,—all under command of Brigadier Whitmore. The fortress had held out too long to permit of the attack on Quebec in that season, but during the following winter and spring all needful preparations were made towards this crowning event. Louisbourg was the *rendezvous*, and on the 18th of May 1759, a superb fleet —representative of the best of England's naval and military services— entered the harbour. Here they remained over a fortnight, awaiting the arrival of the contingent from the New England colonies. During this time a special corps was formed from the garrison which had occupied the fortress during the preceding winter; this corps was made up of the grenadier companies of the 22nd, 40th and 45th regiments, and was called "The Louisbourg Grenadiers." On the 1st of June, the imposing flotilla sailed for the scenes of its coming triumphs.

The garrison left in Louisbourg must have chafed bitterly under the inaction to which they were condemned while their late comrades were winning fame and glory in the west; but there was no redress. Another winter was spent in the historic town, the last in its history as a fortress. Quebec had fallen, and Halifax had been established as the naval centre of Nova Scotia, and the new acquisitions of territory to the north and west; so the demolition of the fortress of Louisbourg was decided on, and in the following March a company of Royal Sappers and Miners was despatched from Portsmouth to blow up the fortifications. Two of the infantry regiments in the garrison, the 22nd and 40th, were sent to join Amherst's army before Montreal; the remaining one, the 45th, furnished daily working parties to assist the miners in their work

of destruction. The fortifications were utterly demolished, and the huge ditch filled with the debris; while everything of use and value,—stores, guns, ammunition and the like,—were taken to Halifax. The work was slow but sure, and the result was thus curtly announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1760: "On October 17 the "last blast was given to the compleat demolition of the fortifications of "Louisbourg."

But the dismantling of the fortifications did not necessitate the immediate abandonment of the place as a military station. Lieut.-Col. Tulleskin of the 45th regiment, remained in command of a garrison of three hundred men, and the town—such as it was—continued to hold chief honours in the island. A barracks, hospital and a number of private buildings had been allowed to remain, and in September, 1762, the garrison participated in the successful expedition against St. Johns, Newfoundland, which had been captured by the French in the previous June; on the conclusion of hostilities the detachment returned to its former quarters in the ruined fortress. Even this small reminder of its former greatness as a garrison town soon disappeared. In 1768 the troops —at that time of the 59th regiment, under Major Milward—were ordered to Halifax *en route* for Boston, where the turbulence which preceded the rebellion was becoming offensive to the authorities. This left only twenty-six houses occupied in the town; and, indeed there were not many more fit for residential purposes. Of the one hundred and forty-two buildings which remained standing, sixty-nine were unfit for habitation, and sixty required repairs, leaving only thirteen in thoroughly good condition. It was still the capital of Cape Breton, but its power and influence had sunk to almost the lowest possible point; a marked instance of this retention of capital honours hand-in-hand with extreme poverty in population and influence is mentioned in Brown's history of the island, in that one resident, named Cottnam, gradually acquired in his own person a monopoly of almost all the official positions of authority and trust. By December, 1775, he had attained the height of dizzy fame in representing, at one and the same time, the Navy, the Army, and the Law; he was Naval Officer and Collector of Excise, Major-Commandant of Militia, Custodian of Fortifications and Public Buildings, Judge of Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the Peace, Stipendiary Magistrate, Commissioner for Assessing Taxes for Support of Militia, and Deputy to grant Passports. But even this shred of honour as capital of the island was taken away in 1784, when Cape Breton was separated politically from Nova Scotia, and formed into a new province. A

lieutenant-governor was appointed in the person of Major Desbarres, who had served with distinction in the second siege of Louisbourg; he discarded that ruined and almost deserted town, and chose for his capital a site at the head of the south arm of the Spanish river, calling the new village Sydney, in honour of the then Secretary of State. This was the finishing blow to the fortunes of Louisbourg, and for the century and more which have since passed, the historic old place has slumbered out her existence as a petty fishing village. Of late, signs of a new life have been apparent; and possibly the twentieth century may see the harbour and its rugged shores as busy and alive with men and ships as they were in the eighteenth, but differently employed. Commerce, not war, will be the motive power; yet whatever changes may take place, the long past glories of the town can never be blotted out. The thoughts of soldier and student will alike go back to the days when the sharp crack of musketry and the heavy thunder of cannon sounded day after day over these waters and hills; when these shores were trodden by men whose names are among the most honoured in British naval and military annals; and when on this now shattered and useless fortress hinged the fate of half a continent.

Apart from the providential intervention which seems to have been specially exerted on behalf of the expedition and siege of 1745, and against the great French armament of the following year, the result of both sieges must be accounted for by the efficiency and valour of the British navy, and the thorough mastery it had over the sea-roads of north-eastern America. In this I imply no disparagement to the armies who fought Britain's battles in *Ile Royale*, both from Old England and from her American colonies; their courage was of the highest type, and under leaders such as Pepperrell and Vaughan in '45, and Wolfe and Amherst in '58, they were worthy types of that matchless infantry, whose prowess and steadfastness have been immortalized by Napier. But the French defenders showed equal bravery and equal powers of endurance; while the energies of their naval forces seemed paralyzed by the vigour and dashing courage of the seamen who fought under St. George's Cross. As was the case half a century later, the Britons blockaded their opponents in port, or went in and fought them ship by ship, or cruised about the coast seeking their adversaries. The records of naval history, our patriotism, and our pride of race unite in giving force to the claim that the best men won; and their winning did much towards giving us the Canada of to-day.

# In Memoriam.

## THE HONORABLE SIR ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD,

K. C. M. G., P. C., Q. C., D. C. L.,

**President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, &c.**

***Born at Truro, N. S., 18th May, 1814. Died at Truro, 14th Jan., 1893.***

In the decease of the eminent statesman and scholar to whom, from the inception of this Society to the termination of his connexion with it by death, it was largely indebted for the position achieved by it, and the prosperity which has marked its progress hitherto, and who departed this life while holding office as its President, the Nova Scotia Historical Society finds occasion for the expression of its profound sorrow and the offering of a well-merited tribute to his memory.

The name of Archibald is one of historic interest in Nova Scotia, having been early rendered famous by some who bore it, and more recently illustrated by the subject of this sketch.

Adams George was born at Truro, in this Province, on the 18th May, A. D. 1814, son of Samuel, whose father was James, who from June, 1796, held, for the remainder of his life, the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Colchester, and whose grandfather, Samuel, was one of four brothers of Scottish extraction who, immigrating from the north of Ireland in 1761, received grants of land in Colchester County, and from whom numerous families now scattered throughout Nova Scotia trace their descent. Among those who have adorned this name, the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, at the time of his decease Master of the Rolls for the Province of Nova Scotia, stood pre-eminent ; and of his sons one, Sir Thomas, became a Baron of the Exchequer in England, and another, Sir Edward, for many years the British Consul at New York, was knighted for distinguished service. The mother of Sir Adams was also an Archibald —Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew, coroner of Colchester (1776), and representative of that county in the General Assembly.

Adams George Archibald received his general education at Pictou Academy, under Dr. McCulloch, and pursued his legal studies with the late William Sutherland, Q. C., afterwards Recorder of Halifax. He was admitted an attorney in both P. E. Island and Nova Scotia in 1838 ; and in 1839 was called to the Bar of the latter Province. In 1851 he was elected to represent Colchester in the House of Assembly, and was continuously re-elected up to the date of the union of the Provinces in 1867. His career at that time was marked by assiduous attention to the business of the House, and to improvements in the course of legislation. He carried bills for regulating municipal assessments and for managing the gold fields of the province, greatly assisted in maturing the free school system of education now existing, and boldly, and with success, assailed the law of universal suffrage, and secured the restriction of the franchise to ratepayers. Mr. Archibald married (1st June, 1843,) Elizabeth A., daughter of the Rev. John Burnyeat - the first clergyman of the Church of England in the parish of St. John, Colchester - by his wife Lavinia, daughter of Charles Dickson and sister of Elizabeth the wife of the Hon. S. W. G. Archibald, before referred to. Mr. Archibald was himself, through family tradition and by personal adherence, a Presbyterian. He was created Queen's Counsel in or about the year 1855, was apointed Executive Councillor and Solicitor-General in 1856, and in 1860 Attorney-General, which office, with that of Advocate-General of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, received in 1862, he held until the defeat of the Government, of which he was a member, in 1863. In 1857, he was, in conjunction with the late Hon. J. W. Johnstone, commissioned a delegate to England to negotiate, with the British Government and General Mining Association, terms on which the monopoly of that Association in the coal areas of this province might be terminated, and the control of its mines and minerals fully assured to the province. A happy solution of a long-standing difficulty was then accomplished. In 1861 he was a delegate to a conference held at Quebec to discuss the question of an Intercolonial Railway. In 1864, Mr. Archibald being then leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, seconded a resolution moved by Dr. Tupper, the leader of the Government, in favor of the appointment of delegates to confer with delegates from New Brunswick and P. E. Island on the subject of a legislative union of the three provinces. He attended as one of these delegates the conference held in Char-

lottetown, P. E. I., in June of that year, and, the question becoming merged in the larger one of a union of all the British American provinces, he was found later in the year at the Quebec Conference called to mature this measure, and, after ably advocating it in the legislature of this province, took an active part in securing its consummation at the final conference held in London in the winter of 1866-7. When, in 1867, the provinces became confederated as the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Archibald was appointed Secretary of State. Failing, however, to secure re-election by his old constituency, he resigned this office in 1868, but was returned to the House of Commons in 1869, and sat until May, 1870, when he was appointed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Manitoba. The circumstances of that province at the time required the exercise of just such qualities as Mr. Archibald possessed in a marked degree; a cool and sound judgment directing a potent will which effected its purposes through a manner of the utmost urbanity; and the results of his administration of affairs were eminently satisfactory. Having accomplished the pacification of the province and established its government on a constitutional footing, he resigned in 1873 and returned to Nova Scotia, where he was appointed Judge in Equity in succession to the Hon. J. W. Johnstone. This office he had held but a few days when on the 4th of July, 1873, he was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor of his native province, on the death of the Hon. Joseph Howe, who had been appointed but a short time previously. His courtier-like and dignified bearing, his high intellectual aspirations, his love of constitutional lore, the impartiality of his judgment, and the geniality of his disposition, well fitted him to adorn the position which he had now attained. He discharged its varied duties with the same skill and success which had characterized him in other spheres, andwhen the term of his appointment expired in 1878, he was requested, on the advice of the Hon. Alexander McKenzie, then Prime Minister of the Dominion, to continue in office, which he did, until July, 1883. He had, in 1872, been created by Her Majesty the Queen a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of the distinguished service rendered by him in Manitoba, and in 1886 he was made a Knight Commander of the Order in further token of his Sovereign's approval.

Retired from office, Sir Adams did not seek for absolute repose. His mind was of the order which ever aims at usefulness, and his

literary tendencies happily led him in the direction of such researches and discussions as this Society is designed to promote. King's College, Windsor, conferred upon him the honorary degree of D. C. L. in 1883. In 1884 he was chosen Chairman of the Board of Governors of Dalhousie College and University.

In February, 1886, Sir Adams accepted a nomination to the office of President of the Historical Society, and was duly elected thereto. Thenceforward it was the special object of his ambition, and increasing solicitude, so to contribute by his own endeavors, and so to stimulate the exertions of others, as that the objects for which the Society was formed might be thoroughly accomplished. He had already conferred upon it many favors and frequently benefitted it by his pen. He delivered, at the formation of the Society, the inaugural address printed in the first volume of the Society's collections He contributed to our second volume an entertaining biographical sketch of Sir Alexander Croke, Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Halifax during the period covered by the Napoleonic wars; to our third volume an historical account of Government House; to our fourth a like story of the Province Building; to our fifth two papers on the Expulsion of the Acadians, and to our seventh a paper on the Exodus of the Negroes in 1791 with extracts from Clarkson's Journal,--possession of which he had obtained in one of his visits to England. He also from time to time read interesting papers which have not been published, as that in 1882, entitled: "A Chapter in the Life of Sir John Wentworth;" and again in 1884, "The Early Life of Sir John Wentworth;" and in 1886, a paper giving an account of Bermuda, from personal observation and research.

In 1888 a vacancy having occurred in the representation of Colchester through the appointment of the Honorable A. W. McLelan as Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Adams yielded to the solicitation of his friends and was again elected to the House of Commons. Advancing age, however, admonished him to decline a renewed nomination at the General Election in 1891, and he then permanently withdrew from public life.

As health failed and Sir Adams felt that his term of efficient service was near its close, desiring to retain office no longer than he could adequately fulfil its functions, he addressed a letter to the Secretary of this Society declining to be renominated for President

at the annual meeting in February, 1892. The Society, however, would not entertain the proposal and re-elected him by a cordial and unanimous vote.

What remains to be said is best presented in the following resolution, passed at a meeting specially convened on the 21st of December, 1892, on notice of his decease. It was moved by Peter Lynch, Esq., Q. C., his life-long friend and active associate in the Society, whose loss it has since been called to mourn, and seconded by Senator Power :

"*Whereas*, the Honorable Sir Adams George Archibald, K. C. M. G., was President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society from February, 1886, until his death on the 14th instant ;

"*And Whereas*, the deceased statesman took a deep and constant interest in this Society and its work from the occasion when he delivered its inaugural address in the Legislative Council Chamber on the 21st of June, 1878, to the close of his life ;

"*Therefore Resolved*, that this Society recognizes an irreparable loss in the death of its distinguished President, and desires to record its appreciation of the ability and research displayed in his numerous contributions to its collections, of his regular attendance at its meetings, of his genial dignity as its presiding officer, and of his industry and judgment and success in securing valuable papers for its meetings season after season.

"*And Further Resolved*, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Lady Archibald, and that the same be embodied in an obituary article to be published in the next volume to be issued by the Society."

Thus closed the career of this distinguished son of Nova Scotia in the fullness of days and of honors. His remains now rest in the quiet churchyard of his native town of Truro. He leaves no son to inherit his name, one on whom his hopes had centred having been cut off in early youth. Lady Archibald and three daughters survive him One of these is married to the Right Reverend Bishop Jones of Newfoundland ; another to F. D. Laurie, Esquire, of Pictou, and the third, the wife of the Rev. Reginald Thomas Heygate, is resident in England.

# PETER LYNCH, Q. C.

***BORN AUGUST 25TH, 1815. DIED MAY 22ND, 1893.***

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MR. PETER LYNCH, who, at the time of his death, was a member of the Publication Committee of this Society, as well as a Library Commissioner, and who had formerly been a member of our Council, was born in Halifax in 1815, and died at his residence, 22 Tobin Street, on the 22nd of May, 1893, of pneumonia. He was educated by the Rev. Dr. Twining at the Halifax Grammar School, articled to Mr. J. W. Johnstone, (afterwards Judge in Equity,) called to the Bar October 31, 1837, and appointed Q. C. in 1868. In 1843 he was married to Emma, daughter of Alexander Creighton, Esq., of Halifax. Of his immediate family only his youngest daughter, the widow of Lieut. A. E. Wilby of the 61st Foot, survives him. Mr. Lynch's character and standing in his profession were high, and at one time his law business was considered to be the largest in the city. He served for many years as vestryman and church warden in St. Paul's Church, and was one of the founders of the Halifax Young Men's Christian Association.

Large and appreciative audiences used to gather at those meetings of our Society at which Mr. Lynch read his interesting papers, enlivened by his genial humour. These papers dealt chiefly with his varied remembrances and included "A Visit to Louisbourg," "Celebrated Persons who have visited Halifax," and four readings entitled: "Early Reminiscences of Halifax."

# FRANCIS PARKMAN.

AT a meeting of the N. S. Historical Society held December 12th 1893, the following resolution was submitted by the President, Mr. Richey, and on motion of F. B. Crofton, Esq., seconded by Hon. J. W. Longley, was unanimously adopted :—

*Whereas*, in the decease of Francis Parkman, late of Boston, Massachusetts, whose valuable contributions have largely served to elucidate the history of North America in the periods of its early settlement, and to present with equal fidelity and fascination the thrilling story of the strife between English and French for ascendency here, all interested in the due preservation or faithful and vivid presentation of the facts of our history recognize that a great loss has befallen them, and it is fitting that the Nova Scotia Historical Society, which numbered him among its honorary members, should offer some tribute to his memory ;

*Resolved*, that this Society desires to give expression to its share in the sorrow which the event has produced wherever the learning and labors of Francis Parkman have been appreciated and their fruits enjoyed.

Endowed with rare abilities he devoted them with an assiduity equally rare to the collection of information regarding the men and movements of early times upon this continent, and to the cultivation of that literary excellence which enabled him to present in attractive form the result of his painstaking inquiries. To his works the student may repair with confidence in the accuracy of his delineations and delight in the charms of his style. He has smoothed the pathway for all who desire to follow in the track which he opened up, and has laid the friends of historical research under deep obligations. We mourn the loss which literature sustains and tender as a Society our respectful sympathy to those by whom, as most nearly connected with him him by social and family ties, the blow is most severely felt.

*Further*, *Resolved*, that this resolution be entered of record upon the minutes of this Society and published in the Transactions, and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

# INDEX

## TO TITLES AND SUBJECTS OF PAPERS PRINTED IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE SOCIETY.