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EXPLORERS OF CANADA.

BY BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.

“The New Fonde Londe quhar men goeth a-fishing” was seen first by John Cabot in 1497, according to written documents of that date, but the fishing grounds may have been known and utilized by the Basques¹ a good while before then. The merit of Cabot consists in the divulcation of his own discovery, whilst the Basques would keep it secret for themselves. The tablet placed June, 1897, at the entrance of the legislative building at Halifax describes the fact in the following terms: “John Cabot first planted the flags of England and Venice on the 24th June, 1497, on the northeastern seaboard of North America.” This cannot be denied; nevertheless it cannot be called the discovery of Canada. We all agree that it was the first step towards the effective attempts of subsequent navigators. The committee who placed the tablet avoided misunderstandings by the expression “north eastern seaboard of North America,” because the precise locality is a point in dispute—some believed it was Greenland, Newfoundland perhaps, or perchance Cape Breton—but it seems clear that Cabot did not know what kind of a country existed beyond the headlands he visited. The same uncertainty surrounds the voyage of his son, Sebastien, in the following year.

Gaspar de Cortereal sailed from Portugal in 1500 and struck Labrador. He entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence without making much of it. Of course he carried back with him a cargo of Indians and sold them into slavery.

The Normands kept several vessels fishing around Newfoundland and Magdalen Islands as early as 1504. Jean Denis, *alias* Ronguoust, of Honfleur, published a map of the coasts of Newfoundland and neighbouring places in 1506. One of the landing places on the great island was called after him. Lescarbot says that the Basques, the Normands and the Bretons were regularly visiting the banks for the purpose of fishing.

Thomas Aubert, of Dieppe, travelled through the Gulf in 1508. It is said in the “History of Dieppe” that one of his vessels was commanded by Jean Verazzano, and that it went eighty leagues in the Gulf.

¹ Compare Port-aux-Basques, note, p. 231 of this number.

Sylvanus, in his map of 1512, outlines the "Square Gulf" — *Golfo quadrado*.

Sebastien Cabot tried to find a passage to the west (1517) by the strait afterwards named from Henry Hudson, but failing in this he coasted the continent without exploring the "Square Gulf"; went south as far as Florida, without landing anywhere.

Verazzano was closely connected with the merchants of Dieppe. In 1523 the king of France commissioned him to go to sea on his (the king's) account. He spent part of the following year in doing so. From Florida to Newfoundland he looked for a passage, but reported that the streams flowing into the Atlantic were all small, even the Hudson River, which he saw because he entered the present port of New York. He says of Newfoundland, that "it was known to the Bretons in the old days." He styled the country from South Carolina to Maine inclusively the New France. The fact that he had found no large river caused the geographers to imagine that, behind a narrow barrier of land and mountains, there was an ocean—the Sea of Verazzano—a notion which lasted at least eleven years. Verazzano may have obtained some confused ideas of the Great Lakes, through the Indians of Virginia or Pennsylvania, but he knew nothing of the Saint Lawrence.

Cartier's mission was to reach the Sea of Verazzano. His narrative (1534) indicates that Labrador was regularly visited by the French as far as Nataskouan. He speaks of a large vessel from Rochelle, which he met in the Gulf. Coming back, the year after he passed Anticosti, he was told by the Indians that higher up he would reach fresh water. Sailing in that direction he discovered the St. Lawrence through the whole length of the Province of Quebec.

Sixty years later, Champlain resumed the work at the point where Cartier had left it (Montreal), and described Upper Canada. The problem of the sources of the St. Lawrence remained unsolved until about 1660. The Northwest was penetrated for the first time in 1731, and we began to form a correct idea of the breadth of the continent in 1745. Therefore no one man has discovered Canada; this was accomplished by successive adventurers, each one having a certain share of credit therefor, but Cartier's share is greater than that of any two explorers put together.¹

¹ All authorities are not in entire agreement with Mr. Sulte on several of the foregoing points.—EDITOR.

NEWFOUNDLAND AS IT IS.¹

BY REV. M. HARVEY, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Anchored off the coast of North America, at no great distance from the main land, lies the great Island of Newfoundland. Owing to a variety of circumstances, very little is known regarding this island and its inhabitants. Its isolation, the limited amount of its population, the restricted character of its staple productions and commercial relations, and the fact that its interior is even yet unexplored, sufficiently account for the ignorance that still prevails regarding it, and the small amount of notice it has yet attracted. More than seventy years ago Robert Burns described it as

“Some place far abroad,
Where sailors gang to fish for cod.”

It may be doubted whether, at this day, the bulk even of the educated classes, in Britain and America, know more of it than that its dogs and fogs are on a gigantic scale. Doubtless, during the last few years, Newfoundland has obtained world-wide renown as the spot where the Atlantic cable finds the first resting-place for the delivery of messages, as it emerges from “the dark, unfathomed caves of ocean;”² and also because the recently laid French cable first rises into the sunshine on the little island of St. Pierre, close to its shores; but beyond the fact that it is thus a kind of ganglionic centre for the nerves that unite the Old World with the New, few know anything of it. Yet one might have fancied that its important position, its

¹ This is condensed from an article which appeared in *Stewart's Quarterly*, April, 1869, and is reproduced by the permission of the editor. The pleasing style in which it is written, and the interest which attaches to this isolated colony, warrants its reproduction in this series.

Stewart's Quarterly, published at St. John, N. B., by Geo. Stewart (now Dr. Stewart, of the *Quebec Mercury*), for five years (1867-1872), was a magazine of much promise both from a literary and historical point of view. With the corps of talented and brilliant contributors that the young editor was able to gather around him from all parts of Canada, it is not difficult to estimate the advantages that would have resulted to general culture in the country had such a publication been accorded a more generous financial support that would have insured its continuance.

² The first Anglo-American cable was laid in 1858, but after being in use for a little while it proved unworkable. A second attempt to lay a new cable in 1865 resulted in failure, but a third, in 1866, proved successful. There are now three Anglo-American cables between Ireland and Newfoundland.

great extent, its vast undeveloped resources, its inexhaustible fisheries, would have prompted a greater curiosity regarding Newfoundland, and that it would not have remained so long unknown or misknown.

. . . . Here is an island considerably larger than Ireland, nearly four times the size of Belgium, the most ancient of Britain's forty colonies, lying within easy distance of England, and yet far less is known of its inhabited interior than that of Africa; its internal plains, lakes, mountain-ranges, are unmapped, its forests and river courses are undetermined. About 150,000 people are sprinkled around its 1,000 miles of coast, and live chiefly by the harvest of the sea; while the interior is left to the deer, wolves and beavers. Scenery the grandest and loveliest may be found within its boundaries; game, too, for the sportsman in profusion, at certain seasons; together with the charm of gazing at scenes on which human eye may never have looked before; and of making discoveries in natural history, in geology, in botany, the importance of which may be very great. . . .

In form it may be described as an equilateral triangle, stretching right across the entrance of the great estuary of the St. Lawrence, to which it affords access both at its northern and southern extremities. It reaches out toward Europe much farther than any other American land; the distance from the port of St. John's, on its eastern shore, to Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland, being but 1,640 miles. Nature has thus planted it as the stepping-stone between the Old World and the New. The northern extremity of the island, which narrows considerably, approaches within ten miles of the Labrador coast, from which it is separated by the Strait of Belle Isle, fifty miles in length and about twelve in breadth. The greatest length of Newfoundland is 420 miles, its breadth 300. Its area may be roughly stated at 38,000 square miles. Thus it is more than twice as large as Nova Scotia and Cape Breton together, and greater by 11,000 square miles than the Province of New Brunswick. Prince Edward Island, with its area of 2,133 square miles, might almost be sunk in Grand Pond and Indian Lake, two of Newfoundland's largest sheets of water. It is about one-fifth larger than Ireland, with its six millions of inhabitants, and one-fourth larger than Scotland. . . .

. . . . It is needless to dwell on the commanding geographical position secured by nature to Newfoundland. As a sentinel, she guards the entrance of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence; and the key of

both river and gulf must ever be held by the nation that has possession of Newfoundland. Should the day ever come when an unfriendly power shall occupy this great bastion of British America, a naval force, issuing from such an impregnable harbour as that of St. John's could easily be made, would sweep the commerce of the new dominion from the neighboring seas, and command the whole northern Atlantic.

To give security and completeness to the Dominion of Canada, the possession of Newfoundland is indispensable. Linked to Canada by a railroad through the island, and a steam ferry across the few miles of sea that sever it from the mainland,¹ Newfoundland will thus take her natural place as one of the most important members of the young confederacy,² and will speedily rise into that importance and prosperity which are her due, but which, while an isolated dependency of Britain—a mere fishing station—she can never attain. To become the great highway of travel and traffic between east and west, as the eastern terminus of the Intercolonial railway and one of the *media* through which the treasures of India, China and Japan may one day be poured into Europe, seems to be no dream of the imagination, but a tangible reality³ which the near hereafter will witness, should Newfoundland only be true to herself and accomplish her “manifest destiny.”⁴

* * * * *

The much maligned climate of Newfoundland is, in reality, salubrious and invigorating in a high degree. That fog and cold drench-

¹ This railway, 550 miles long, is now open for traffic, and runs in an irregular line through the island from St. John's in the south-east to Port-aux-Basques in the south-west corner. A steamer connects this port with Sydney, C. B., the eastern terminus of the Intercolonial railway—a distance of about eighty-five miles.

² Not yet consummated; but the recent federation of the Australian colonies and the rapid march of events toward imperial federation bring it nearer.

³ The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway “from ocean to ocean” and the Company's fine line of steamers which cross the Pacific from Vancouver to Yokohama would seem to bring Mr. Harvey's dream nearer a reality. But three water-ways, one across the Pacific and two on the Atlantic, with two intermediate lines of railway, though giving ample variety and convenience to the passenger, are not favorable to freight-traffic. Local considerations alone seemed to impress the promoters of the present Newfoundland railway, which is a light, narrow-gauge system, and describes a semi-circle through the island instead of running directly across it. The Trans-Siberian Railway, that gigantic project of the Russian government, has now opened up complete railway communication between Eastern Asia and Western Europe.

⁴ Here follows a description of the fine harbors, the lakes and rivers of the interior; the agricultural capabilities of the island,—especially in the west; the probable richness of its mineral deposits, and the value and extent of its fisheries.

ing rains prevail in summer is a mistake, arising from the fact that far out at sea, where the cold arctic current encounters the warm waters of the Gulf Stream, fogs are very prevalent; and voyagers infer that because such is the case on the Banks, hundreds of miles from the land, such must be the character of the climate in the island itself. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. Newfoundland is much freer from fog than either Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. Only on one portion of the coast—the southern and southern-western—does fog prevail, and that only during the summer months; the eastern, northern and western shores are seldom enveloped in fog. . . . Fogs, however, do very frequently envelop the south-western and southern shores in summer and frequently cause disastrous shipwrecks. . . . The more northerly set of the Gulf Stream during summer is the cause of this fog. Then its warm waters are poured more to the south and west of the island, raising vast volumes of steam, which spread from the Bay of Fundy as far north as St. John's, N. F., and are seen at sea like a huge wall of vapour, but never extend far inland. The proximity of the Gulf Stream mitigates the severity of the climate to such an extent that, as a general rule, the thermometer rarely falls below zero in winter, and that only for a few hours. . . . The climate is insular—the temperature mild, but the weather variable. The result is highly favorable to the health of the inhabitants, enabling them to do with open fireplaces in winter and to be much in the open air. Visitors from the neighboring provinces are invariably struck with the healthy hue of the people. . . . The blooming beauty of the Newfoundland ladies, so often commented on, is no doubt partly owing to this superiority of climate—the Gulf Stream having something to do with the painting of the delicate hues on their cheeks.

* * * * *

But what of the unknown and unexplored interior, that must be little short of 400 miles in length and 250 in breadth? All that is known of this great region is to be gathered from the short narrative of W. E. Cormack, Esq., a Scotchman, who, in 1822, attended by a single Micmac Indian, crossed the island from Random Sound in Trinity Bay to St. George's Bay. This adventurous journey was performed amid great perils and hardships, and the feat of the daring traveller has never been repeated by a white man. The narrative of his journey is very brief, but is deeply interesting. The difficulties

may be judged of from the fact that he spent four mouths of incessant toil in accomplishing his undertaking; and only a man of iron nerves and unflinching courage could have performed the task. He and his attendant Indian took almost no provision with them, and supported themselves on the game they were able to bring down with their guns, encamping each night in the Indian fashion. During the first ten days of the journey they struggled on through dense forests of pine, fir, birch and larch, at intervals crossing marshes of peat covered with grasses, rushes, etc., their course being due west, and a constant ascent from the coast. In some of the forests the *Kalmia angustifolia* covers whole acres, presenting a most brilliant appearance; and in the woods, the jay, the *Corvus Canadensis*, the titmouse, and woodpecker were heard, and the loud notes of the loon made the lakes musical at night. At length the dense black forest was left behind, and the travellers found themselves on the summit of a great ridge, covered with scattered trees, reindeer moss, and loaded with partridge and whortle berries. Coveys of grouse rose in all directions, and snipe from every marsh. The birds of passage, ducks and geese, were flying to and fro from their breeding places in the interior; tracks of deer, of wolves fearfully large, of bears, foxes and martins, were seen everywhere. The scene, on looking back toward the sea-coast, was magnificent. Says the enthusiastic explorer:

In the westward, to our inexpressible delight, the interior broke in sublimity before us. What a contrast did this present to the conjecture entertained of Newfoundland! The hitherto mysterious interior lay unfolded before us, a boundless scene, emerald surface, a vast basin. The eye strides again and again over a succession of northerly and southerly ranges of green plains, marbled with woods and lakes of every form and extent, a picture of all the luxurious scenes of national cultivation, receding into invisibility. The imagination hovers in the distance, and clings involuntarily to the undulating horizon of vapour, far in the west, until it is lost. A new world seemed to invite us onward, or rather we claimed the dominion and were impatient to proceed and take possession. Primitiveness, omnipotence and tranquillity were stamped upon everything so forcibly that the mind is hurled back thousands of years. Our view extended more than forty miles in all directions. No high land bounded the low interior to the west. We now descended into the bosom of the interior. The plains which shone so brilliantly are steppes or savannas in the form of extensive gentle undulating beds stretching northward and southward, with running waters and lakes, skirted with woods, lying between

them. Their yellow green surfaces are sometimes uninterrupted by either tree, shrub, rocks, or any inequality, for more than ten miles. They are chequered everywhere upon the surface by deep beaten deer paths, and are, in reality, magnificent natural deer parks, adorned by woods and water. The deer herd on them, in countless numbers, to graze. It is impossible to describe the grandeur and richness of the scenery, which will probably remain long undefaced by the hand of man.

It took the traveller nearly a month to cross this great savanna country, on which but one solitary mountain rises, named after his Indian, Mount Sylvester. Throughout the whole extent innumerable deer paths were observed, the only species of deer being the caribou, a variety of the reindeer, but much finer than that which Norway or Lapland can boast. Some were brought down by their guns, weighing six or seven hundred pounds, the venison being excellent and the fat on the haunches two inches in thickness. Many thousands of these noble deer were met on their periodical migration. In the spring they disperse over the mountains and barren tracts in the west and north-west division of the interior, to bring forth and rear their young amidst the profusion of lichens and mountain herbage; and when the first frosts of October nip the mountain herbage they turn toward the south and east. And so these countless herds of reindeer have, for thousands of years, traversed the interior, undisturbed by the sight of man. . . . Cormack's account presents us with the picture of a country very similar to the condition of Britain in the days of the Romans, and equally capable of being reclaimed and cultivated, and of having its climate ameliorated by drainage and the operations of the lumberer.

. . . When the richer lands of Canada and the United States are occupied, we may reasonably hope that the tide of emigration will take a new direction, and that the untenanted wilds we have been describing will be transformed into the busy haunts of men.¹

¹ There are other portions of this interesting article that we have not space for here — the difficulties and dangers of the cod fishery on the Banks, so well illustrated in Kipling's "Captains Courageous;" the advantages to the Island of a confederation with Canada; its commanding position as an international highway. Enough has been given to arouse an interest in this oldest of English colonies in America. We hope to present other articles on some of the subjects opened up in this number.

Rev. Moses Harvey, LL.D., F.G.S., F.R.S.C., has been a resident of the island for nearly fifty years, and during that time has, by his writings and lectures, done more than any other man to draw attention to the resources and capabilities of Newfoundland.

—EDITOR.

THE HEROINE OF VERCHÈRES.¹

BY SIR JAMES M. LEMOINE.

The early times of Canada teem with incidents most romantic : feats of endurance—of cool bravery ; Christian heroism in its loftiest phases ; acts of savage treachery of the darkest dye ; deeds of blood and revenge most appalling ; adventurous escapes by forest, land and flood, which would furnish the plot for fifty most fascinating romances. On reviewing which, one can readily enter into the meaning of one of our late governors, the Earl of Elgin, who, in a despatch to the Home Government, in speaking of the primitive days of the colony, describes them as “the heroic times of Canada.” The expression was as eloquent as it was truthful. The time is not far distant when the traits of Canadian history will be as familiar to our youth as they are comparatively unknown at the present time. D’Iberville, M’lle de Verchères, La Tour, Dollard des Ormeaux, Lambert Close, will yet, we opine, borrow from the magic wand of a Canadian Walter Scott a halo of glory as bright as that which, in the eyes of Scotia’s sons, surrounds a Flora McIvor, a Jeannie Deans, a Claverhouse, or a Rob Roy.

Let us for the present peer into that bright past, and present to the reader’s view a youthful figure, which graced one of the proudest epochs of Canadian history—the era of Frontenac.

It will be remembered that the Marquis de Tracy, in 1663, was escorted to Canada by one of the *crack* French corps of the day—the regiment of Carignan. Four companies (some 600 men) were shortly after disbanded in New France : the officers and privates were induced, by land grants and provisions, horses, and other marks of royal favour, to marry and settle in the new world. One of the officers, M. de Verchères, obtained in 1672, on the St. Lawrence, where now stands the parish of Verchères, a land grant of a league in depth by one in length. The following year his domain received the accession of *Ile à la Prune* and *Ile Longue*, which he had connected by another grant of a league in length. There did the French officer

¹ The author of this sketch is a well-known historian and naturalist of Quebec, and is a descendant of the Le Moine family, so distinguished in the early history of North America. The narrative, somewhat amended and improved, is substantially the same as that which appeared in Stewart’s *Quarterly*, April, 1869, by the same author.—EDITOR.

build his dwelling, a kind of fort, in accordance with the custom of the day, to protect him against the attacks of the Iroquois. "These forts," says Charlevoix, "were merely extensive enclosures, surrounded by palisades and redoubts. The church and the house of the *seigneur* were within the enclosure, which was sufficiently large to admit, on an emergency, the women, children, and the farm cattle. One or two sentries mounted guard by day and by night, and with small field pieces, kept in check the skulking enemy, warning the settlers to arm and hasten to the rescue. These precautions were sufficient to prevent attack,"—not in all cases, however, as we shall soon see.

Taking advantage of the absence of M. de Verchères, the Iroquois drew stealthily round the fort, and set to climbing over the palisades; on hearing which, Marie Magdalenie Verchères, the youthful daughter of the laird of Verchères, seized a gun and fired it off. Alarmed, the marauders slunk away; but, finding they were not pursued, they soon returned and spent two days, hopelessly wandering round the fort without daring to enter, as, ever and anon, a bullet would strike them down at each attempt they made to escalate the wall. What increased their surprise, they could detect inside no living creature except a woman; but this female was so intrepid, so active, so ubiquitous, that she seemed to be everywhere at once. She never ceased to use her unerring fire-arms until the enemy had entirely disappeared. The dauntless defender of fort Verchères was M^{lle} de Verchères: the brave deed was done in 1690.

Two years subsequently, the Iroquois, having returned in larger force, had chosen the moment when the settlers were engaged in the fields with their duties of husbandry to pounce upon them, bind them with ropes, and secure them. M^{lle} Verchères, then aged nearly fourteen, was sauntering on the banks of the river. Noticing one of the savages aiming at her, she eluded his murderous intent by rushing towards the fort at the top of her speed; but, for swiftness of foot, the savage was a match for her, notwithstanding that terror added wings to her flight, and with tomahawk upraised he gradually closed on her as they were nearing the fort. Another bound, however, and she would be beyond his arm, when she felt the kerchief which covered her throat seized from behind. It is then all up with our resolute child;—but quick as thought, and while the exulting savage raises his hand for the fatal blow, the young heroine tears

asunder: the knot which retained her garment, and bounding like gazelle within the fort, closes it instantly on her relentless pursuer, who retains as an only trophy the French girl's kerchief.

To-arms! to arms! instantly resounds within the fort, and without paying any attention to the groans of the women, who see from the fort their husbands carried away prisoners, she rushes to the bastion where stood the sentry, seizes a musket and a soldier's hat, and causes a great clatter of guns to be made, so as to make believe that the place is well defended by soldiers. She next loads a small field-piece, and not having at hand a wad, uses a towel for that purpose, and fires off the piece on the enemy. This unexpected assault inspired terror to the Indians, who saw their warriors, one after the other, struck down. Armed and disguised, and having but one soldier with her, she never ceased firing. Presently the alarm reached the neighborhood of Montreal, when an intrepid officer, the Chevalier de Crisasi, brother of the Marquis de Crisasi, then governor of Three Rivers, rushed to Verchères at the head of a chosen band of men; but the savages had made good their retreat with their prisoners. After a three days' pursuit, the Chevalier found them with their captives securely entrenched in a wood on the borders of Lake Champlain. The French officer prepared for action, and after a most bloody encounter the redskins were utterly routed—all cut to pieces, except those who escaped; *but the prisoners were released.* The whole of New France resounded with the fame of M'lle Verchères' courage, and she was awarded the name of the "Heroine of Verchères," a title which posterity has ratified.

Another rare instance of courage on her part crowned her exploits, and was also the means of settling her in life. A French commander, M. de Lanaudiere de la Perade, was pursuing the Iroquois in the neighborhood, some historians say, of the river Richelieu, others say of the river St. Anne, when there sprang unexpectedly out of the underbrush myriads of these implacable enemies, who rushed on M. de la Perade unawares. He was just on the point of falling a victim in this ambushade, when M'lle de Verchères, seizing a musket and heading some resolute men, rushed on the enemy, and succeeded in rescuing the brave officer. She had indeed made a conquest, or rather became the conquest of M. de la Perade, whose life she had thus saved. Henceforward, the heroine of Verchères shall be known

by the name of Madame de la Lanaudiere de la Perade, her husband a wealthy seigneur. Some years later the fame of her daring acts reached the French king, Louis XIV, who instructed the Marquis of Beauharnais, the Governor of Canada, to obtain from herself a written report of her brilliant deeds. Her statement concludes with most noble sentiments, denoting not only a lofty soul, but expressed in such dignified and courteous language as effectually won the admiration of the great monarch. Madeleine, or Madelon, de Verchères' career has been graphically described by the Hon. Mr. Justice George Baby, President of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, her distinguished descendant.

Madame de la Perade, *née* Verchères, died on the 7th of August, 1737, at St. Anne de la Perade, near Montreal. She is the ancestor of the late seigneur de L'Industrie, near Montreal, the Hon. Gaspard de Lanaudiere, whose ancestors, for two centuries, shone either in the senate or on the battle-fields of Canada.

M^{lle} Verchères' career exhibits another instance of the sentiments which inspired the first settlers of Canadian soil, and by her birth, life and death gives the lie direct to the wholesale slanders, with which travellers like Baron Lahontan have attempted to brand the pioneers of New France.

THE RETURN OF THE ACADIANS.

EDITED BY J. VROOM.

Sad indeed was the fate of the exiled Acadians; and the story of their expatriation, to one who has learned it as the author of "Évangeline" has told it in immortal verse, is hard to unlearn.

Able writers have contended that the presence of the Acadians as neutrals was a menace to the safety of the English settlers in Nova Scotia after the renewal of hostilities with France, and that their deportation, therefore, was quite justifiable as a war measure; yet such, according to the results of recent research, was not the opinion of the British government at the time. Col. Lawrence, then the governor of Nova Scotia, and his council, most of whom were Bostonians, were directly responsible for the deed; which was done with the

assistance, if not at the suggestion, of the Massachusetts authorities. When Gov. Lawrence transmitted to the king's ministers, by the slow conveyance of that day, his plans for the removal of the French inhabitants, he was promptly forbidden to put them into execution. This merciful inhibition, however, came too late. Without authority, in the days of Argall and Poutrincourt, the long series of the English colonial expeditions against the Acadians began; without due sanction, Lawrence and Shirley brought about its fearful close; and the lovely land of Evangeline must ever bear the shadow of the wrong, though there is good reason to believe that the English residents of the province were as innocent of complicity in the matter, and as quick to show their disapproval, as were the home authorities who forbade it.

Readers of "Evangeline," some of whom know little else of the history of Nova Scotia, have learned from it (with the misunderstanding as to the attitude of the British government, which I have here attempted to correct,) the pathetic story of the removal of the Acadians from their homes, that they might be scattered and lost among the English colonists. The story of the return of the exiles, many of whom did at length get back to their native land, is not so widely known. The following extracts are taken from an account of the overland journey given by Richard in his "Acadia," quoting from Rameau¹:

When peace was concluded in 1763, out of about 6,500 Acadians who had been deported, there remained a little more than one-half. Often had they in vain begged the authorities to allow them to leave the place of their exile; but after the peace their homeward rush was resistless. Divers groups made for Canada, where they settled. . . .

Those who had not been able to join this exodus met together three years later, in the spring of 1766, at Boston, with the intention of wending their way back to their lost and lamented Acadia. There then remained in foreign lands only a small minority, riveted to the spot by infirmity or extreme want.

The heroic caravan which formed in Boston, and determined to cross the forest wilderness of Maine on its return to Acadia, was made up of about eight hundred persons. . . . No one will ever know all that these unfortunate people, forsaken and forgotten by everybody, suffered as they hewed their way through the wilderness; the many years gone by have long since stifled the echoes of their sighs in the forest, which itself has disappeared; all

¹ Pp. 142-144 of Calnek's "History of Annapolis," in which there is a very full discussion of the whole subject by the editor, Judge Savary.

the woes of these hapless beings are now lost in the shadows of the past; others are joyously reaping harvests on their obliterated camping grounds, and there hardly remains aught but a few dim traditions of this sublime and sorrowful exodus scattered among the fireside tales of aged Acadians on the Bay of Fundy.

In the wild paths that wound in and out through the interminable forests of Maine, this long line of emigrants walked painfully on. There were small groups of women and children, dragging the slender baggage of misery; while the men, scattering hither and thither, sought in the chase, in fishing, and even in wild roots, something wherewith to feed them. There were very small children, who were hardly able to walk, and were led by the hand, the larger children carrying them from time to time. Many of these unfortunate mothers held an infant in their arms; and the cries of these poor babes were the only sound that broke the gloomy and dismal silence of the woods. . . .

While this sorrowful caravan advanced, some indeed were found whose failing strength refused to carry them any farther; however, all did not succumb, and one after another a few groups remained along the road to form the nuclei of future colonies. It was thus that, on the banks of the river St. John, several families fixed their abode amid the ruins of the settlements formerly occupied by the French in this district. . . .

When the column of exiles, thinned out by the fatigues of the journey, reached the banks of the Petitcodiac, they had been four months on the road. There, at length, they could taste a few moments of repose and consolation. The first to come out at the foot of the wooded mountain-range along this river met there some men, half-hunters, half-husbandmen, who spoke their language, and among whom they were not slow to recognize fellow-countrymen and relatives. . . .

Unfortunately, after this first burst of joy, they had to suffer great heaviness of heart. They had cherished the hope that, away on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, at Beausejour, Beaubassin, Grand Pre, Port Royal, they would find once more their lands, and, perhaps, their houses; that they might be allowed to settle on the farms which were not yet occupied. But they soon realized that all this was a dream. Everything had been allotted to their persecutors, or to new colonists. The great and painful journey they had just made was now useless; they had no longer either home or country. . . .

However, a certain number of them could not believe that all was lost. . . . Fifty or sixty families, men, women and children, once more set out; they rounded the innermost shore of the old Baie Française, which had now become Fundy Bay. Everything was changed; English names, English villages, English inhabitants; wherever they appeared they looked like ghosts come back from a past age; nobody had thought of them for a long time. The

children were frightened at them, the women and the men were annoyed, as by a threatening spectre from the grave, everybody was angry with them, and the poor wretches dragged themselves from village to village, worried and worn out by fatigue, hunger and cold, and a despair that grew at every halting-place.

The wretched Acadians, not knowing whither to go, allowed themselves to be led, and so ended by stranding on the shore of St. Mary's Bay, where lands were granted to them on December 23rd, 1767. Thus, without counting the long tramps they had to undertake to meet together in Boston, they had traversed on foot a distance of about a thousand miles before reaching the end of their journey.

During many subsequent years there were numerous migrations. Acadians arrived from France, from the West Indies, from Louisiana, Canada and the United States; going from one settlement to another in search of a father, a mother, a brother, a relative whose whereabouts they had not yet found. Often death had claimed the long-sought one; sometimes, on the other hand, he that was supposed to be dead was unexpectedly discovered. Slowly the scattered members of one family succeeded, not infrequently, in all getting together once more. Those who were in better circumstances collected their poorer brethren around them; the bereavements of the past were gradually softened by new ties, and finally each group took on the aspect of a distinct and homogeneous community.

LOCATION OF THE ACADIANS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

BY ANNIE MARION MACLEAN, M. A., PH. D.

Considerably over a century has passed since the meadow lands of Grand Pre witnessed the expulsion of a whole people from the soil which they and their fathers had tilled and loved and cherished; but the years as they have gone have not dulled the interest of humanity in the pathetic story connected with that expulsion. There is a very witchery of fascination about the old and the new Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia. The romance of the past is slumbering there, and stores of historic records are in their possession only waiting to yield themselves to the earnest investigator.¹

The Acadians are not found to-day in their old haunts. The homes that were theirs before the fateful days of the expulsion are theirs no longer. Their old lands are now occupied chiefly by

¹ It might be a matter of inquiry, however, if these records are really in existence, how they could have escaped the scrutiny of Gaudet and other investigators of this interesting subject.—EDITOR.

descendants of the New England immigrants¹ and United Empire Loyalists, and no living trace of the former dwellers is found. Grand Pre is as thoroughly English as though it had never been the centre of French prosperity. Tradition alone remains to tell the tale of the past. The name itself is very generally anglicized, the French pronunciation being retained chiefly by those who cling to the belief that the retention of the old names gives more historic interest to the country. Even Annapolis, the old town at the head of the beautiful basin which attracted the French voyagers nearly three hundred years ago; is wholly English. The placid river no longer knows the paddle of the Frenchman's skiff; no more are seen the dark-eyed Normans going about their daily tasks and singing songs of contentment.

The Cobequid of by-gone days is the bustling Truro of the present, and the Beaubassin of the past has but few French now. The heart of the old Piziquid has gone up in flames. In October, 1897, the historic town of Windsor was swept away by fire, and the old part left as desolate as it was after the French had fled one hundred and fifty years before, when the English officers burned the houses and barns of the once prosperous Acadian peasants. The fertile fields and dykes of the Canard no longer give forth of their abundance to the descendants of the first white settlers. Beaubassin, Cobequid, Piziquid, Grand Pre, Canard and Annapolis are dead to the French now, though for so long the scenes of flourishing Acadian settlements. The French villages of the present have been built within the last century and a half. Between 1768 and 1772 the exiles began to return to the peninsula, and those who had fled to the woods to venture out again. The Acadians live on the lands that cling to the open sea. Their chief settlements are in Digby, Yarmouth, Antigonish and Cape Breton.

In cold, unfriendly places these people dwell; but they always seem happy and contented and undisturbed by the progress of their neighbors. The French form a considerable proportion of the population of Nova Scotia. Out of a total of 450,396 there are 29,838 French, or about six per cent of the whole, according to the Dominion census of 1891. It is interesting to note the number of French in the counties which were theirs before the expulsion. Annapolis and Kings have but ten each; Hants has eight, while Cumberland and

¹ See Professor Ganong's "The New England Movement to Nova Scotia." Number VIII, pp. 216-219 of this Series.

Colchester have sixty-nine and forty-three respectively. Digby has now 8,065, and Yarmouth has 7,160. Shelburne is the only county which does not report a Frenchman; Lunenburg has but one, and Queens two.

The largest and one of the most interesting of the Acadian settlements is on St. Mary's Bay, extending along from within a few miles of its head to where its waters are lost in the ocean, in all a distance of about thirty miles. It is a unique village, stretched out so many miles along the sea, and following the indentations and projections of the shore. There is only one street, the back lands affording homes to but few. The French, since the expulsion, have never been drawn to the interior of the province, and all their villages are near the coast. When they returned, after their wanderings, they moored their crafts in the friendly coves where they could, unseen, watch the movements of the British ships, if any chanced to be about.

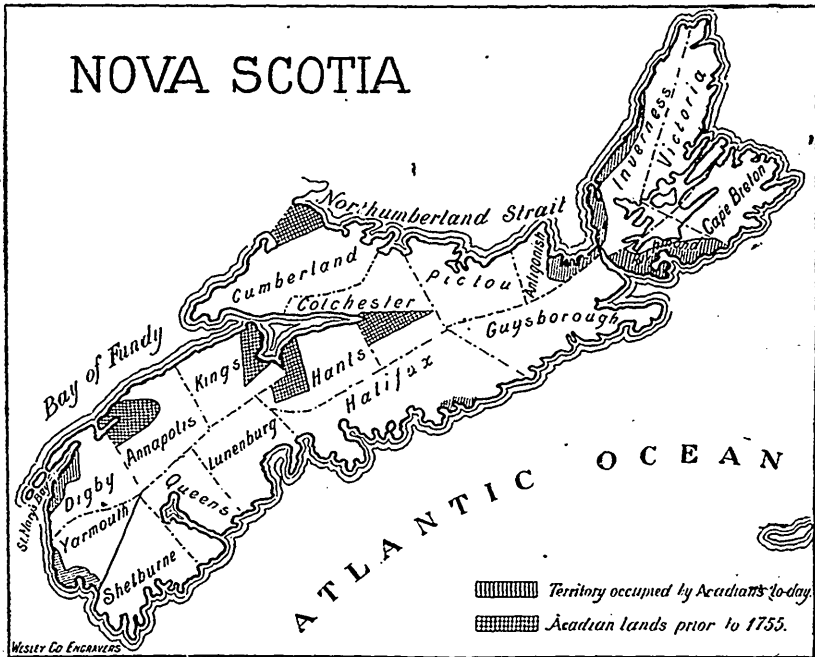
The whole settlement on St. Mary's Bay is called Clare, though the various sections of it are known by different names. This is the best known of all the places where Acadians now dwell. It is the largest, and in many ways the most interesting of the villages. The country itself is remarkably picturesque and easy of access. Second in size to this village, or, rather, series of villages, is the one along the Atlantic coast in Yarmouth County. This will probably become better known in the next few years, as the country has recently been opened up by a railroad. The villages here are about equal in advancement to those of Digby, with perhaps more poverty in places than can be found even in the backland portions of Clare.

The French settlement in Antigonish is a peculiar one. It is more isolated than the others. The people are poor and they seldom go away from home. They live on year after year, never dreaming that the world holds things they know not of. Tracadie is a barren land, and the winds from the Strait of Northumberland unfriendly.

Cape Breton is divided to-day between French and Scotch; and the former, in all their primitiveness, may be found there. The French in Cape Breton, of course, were never driven from their lands; as the island was French territory in 1755, when "the once prosperous Acadian peasants" were ejected from the peninsula. One must always bear this distinction in mind when considering the French population in the two divisions of the province. In the one we have new settlements, effected after the return of the exiles; in the other we have a people who have lived on practically undisturbed for nearly

three centuries. The main interest must always attach to the Acadians in the peninsula, for the very reason that they have had such an unusual history. They are a unique people in a picturesque setting. The lands they now occupy are in no way equal to those they tilled before the days of the deportation; the latter are rich and fertile, and most valuable to their owners; the former, as has been said, are mostly barren shore lands.

Such, then, is the location of the Acadians. The average Nova Scotian is barely conscious of the coast settlements that have grown up and support a thoroughly French population; but those at all



acquainted with early Acadian history cannot fail to feel an interest in the remnant of a race which endured so much hardship at the hands of a conquering one; and to those the present Acadian lands must be of more than passing moment. They are on the outskirts of the province, and one does not ordinarily pass through them; but all can at least know something about the settlements geographically. An inspection of the accompanying map and table may serve as a reminder that the Acadians are a people not only of the past, but of the present as well, and that they are a growing force to be reckoned with in the future development of our loved province.

DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH.

COUNTY.	Total Population.	No. of French.	Proportion of French.
Inverness	25,779	4,153	.16
Victoria	12,432	50	.004
Cape Breton	34,244	207	.006
Richmond	14,399	6,138	.43
Guysboro	17,195	156	.009
Halifax	71,358	766	.02
Lunenburg.....	31,075	1	.00003
Queens	10,610	2	.0002
Shelburne	14,956	0	.0
Yarmouth	22,216	7,169	.32
Digby.....	19,897	8,065	.40
Annapolis	19,350	10	.0005
Kings	22,459	10	.0004
Hants	22,052	8	.0003
Cumberland	34,529	69	.002
Colchester	27,160	43	.0015
Pictou	34,541	43	.001
Antigonish ...	16,114	2,948	.18
Total.....	450,396	29,838	.06+

THE LOYALISTS IN OLD NOVA SCOTIA.

BY REV. W. O. RAYMOND, M.A.

For the purpose of this paper we may consider the old Province of Nova Scotia as co-extensive with the present Maritime Provinces of Canada.

The number of Loyalists who came to the old province of Nova Scotia at the close of the American Revolution is generally stated as from thirty to thirty-five thousand. This statement admits of some qualification. It is difficult to fix the exact number of those commonly included under the term "Loyalists," who were at one time or another resident within the confines of the Atlantic Provinces, for the simple reason that there was for several years a coming and going, and as a consequence the Loyalists were never all in the country at one and

the same time. Some of the first to arrive grew discontented at the outlook, and after a few months removed elsewhere, or returned to the United States; others kept coming from various parts of the old colonies, and from England and the West Indies—where they had sought a temporary asylum.

With respect to the number of Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia, a few opinions of those whom one might suppose to be competent to speak with authority may be quoted. Edward Floyd de Lancey, of the New York Historical Society, a careful and judicious student of the Revolutionary epoch, made a personal examination of the records at Halifax¹ some years ago, and expressed himself as satisfied that the Loyalist emigration amounted to at least 35,000 men, women and children.

Sir Brook Watson states: "In 1783, as commissary general to the army, it became my duty, under command of Sir Guy Carleton, to embark 35,000 Loyalists at New York to take shelter in Nova Scotia."

Governor Parr wrote to General Haldimand early in the year 1784 that the number of Loyalists who had arrived in Nova Scotia was 30,000. He makes a similar statement in a letter to Lord North.

The most exact statement I have met, however, is that contained in a letter from a gentleman in England, dated May 24, 1784, to a friend in Shelburne,² in which the following paragraph occurs:

I have the satisfaction to communicate the following extract, which at the request of the General (Sir Guy Carleton) was given to me by the Secretary of the Treasury: "Orders are given to victual the Loyalists in Nova Scotia, being 33,682, whereof 4,691 are under ten years, at two-thirds provisions, from the first of May, 1784, to the first of May, 1785, and from that period at one-third allowance to the first of May, 1786, estimating the whole ration at one pound of flour and one pound of beef, or twelve ounces of pork. The children under ten to have a moiety of the allowance made to grown persons."

This statement exceeds considerably the figures contained in the muster made by order of General Campbell in 1784, which gives the total of those mustered as 28,347, whereof 4,575 were under ten years of age. In comparing the two statements it must be borne in mind that all who came to Nova Scotia are not included in General Campbell's muster, the instructions to the muster-masters expressly stating

¹ See History of New York during the Revolutionary War, by Judge Thomas Jones, Vol. II, p. 507.

² See the Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer of Sept. 9, 1784.

that such as were in situations to support themselves by trade or professions, as well as those who were dissolute and indolent, should not partake of the royal bounty of provisions. The muster-masters found that many were not on the lands assigned them. Some had engaged in the fishery, others had sought employment in the towns, and a few were sufficiently independent not to require provisions; doubtless some had already left the country, while others expected had not yet arrived. The general muster would not, therefore, include all who, at one time or another, came to Nova Scotia. On the other hand, the figures of the Secretary of the Treasury, 33,682, are liable to exception from the fact, noted by Thomas Knox in his letters to Colonel Edward Winslow, that rations were drawn for families *expected* to arrive in the country shortly, and for nominal servants in the families of some of the officers. Among those expected to arrive may have been those Loyalists—and there were a considerable number—who, during the war, or at the time of the evacuation of New York, retired to England to present their claims to the Imperial government for compensation for losses and sacrifices consequent upon their adherence to the crown.

A conservative estimate places the number of those commonly designated as Loyalists, who came to the Maritime Provinces at the close of the Revolution, as fully 30,000 souls. The question now arises: Should all who are included in this number be classed as Loyalists? Certainly not. The evidence of Major General Campbell's muster on this head is exceedingly valuable. My analysis, however, must be imperfect, for the reason that I have not been able to obtain a copy of the report of Captain George Stewart, by whom the Loyalists were mustered who settled along the Nova Scotia side of the Bay of Fundy to the eastward of Annapolis—in number more than 2,000 souls.

An examination of the returns of the muster-masters available shows that under the general designation, "Loyalists Settling in Nova Scotia," were included at least five distinct classes, namely, 1. Loyalists who had served in arms in organized corps; 2. Loyalists not enrolled in any military organization; 3. Disbanded British Regulars; 4. Disbanded Hessian and German troops; 5. Negroes. A few observations on each class will be in order:

1. The corps of organized Loyalists undoubtedly contained the

most pronounced and aggressive element among those who favored the King's cause in America; yet even here the element enlisted was exceedingly diverse in character. For example, the 84th Regiment, or "Young Royal Highland Emigrants,"¹ was classed among the Loyalist or Provincial Regiments, although it was raised principally from among the Scottish immigrants arriving at that time in the United States or Nova Scotia. The Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers were raised chiefly in Nova Scotia. The Royal Fencible Americans were raised in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. These corps were never out of Nova Scotia, and were disbanded there at the peace, but they are included among the Loyalists. Many of the men of the Queen's Rangers, the British Legion, DeLancey's first and second battalions, and other corps, were immigrants, chiefly Irish, enlisted at New York. The Royal Garrison Battalion was mustered as a Loyalist corps and disbanded in Nova Scotia; nevertheless it included comparatively few Loyalists, the majority being officers and soldiers of the British Regulars who had been invalided and sent to Bermuda to recuperate. This will suffice to show the composite character of the British American regiments. Doubtless, by far the larger proportion were natives of America, but there were many and important exceptions.

2. As regards the second class—Loyalists not enrolled in any military organization—an analysis of General Campbell's muster shows that there is even here a small percentage (*only* a small percentage, be it observed,) that can hardly come under the head "Loyalist" as commonly understood. For example, 208 individuals were mustered at Halifax as "Objects of Charity." Of these unfortunates the following account is given by Edward Winslow:

"The good people of England collected a whole shipload of all kinds of vagrants from the streets of London and sent them out to Nova Scotia. Great numbers died on the passage of various disorders—the miserable remnant are landed here. Such as are able to crawl are begging for provisions at my door."²

There were included in the muster at the River St. John 233 individuals who were in reality old inhabitants of the country, but

¹ See the account of this corps in History of Pictou County, by Rev. Geo. Patterson, page 119.

² See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia. Vol. III, pp. 34, 35.

were allowed provisions on account of their indigent circumstances. However, there are comparatively few in this class of whom there can be any question as to their right of being considered American Loyalists. But with regard to the three classes that are to follow there seems to be greater difficulty.

3. Rather more than 2,000 British Regulars were disbanded in Nova Scotia at the close of the war,¹ and these, with their families, comprising in addition upwards of 600 women and 500 children, were included in General Campbell's muster. It is difficult to see upon what basis this class could be regarded as Loyalists in the commonly accepted use of the word.

4. General Campbell's muster shows 70 Hessians settled at Argyle (women and children included), 57 at Shelburne, 12 at Chester, and 59 Germans at Nine Mile River. The principal settlement of these foreign troops was, however, at Bear River and Clements, in Annapolis County, where more than one hundred of them settled with their families. They were principally Waldeckers and Hessians, and their settlements were originally known as the "Waldeck" and "Hessian" lines. This class of settlers probably did not exceed 500 persons in all Nova Scotia, and was not important, numerically.

5. As regards the number of negroes who came with the Loyalists, only an estimate is possible, but their number was about 3,000. General Campbell's muster shows there were 1,522 at Shelburne, 182 at the St. John River, 270 at Guysborough, 211 in Annapolis County, and smaller numbers at a great variety of places, many of whom were slaves. Those returned at Shelburne, the River St. John and Guysborough were free negroes who had been emancipated by proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton, and whom Sir Guy Carleton had refused, at the close of war, to deliver up to their former masters. A considerable number of negroes settled at Digby, and others at Clements and Granville formerly belonged to the Loyalist corps known as the Black Pioneers. In General Campbell's muster we find 1,232 individuals returned as servants. The majority of these were doubtless negroes,

¹ The locations and numbers (women and children not included) were nearly as follows: Shelburne 833, River St. John 199, Passamaquoddy 153, Pictou and Merigonish 190, Guysborough 265, P. E. Island 65, Chester 50, besides a considerable number along the south shore of the Bay of Fundy, at Annapolis and elsewhere.

² Rev. Jacob Bailey, in 1784, speaks of a settlement of 65 families of negroes, one mile from Digby, and says there were others at Annapolis.

many of them slaves in the families of the more well-to-do among the Loyalists. Doubtless the Black Pioneers who served the King in arms had every claim to be considered as Loyalists, and others should be placed in the same category; but it is at least a debatable question, whether all the negroes who availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the war to escape from slavery are to be classed as Loyalists.

The question has been asked: "What proportion of the 30,000 Loyalists who came remained as permanent settlers in the Maritime Provinces?" This is a matter of opinion, and must remain so. Comparatively few of the old soldiers remained on the lands assigned them, and many left the country. Of the negroes, 1,200 were transported to Sierra Leone in 1792. Many of the Loyalists, out of consideration for the education of their children and motives less praiseworthy, returned to the United States. The attractions of Upper Canada—now the Province of Ontario—sufficed to draw thither some of the best blood of the Loyalists of the Maritime Provinces. Probably rather less than twenty thousand remained as permanent settlers within the confines of old Nova Scotia.

THE ASSAULT OF MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD ON QUEBEC, 1775.¹

BY SIR JAMES M. LEMOINE, F.R.S.C.

Every country has in its history particular dates which, after a lapse of years, become, so to speak, crystallized in the minds of the people. One may mark a victory; another may commemorate a defeat; a third record a public calamity. Champlain's old fortress is no exception to the rule.

It is, therefore of paramount importance that the annalist, in the accomplishment of his sacred trust, should give a true record of past events, sparing neither time nor research in unravelling the tangled web of the occasionally obscure, dry-as-dust documents on which a date may rest.

¹ This article is re-printed, with the consent of the author, from proof sheets of the forthcoming volume of the Proceedings of the Royal Society (1899). The full title is "The Assault of Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery and Colonel Benedict Arnold on Quebec in 1775. A Red-letter Day in the Annals of Canada."—EDITOR.

The day when Quebec's brave defenders saved the province to the British crown, in 1775, is without doubt, by its far-reaching results, one of those unforgettable epochs in its history.

It was accordingly a surprise to me, on perusing Dr. Kingsford's elaborate work on Canada, to find that so far I had wrongly read history; that, in fact, the gallant surviving militia officers, who annually for more than twenty seasons commemorated within our walls by a public banquet (of which such flourishing accounts occurred in Neilson's "Quebec Gazette,") the repulse of Montgomery and Arnold at Pres-de-Ville and the Sault-au-Matelot, had seemingly forgotten the exact day on which they had fought and won; that the glorious date I had taken especial pride in recording in many of my works was wrong; that the innumerable despatches, letters, memoirs and diaries left by eye-witnesses or by reliable writers were also wrong as to the time of the fight; that, in fact, the ever-memorable assault had taken place, not on the morning of the 31st of December, 1775, as was generally believed, but on that of the 1st of January, 1776.

The doctor's statement, which had startled many other students of Canadian history besides myself, caused me to look up the historical sources on which my opinion was based.

In order to elucidate the subject fully I decided to consult other writers on Canadian annals, such as Rev. Abbe H. Verreault, of Montreal, and Dr. N. E. Dionne, of Quebec, both fellows of the Royal Society. I also resolved to have searches made in the archives and libraries of the United States.

As a preliminary, it occurred to me to look up the Roman Catholic parish church register of Quebec, considered so justly a reliable and accurate record of marriages, births and deaths since the foundation of the colony.

I therein read of the burial of a French Canadian, by name Louis Vallerand, on the 1st January, 1776; the said Vallerand was killed at the engagement at Quebec the day previous, viz., the 31st December, 1775.

In order to abridge the array of authorities which can be put forth on the task before me I shall, with Dr. Dionne's permission, confine myself to quote the leading authorities contained in his able dissertation, in addition to my own.

The doctor, after alluding to the accounts of the banquets com-

memorating the repulse of Montgomery and Arnold, to be found in the columns of the old "Quebec Gazette," 1776, 1779, etc., says: "The 'Quebec Herald' of the 14th January, 1790, mentions the annual banquet as follows: 'Thursday last, being the 31st December, the Veterans held their annual dinner.'" He quotes an extract of a letter written six days after the engagement by General Wooster to Colonel Warner, both distinguished officers of the Continental army:

"With the greatest distress of mind," writes the general. "I now sit down to inform you of the event of an unfortunate attack made upon Quebec between the hours of four and six of the morning of the 31st December last."

Then comes a passage taken from the journal of an English officer present at the siege, and inserted in W. Smith's "History of Canada," as follows: "31st December, Mr. Montgomery, with 900 of the best men, attacked Pres-de-Ville, and Arnold, with 700 chosen fellows, attacked at Sault-au-Matelot."

We have next the statement of an eye-witness, one who saw all that took place before, pending and after the assault of December, 1775, viz., an extract of a pastoral letter from no less a personage than the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec, Monsigneur Briand. It is dated 29th December, 1776. This dignitary takes occasion to recall the memorable engagement as a subject for congratulation to his flock. "What," says his lordship, "are our feelings on the happy and glorious event of the 31st December, 1775!"

Bishop Briand, a resident of Quebec, surely could not have been mistaken as to the date in alluding to such a recent occurrence!

Dr. Dionne also puts forth an important document, the text of the inscription on Richard Montgomery's tombstone at St. Paul's Church, New York, showing "31st December, 1775," as the date of his death. This inscription was prepared by Benjamin Franklin. Is it likely that such an eminent man as Dr. Franklin should have inserted this date thoughtlessly and without consulting well-informed persons on this subject?

Among United States travellers who have published books on the campaign of 1775, Dr. Dionne mentions the following: Sanson,¹ Silliman,² and a well-known American writer on the battles of 1775-81,

¹ "Sketches of Lower Canada, Historical and Descriptive, with the Author's Recollections, 1817," p. 631.

² "Remarks made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec in the Autumn of 1819-1820," p. 284.

Henry B. Carrington, who says: "It was not until the night of the thirtieth, when but one day of legal service remained for a large portion of the troops, that the preparations were complete;"¹ that is, that the preparations for the assault were completed only during the night of the thirtieth, when one day alone remained for the greater portion of the troops.

It was, then, indispensable not to wait for the 1st January to make the assault, as the term of service of a large portion of the soldiers expired with the end of the year. (Bancroft's "History of the United States," Vol. VII, p. 121).

Ill-clad, ill-fed, Montgomery's followers were little inclined for a winter campaign, fought with exposure and suffering. Many longed to return to their homes.

Perault,² Bibaud,³ Smith,⁴ Hawkins,⁵ and Gerneau,⁶ who wrote at the beginning of the century, and who could easily collect the traditions of the past, are unanimous in fixing to the 31st December, 1775, the attack on Quebec.

"Then," adds Dr. Dionne, "all the recent writers on this thrilling period agree in recording the assault on Quebec as taking place on the 31st December, 1775—Charles Rogers,⁷ who wrote in 1856, Rev. W. H. Withrow,⁸ Sir James M. LeMoine,⁹ L. P. Turcotte,¹⁰ and Faucher de St. Maurice."

In reply to a communication I addressed to a literary friend across the border, Mr. Edward Denham, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, drawing his attention to Dr. Kingsford's statement, I received a voluminous memoir, disclosing considerable research through the United States libraries and archives. Lack of space compels me to omit here even the title of the authorities, referring the reader to the text of the same, fully set forth in the last number of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.

¹ "Battles of the American Revolution, 1775-81," p. 134.

² "Abrégé, Histoire du Canada, 2ème partie," p. 117.

³ "Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la Domination Anglaise," p. 67.

⁴ "History of Canada," II, 161.

⁵ "Picture of Quebec," p. 427.

⁶ "Histoire du Canada, 1ère édition, 1848," t. III, p. 436.

⁷ "The Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilization," p. 62.

⁸ "A Popular History of the Dominion of Canada, 1885," p. 279.

⁹ "V. Album de Touriste," pp. 33, 70, et suiv.

¹⁰ "Invasion du Canada et Siège de Québec, 1775-76; 1873," p. 47.

"I have already referred to Wm. Smith's oration, in which is the date, December 31, 1775, and which was published at least twice, separately. I have never seen either of the original editions, but it is given in full in Peter Force, IV, pp. 1675-1684. The monument erected in New York, at the rear of St. Paul's Chapel, gives the date of his death as December 31, 1775. The inscription upon it is given in Loring's 'Field-Book,' Vol. I, p. 201, and blunders in regard to his age, which it says is '37.' As he was born December 3, 1736, he had just completed his 39th year."

Such are some of the authorities in support of the generally accepted date of the attack on Quebec in December, 1775, by the troops of Congress—the date put forth by the eminent historian, George Bancroft, in his "History of the United States of America," Vol. VII, p. 131.

Let us see the documents on which Dr. W. Kingsford rests his theory in Volume VI, page 33, of his "History of Canada." Quoting Finlay's "Journal," the doctor wrote :

"31st December.—Wind N. E., very stormy and dark. As Captain Malcolm Fraser, of the Emigrants, who that night commanded the main guard," etc.

"Caldwell writes: 'They (the Congress troops) remained until the 31st December. About five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Captain Fraser, who was captain of the main guard,' etc.

"Mr. James Thompson, who, as engineer, carried on the work of increasing the fortifications, and lived to be 98, dying on the 30th August, 1830, describes two assaults on the night of the 31st December, 1775, or rather the morning of the 1st January, as the time when Arnold approached Palace Gate" (p. 113).

"Badeaux (Verrault, p. 182) gives the same date. 'Enfin, ne trouvant aucun moyen pour entrer dans la ville, il forma l'escalade le premier jour de l'année 1776, à quatre heures du matin.'"

"The error," Dr. Kingsford adds, "apparently has arisen from Sanguinet having described the event as taking place '*le trente et un de decembre, 1775, a cinq heures du matin.*' Sanguinet was, however, at the time at Montreal, and whatever the expression may mean, he cannot be accepted as an authority for what took place during the siege."

Let us now sift the foregoing evidence adduced by Dr. Kingsford.

Finlay's testimony seems to us anything but conclusive as favouring Dr. Kingford's assumption, especially when read in conjunction with the statement of Colonel Cardwell, which immediately follows it, and

which mentions five o'clock in the morning of the 31st December as the hour when Captain Fraser gave the alarm.

Old Sergeant James Thompson, stonemason and "overseer of the works," as foreman, not as engineer, and who lived to be 98, dying on the 30th August, 1830, who left a diary which he dictated to his son, James Thompson, jr., on the 31st July, 1828, two years before his death, can scarcely be accepted as a sufficient authority; the memory of nonagenarians attaining 96 years being liable to become faulty. This supposition becomes a certainty on referring to another passage in his diary, dictated also on the 31st July, 1828, wherein it is said that "on the 31st December, before daylight, General Montgomery made an attempt at assault by Pres-de-Ville and Sault-au-Matelot," etc., "where he and two of his officers and a sergeant were shot dead by a single discharge," etc.

Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief, in a letter to General Howe, Quebec, 12th January, 1776, relates the attack as being made on the 31st December, 1775.

The evidence of Henry, a volunteer in the troops of Congress, taken prisoner on the 31st December, 1775, quoted by Kingsford, is open to suspicion, as his presumed diary or memoir, instead of being in his own handwriting, was dictated to his daughter thirty-seven years later, viz., in 1812, as appears by the following:

"The campaign against Quebec was dictated to his daughter Ann Mary, the mother of the writer, with the aid of casual notes and memoranda, from his (Henry's) bed of sickness—his latest years. The manuscript received no revision at his hands, for he was called away shortly after the pages were written. His widow gave it to the press in 1812, and it was printed without even a correction of verbal or typographical errors." ("Account of Arnold's Campaign Against Quebec," published by Maunsell, Albany, 1817).

Sanguinet, a member of the Montreal Bar, who left what has ever been held a copious and reliable journal of the siege operations of 1775, and who places the assault on the morning of the 31st December, visited Quebec in May, 1776, when the particulars of the attack were fresh in everyone's mind. According to Dr. Kingsford he cannot be accepted as an authority for what took place during the siege, on account of his absence.

The doctor, however, accepts the version of the journal attributed to Badeaux, a Three Rivers Notary, though Badeaux no more than

Sanguinet was present at Quebec on the day of the engagement. The doctor, however, in Badeaux's case forgot, or did not choose to add, that on the margin of Badeaux's manuscript, in Badeaux's own handwriting, occurs the correction "31 décembre, 1775," and that the learned Jacques Viger, the antiquary, who owned Badeaux's manuscript journal, inscribed under the correction the words "Et c'est vrai. J. V." (His initials).

Another work highly prized for historic value, Hawkins' "Picture of Quebec," published in 1834, with the joint collaboration of the scholarly Dr. John Charlton Fisher, of the learned Andrew Stuart, Q.C., and the late Judge Adam Tom, fixes the date of Montgomery and Arnold's assault on Quebec on the 31st December, 1775.

In 1834 these eminent men had special facilities to inform themselves of the date, as they had numbered among their contemporaries eye-witnesses of the battle, such as Sergeant J. Thompson and others.

Taking into consideration the array of authorities available to the annalist of that period, it seems to me a matter of regret that such an industrious writer as Dr. Kingsford did not find the time to extend the field of his researches; and should have taken on himself, on the slender evidence he adduces, to alter the date of the assault on Quebec in 1775, as given by Bancroft and other reliable historians.