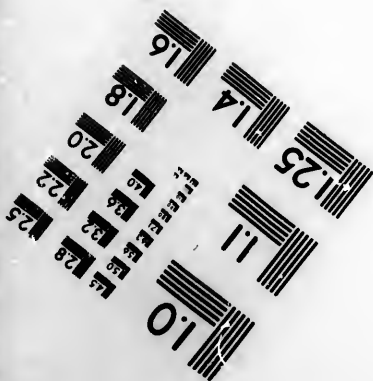
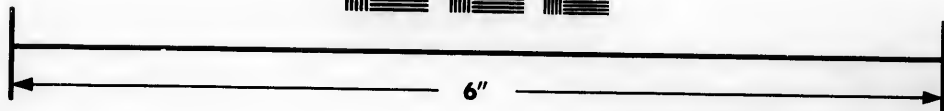
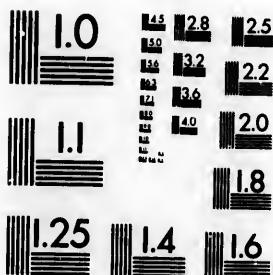


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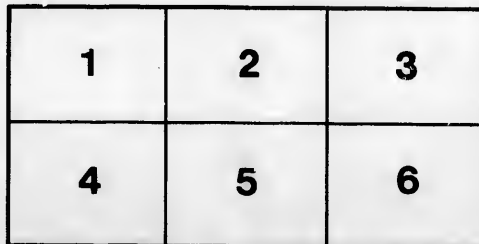
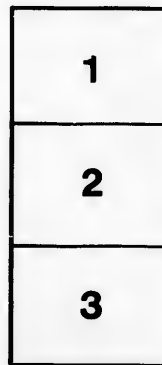
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REMARKS

ON THE

French Memorials

CONCERNING THE

LIMITS of *ACADIA*;

Printed at the Royal Printing-house at PARIS,
and distributed by the *French* Ministers
at all the Foreign Courts of *Europe*.

WITH

TWO MAPS,

Exhibiting the LIMITS:

One according to the System of the *French*, as inserted
in the said Memorials;

The other conformable to the *English* Rights, as sup-
ported by the Authority of Treaties, continual Grants
of the *French* Kings, and express Passages of the best
French Authors.

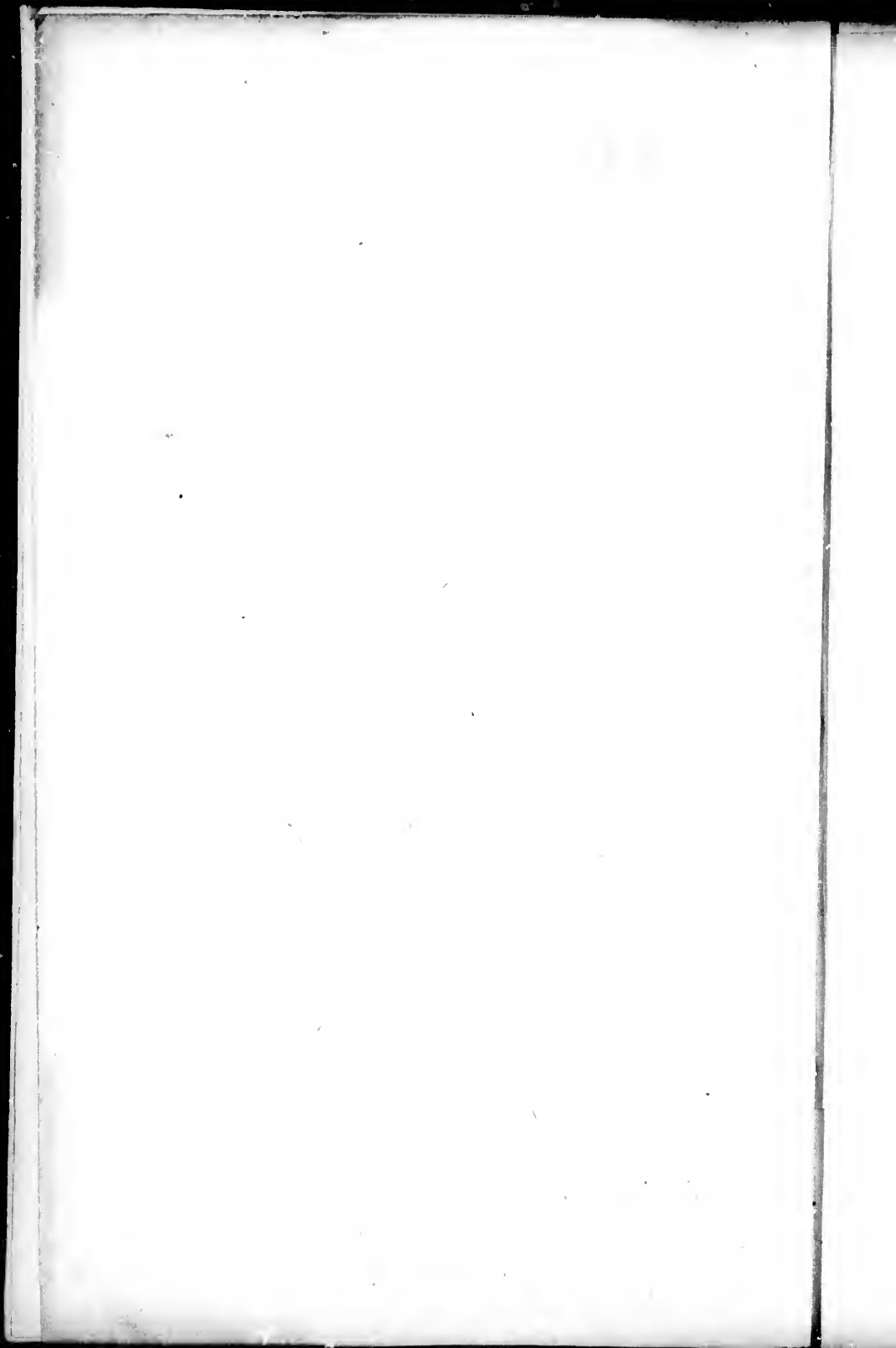
To which is added,

An ANSWER to the SUMMARY
DISCUSSION, &c.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, at the Corner of *St. Mar-*
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[Price 2s. 6d.]



lexander 1621, and divided by him into
two provinces, *Alexandria* and *Caledonia*,
all to the east of this line

Septentrionale

70

65

Longitude Occidentale du Meridian de Londres

Les Limites des provinces Angloises ont ete prises sur des Cartes Anglois

Riviere du Canada ou Fleuve

Tadoussac
R. Saguenai

Amourasca

Quebec

Les Trois Rivières

R. des Trois Rivières

R. S. Jean
Nabobouas

Occident

Montreal
Hochelaga
R. St. Louis

45

PROV. DE
MAINE
Long Sault

PROV. DE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
R. Sagadahoc

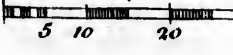
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MASSACHUSETTS
R. Merrimack

PROV. DE
RHODE ISLAND
R. Providence

ALOUQUOIS
Salem
Boston
Dorchester
Nantuxet
le Pliouth
Cap. Maleburre

BAYE FRANCOISE
I. Verte
Longue
Cap. St. Marie
Cap. Fourche
Port L'Ange
ou Port L'Erme
Cap. de Sab
Port Negro

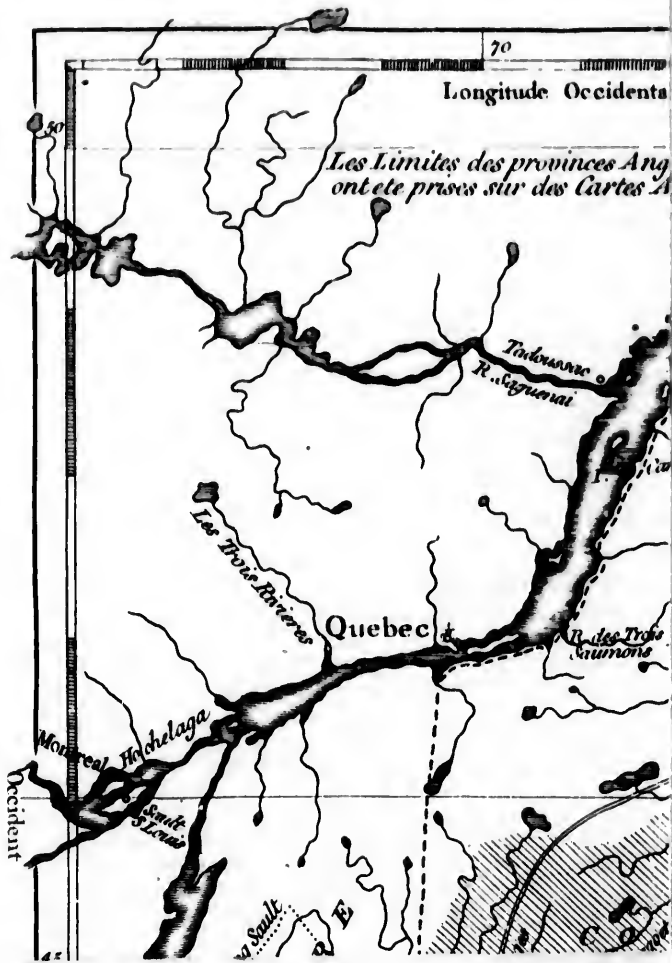
Echelle
Lieux Maritimes 20






Longitude Occidentale de l'Observatoire

70

Midi



EXPLANATION for the *FRENCH* MAP.

- L**IMITS proposed by *English* commissaries, the 21st of *September*, 1750, and 11th of *January*, 1751. exclusive of *Cape-Breton*; with short strokes -----
- Limits of *Acadia*, and its *Banks*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*; marked thus + + + +
- District of *Port-Royal* by the same treaty, inclosed with a strong line _____
- Limits of *Nova Scotia*, as granted to Sir *William Alexander*, the 10th of *September*, 1621. by dots
- Cromwell's* grant to *La Tour*, *Crown*, and *Temple*, the 9th of *August*, 1656. =====
- The country restored (to *France*) by the treaty of *Breda*, includes all granted by *Cromwell*, with the country from *Mirlegash* to *Canseau*.
- The government of *L. nys* in 1654, shaded horizontally 
- Charnesay's* government in 1638, shaded obliquely 
- La Tour's* government in 1638, shaded perpendicularly 

EXPLANATION for the *ENGLISH* MAP.

- N**OVA SCOTIA, or *Acadia*, as claimed by the *English* commissaries under the *Utrecht* treaty in 1713. short strokes -----
- Nova Scotia*, as granted to Sir *William Alexander* 1621, and divided by him into two provinces, *Alexandria* and *Caledonia*, all to the east of this line

Acadia, according to *Champlain*, from 1603, to 1629; the same as *Nova Scotia* (excepting *Cape-Breton*) with the country west to *Penobskot* river, and the small pricked line

Acadia, as granted by *Louis XII.* and *XIV.* from 1632, to 1710. the same with *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, as claimed by the *English*.

Nova Scotia, as enlarged to the river *Kennebek*, by farther grant to the earl of *Sterling*, 1635. the same with *Acadia* of both *Louis's*.

Acadia Proper, according to the tripartite division, mentioned by *Charlevoix*, upright shades,

Charnefay's government, in 1638, bounded thus

La Tour's government in 1638. marked thus

Cromwell's grant to *La Tour*, *Crown*, and *Temple*, in 1656, exclusive of *Cape Breton*; enclosed with a small line

Acadia, as claimed by, and ceded to *France*, at the treaty of *Breda*, 1667. the same with *Cromwell's* grant.

Norembega, according to *Dapper's* and *Ogilby's America*, between the rivers *Penobskot* and *Kennibek*.

The *Etechemin's* coast, according to *Champlain*, p. 60. and *Denys*, p. 31. shaded obliquely.

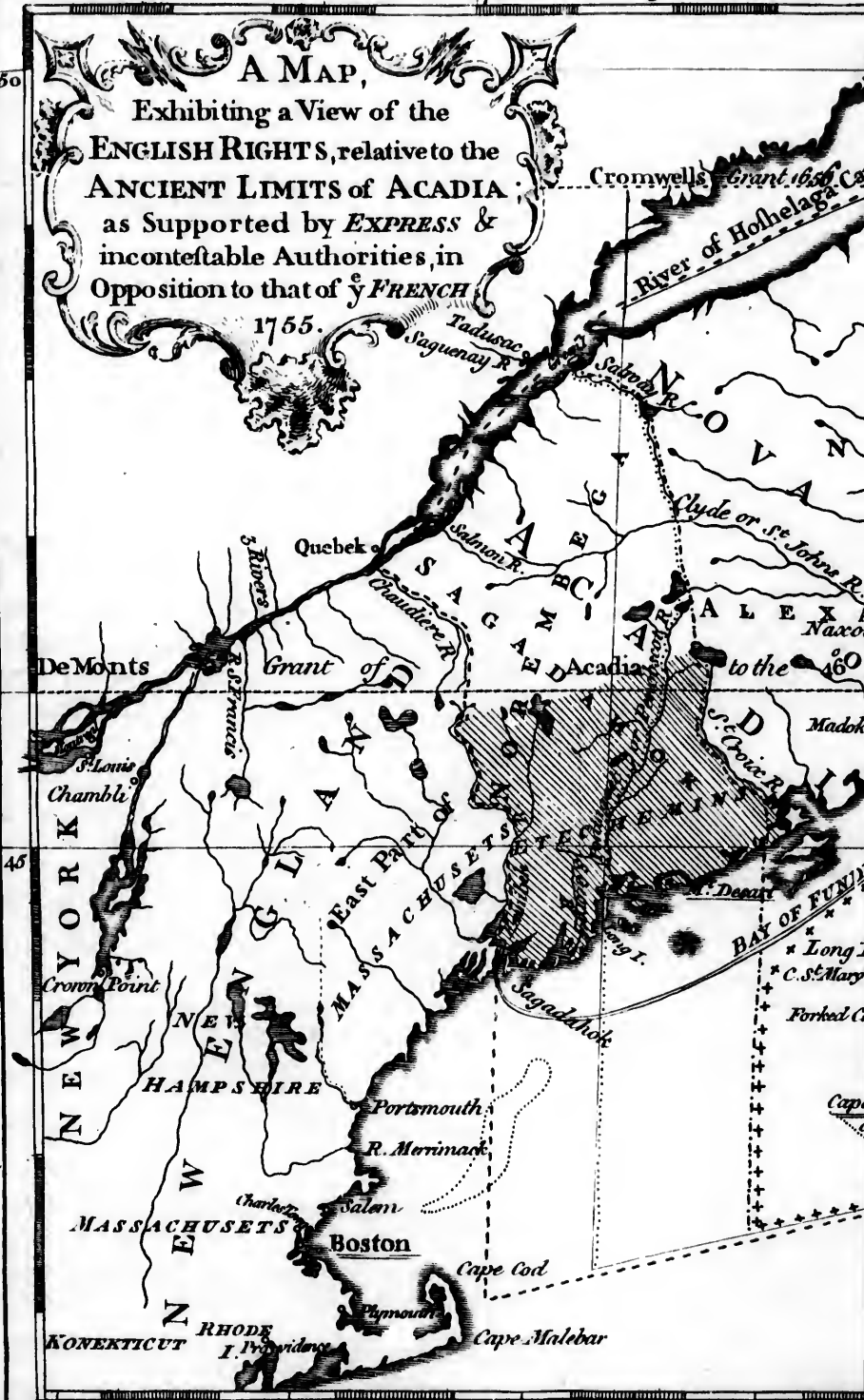
Note, *The first Map is an exact copy from the French; and both are drawn by the same scale with it.*



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A MAP,
 Exhibiting a View of the
ENGLISH RIGHTS, relative to the
ANCIENT LIMITS of ACADIA
 as Supported by *EXPRESS* &
 incontestable Authorities, in
 Opposition to that of *FRENCH*

1755.

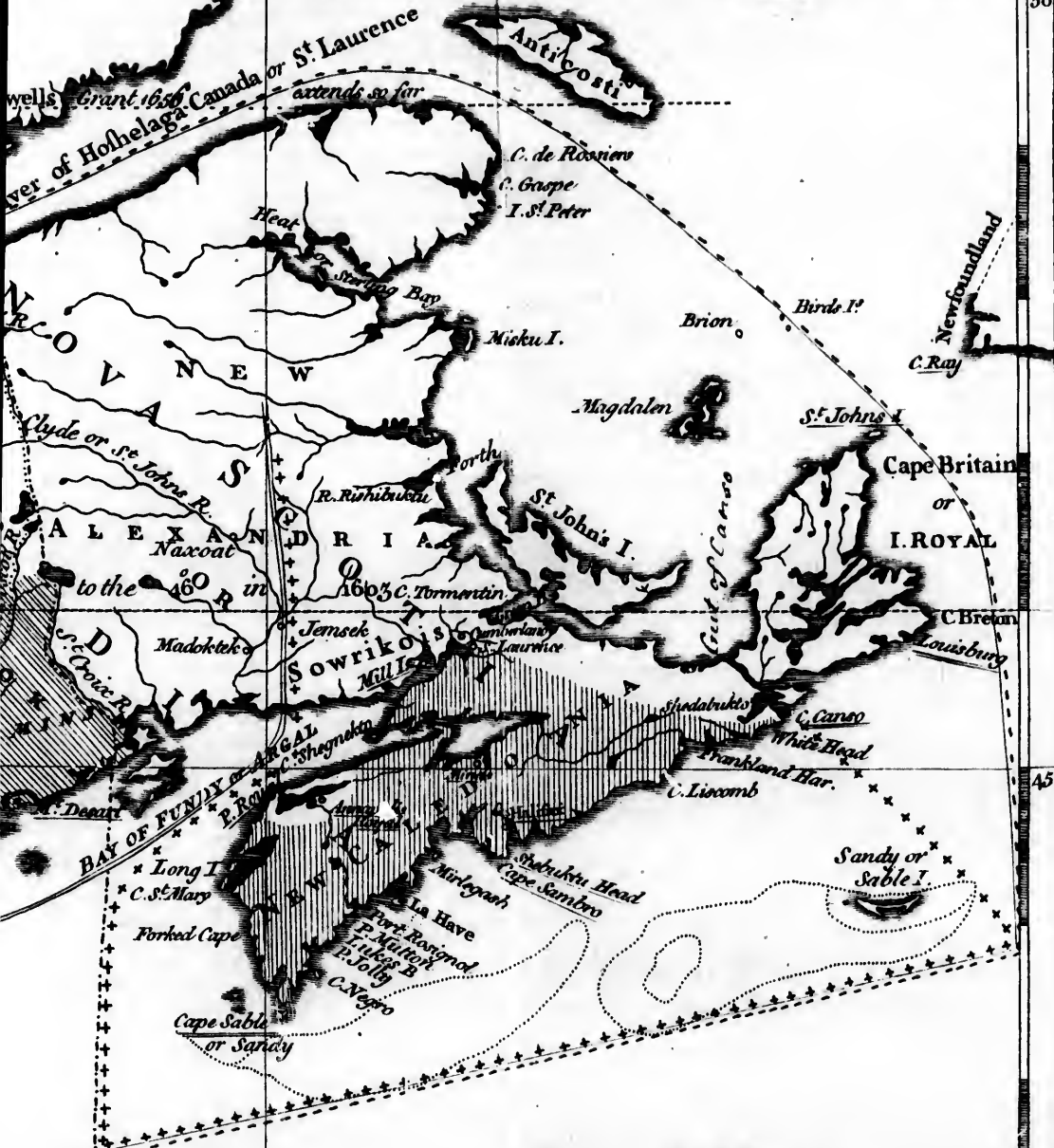


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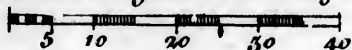
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60

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Scale.
 Marine Leagues 20 to a Degree.



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Longitude from Paris

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C O N C E R N I N G

The Limits of ACADIA.

TH E political systems by which kingdoms and states may be, and, in reality, are governed, are of two opposite kinds; the first consists of maxims founded on the strictest rules of honesty, justice, equity, integrity, benevolence, and humanity; in short, conformable to the invariable laws of reason and nature.

The other derives its principles from the sources of fraud, deceit, double-dealing, artifice, finesse, chicanery, dissimulation, partiality, oppression, perfidy, force and tyranny.

I need not here ask which of these two sorts of politics is most eligible, or conducive to the happiness of a nation: that is obvious to every good and discerning man at first sight; and our *English* proverb has well determined, that *honesty is the best policy*. This is the sentiment of the *British* nation in general; and 'tis

hoped their governors will always conform themselves to that no less divine than salutary Rule. Other nations, or rather the ministers of other nations, have made choice of the opposite system, for regulating their conduct: not that they think it best of the two, but because it better suits with the corrupt principles, and rapacious views, of themselves or their sovereign, whose slaves they are, and whose tools in iniquity they submit to be.

'Tis true, there are in the world many arbitrary or despotic governments, whose system of politics is strictly just, and wholly conducive to the public good. On the contrary, there possibly may be free states wherein the false system prevails; because the ministers are become too powerful, and consequently corrupt. But whenever this happens to be the case, liberty in such a country, is properly no more than a bare name, and strength on the decay: for free states can neither subsist themselves, nor support their freedom against powerful neighbours, but by strictly adhering to upright measures.

Upright politics, such as I have defined them, are the basis of their happy constitution; and how can the superstructure subsist, if the foundation be either tapped or taken away? They must not do wrong, any more than suffer wrong? They must no more dare to make slaves of others, than they would desire to be made slaves themselves. The rules of upright politics must be all perfect, without exception. One false or unjust principle, would contaminate the whole, and prove a cancer, which, by degrees, would infect, and at length eat up all the rest.

Among

Among the governments which have adopted false politics, as best to proceed on, that of the *French* has made itself most remarkable on this side of the globe. Their ministers began to build on this bad foundation, in the reign of *Louis XI.* and they who succeeded endeavoured to improve their plan, which *Richlieu* brought to perfection, by first turning those politics against his own nation, and tricking them out of their liberty.

Ever since then there is scarce a treaty or negotiation, which the *French* have had with foreigners, wherein their ministers have not made use of the rules of their system to over-reach and gain advantages. Neither is there any nation on whom they have practised their art, called finesse; more than on the *English*; nor with whom their endeavours have *succeeded* better. Whether it was owing to excess of honesty, which suspects no deceit; or to ignorance, which is easily imposed on; or lastly, to insincerity, against which there is no guard, for a long series of years our ministers were duped, and the nation defrauded by the *French*, more or less, in all their treaties and negotiations.

In effect, we had been cozen'd by them so often, without taking warning; and suffered so many impositions without resenting, or even seeming to be sensible of, them; that they were encouraged at last to attempt the most daring insult on us, that can well be imagined: namely, to seize near three parts in four of a large province, to wit, *Nova Scotia*; under pretence that they had ceded only a little part of

it, altho' they had by a solemn treaty, in the most *express* terms, given up *the whole*; and it was to justify this extraordinary proceeding, that the Memorials which we are about to animadvert on, were written. But before we enter upon this task, it will be proper to give an account of the work in question.

The Memorials concerning the limits of *Acadia*, mentioned in the title of this tract, are printed in two volumes, quarto. The first contains (1.) the Memorial of the *English* Commissioners, *William Shirley*, and *William Mildmay*, Esquires, delivered to those of the *French* King, September 21, 1750, relating to the Limits of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, and the demands of *Great-Britain* thereto under the treaty of *Utrecht*: which takes up five pages.

(2.) Two Memorials sent to the *English* Commissioners by those of the *French* King, Messieurs *La Galissoniere*, and *Silhouette*. The first of the same date with the *English*, is an answer of two pages, importing; that by the treaty of *Utrecht*, the King cedes to *Great-Britain*, all *Acadia*, according to its ancient Limits, and also *Port-Royal* or *Annapolis*. In the second, bearing date the 16th of *November* 1750, and consisting of eight lines; the *French* Commissioners, in answer to those of the *English*, who desired that they would explain themselves more precisely, with respect to the ancient Limits of *Acadia*, declare: that the ancient *Acadia* begins at the extremity of *French Bay*, from [either] *Cape St. Mary*, or *Cape Fourchu*; that it extends along the coasts, and ends at *Cape Canseau*.

(3.) A Memorial of the *English* Commissaries, as delivered to those of *France*, *January 11, 1751*, containing an answer to the *French* Memorials: wherein they endeavour, from reason and authorities, to support their own system, and refute that of the *French*: escorted with observations of the *French* Commissaries, by way of notes. Takes up 66 pages.

(4.) Memorial of the *French* Commissaries, *October 4, 1751*, in answer to those of the *English*, delivered on *September 21, 1750*, and *January 11, 1751*, containing 181 pages, in all 256.

The second volume contains the vouchers and authorities produced on both sides, concerning the Limits of *Acadia*; consisting of three parts, (1.) Treaties and other public acts, to page 185.

(2.) Authentic pieces produced by the *English* Commissaries, in support of their Memorial of *January 11, 1751*: pages 224, to p. 409.

(3.) Authentic pieces produced by the *French* Commissaries, in support of what they advance in their Memorials of *September 21*, and *November 16, 1750*; and *October 4, 1751*, from p. 409 to 646, comprising 237 pages.

The *English* Memorials set forth, that we claim, as *Acadia*, all the country to the south of river *St. Laurence*, and east of *Penobskot*, and even to the river *Kennibek*, or borders of *New-England*, in regard the treaty of *Utrecht* gives us the whole of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, according to its antient Limits; with all the lands and isles thereof,

thereof, at any time possessed by the *French*, or dependant on it. Likewise shews, from the grants of the *French* Kings, and their demands from time to time, that *Acadia* extended to those Limits; and, that in consequence of such demands, they had so much delivered up to them in all the treaties of peace, since that of *St. Germain*, in *May* 1632.

The *French*, in their answer, after cavaling at almost every proof, brought to support the several articles; at last reject them all as insufficient, alledging: that the bounds found in their King's Commission to their governors, and in the treaties between the two crowns, since the year 1632, are bounds of a later date, occasionally given to the country to distinguish the parts ceded, and not the *ancient limits* of *Acadia*; which they pretend were confined to the coast from *Cape St. Mary*, or *Cape Fourchu* to *Cape Sable*, and thence to *Canseau*, as aforesaid.

This objection about the *ancient limits* is a notorious quibble; the absurdity of which has been sufficiently exposed by the author of *the Conduct of the French, with regard to Nova Scotia*: who at the same time demonstrates from indisputable authority, that even in that sense, the *English* are entitled to all which they claim, if not more. Nor is that quibble to be maintained otherwise, than by corrupting or suppressing evidence: to prove which, is the principal end of our remarks.

The *French* Commissaries, to support their system, have amassed a vast number of authorities and passages from treaties, patents, travelers, geographers, and other quarters. But

it is not my intention here to *answer* the *French* Memorials, and examine the weight of all their proofs : that has been done already, by a masterly hand ; and, it is hoped, will ere long appear to the confusion of those, whose unfair dealings it exposeth. My design in this piece is of a less extensive and laborious nature. It is confined simply to set forth the deceit and artifice, which in the publication as well as drawing up of their Memorials, the *French* Ministers (conformable to their system of politics) have made use of, to conceal from the public, all such evidence, as either absolutely destroy their own pretensions, or serve to establish those of the *English*. On this occasion, they are chargeable with two unwarrantable practices.

First, with extracting from authors only such passages as they imagined might be strained to favour their system, and omitting those which make expressly against them.

Secondly, in suppressing the reply of the *British* Commissaries to their Memorial of *October* 4, 1751, or answer to the *English* Memorials.

To prove the first of these two points, it will not be expected that I should read both volumes through, to look for instances ; or examine every author, which the *French* Commissaries have made use of, to see if they have omitted any passages less favourable to themselves, and more so to us, than those which they have produced. I take it for granted, that it will be sufficient, if among them all I can point out one author which furnishes proof of their having acted in
this

this manner; or in other words, of their having suppressed one or more passages thereof, which, in express terms, contradicts their system and supports ours. This then I shall undertake to do; and to avoid any suspicion of weakening the evidence on their side, by only giving it in part, I shall translate one whole article from the Memorial of the *French* Commissaries of the 4th of *October* 1751, in answer to those of the *English* Commissaries, containing both the passages of the author, and the observations of the Commissaries thereon, in order to set them in their strongest light. I shall take the liberty, however, (in imitation of the same gentlemen, in publishing the *English* Memorials) to accompany them with remarks of my own, by way of notes.

ARTICLE XVI.

Proves, touching the Limits of Acadia, taken from the Voyages of the Sieur Champlain.

I. **T**HE relations of the Sieur *Champlain*, founder of *Quebec*, and governor of *Canada*, are neither so *precise* nor *exact* as those of the Sieur *Denys* *; because it was not his design, as it was that of *Denys*, to determine the limits of the countries †, which he describes.

II. ONE

* I am of opinion, that on due examination, they will be found to be much more *precise* and *exact*.

† It does not appear to have been the design of *Denys* more than *Champlain*, to determine the *Limits* of the countries which he describes: And, if it had, that description, according to *Charlevoix*, (*Hist. Nouv. France*, vol. i.

page

II. ONE or two passages of this author are not sufficient *, on which to ground a just opinion concerning the true denomination of the countries in question: to determine this it is necessary to collect, compare and explain them one by another; after which, it will *evidently appear*, that the name of *Acadia* suits only with the *south-east* part of the *Peninsula* †.

III. IN

page 113. and 410. edit. 4to 1744.) relates to the division of the country or coasts south of *St. Lawrence* river, among three or four governors; whence it was necessary that the provinces should have different names, one of which retain'd that of *Acadia*. The Commissaries take no notice of this division, which explains the case. Besides, this division (made apparently by the governors themselves) did not take place, till after (perhaps several years after) *Champlain* wrote: consequently, cannot be oppos'd to what this author may say concerning the bounds of *Acadia* in his own time. See the *Conduct of the French, with regard to Nova Scotia*; where this matter is amply discuss'd.

* A single passage of this author was sufficient for the purpose, had they produced it; nor would it be necessary to collect any others to explain it: for it explains itself.

† Whether the name of *Acadia* suits only with the *south-east part of the Peninsula*, or not, according to the passages which the Commissaries have collected; is of no significance; since the contrary would have *evidently appeared*, had they produced those which really are to the purpose. Be that as it will, *Henry IV.* thought *Acadia* much larger: in his Commission to *de Monts* in 1603, he makes him his *Lieutenant-General in the Countries, Territories, coasts and confines of Lacadia, from the 40 to the 46 degrees of latitude*. And a little before he declares, that he had been of a long time informed of the situation and condition of the Countries and Territories of *Cadia*.—*Acadia*, therefore, at that time, included at least all the main land, as well as *Peninsula*, and coast of *Etechemins*, with the lands to the south of the 46 parallel; which entering the *Continent* at the bottom of *Bay Verte*, passes through the country, and cuts the river of *St. Lawrence*, to the north of *Montreal*. I say, at least so much, for it is not said that *Acadia* ends at, or is bounded by, the 46th parallel.

III. IN the first chapter of the second book of his voyages, (part I. p. 49.) he undertakes to describe all the remarkable things along the coast of *Acadia* from *La Heve*. This description does not extend beyond the bay of *St. Mary* *, which is near the entrance of the *French Bay* †; and in this point the *Sieur Champlain* agrees with the *Sieur Denys*, who places the entrance of *Acadia* at the end of the *French Bay* ‡.

IV. HE, in like manner, makes the entrance of the great bay of *St. Laurence* to commence at the passage, which is between *Cape-Canseau*, and the *Isle of Cape-Briton*. "There is, says he, (p. 96.) a great Bay, which passes between the *Isle of Cape Briton*, and the main land, and runs into the Bay of *St. Laurence*, through which one sails to *Gaspé*." It is observable, that the coast which is opposite to the *Isle-Royal*, or *Cape-Briton*, is not called *Acadia* by him, but simply the *Main-land* ||.

V. HE seems, on the contrary, to distinguish these Countries one from the other. In speak-

* The chapter ends there; but the description of *Acadia* must be continued, at least, through the second chapter, round *French Bay*, (or that of *Fundy*) to *St. Croix* river, which, p. 48. *Champlain* places in *Acadia*; as he does elsewhere the Cape of two Bays, and Bay of *Mines*. See hereafter, p. 14. note *.

† Called by the *English*, Bay of *Fundy* or *Argal*.

‡ That is quite strain'd: he only says, p. 56. that *Long-Isle* makes a passage from the *French Bay*, to the Land of *Acadia*. *Champlain* says, it makes a passage (from the south) into that Bay, as quoted by the *Commissaries* lower down.

|| Is it not easy to see that *Main-land* is here put with great propriety, in contradistinction to *Island*, which goes just before? This passage also proves, that the *Great Bay* to the south of *Canseau* or *Canse-Gut*, is no part of *St. Laurence Gulph*, as the *French* pretend it is.

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ing of two ships which accompanied him thither, in 1604, with the *Sieur de Monts*: it is said, (p. 43.) "That being arrived at *Canséau*, one of them shaped its course towards the island of *Cape-Breton*; and the other sail'd more at large towards the coasts of *Acadia* *."

VI. In the second chapter of the second book he describes the *French-Bay*, on which occasion he reports, (p. 52.) "That he went to an Island call'd *Long-Island*, which makes a passage to go into the *Great French Bay*, so named by the *Sieur de Monts*."

VII. Thus from the first voyage of the *Sieur de Monts* in 1604, and very beginning of the first establishments of the *French* in *North-America*; this part of *New France* had its proper denomination, which was that of *French-Bay* †, and not *Acadia*: a province which does not

* Nothing like this is said, as may appear from the words of *Champlain*. — *Esians à Dieppe, on s'embarque: un vaisseau va à Tadoussac; Ledit du Pont, avec la Commission dudit Sieur de Monts à Canséau, & le long de la Coste vers l'isle du Cap-Breton, voir ceux qui contreviendroient aux defences de Sa Majesté. Le Sieur de Monts prend la route plus à val vers les costes de l'Acadie.* Which words plainly declare, that departing from *Dieppe*, not *Canséau*, one ship shaped its course for *Tadoussac*; the second, for *Canséau*, and the coast of *Cape-Breton*; and the third, more at large for the coasts of *Acadia*. So that the Commissaries have strangely misrepresented the matter, in making *Champlain* say, that the three ships arrived at *Canséau*, and then departed for their respective destinations. Their view was to have it thought, that in *de Mont's* time the coasts of *Acadia* lay all to the west of *Canséau*, and did not extend northward, and along the gulph of *St. Laurence*: although lower down we shall find that was the case, from *Champlain* himself, who accompany'd *de Monts*.

† From the very passage they quote, (as well as from many others) the contrary appears. By *French Bay, Champlain*

not commence, as hath been shewn, till you come to the end * of the said Bay.

VIII. IN effect, the first chapter of *Champlain's* second book, (part i. p. 49.) which professeth to describe *all the remarkable things along the coasts of Acadia*; says not one word either of *Port-Royal* or of the *French-Bay*: And the second chapter of the same book, (page 54.) which undertakes to describe *Port-Royal* and the *French-Bay*, does not once mention the name of *Acadia*, or any thing relating thereto †; which is the more remarkable, as *Champlain* declares in the same chapter, that he gave the name to *Port-Royal*.

IX. It appears from several places of his voyages, (p. 209, and 267.) that the name, pe-

plain means the arm of the sea, which only was so called by *de Monts*; and not the coast, or any part of the land. The same palpable violence they put on the words of *Lescarbot*; and to give a colour to this, introduce their quotations from *Denys*, in whose time, about the year 1654, that name was first imposed (if at all) on the *Continent*, (on the occasion mentioned in a subsequent note,) before those from the other two authors, as if they followed him; although he wrote 40 or 50 years later than either of them.

* This part is called the end of the Bay, with no more propriety (for 'tis indeed the beginning or entrance of it) than the Bay itself is called a Province.

† What then? Nor does he in the seventh chapter, where he describes the coast from *La Heve* to *Canseau*, once mention *Acadia*, although the Commissaries allow that it belongs to *Acadia*. Nay, in the first chapter, where he so formally professeth to speak of all the remarkable things along the coast of *Acadia*, it is plain he does not; since, he there says, nothing of those which he describes in the seventh chapter. Such instances determine nothing, either one way or the other, and only serve to shew how defective or negligent an author may be.

culiar to the coast, which extends from *Acadia* to the *Almoufshiquois*, (at present call'd *New-England*) is that of the *coast of the Etechemins, or country of Noïembegua*.

X. It cannot be said that these denominations, and that of *Acadia*, are one and the same thing. On the contrary, it appears, that *Champlain* considers them as different countries. *These* are, says he, (p. 93.) all the *coasts which we discovered, as well of Acadia, as of the Etechemins and Almoufshiquois* *.

XI. He speaks in another place (p. 296.) of the coasts of *New France, where are*, says he, *Acadia, Etechemins, Almoufshiquois, and the great river St. Laurence* †?

* According to this account, (1.) there was no country then known by the name of *French-Bay*. (2.) All the coasts discovered and described from *La Heve* round *Cape-Sable* to *Port-Royal*; and from thence round the *French-Bay* to the *Etechemins* coast, belonged to *Acadia*: And, according to *Champlain*, (page 60.) the river *Passamaquadi*, seems to be the eastern boundary of those *Indians*.

If it be said that *Denys* extends the country of the *Etechemins* to *St. John's* river; 'tis answered, (1.) that he declares, (p. 2.) that he describes the coast from *Pentagoet* to that river by report only; and page 31. that the *Etechemin* coast ends five leagues west of *St. Croix* river. (2.) That, in case it did extend to *St. John's*, it will follow, that part of the coast of the *Etechemins*, was the same with, or belonged to, *Acadia*, since *Champlain* (p. 48.) places *St. Croix* river in *Acadia*.

If, on the other hand, it be said again, that the coast from *Cape Canseau* to *Cape Gaspe*, was not in *Acadia*, because not included in the description, to which the passage in question refers; 'tis answered, that does not follow: since then, for the same reason, the coast from *La Heve* to *Canseau*, would not belong to *Acadia*, although allowed by the *French* Commissaries to belong to it. This shews that the passage in question is placed inadvertently at the end of the seventh chapter, instead of the eighth.

† If it appears from this passage, that *Acadia* was a distinct country from that of the *Etechemins*, &c. I hope they will

XII. In his treatise of navigation (p. 96.) at the end of his voyages, he says, that if *one has a mind to go to the coast of Acadia, Souriquois, Etechemins, and Almonshiquois*, he should make *Cape-Breton* *.

XIII. In a word, through all the work of *Champlain*, where these different countries are mentioned: that of the *Etechemins* is not less different from *Acadia*, than that of *Almoushiquois* or *New-England* †.

XIV. We think we ought not to omit some passages in the *Sieur Champlain*, which still more evince the difference which he makes between the situation of *Port-Royal* and that of *La Heve*.

XV. The *Sieur de Poitrin court*, to whom the *Sieur de Monts* had given up *Port-Royal*, at his

will allow, it as plainly appears, that the coast or country of *Acadia*, extended from the river *St. Laurence* to that of the *Etechemins*; since *Champlain* (as observed in the preceding note) makes the coast of *Acadia* begin where that of the *Etechemins* ends.

* In the table for supplying names, omitted in his map, (p. 4.) immediately preceding that treatise on navigation, he makes a particular division for the coast of *Acadia*, under this title, *Returning to the Gulph of St. Laurence and Coast of Acadia*: He does not say the *Coast of the Gulph of St. Laurence*, which shews that the coast of *Acadia* was the same with that coast; as if he had said, *Returning to the Coast of Acadia, in the Gulph of St. Laurence*. He begins with the river *Gaspé*, and passing round the *Peninsula of Acadia to Long-Island*, enters the *Bay Française*, which he likewise takes in, (for he mentions the *Cape of two Bays and Port of Mines*) and ends with the river of the *Etechemins*: which shews he included that river as well as the river *Gaspé*, within the bounds of *Acadia*.

† This is allowed, supposing the river of the *Etechemins* to have been the eastern limits of those *Indians*; otherwise not, for the reason given in a preceding note.

departure

departure for *France*, left there the *Sieur Bien-*
court his son. According to the marginal note,
 (p. 90.) *the Sieur de Poitrincourt left his son the*
Sieur de Biencourt in New France, it does not
 say in *Acadia* *.

XVI. WHERE he speaks of the *Sieur de Poi-*
trincourt being returned to *Port-Royal*; we find
 in the margin these words, (p. 100.) *his return*
into New France, not into *Acadia* †.

XVII. BUT when the *Sieur de la Sauffaye* was
 in *Acadia*, *Cbamplain* speaks very differently,
 and in the same chapter. *The Ship*, says he,
 (p. 104.) *arrived at La Heve in Acadia*; and
 the marginal note indicates, *the voyage of La*
Sauffaye in Acadia, it does not go farther, and
 add *in New France* ‡.

XVIII. SPEAKING of *Cape-Sable*, (p. 297.)
 he says, 'tis situated on the coast of *Acadia*, and
 seems to do it for no other reason, but to di-
 stinguish the difference between the situation
 thereof,

* There was no necessity for it. Would *Caen* or *Rouen*
 be the less in *Normandy*, because said to be in *France*? and
 is not *Acadia*, according to a former quotation, said to be
 in *New France*? In effect, *Port-Royal* itself, (p. 48.) is de-
 clared to be in *Acadia*, as well as *St. Croix*. Is it possible
 these things could be unknown to the *French Commissaries*?

† For an answer see the preceding note. However, I
 shall observe farther here, that if these negative inferences
 (which they lay so much stress on, as their chief support)
 are a proof, that the country in which *Port-Royal* is situated,
 was not in those days called *Acadia*; they are in like man-
 ner a proof, that it was not called *Canada*, as they would
 have it thought elsewhere.

‡ It would have been needless to mention two countries
 when one would serve.

thereof, and that of *Port-Royal*, which he has occasion to speak of in the same place *.

XIX. SEVERAL passages have been already brought from *Champlain*, to prove that he distinguishes the *Great Bay of St. Laurence* from *Acadia* †. Several others may be cited relative to *Gaspesia*, which he describes as a country distinct and separate from *Acadia* †. But we shall confine ourselves to a single one, with which we will conclude this article, and which

* That is only a surmise without any proof to support it; and is besides rendered void by the proofs already brought to shew *Port-Royal* is in *Acadia*.

† The Commissaries need not have produced any passage to prove, that the *Gulph of St. Laurence* differs from the country of *Acadia*, or the sea from the land; which they confound here in the same manner as they have done before, in the *Note* †, p. 11. with regard to *French Bay*.

Charlevoix, indeed, (vol. i. p. 410.) pretends that the coast of the *Continent*, from *Penobskot* eastward, was divided into three provinces called *French-Bay*, *Bay of St. Laurence*, and *Acadia*; under three governors, of whom *Denys* was one: But *Denys*, in his history of *North America*, mentions no such division; nor does he appear in that situation till 1654, when he had a commission to be governor of the eastern coast. *Charlevoix* mentions also a division of the same country or coasts into four provinces, in which *Acadia* has different bounds. So little certainty there is in what the *French* produce on this head, and so variable the Limits of their *Acadia*. See the same handled at large in the *Conduct of the French*, before cited.

† Why? because he does not say it is a part or province of *Acadia*. May it not as well be said, that *Cape-Breton* was, in his opinion, no part of *New France*, because he no where says expressly that it is? In *de Monts* patent of *December 18, 1603*, for an exclusive trade *Gaspesia* is mentioned, yet not said to be in either *Canada* or *Acadia*. Will they allow this to be a proof that it is not in *Canada*? if not, they must allow that arguments drawn from the neglects, omissions or imperfections of authors, are of very small, if any weight.

never-

nevertheless, will make it evidently appear, that in those ancient times *Acadia* and *Gaspesia* were considered, not only as two different countries, but also at a great distance from each other; and that even the Savages of *Gaspe* were then called *Canadians* *.

XX. “ The 25th of *April*, says *Champlain*, “ (p. 197.) *Desdames* arrived with the shallop “ from *Gaspe*; and said, he had not seen ei- “ ther any ships or Savages, nor learned any “ news, excepting some which came from the “ coast of *Acadia*, importing, that there were “ about eight *English* vessels there, part of them “ ranging the coasts, and others fishing; that “ the savage *Juan Chou*, captain of the *Can-* “ *dians*, had given them the best reception he “ could, and declared, that in case the *Sieur du* “ *Pont*, would go into *their* country, he should “ want nothing which their hunting could “ afford.”

XXI. It appears, in effect, from this pas- sage, that the Savages who inhabited *Gaspesia*, were called *Canadians* †; which is confirmed likewise

* He might have added, that the country itself was called *Canada*, as *Lescarbot*, and after him *Sanson*, and other geographers would have it. And then we find a country with two different names, one given to it from the inhabitants, the other from some different cause: And might not this be the case with other parts of *Acadia*, particularly, that called the coast of the *Etechemins*? which, indeed, must be the case, supposing with *Lescarbot*, that they extended to *St. John's* river, as hath been observed before, p. 13. note *

† It does not appear by this passage, that the Savages, who inhabited *Gaspesia*, were named *Canadians*; or, that there were any *Canadians* there, excepting a few under

likewise by the most ancient maps *; and that *Gaspesia* and *Acadia* were considered as two countries very different and far from one another †.

In

Juan Chou, who might have fled thither, retired thither to fish and hunt, or been driven thither by accident. Besides, by whom were these people called *Canadians*? not by themselves, but by the *French*, on which occasion there goes a tale: "that certain *Spaniards*, having entered the Bay de *Chaleurs* or "of *beats*, before the time of *Cartier*, and finding no mines "as they expected, often repeated the words *Acanada*, "that is, *here is nothing*; which the *Indians* having since "then often uttered when they saw any *Frenchmen*, these "latter concluded that *Canada* was the name of the coun- "try," on no better grounds than this ridiculous passage, related by *Charlevoix* himself (*Historia de la Nouv. Fran.* vol. i. p. 9.) would the *French* have this country called *Canada*, and the natives *Canadians*. But from the time of *L'Escarbot*, neither the country nor the inhabitants have been heard of under that name, unless in some faulty *French* maps.

* By this way of relating the matter, the *Commissaries* would, doubtless, have it thought that the word *Canadians* is inserted in those *most ancient maps*, whereas they give the name of *Canada* to the country. A circumstance which the *Commissaries* would possibly conceal to prevent the reader from making the same remarks with us, at p. 17. note* however that be, Mr. *William de l'Isle* the king's prime geographer, was so far from thinking these maps were a confirmation, that *Gaspesia* was inhabited by *Canadians*; that in his map of *New France* in 1703, he expunged the name of *Canada*, as spurious, and restored that of *Gaspesia* in its place.

† It does not appear from this passage that *Gaspesia* and *Acadia* were considered as two different countries, otherwise than as hath been remarked in a former note. But supposing *Gaspesia* to have been a distinct country from *Acadia*, they could not deduct much on account of it. I question if they could prove it extended one inch beyond the Cape called *Gaspe*, although their geographers spread the name over more or less of the adjacent country according to the size of their maps.

On the whole, the question is never to be determined by such vague, remote, and unconnected passages as these:

In this collection of passages the reader finds none precisely to prove the system of the *French* Ministers; nothing but broken scraps, which when pieced together, with all the art of the Commissaries, fall extremely short of making a tolerable inferential proof, much less a positive one. He will, however, conclude, perhaps, that after professing to make so strict a search in *Champlain's* voyages, that they have omitted nothing which tends more precisely to determine the point in question, either on one side or the other. For this reason he will be the more surpriz'd to find that there are in *Champlain*, passages omitted by the Commissaries, which not only come much nearer to the point than all which they have produced, but, in reality, absolutely determine it; that is, directly point out the ancient bounds of *Acadia*, in the most important part, with great precision. And this is the more remarkable, as those gentlemen affirm at the beginning of the above-cited Article, that *the relations of Champlain*, are neither *so precise*, nor *exact* as those of *Denys*; from whence yet they have produced nothing *so precise* and *exact* as either of the two passages which I shall produce.

The first passage is taken from the end of the first book of his voyages, p. 48. where he says, *it may be of use to describe the discovery of those coasts, during three years and half that I was in*

it is to be decided by more positive and express proof, not liable to a double meaning, or two different constructions, such as the Commissaries have produced; but capable of only one express meaning, such as the Commissaries found, yet did not think fit to produce.

Acadia, as well at the habitation of St. Croix, as at Port-Royal; where I had the opportunity to see and discover the whole, as will appear from the second book. Which book immediately follows. From these words, methinks, it evidently appears, that, according to *Champlain*, both *St. Croix* on the north side of *Fundy Bay*, and *Port-Royal* on the south side, were situated in *Acadia*. Nor do I see how the point can be disputed; since the sense of the words is precisely fixed by the common usage of speech; nor are they liable to any equivocal construction or different meaning. It is therefore submitted to the judgment of every impartial reader, whether among those passages, quoted in the article from *Champlain*, there is any which proves either *St. Croix* or *Port-Royal* not to be in *Acadia*, so strongly as this quotation proves that both are in *Acadia*.

The *precision* and *exactness* of this proof, with respect to the situation of those two places, is confirmed by another passage in the preceding page of *Champlain*: where, after saying, that *de Monts* (the first settler, with whom he went) *ought to have chosen a place not so liable to be deserted, as was St. Croix and Port-Royal*; he adds, that *if such care had been taken, the people would not in three years and a half have abandoned Acadia.*—that is, *St. Croix and Port-Royal*. Is not this a fair consequence?

If it be said, that these passages prove at most, that those two places were situated in *Acadia*, without determining precisely what were its ancient bounds: or (which is the same thing) what the bounds of *Acadia* were in the time of *Champlain*. 'Tis answered, that although they do

do not determine what were the bounds of *Acadia* in his time; yet they go a great way towards establishing our claims, and destroying the objections of the *French*. For,

(1.) As it appears from them that *Port-Royal*, at that time, 1603, belonged to *Acadia*; the allegation of the *French* Commissaries, that *Port-Royal* was a separate district, and that *Acadia* was no more than the coast from *Cape St. Mary* to *Causeau*, drops at once. In short, that point puts us in possession of, at least, all the *Peninsula* of *Nova-Scotia* or *Acadia*.

(2.) As it appears, from the same passages, that *St. Croix* isle and river, were situated in *Acadia*; it follows, that the north as well as south coast of *French Bay*, belonged to *Acadia*; and that the assertion of the Commissaries, that by *French Bay*, *Champlain* means the coasts surrounding that Bay, not the Bay itself, proves to be imaginary, and our remarks thereon to be just, as has been already intimated. At least, they must allow, that such province, (supposing it then existed) was part of *Acadia*; and by the same rule, so might the country of the *Etechemins*, (at least a great part of it;) however, seeming to be distinguished from *Acadia*.

(3.) By placing *St. Croix* in *Acadia*, these passages extend its limits to the westward, at least, as far as those of *Nova-Scotia*; which goes a good way to make out all the *English* claim.

If to this it should be objected, that these passages from *Champlain*, prove, at most, that *Acadia*, included within its original bounds, the *Peninsula*,

Peninsula, with the north coast of *French Bay*, or the Bay of *Fundy*; but not that it extended to the river *St. Laurence*, as the *English* Commissaries alledge it did.

It may be answered, that the presumption lies, that it did extend so far, especially, as we find it so far extended in the Commissions of *Louis XIII* and *XIV*. to their governors from 1632 to 1710. However, to put the matter quite out of doubt, I shall produce another passage from *Champlain*, omitted also by the *French* Commissaries, which expressly testifies, that *Acadia* did anciently, or in his own time, extend northward as far as the river *St. Laurence*.

For this author, speaking of the river *Norembega*, which he takes to be that of *Pemetegoit* (or *Penobskot*;) expressly declares, that the great river *St. Laurence*, glides along the coast of both *Acadia* and *Norembegua* *. Here is a proof in point, for the *English*, and against the *French* system; yet, the Commissaries of the latter, affirm, that the relations of *Champlain*, are neither so precise nor exact as those of *Denys*. Let them shew that *Denys* has any passage so exact and precise as this, either in favour of the *French*, or against the *English* system. Nay, let them examine the passages which the Commissaries have produced, out of their three authors, *Denys*, *Champlain*, and *L'Escarbot*, and see, if there be among them all, or by connecting them toge-

* D'autre part, il ne peut y en avoir qui entrent avant dans les terres, d'autantque la grande riviere *St. Laurent* Costoye la Coste d'*Acadie*, & de *Norembegue*, ou il n'y a pas plus de l'une a l'autre par terre que de 45 lieues, ou 60 au plus large, en droite ligne. *Champl. voy.* l. 1. e. iii. p. 65.

ther, they can form out of them all, a proof any *thing so precise and exact*, as this single passage which we have produced.

This testimony of *Champlain* is so express and direct a solution of the question, *Whether the river St. Laurence was the ancient limit northward of Acadia?* that nothing more is wanting to prove that point. However, the passage, as quoted at length in the note, affords farther evidence of the thing: for it assigns the breadth of the country from *St. Laurence* river to the south coast of *Acadia* and *Norembegua*, to be for the general from 45 to 60 marine leagues; which must be the meaning of the words, tho' inaccurately expressed; since, in fact, that is for the general the breadth of the country in question, to the south of *St. Laurence* river, from the *Kennibek* to the gulph of *Nova-Scotia* or *St. Laurence*; and the same measure cannot be applied to any thing else mentioned in the quotation.

He says, no rivers enter far within the land, for this reason, that, as the river *St. Laurence* washes the sides of *Acadia*, and the country of *Norembegua*; the land between the river and the sea, is, by that means, so straitened, that it does not exceed the breadth abovementioned.

'Tis true, *Champlain* does not draw the boundary line between the two provinces, or mention the points in the river of *St. Laurence*, where the province of *Acadia* ends, and that of *Norembegua* begins; neither does he say on which side of the river, the province of that name lies: But it appears, from some early geographers in the

the last age *, that it lies on the west side ; and this seems confirmed by the authority of Count *d'Esstrades*, who in his conferences with King *Charles* the second, concerning the bounds of *Acadia*, says *Pentagoet*, built at the river *Noremburg*, was the first place belonging to *Acadia* †. Which is as much as to say, *Acadia* was bounded on the west by the river of *Noremburg* or *Penobskot*.

But whether *Champlain* meant to carry the bounds of *Acadia* on this side, so much backward or not, is of no significance : since it is not my design to restrain the *English* claim to his account of the Limits, but only to refute the system of the *French* Commissaries ; who have undertaken to prove from his authority, that *Acadia*, in his time, comprized no more within its bounds than the south coast of *Acadia*. Whereas, from express quotations from him, it, on the contrary appears, that *Acadia*, included not only the whole *Peninsula*, but all the *Continent*, northward to the river *St. Lawrence*, and westward from the gulph of *St. Lawrence* to the river *St. Croix*, if not *Penobskot* ; and consequently a space of country equal in dimensions, at least, to all *Nova Scotia*, as originally granted to Sir *William Alexander* by King *James I.* in 1621.

As the *French* Commissaries knew this passage of *Champlain*, (for it is hardly possible it could escape their notice) how could they say, as they do in their Memorial of *October 4, 1751*.

* See *Ogilby's America*, (from the *Dutch of Dapper*) p. 138.

† Count *d'Esstrades* Letter to the King, *March 13, 1662*. in his *Embassies and Negotiations*, tom. ii. page 368. also *Conduct of the French*, page 12.

(Art. XII. par. 3. p. 116.) that *Acadia never had any ancient established bounds within land?* Although I know not if the *English* claim is more effectually established by the passage of *Champlain*, than by this assertion of the Commissaries: for if *Acadia* had no *ancient established inland bounds*, that is, none before a certain period; then the first established bounds, which it had from the grants of *Louis XIII.* must have been its ancient bounds; for it cannot be said, that, because it had no settled bounds before, therefore it had no *ancient* bounds at all; or that no bounds are the same thing as bounds: and yet, they seem to aim at advancing no less absurdities.

In the time of *Henry III.* who granted *de Monts* the first patent for *Acadia*, this country had *inland* bounds, however, it came to lose them since; which, were so well known, that the King himself declares in his patent, that "he had been of a long time informed of the situation and condition of the countries and territories of *Acadia*." These words, as they prove that *Acadia* originally was not a bare coast, but consisted of countries and territories; so likewise they imply, that it had *inland* bounds. This is farther put beyond doubt, by a subsequent clause, whereby *de Monts* "is established his lieutenant-general in the countries, territories, lands and confines * of *la Cadie*, from

* The *French* Commissaries in their Memorial of the 4th of October, 1751. p. 147. change *les confins de la Cadie*, into *pays confins*, to make it believed (as they there affirm) that the King granted to *de Monts*, not only *Acadia*, but also the bordering countries. Although in the patent itself, which they have inserted from *Lescarbot* in their volume of *Proces*, page 441. the words are printed, *Confins de la Cadie*, not

“ from the 40th to the 46th degree of latitude.” From hence it appears that *Acadia* extended beyond the 46th parallel: because that parallel, (which enters the *Continent* at the bottom of Bay *Verte*, and cuts the river *St. Laurence* a little to the north of *Montreal*) is not said to bound it on that side; and as *Champlain*, who made the voyage with *de Monts*, declares, that river to have been its northern boundary, what doubt can there be but it was?

The Commissaries by pretending that *Acadia* had no ancient *inland* bounds, no doubt, would insinuate, that therefore we are obliged to take it without any *inland* bounds; which is as much as if they should say, “ We have, indeed, agreed to cede *Acadia* according to its ancient *Limits*: but, in reality, it never had any ancient *inland Limits*; therefore you must expect none: or, in other words, you are fairly bitten.”

This is the result of such a kind of plea: but we must not be put-off so. If it had no *inland* bounds, they must find bounds for it, since they have agreed to give it up with bounds: or by declaring it boundless, we are at liberty to extend its bounds, at least as far as the river *St. Laurence*; especially too, as we have the authority of the first discoverer for it.

The truth is, their design was to conceal its *inland bounds*: but since we have found them out

pays Confin. Nor is there any other country mentioned in the body of the patent, but *la Cadia* only; altho' *Canada* is joined with it in the title: which in all probability was done after the second patent of the 18th of *December*, was granted, in order to make them both agree. See also a note of the *French Commissaries* to the *English Memorial*, p. xi. on the word *Confin*.

out in *Champlain*, it was to be hoped they would have allowed us the benefit of our discovery, and contested the point no longer. But the *French*, it seems, do not know how to allow any thing which is not to their liking, or give way even to conviction.

From what has been said, I think I have fully made good my first charge against the *French* Commissaries, that they have extracted from *Champlain*, only such passages as they imagined might be strain'd to favour their own system; and omitted (I might say, willfully suppressed) those which make expressly against it, and for that of the *English*.

I should now be glad to know what can be said in justification of such a conduct: for supposing, that in making out their own title, the Commissaries were not obliged to insert any thing in their Memorials which made against themselves; yet, as they have gone farther than their answer required, and undertaken, by a thorough search of all the first discoverers, not only to support their own system, but to shew that the *English* have no pretensions to what they claim, methinks, in suppressing those passages, they must be judged guilty of great prevarication: unless it could be alledged in their behalf, that those passages had escaped their notice; a thing, which it is presumed, a reader will scarce think possible, considering what a thorough search they profess to have made, as well as, from their quotations, they appear to have made. And supposing it possible that they could have overlooked those passages, which I have produced from the voyages of *Champlain*; yet they must have met with them in the Reply to their Memorial, which was delivered into them.

But as they suppressed those testimonies in that Memorial, they took care also to suppress the Reply to it, which contained them: and this suppression, which proves them conscious of what is laid in my first charge, is the ground of my second.

The Reply, in which every citation and argument contained in the *French* Memorials, is carefully considered; was penned by a Minister of the first abilities, who has followed the *French* Commissaries, through all their windings and doublings; exposed their weak and sophistical reasonings; shewed that the passages wh. they produce often contradict one another, or make against themselves; and detected their partiality as well in suppressing evidence in favour of the *English*, as in perverting the sense of passages by mistranslations, or forced constructions, in order to compel them to declare in favour of their own system.

In reality, from the judicious manner, in which the author of the Reply has undertaken, to analyze the *French* Memorials, and expose them to light; it clearly appears, that they are nothing but a heap of incoherent passages, brought together, without either index or contents, and mixed with tedious comments, seemingly, with no other view but to perplex the judgment, and tire out the patience of their readers: few of whom they knew would ever take the trouble to examine and compare them.

In short, in this masterly review of the controversy, (which does no less honour than justice

to

to the nation;) the whole system of the *French* Commissaries is overturned in so convincing and complete a manner; that we are told, from very good authorities, their own Minister, after an attentive perusal of it, candidly declared, that he thought it, what is the real truth, unanswerable, and that the *English* claim was thereby established to a degree of demonstration.

This being the case, and especially as the Reply carries in it those passages of *Champlain*; which the Commissaries were so industrious to conceal; it is no wonder that they should not desire to see it in print.

But since they thought fit to print and disseperse their own Memorials, they ought also, in common justice, to have printed the Reply along with them; and the rather, as their Memorials contained a great deal of new matter, without an answer to which the public could not have before them a complete state of the controversy, on both sides.

For the *French* Ministers therefore, to publish these Memorials and suppress the Reply, after such proofs had been produced, as they knew intirely overthrew their system; plainly shews a determined design on their side to impose on all the world, as well as to persist in doing injustice to the *English* nation.

Now let us only reflect a little on their conduct on this occasion. If they had really believed that they had justice on their own side, would they have had recourse to the dishonest means of suppressing evidence on ours?

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If they had it in view to act sincerely in the negotiation, would they ever have had recourse to means which call their integrity in question?

If they had ever intended to do us justice, would they have persisted in the opposition, after they saw we had so evidently proved our claim? Would they not *frankly*, as true *Frenchmen* ought, have given up the point on the sight of such proofs, instead of suppressing those proofs, in order to impose on strangers, and give themselves a pretence for continuing the dispute?

What regard ought foreign courts, any more than the *English*, to pay, for the future, to the *Memorials* of Ministers, who would impose on them by a false and imperfect state of the case, in order to mislead their judgments?

Their injustice in publishing their imperfect state of the controversy, is still more flagrant, in case what is reported, likewise from very good authority, be fact; namely, that the *French* Ministers proposed not to publish their *Memorials*, which were then in great part, if not entirely, printed: on condition that the *English* should not print and publish their Reply; which proposal, 'tis said, was agreed to.

If this be so, it shews that they proposed this expedient at the same time they had resolved not to perform their engagement; but were determined to distribute their printed *Memorials* at foreign courts, in order to prejudice them in their favour, as well perhaps, as to

amuse the *English* themselves, till they had executed some scheme to their farther detriment ; or perhaps only while they were making the necessary preparations.

And this will appear to have been their design by that publication, even supposing they had laid themselves under no such obligation to the contrary, and that it had even been lawful for them to suppress the Reply to their Memorials : since they very well knew that their distributing these latter, would naturally occasion the publication of the former ; and so bring to light those very authorities, which they seemed so industrious, and it was apparently so much their interest, to stifle and conceal.

From this single circumstance, it seems evident, that the object which the *French* Ministers had in view, was considered by them as a point of the utmost importance ; a point for which they ought to sacrifice the most sacred obligations ; and that they wanted but a very short space of time for executing their scheme : since the printing and dispersing of the Reply, which would expose the injustice of their pretensions, as well as the falacy of their proceeding in this particular, would be the work of a few weeks at most. On the other hand, from the circumstance of their dispersing those Memorials in foreign Courts, at the time when their naval preparations for *America* were in great forwardness, it will follow, that the stroke, which they intended, was to be given in *Nova Scotia* ; and that if they could only have lull'd the *English* asleep, till such time as they had fitted out their squadrons, they mattered not how soon after, both their
deception

deception and designs should be detected : because they should have accomplished their ends, before the *English* could possibly have fitted out a fleet to prevent them. As to the reproaches which they might incur from the deception on one side, and breach of faith on the other, they would only have laughed at them with an air of contempt. Far from reproaching themselves on the occasion, they would have extolled the superiority of their own genius and address, for having made dupes of all *Europe* in general ; and at the same time compassed their designs against the *English* in particular. That which would be held highly infamous by the actors of one political system, would be matter of triumph and glory to the patrons of the other ; with whom *the smallest prospect of success renders every measure lawful, though in itself ever so iniquitous and base.*

I cannot help congratulating the nation on the disappointment of the *French* designs against *Nova Scotia*, as it is one of the most happy events which could betide her ; and which was entirely owing to our having anticipated them in our armaments both here and in *America*. The rescuing of that province out of the hands of such restless bad neighbours, is of vast importance to *Great-Britain*, on account of its advantageous situation, both for defence and commerce : for while we are in possession of it we shall always be able, by our shipping station'd on its coasts, to obstruct the navigation and commerce of the *French* when at war, and hinder them from annoying ours, or infesting our colonies by sea. We shall likewise have it in our power to secure a considerable part of the cod-fishery to ourselves, by establishing fisheries along
the

the coasts of the *Peninsula*, which lie extremely commodious for the purpose. Not to mention the vast quantities of timber which the woods of the country afford for building ships, and other advantages which may be deriv'd from the natural produce.

On the other hand, were the *French* in possession of *Nova Scotia*, it would prove of the utmost disadvantage to us: not only as it would give them a large accession of country, and afford them opportunity of surrounding us on that side; but also, as it would supply them with above 160 leagues of sea coast along the *Atlantic* ocean, where at present they have none, stored with a great number of harbours, the best in all *North America*. These would serve for retreats, as well for their shipping on account of trade, as to receive their fleets in time of war, to be at hand either to attack any of our colonies, obstruct their commerce, or otherwise annoy them. These ports also offer them the conveniency of establishing settled fisheries; which have always been one of the chief objects of their views.

It was for these reasons that the *French* were so loath to part with *Nova Scotia* at the treaty of *Utrecht*. The same reasons have tempted them to contravene that treaty, and endeavour to wrest the province from us by force. Their impatience to get intire possession of it, has appeared of late more than ever; and as by their incroachments they had made themselves masters of all but the *Peninsula*, it may be taken for granted, that they had determined strongly to fortify the whole, in case they had gotten possession of the remainder. They would, in particu-

lar, have fortified *St. John's* river, in proper places, from its head to its mouth; where they would have built a strong fortrefs, (and 'tis hoped the *English* will, *without delay*, do the same) not so much to keep open a communication all the year round between *Canada* and the ocean, as to secure the country, with the *Abnakki Indians*, those inveterate foes to the *English*, in their interest; and procure a convenient port in the *Atlartic* ocean from whence either to carry on their commerce, or infest the neighbouring coasts at pleasure. For *St. John's* harbour lies almost due north of *Port-Royal*, at about 10 leagues distance; a circumstance which renders the possession of that river of great importance to the *French*, and of the utmost detriment to the *English*. So that had they seized *Nova Scotia*, as they intended, in all probability, we never should have been able to recover it out of their hands again; the consequence of which, for the reasons above given, must have been the loss or ruin, in time, of all our other colonies.

For this reason, it may with truth be said, that the expedition to *Sbegnekto*, was the most important of the four. Had we either been anticipated by the *French*, or missed of our aim, it would have been a loss, perhaps, never to be retrieved. Whereas, should we miscarry in our attempts against *Crown-Point*, and *Niawgra*, as we have done at fort *Le Quesne**, the loss may be repaired another time; as those forts are near our frontiers, and may be attacked without

* In reality, there was no occasion for an expedition against this fort; for, if we had one at *Niawgra*, or theirs had been taken, it would have obliged the *French* to abandon their forts to the south-east of *Lake Erie*, by rendering them useless, as had been observed in the *State of the British and French Colonies*, &c. p. 38.

going far from home. *Nova Scotia*, on the contrary, is at a considerable distance from *New England*; and containing at least 15000 *French* inhabitants *, called *Neutrals*, besides the troops which would be sent to garrison the forts, would require a very large force to reduce it, as well as ships to transport the men. So that the expedition would be attended with very great expence, and after all, the event would be extremely hazardous and uncertain.

Since our good neighbours have been frustrated of their aim, their news-writers have not scrupled openly to confess, that the destination of their fleet, which they had been so long and secretly preparing at *Brest*, was to have surprized and seized that whole province before we could have been aware of their design; by landing a large force at *Bay Verte*, which were to be joined by the *French Neutrals*, and attacking *Halifax* at the same time †.

Had they gotten the start of our fleet, but for ever so short a while, they would infallibly with ease have compassed their long concerted design. But, thanks to the vigilance of our Ministers, and the uncommon spirit of the nation, their pernicious scheme has been happily frustrated; and the tables turned against them, by a seasonable expedition of forces from *New England*, who have driven the *French* intruders out of those parts, and put the *English* once more in possession of *Nova Scotia*; into which,

* They have been lately removed to other provinces.

† I must, however, take notice, that there has lately appeared in the papers an article from *Paris*, contradicting that declaration. But it is said to have been confirmed since, by the plan of operations and instructions of the *French* general, found curiously inclosed in a washball, among his baggage, which was taken.

contrary to solemn treaties, they had forcibly entered, and already seized above two parts in three of the whole.

On this occasion, I must observe the wide difference in point of legality and justice, between their proceedings and ours. For,

In wresting from us so much of *Acadia* in time of peace, and during a negotiation, they have been guilty of notorious breach of faith and treaties: but in what we have done, nothing of the kind can be charged on us; for as they had entered and seized the posts at *St. John's* river, and *Sbegnikto*, in a hostile manner, we had a right by force of arms to drive them out again whenever we thought fit.

Although we have frustrated the *French* designs, and recovered what they had taken from us; yet it will be still necessary in our own justification, and to take off any prejudices which the *French* Memorials may have given to foreign courts in their favour, to print the Reply of our Ministers to their last Memorial*. In the interim, till it appears, *the Conduct of the French with regard to Nova Scotia*, mentioned before, may in some measure supply the place of it; as it contains an answer to all the principal arguments used by the *French*, besides the chief authorities in support of the *English* claim. Luckily enough, that tract anticipated the *French* Memorials two or three months in their publication; and as it was forthwith translated and printed both at *Paris* and the *Hague*, it has, in all probability, been of use to prevent foreigners from being prejudiced by those Memorials, and

* The *English* Memorial, which I call a Reply to the *French* Memorial of October 4, 1751. hath just now past out of the press; and hath a large sheet map of *Nova Scotia*, and the neighbouring parts, prefixed to it.

induced them to suspend their judgments till the said Reply be made public.

It remains only to take notice of the two maps prefixed to this treatise; about which, however, little more need be said than what appears on the face of them, where they carry every thing which may be necessary for their explanation, and to shew their use. As the *French* thought fit to insert one in their Memorials to illucidate their system, I judged it proper to contrast it with another which exhibits the state of matters, according to the authorities produced by the *English*. Maps, to be sure, give a more distinct view, as well as convey a more quick idea, of things than writing; by combining the several matters scattered in discourse, and compendiously exhibiting as in a picture the whole at one view. I am glad, therefore, that the *French* have set an example, which gives us an opportunity of reducing the controversy to a narrower compass, and at the same time impressing the force of our evidence by sensible images.



The passages of Denys examined.

I Have now finished my remarks on the *French* Memorials, so far as relates to my two charges, which, I presume, are effectually proved. But as I was led by the passages of *Champlain*, which the Commissaries have suppressed, to enter a little into the dispute about the *ancient* bounds of *Acadia*; I have judged it in some measure necessary to consider those of *Denys*, which I have frequently referred to, and which the *French*
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Commissaries set up in opposition to the authority of the founder of *Quebeck*: least by not taking farther notice of them, they may be thought to support the *French* system, and be as conclusive as the Commissaries would have it believed.

I have already mentioned the artifice of the Commissaries in placing their citations from *Denys*, before those of *Champlain*; although this latter was prior to the other above 30 years in visiting *America*, and 40 as an author. It is likewise worth observing, that although they extol *Denys* so much for his *exactness*, and declare his design was to *determine the limits of the countries which he describes*; yet they produce no more than three or four passages at most from this author, which make but about one fourth of the number collected by them from *Champlain*, besides those they have suppressed.

These passages, which are inserted in the 15th article of the same Memorial, or that preceding *Champlain's* article, are the following:

The first is: *Long-Isle—makes a passage leading from the French Bay to the land of Acadia**; and in another place †, *passing out of the French Bay to enter upon the coast of Acadia*. According to the *French* Commissaries, these two passages (which I consider as but one and the same repeated) clearly point out the commencement and entrance of the land of *Acadia*. As if *entering* upon a coast necessary implied falling in with the *entrance*, or beginning of a coast: whereas the expression does not determine the part of the coast; since ships may *enter* upon any part of a coast. This is straining words to serve a

* *Denys* Descr. Cotes Amer. Septent. tom. i. page 58.

† Page 58.

purpose;

purpose; or looks rather like playing on words than bringing them to prove any thing.

The second passage is taken from the title of the fourth chapter*, which is: *Continuation of the coast of Acadia †, from Le Heve to Canseau, where it ends.* This is the only passage in all *Denys* which with any *precision* seems to favour the *French* system.

The third is from the beginning of the fifth chapter ‡: *Canseau is a harbour three leagues deep; and from the Cape begins the entrance of the Great Bay of St. Laurence.*

This passage has nothing to do with the question; unless, by *Bay of St. Laurence*, is to be understood a province, or coast of that name. But as that does not appear from either the passage itself, or any other brought by the *Commissaries*; therefore it must be understood, in its proper and natural sense, for the *Bay* of that name. However, this passage, in which ever of the two senses understood, proves, that *Denys* spoke of things as they were in his own time, and not in any antecedent to it; since *Champlain* in one of the passages cited by the *Commissaries*, makes the *Bay of St. Laurence* to commence at the gut of *Canseau*, and not at the *Cape* §.

* *Denys* Descr. Cotes Amer. Septent. page 105.

† From hence it appears, that the author of *the Conduct of the French with respect to Nova Scotia*, has committed a mistake, I dare say, by oversight, not willfully; in alleging, (p. 17.) that *Denys* no where says *Acadia* ends at *Canseau*. However, he shews that in case he did, the passage would not determine the point in favour of the *French* system, for the same reasons which I shall produce in the text.

‡ *Denys*, *ibid.* page 126.

§ See before, page 10. par. 4.

It is clear then, that the second passage only can be said to be express with respect to the Limits of *Acadia*; and that, solely, as to one *point* of them, the place on the coast where they terminated.

The three passages, however, according to the *French* Commissaries, contain a complete, as well as *precise* description of the *ancient* bounds of *Acadia*, or in other words, set forth what its limits originally were; and therefore, they lay great stress on them, as indeed, they are the only authorities in their power to produce, which seem in any degree express to the purpose. But supposing that they relate all three alike to *Acadia*; yet, I shall make it appear, that they do not in the least, favour their system; and were never intended by the author to describe the *ancient* bounds of the country in question.

In the first place, I deny that these passages describe the bounds of *Acadia*, either *ancient* or *modern*. For by the bounds or limits of a country is to be understood, and will be understood by all but the *French* Ministers, not the bounds on one side only, but on all sides; the inland bounds as well as maritime. Now *Denys* describes, at most, no more than the coast or maritime limits of *Acadia*; consequently, only the limits of part of the country, perhaps, not a third or fourth part of the whole limits, for he does not mention how large it was.

The *French* Commissaries, doubtless, to obviate this difficulty, are driven to the most absurd shift that ever was thought on, even to affirm that *Acadia* originally had no *inland* bounds *. Was

* See before, page 25.

ever such a country as this known in the world before? A country, like a mathematical line, all length and no breadth. A mere coast! a naked shore! which is but one degree from non-existence.

The assertion, in reality, refutes itself. However, we oppose to this extravagant argument, this shadow of a country, the testimony of *Champlain*; who, in his *Voyages to New France*, published, as I said, forty years before *Denys's* book, marks the *inland* bounds of *Acadia*, to be the river *St. Laurence*, and the country of *Norembequa*. It had *inland* bounds also in 1603: when *Henry IV.* made *de Monts* governor of the *lands, territories, coasts and borders of Acadia*, as far north as the 46th degree of latitude; with the condition of which *lands, territories, and coasts*, he declares *he had been well informed*, as hath been already set forth. Now *lands, territories and coasts*, could not exist without *inland* bounds; and if *Acadia* had *inland* bounds in 1603, (doubtless, the same which *Champlain* mentions who went with *de Monts*;) who can doubt but it had such also when *Denys* wrote; especially, if, as the *Commissaries* pretend, his description refers to the limits of ancient *Acadia*: unless they can find an authority before the time of *de Monts* and *Champlain*, which says, *Acadia* had no *inland* bounds?

The principle, whereon they ground their subterfuge, is the silence of *Denys* and *Lescarbot*, of which they would make some advantage: but 'tis a very poor resource. As for *Lescarbot*, he had no opportunity of knowing any thing of the matter; having been in the country but

a short time, and never within land, or farther on the coast than *St. John's* river, or *La Croix*; and *Denys* never intended to describe more than the coasts. *Champlain*, likewise in the part where he describes the coasts, speaks of the inland bounds of *Acadia* no more than *Denys*; and yet elsewhere he mentions them occasionally.

If *Denys's* not mentioning the inland bounds of *Acadia*, be an argument, that it had no inland bounds, then the countries of the *Etechemins*, and *Almouſbiquois*, must have had no inland bounds, or were mere coasts, which the Commissaries, perhaps, will not say. They would likewise think it very strange in any person who should pretend to prove that the provinces of *Normandy*, or *Picardy* in *France*, had no inland bounds; because their portolans, or pilot-books for the coasts do not mention them. The parallel is just: so that for any thing which appears to the contrary, notwithstanding the silence of *Denys*, the individual *Acadia*, ancient or modern, whose coast, he describes, might have had the river *St. Laurence* for its inland boundary. Nay, I make no scruple to affirm, that in his opinion it was so at the very time he wrote: for although in the book where he describes the coasts of *Acadia*, he does not say *Acadia* had inland bounds; yet, as hath been already observed of *Champlain*, he, in effect, does it in another place, that is, in his dedication to *Louis XIV.* There, after telling the King, "it was owing to his Majesty's care, that *Canada* began to breathe again; and that *Acadia* was no longer in the hands of their neighbours;" he adds, "that the country which he describes, made the principal and most useful part of *New France*."

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In this passage, which the Commissaries have likewise omitted or suppressed, as only *Canada* and *Acadia* are mentioned, and *New France* is divided between them; I think it evident, that by *the country which he describes*, that is all to the south of *Cape Rosiers*, or the river of *St. Laurence*, is meant *Acadia*. This is confirmed by his declaring the country, which he describes, to be the *principal* and most *useful* part of the two *, which could not be said of a mere coast; and, to put it out of dispute, that *Denys* speaks here of *Acadia*, in this extended sense, it needs only be observed, that he, by the words, *no longer in the hands of their neighbours*, manifestly alludes to the cession of all *Acadia*, in that extended sense, by the *English*, made in the treaty of *Breda*, but five years before he published his history.

From what has been said, it must appear evident to every body, that *Denys*, in the passages before recited, has not described the bounds of *Acadia*, nor so much as proposed to describe them. He has not, as pretended, in the system of the Commissaries, described even the whole coast: for what he describes under the name of *Acadia*, is scarce a fourth part of the whole; as the coast within the Bays of *St. Laurence* and *French-Bay*, with that of the *Etechemins*, are supposed by them to be no part of it.

* *Acadia*, here, as well as elsewhere, is so far from being thought by *Denys*, to be a part of *Canada*; that he not only distinguisheth it as the other half of *New France*, but also gives it vastly the superiority; as *Henry IV.* did in his two patents to *de Monts*, where *Canada* is not once mentioned; as if deemed an insignificant country, and not fit to be named along with *Acadia*.

This suggestion is grounded on the circumstance, that only one of those coasts, bears the name of *Acadia*; whence they would infer, none else can belong to the country of *Acadia*. But that is a wrong conclusion; whereof *Champlain* furnishes an instance, which ought to be convincing to the Commissaries themselves. For they say, he describes the same coasts under the same denominations as *Denys* describes them; and yet it is evident, that he considers them as parts of the coast of *Acadia* in general, no less than that which bears the name of *Acadia*. This appears not only from the extent which he ascribes to *Acadia*, by giving it the river of *St. Laurence* and province of *Norimbegua* for its inland bounds, (in consequence of which all the sea-coast from the mouth of that river to the river *Penobskot*, or thereabout, must belong to it;) but also from his expressly declaring certain places to be situated in *Acadia*, though situated on those coasts which go under different names. Thus in the last chapter of the first book (which is the chapter immediately preceding the book in which he describes the coasts) he not only ascribes to *Acadia*, both *Port-Royal* and *St. Croix Island*, one situated in *French Bay*, the other near the coast of the *Etechemins*: but in his table for supplying names omitted in his map, he adds to *Acadia*, two other places situated in the same Bay, namely, the *Cape of two Bays*, and *Port of Mines*. He also ascribes to it the *Etechemins* river, and calls the coast within the gulph of *St. Laurence*, the coast of *Acadia*; as hath been already remarked, p. 14. in note*.

So that, although in his description he describes the coasts under different denominations; yet, when in other parts of his book, he speaks of particular places situated on those coasts, he often ascribes them to the country of *Acadia* itself. And this is conformable to the practice of navigators, who in their journals describe the coasts, for instance, of *Normandy* or *Picardy*, without taking notice of the country they belong to, which is supposed to be known of course: nor will the Commissaries say, that those are less the coasts of *France*, for not being expressly ascribed to it in their journals.

Thus, I think, I have clearly proved, that *Denys* has not described either all the bounds of *Acadia*, or even the whole coast of *Acadia*, under that name. But supposing, at the time which his description refers to, that *Acadia* had no *inland* bounds, and that the part of the coast which he describes, was then not only the whole coast, but the whole limits of *Acadia*; yet they could not be the *ancient* bounds of *Acadia*: for the bounds ascribed to it by *Champlain*, who was there 30 years before him, are more ancient. To say then that those of *Denys* are the *ancient* bounds of *Acadia*, is to invert the order of things; to change modern into ancient, and ancient into modern. They might as well say, that the reign of *Louis XV.* is more ancient than that of *Louis XII.* Can *Denys* be supposed to know the *ancient* bounds so well as the first discoverer? or to have described the *ancient* bounds, and his predecessor the *modern*?

But

So

But, indeed, *Denys* never pretends to say, that the coast which he describes under the name of *Acadia*, were its *ancient* bounds; and if he had, his declaration could not overthrow the authority of *Champlain*, but would be obliged to give place to it.

Champlain could not be ignorant of the bounds of *Acadia*, which was contiguous to *Canada*, of which he was governor above twenty years: by knowing one, he of course knew the other; and therefore when he says, the river *St. Laurence* washed the side of *Acadia*, it ought to be taken for granted that this river separated *Canada* from *Acadia*, or was the southern bound of one province and northern bound of the other. The reason is plain: and as *Champlain* could not possibly mistake in the limits of his own government; neither can it be rationally supposed, that he would make it less than it was, by giving part of it to *Acadia*.

The patents of *Louis XIII.* granted to governors, immediately after the treaty of *St. Germain 1632.* confirm the authority of *Champlain*, by marking the river *St. Laurence* as the north boundary of *Acadia*, perhaps conformable to that author's report: and as we meet with no alteration made in the bounds of that province from the time *Champlain* went first to *Acadia* with *de Monts* in 1603; there is no doubt, but the same river was considered as the boundary then as well as when he published his relation.

The bounds, therefore, given by *Champlain*, ought to be looked on as more *ancient*, as well as more *complete*, than those mentioned by *Denys*.

The

The *French* Commissaries from the same principle which induced them to suppress the above passages of *Champlain*, have represented him as less *exact* and *precise* in his relations than *Denys*, whom they cry up at a great rate. Whereas, the contrary, is the case: and though *Denys* was a man of no ordinary talents, yet from what appears of *Champlain*, he was much his superior; and better qualified to give an *exact* account of the situation and limits of the country in question*.

For *Champlain*, besides being a brave and enterprising foldier, was a man of fine parts, a skilful navigator, and good mathematician. As geographer to *Henry IV.* he was sent with *de Monts* to superintend, and report to him, the discoveries which should be made. He visited all the coast comprized within *de Monts* two patents; from *Cape Rosieres* or *Gaspe*, to *Cape Coa*, then called *Malabar*, which he well describes. He ascended the river *St. Laurence*, to the great Lakes, to one of which he gave his own name; and made several expeditions within land. Whereas, *Denys*, who went over to *America*, chiefly on account of trade, never entered the river *St. Laurence*. From *Cape Gaspe* to *St. John's* river, was the limits of his navigation and knowledge: for he sailed no farther west than *that river*, as he declares, p. 2. He was so far from knowing any thing certain of the discoveries made by *de Monts* and *Champlain*, that

* See *Charlevoix*, his character of them both in his catalogue of authors, and in his history of *New France*, vol. i. p. 416.

he could not tell where the isle and river *St. Croix* was, though at so small a distance from *St. John's*: for, speaking of it, (p. 32.) he says, "This place is *thought* to have been formerly called *St. Croix*, where *de Mouts* and *Champlain* would have settled." He might have added, and staid three years. Will any body after this expect a more *exact* and *precise* account of *Champlain's* discoveries, or of the *ancient* limits of *Acadia*, from *Denys*, than from *Champlain* himself?

In reality, *Denys* never had it in his thought, either to point out the *ancient* limits of *Acadia*, or describe the bounds of countries, as the Commissaries would persuade the world. He does not so much as say, the country, whose coasts he describes, was divided into provinces; or speak of the three governments, into which it was actually divided while he was there, and of which himself held one. So little *exact* is he in those particulars, as well as many others; his whole design having been to describe the coasts of the country, as they were in his *own* time; without any view to what they were before, or how the parts to which they belonged were bounded within land.

This, I think, has been already proved to the reader's satisfaction: but we shall be able to put it still farther beyond doubt, if to collecting and comparing different passages of authors, (the rule laid down by the Commissaries at the beginning of the 16th article relating to *Champlain* for explaining and finding out their meaning;) we add, what *they* ought to have done, *viz.* taking into consideration the times which those passages refer

refer to, and the state of things at that juncture, which were as follows :

In 1633, the year after the treaty of *St. Germain en Lay* was made, *Louis XIII.* sent the commander *de Razilly*, to take possession of *Acadia*, and by his patent appointed him his lieutenant thereof, *from the river Kinnebeki to the river St. Laurence* *.

Razilly afterwards admitting others to share with him in his grant, the government, and property of *Acadia*, by agreement, became divided at one time; into three, and at another into four provinces, under particular patents from the King.

By the tripartite division, “ the provinces were consigned to *Razilly*, *la Tour*, and *Denys*. The first had for his share, *Port-Royal*, and all to the south as far as *New England*: the second had *Acadia*, properly called, from *Port-Royal* to *Canseau*: the third had the eastern coast from *Canseau* to *Gaspe*.”

According to the quadripartite division “ *Acadia* was parted into four provinces, among so many proprietaries, who were lieutenant generals for the king. The first extending from *Pen-agoet* to *St. John's* river, was named the province of the *Etechemins* †. The second, from

* Compare *Charlevoix Hist. Gen. Nouv. Fran.* vol. i. p. 178, and 417. with Count *d'Estrades* Letter au Roi, 13 Mars 1662. See also, *Conduct of the French in Nova Scotia*, p. 22, and 35.

† Formerly, says *Charlevoix*, called *Norembergue*, (a fabulous name and country.) But it has not so great an extent

“ from *St. John's* river to *Cape Sable*, French
 “ Bay *. The third, *Acadia*, from *Cape Sable*
 “ to *Canseau*: the fourth, from *Canseau* to
 “ *Cape Rosiers*, called *Bay St. Laurence*, was the
 “ government of *Denys*.”

Both these divisions of the country in which *Denys* was concerned, seem to have taken place before the year 1638, at least, the first did; for *Razilly*, one of the three governors, died before that year.

Besides, those two divisions, mentioned by *Charlevoix* †; we find a third made by *Louis XIII.* in the above-mentioned year ‡, to regulate the bounds of government, or partition, between *La Tour* and *Charnisay*: the first of whom was at that time the King's lieutenant general in *Acadia*, and the latter had succeeded to *Razilly*, on that commander's decease.

By this regulation, *Charnisay* had for his share, “ from the middle of the firm land of the
 “ French Bay, westward towards the *Virgins*,
 “ [or New England] with *Pentagoet* [or *Penob-*

given it by any body: nor does *Denys*, who, he says, gives those names to the provinces, speak of any such fourfold division of the country in his description; he only mentions those names among three or four others, as names of different parts of the coast: neither does he extend the *Etechemin* coast eastward, so far as the river *St. Croix* by four or five leagues. See his *Descr. Geog. and Hist. de Cotes d'Amer. Septent.* tom. i. ch. i. p. 31.

* By the *English*, the Bay of *Fundy*, the coast of which this division must have included.

† Vol. i. p. 113 and 410.

‡ The King's Letter on this occasion, is inserted by the *French* Commissaries in the proofs of their *Memorials*, page 495:

“ skot;]

“ skot;] and his lieutenant general of Acadia, La
 “ Tour, from the middle of the said Bay, to the
 “ passage, or gut of Canseau :” that is, the
 whole coast of the *French Bay*, as they call the
 Bay of *Fundy*, excepting half of the north main,
 fell to *La Tour* ; and, consequently, the bounds
 of proper *Acadia*, (larger in the threefold, than
 in the fourfold division) were augmented by an
 addition of near as much coast as belonged to it
 in either of the two other divisions. This ac-
 count of the state of *Acadia*, so necessary to ex-
 plain the passages cited from *Denys*, is suppressed
 by the *French* Commissaries, like every thing else
 which makes against their system.

From the premises, it appears : first, that when
Acadia, in general, was in the hands of one
 person, as the commander *de Razilly*, it had its
 ancient name, as well as bounds, such as *Cham-*
plain ascribed to it, or rather extended much
 farther westward : but when divided into pro-
 vinces under different governors, all the pro-
 vinces, for distinction sake, received different
 names, excepting one which retain'd that of
Acadia being called *Acadia* ; proper, (as we find
 it expressed above in the division cited from
Charlevoix, and in other places of his history)
 to distinguish it also from the general *Acadia*,
 or *Acadia* at large.

Secondly, that *Acadia* proper, changed its
 bounds, as the provinces were more or fewer.
 Thus, when *Acadia*, in general, was divided be-
 tween *Charnisay* and *La Tour*, proper or special
Acadia, took in the whole coast of the *Peninsula*
 from the gut of *Canseau*, westward, with the coast
 of the *Continent* to the middle of the *French Bay* ;

under the tripartite division, extending from *Canseau* to *Port-Royal*, the bounds of proper *Acadia*, were lessened by all the coast of the same Bay, which became the name of a distinct province; and when the quadripartite division took place, its limits of coast were reduced to that of the south-east side of the *Peninsula* from *Cape Sable* to *Canseau*.

And this, in fact, was the origin of those scanty limits, which the *French* Commissaries would impose as the *ancient* limits of *Acadia*: and thus is accounted for that diversity of supposed *ancient* bounds; of which to find the right, has so much puzzled the *French* Geographers, some chusing one sort, some another. I presume now the difficulty is solved, that they will see they are all in the wrong.

That those limits are all wrong, according to the system of the *French* Commissaries, is undeniable; because, not correspondent with those ascribed to the coast of *Acadia* proper, by *Denys*, whose authority they adhere to. That coast, under the two-fold division, has near twice the extent, which *He* gives to it; under the tripartite, so much more as is from *Port-Royal* to *Cape St. Mary*: and, according to the quadripartite division, so much less by the space between that Cape and *Cape Sable*, where it begins.

It is evident then, that none of these can be the right limits of *Acadia*, according to the Commissaries system. But it seems also no less evident for the same reason, that the limits ascribed to it by *Denys*, cannot be the *ancient* limits,

limits, unless they can prove from him that those limits were such as *Acadia* had before any of the three divisions in question took place, or that they were the same with its original limits. But this sure it is impossible for them to do, since *Denys* never says any such thing, and, besides speaks in the present tense; consequently, the coast which he describes, must be such as it was when he wrote, or at the time when he was governor of *St. Laurence Bay* in 1654. So that 'tis evident, when says *Acadia*, ends at *Canseau*, he must be understood to speak with respect to the bounds of his own government at that time, which began there, and not with reference to ancient Limits.

If *Denys* had intended to describe the ancient extent of the *Acadian* coast, would he not have mentioned it? Would he not have said, the coast of *Acadia* originally began at *Cape St. Mary*, and ended, or did end, at *Canseau*; instead of saying there is a passage from *Long Island* to *Acadia*; and that *Acadia* endeth (that is, doth end at this present time of writing) at *Canseau*? should we not have found that extent conformable to what it was, under one of the two provincial divisions, preceding the year 1638, in both which he was a governor, rather than to what it was so many years later? then, indeed, it might with some shew of reason be said, that *Denys* had described the ancient limits of a province of *Acadia*, though not the ancient limits of the whole; which are those described by his predecessor, *Champlain*: but as the limits which he ascribes to the coast, has no such conformity, it cannot be said, that he has described the ancient limits of either one or the other. And thus

thus much may suffice to explode the barefaced imposition and chicanry on which the system of the *French* Commissaries, respecting the *ancient* limits of *Acadia*, is founded. However, before I conclude this head, it may not be amiss to produce one instance more, to shew to what a provoking degree they have attempted to impose on, and insult us.

By the grants of *Louis XIV.* first to *Cbarnisay* in 1647, and then to *La Tour* in 1651, the three provinces being united under one governor, the name of *Acadia* was no longer confined to a part, but was resumed by the whole: yet, after this again, it seems to have fallen into a tripartite division, as in 1654, *Denys* was appointed governor of *St. Laurence Bay*. After the time of *Denys*, the whole country from *Cape Roziers* to the river *Kennibek*, under the name of *Acadia*, was committed to the government of single persons, and so continued to the time of *Subercasse*; who surrendered himself with *Port-Royal* to general *Nicholson*, when he recovered *Nova Scotia* from the *French* 1710.

Although the *French* Commissaries, to evade the authority of the grants and commissions of *Louis* the XIII. and XIV. wherein all the country from *Cape Roziers*, to the borders of *New England*, is named *Acadia*, pretend that they are out of the question, as being *modern*, not the *ancient* bounds of *Acadia*: yet, justly doubting the force of that objection, they have recourse to several sorts of shifts and evasions, to make it believed, that under the same name other countries are included, besides that of *Acadia*. One instance of their unfair dealing on this occasion may serve for all.

In

In the patent of *Cbarnisay* abovementioned, produced by the Commissaries among their proofs, p. 282. he is appointed governor and lieutenant-general in “the country and coast of Acadia in New France, in all the said countries, territories and Confines of Acadia, to begin at the side of the Great River St. Laurence, as well along the sea-coast and adjacent isles, as within the firm land, and in that extent as far as the Virgins,” meaning New England.

One would think that nothing could be couch- ed in more exprefs and *precise* terms than this article: but what words so clear and explicit, which the *French* Ministers will not dispute and cavil at? for instance, to evade the force of this authority, by *Confins de l'Acadie*, they pretend, is meant not the Confines, or Limits, of *Acadia*, but the *circumjacent countries*. So also in their remarks or explanation of *de Monts's* first patent of *November 8, 1603* *; they say that the King granted him *les territoires, cotes & pays confins de l'Acadie*, imposing them for the words of the patent †, instead of *territoires, cotes & confins de l'Acadie*; as appears from the patent itself which they have inserted from *Lescarbot*, in their *Pieces Justificatifs*, Art. 9. p. 441.

* Memorial, art. 18. p. 147. also note to the *English* Memorial, page xi.

† In like manner they have altered the words in the clause relating to the fishery in the commission of *Denys*. Proofs Justificat. Art. 28. p. 503. instead of “the power of settling a sedentary fishery in the extent of the said coun- try and coasts of Acadia, as far as Virginia.” They cite the words, *as well in the said country, as on the coast of Aca- dia*. Mem. Com. du Roy, art. 15. p. 134. Such corrup- tions as these, to pervert the sense of words, are but trifles with them.

In like manner the construction which they put upon the word *Confins*, in the above-cited article from *Charnisay's* patent, is refuted by two subsequent articles *; which clearly evince that it stands for *bounds or limits*, and not *neighbouring or circumjacent countries*. The first impowers him to conquer, settle and preserve the *said countries, lands and coasts of Acadia, from the said river of St. Laurence to the Virgins*. By the second clause a grant is made him of the mines, &c. with a privilege of trading with the *Savages, through the whole extent of the said country, firm land and coast of Acadia from the river St. Laurence, &c.* 'Tis clear from these two clauses, that the country of *Acadia*, simply, was granted to *Charnisay*; and, consequently, that by *Confins*, in the first clause, is to be understood *confines, borders, or limits*, and not *bordering countries*. The patent of *La Tour*, granted in *February 1651*, runs in the same form with respect to the words in question †.

Limits of Acadia by the Utrecht Treaty.

I Think I have now discussed the question about *ancient limits*, and shewed the insufficiency of the grand authority of the *French Commissaries* taken from *Denys*, so effectually, as scarce to leave them any room for a small *Chicane*

* Proofs Justificat. p. 284.

† See the same, p. 286.

to save their uncouth unweildy system, built on that sandy bottom, from tumbling. However, if it was not that I had determined to do this, I need not have given myself so much trouble. For, after all, it seems of no great importance, with respect to the Limits of *Acadia*, whether those of *Denys* or *Champlain*, or whether either of them, be the most ancient: since the proper question will, doubtless, appear to be, not what were the *ancient* or *most ancient* Limits of *Acadia*, but what are the *Limits* with which it was ceded in the treaty of *Utrecht*? It is obvious therefore, that to solve this problem, there can be no occasion for making a laborious search into books, maps, and other authorities: the proper way is to consult the treaty itself, and the transactions preceding it. The author of *the Conduct of the French*, has, in a good measure, proved this, in the critical analysis which he has made of the words *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, according to its *ancient Limits*. And, if recourse be had to the preliminary articles signed by the Ministers of both nations, which were the basis of that treaty; it will appear, that the *ancient* Limits therein mentioned, are, in reality, those of neither *Denys* nor *Champlain* himself: which last, though, indeed, more *ancient*, than the Limits referred to by the treaty, are not so extensive by a considerable quantity.

The King of *France* having in *April* 22, 1711, made propositions of peace; after some time spent in settling terms, Mr. secretary *St. John*, afterwards *Lord Bolinbroke*, transmitted the result of *Queen Anne*, bearing date the 24th of *May* 1712, O. S. whereby, among the rest, she demanded, that *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, according to its *ancient Limits*, should be yielded up.

Louis XIV. made answer, that he was willing to consent to cede *Acadia*, according to its ancient Limits, as the *Queen* demanded. But offered, in case she would consent to restore *Acadia*, the river *St. George* should thenceforth make the boundary* ; or, in other words, the bounds of it, should be restrained to that river, as it is expressed, on a relative occasion † ; for *Louis* extended the Limits of *Acadia* as far as the river *Kennebek*.

The *English* Commissaries, according to the obvious meaning of the words, explain the King of *France's* answer thus : that he would cede ancient *Acadia*, as was demanded ; but if the *Queen* would restore him *Acadia*, that is, the same ancient *Acadia*, so ceded, he would restrain its bounds to *St. George's* river, besides giving an equivalent.

It is evident from the words that the ancient *Acadia* ceded by *Louis XIV.* was the same with the *Acadia*, required by him to be restored ; and since this latter, when its bounds should be restrained to the river *St. George*, would be much larger than the ancient *Acadia* of the Commissaries ; consequently, the ancient *Acadia*, ceded first in the preliminary articles and afterwards in the treaty of *Utrecht*, pursuant thereto, is very different from the ancient *Acadia*, of the *French* Commissaries, as being greatly more extended. Let them analyse the words by the strictest Rules of Logic or Mathematical Reasoning, and see if they will ever be able to bring out any other but the same invariable sense.

* *Pieces Justific.* Art. 32. p. 281, 282. & Art. 33. p. 391.

† Art. 25. p. 335.

To make the words of *Louis XIV.* and his Ministers, convey the sense of the present Ministers; or, to suppose the *Acadia* ceded by them was their diminutive *Acadia*, they ought to run in this form. *I am willing to cede Acadia, according to its ancient Limits*, as the Queen has demanded; but if the Queen will return *Acadia* back, I will consent to restrain or contract it, that is, *modern Acadia*, or the bounds of it, to the river *St. George*.

This would, indeed, serve their purpose. But then, it is obvious, that to accommodate his words to this sense, it would be absolutely necessary to insert the term, *modern*: for, they cannot possibly bear the same meaning, as they now stand; the natural and grammatical construction of the words being point blank against such a meaning. For the particle *it* refers to *Acadia* restored, (as its next antecedent) and that name is synonymous with the *ancient Acadia* yielded up: consequently, that particle can by no means be referred or applied to *modern Acadia*; unless the *ancient Acadia*, mentioned in the articles, be understood to be the same with the *modern Acadia* of the Commissaries, or with the *Acadia* of *Louis XIV.*; which, perhaps, they will not readily grant, although, in reality, it is the case, as will be shewn presently.

It may here be noted, that although the King cedes *Acadia*, with the addition of the words, *according to its ancient Limits*; in order to answer categorically to the Queen's demand: yet, in requiring its restitution, he is content to mention it simply under the name of *Acadia*. This

is the case in all the copies of preliminary articles produced; which shews, that the difference of terms made no difference in the country, or its bounds, which were still the same.

If the *Acadia*, ceded according to its *ancient* Limits, was the piece of coast as the Commissaries pretend, or even the whole *Peninsula*; with what propriety could he say, if it was restored, he would reduce its Limits to the river *St. George*, for that would not be to *reduce*, but greatly to enlarge or extend them?

To say, therefore, as they would insinuate, art. 11. p. 112. (in a hurry, and without speaking plainly enough to be well understood) that it was their *ancient Acadia*, which the King ceded by the preliminary articles, is to make the King speak either nonsensically, or falaciously, like themselves.

That the ancient *Acadia* of the Commissaries, could not possibly be the *ancient Acadia* demanded by the Queen, and yielded by *France*, appears no less evident from Queen *Anne's* instructions to her plenipotentiaries, *December 23, 1711*, whereby they are ordered to insist, that *Louis XIV.* should *quit claim, or title, by virtue of any former treaty, or otherwise, to the countries called Nova Scotia, and also Port-Royal* *. Now *Nova Scotia*, taken either in its most extended sense to the *Kennibek*, as enlarged by *Sir William Alexander*, Lord *Sterling's* grant in 1635, or only according to its original bounds established by King *James I.* in 1621, is infinitely, (at least many hundred times) larger than the *ancient Acadia*, (a sea-line only) of the Commissaries.

* Pieces Justific. Art. 30. p. 358.

And it is not possible, either that the *English* Plenipotentiaries could be ordered to demand infinitely more by their instructions, than the Queen intended to demand by her proposals; or that the Queen, who had then triumphed for so many years over *France*, and had reduced the grand Monarch to the necessity of suing to her for peace, should yield him more of her own accord than he could possibly have desired; and in effect, give up the very country, which yet, through the whole transaction, she appears to have so much set her heart upon.

These are absurdities which can be reconciled by none but the Commissaries, who could undertake to prove, that only a scrap of a country is given up, by words, which declare, that the whole was given up; and, make their late King, and his Ministers put their hands to ratify palpable nonsense, or chicanery, in order to give a sanction to their own.

Observe also, that in these instructions the country demanded, is marked by the name of *Nova Scotia* only; because best known to the *English*: whereas, in the answer of *Louis XIV.*: that of *Acadia*, solely is mentioned, because best known to the *French*. So that one instrument explains the other; and both together shew the reason, why the name of *Acadia* is joined to that of *Nova Scotia* in the treaty: certainly, to make it appear in the most manifest manner, that both countries, absolutely, and in their utmost extent, were given up, incorporated and indentified; in order to prevent any cavil or dispute which might thereafter arise, in case it had

And

had been ceded, as formerly it was to *France*, under one of those names only.

In short, the *ancient Acadia*, ceded to *England*, in the preliminary articles, and in the treaty pursuant thereto, was not only not so small as the *French* Commissaries pretend: but, in reality, it extended westward beyond the river *St. George*, as hath been already remarked, from the offer of *Louis XIV.* to restrain or contract the bounds of *ancient Acadia*, to that river. And as the river *Kennibek*, the bounds assigned to *Acadia* by *Louis XIII.* in 1632 or 1633, is only 10 or 11 leagues more west than the river *St. George*; it follows that the *ancient Acadia* ceded and required back by *Louis XIV.* could be no other than the *Acadia* of *Louis XIII.* And this might be confirmed, was it necessary, by the alternatives proposed by *France* in 1700, for settling *American* Limits: in one case the western Limits of *Acadia* were to be restrained to the river *St. George*; in the other the *Kennibek* was to be the boundary*.

In effect, it is not likely that *Louis XIV.* or his Ministers were acquainted with any other *ancient Acadia* than that of *Louis XIII.* bounded westward by the said river, and northward by the river *St. Laurence*: which bounds had all along been specified in the Commissions given to general governors by both the *Louis's*; from the year 1632, to the time of *Subercasse*, from whom *Nova Scotia* was recovered by general *Nicholson*, in 1710.

A farther argument might be drawn from the equivalent offered by *France* in lieu of the *anci-*

* See Pieces Justific. Art. 25. p. 335, & 336.

ent *Acadia*, required to be restored, to shew that it could not be the scanty coast of the *French Commissaries*.

On this occasion *Louis XIV.* proposed not only to leave to *England* the artillery and ammunition of *Placentia*, with the islands near *Newfoundland*, and give up the liberty of catching as well as drying fish on its coasts; but also to add the islands of *St. Martin* and *St. Bartholemew*, to the cession he had made of *St. Christopher's*, in the *West-Indies* *.

Any body may judge, if it is likely that *Louis XIV.* should consider *ancient Acadia* worth such an equivalent, was it only such a piece of coast as the *Commissaries* would make it; or that he could then think it worth less than the whole *Acadia* of his predecessor.

Nay, it may be a question, whether the country at the west-end between the river *St. George*, and the *Kennibek* supposing it to extend to the river *St. Laurence*, which he proposed to give up to *England* in case the Queen would accept of his offer; would not have been a sufficient equivalent for *ancient Acadia*, was it such a shadow of a country without inland bounds, as the *French Commissaries* represent it. 'Tis hoped, for sake of this dispute, that, for the future, if the limits of any country is to be settled, that the bounds, not on one side only, but on every side, will be specified, and defined with the greatest precision.

* Pieces Justific. Art. 32. p. 382.

Upon

Upon the whole it appears to a degree of demonstration, that the *Engliſh*, by their Memorial, claim nothing but what is ſtrictly and honeſtly their due; and that the *French* have by diſputing it acted with the moſt barefaced injuſtice, impoſition, and chicanery, that men determined to do the greateſt wrong and violence, could be capable of.

October 18, 1755.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THERE has juſt now appeared in *French*, a flying Sheet, as they call it, intituled, *A Summary Diſcuſſion, concerning the Ancient Limits of Acadia, and the Stipulations of the Utrecht Treaty relative thereto.* If this little half-penny cut deſerves not the name of a *Catch-penny*, it may be properly enough called a *Catch-gudgeon*, being calculated to throw duſt in the eyes of the people, by a falſe representation of things; and by its cheapneſs, to run into the hands of every body. A low, but not impolitic artifice of the *French* Miniſters, by whoſe directions we are told in a late article from *Paris*, it hath been publiſhed.

The author of this tract, in diſcuſſing the points in queſtion, follows the method of the Commiſſaries, of whoſe Memorials it is properly an abridgment. He buries the witneſſes, that they may not appear againſt him; and on their graves builds his *romantic* ſyſtem: an inſtance in each of the two capital points, will give the reader a juſt idea of the piece.

The

The *English* Commissaries, in ascertaining the limits of *Nova Scotia*, have proved from the books and maps of the *French* themselves, that they were all along well acquainted with *Nova Scotia*, and have given to it the same limits which we give to it. But the author of the *Summary Discussion*, having taken care not to produce any of those evidences, thinks he may venture after the commissaries to assert, as he does, page 4 and 6, that *the very Name of Nova Scotia was not known*; and that the country itself had no *existence*, before the treaty of *Utrecht*, which he pretends gave it a being. However, presently after, page 5. he cites the grant of King *James I.* of *Nova Scotia* to Sir *William Alexander* in 1621; and owns the geographers had inserted it in their maps and books. In p. 15. he speaks of *Cromwell's* grant of both *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia* to Sir *Thomas Temple* in 1656; and also of the dispute which arose about them at the treaty of *Breda* in 1667 (of which more presently); many papers relating to which are produced in the *Pieces Justificatifs*, from page 275 to page 320: so that the author of the *Summary* saves me the trouble of refuting him, by doing it himself.

However I shall add a few instances more: The expedition of *Kirk* in 1628 and 1629 was enough to have made *Nova Scotia* known to all the world, if it had not been known before. For to the recovery of it, he joined the conquest of *Canada*, from the famous *Champlain*, so often mentioned by us; and the *French* may thank the bad councils of those times, or else the name of *Canada* would have been abolished, and that of *Kirk's Land* only now been in use. But it

was given up again in 1632 at the instance of the *French* ambassador, urged thereto by *Champlain*, who solicited here the restitution both of that Country and *Nova Scotia*; which last name he took care to make known by the uneasiness, which it appears to have given him*.

Sir *Lewis Kirk* in his petition to King *Charles II.* previous to the treaty of *Breda*, observes, that King *James I.* granted *Acadia* to Sir *William Alexander*, by the name of *Nova Scotia*; and that on King *Charles I.*'s marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, the said *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia* was restored to *France*. This petition is inserted by *Ogilby* in his description of the country, under the title of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia* †.

For them to pretend therefore that the name of *Nova Scotia* was not known, much more that the country had no existence under that name, before the treaty of *Utrecht* gave it both; is only a proof of *French* effrontery, and to what desperate shifts they are driven, to support their own false system. This indeed was never heard of till since the time of that treaty, and now maintained by their commissioners, who stand alone by themselves: in opposition to almost all their own voyagers, historians and geographers, whom they blame on the occasion, excepting *Denys*; altho' he, as hath been shewn before, says nothing to the purpose.

This is the Summarist's way of discussing things, by false assertions only. Men of understanding see the absurdity and imposture: yet, by

* See his *Voyages*, p. 268 and 296.

† See his *America*, ch. 1. sect. 5. p. 133. printed in 1672.

this unlawful means, he serves his chief purpose, which is to captivate the unthinking multitude, and animate them against the *English*.

He acts in the same manner with respect to the ancient limits of *Acadia*: which he reduces to the west and south coast of the peninsula; without citing and answering any of the many authorities produced by the *English* Commissaries, to prove that it extended northward, as far as the river *St. Laurence*. But altho' he suppresses the three passages of *Champlain*, as well as the *French* Commissaries; yet he tacitly confesses, that he has seen them, and even thinks it incumbent on him to say something, to lessen their authority. This he does in an indirect way, after charging the *English* Commissaries with multiplying useless quotations, to obscure and perplex the case, (which, indeed, is the fault of the *French* Commissaries.)

“ It is thus, says he, that they have abused one
 “ or two passages of *Champlain*. But, besides,
 “ that this author has no where expressly treat-
 “ ed of the limits of *Acadia*; and that, conse-
 “ quently, one cannot expect on this point parti-
 “ cularly, either *exactness* or *precision*; yet if there
 “ be found in his *Voyages* two passages which
 “ the *English* cite as *favourable* to their system,
 “ there are above ten which are *directly contrary*
 “ to it. They are to be found cited in the Me-
 “ morials of his Most Christian Majesty's Com-
 “ missaries.”

As this writer knows that one at least of those passages of *Champlain* point out both *exactly* and *precisely* the northern limits of *Acadia*; ought he not to have produced that one, or given the import of it, as he hath done by the passage of *Dennys*, and made his objections to it, if he had any?

The reader, to be sure, will think he ought : but then he could not have vented so many fallacies, as he has done in this paragraph. Not daring to cite the passages himself, he sends his readers to look for them in volumes to which he knows not one in a thousand of them will have recourse. This is indeed abusing both. He abuses the passages by suppressing them like the Commissaries ; and his readers, by depriving them of an opportunity of judging, whether the *English* have abused them or not, as well as by obliging them to take his bare word for a proof.

He abuses them, like the Commissaries also, in depreciating the authority of *Champlain*, and diminishing the force of his evidence, as if barely favourable to the *English* system ; whereas it expressly and precisely confirms it.

Lastly, he abuses them in affirming, *that there are ten passages in Champlain, which are directly contrary to the English system* : the falsity of which our readers may see by consulting those passages which are before produced, taken from the same Memorials, to which the author of the *Summary Discussion*, refers his.

'Tis easy to see, that these passages from *Champlain* gaul them terribly ; and that not knowing how to get over them, they think it best to keep them out of sight. And, indeed, considering the authority and experience of that person, whom they stile the father and founder of their settlement in *Canada* ; who went over with *de Monts*, the *French* discoverer of those parts ; was 27 years there, and 20 of them governor of the country ; 'tis no wonder they dread the weight of his evidence. But of this enough has been said already.

Altho'

Altho' the author of the *Summary Discussion* suppresses all the evidence in favour of the *English*, yet he takes care to produce some vouchers, such as they are, on his own side. Immediately after depreciating the authority of *Champlain*, page 9, he tells us that he knows but two persons who have treated expressly and in detail concerning the limits of *Acadia*. This must seem very surprising, if not suspicious to every body, in case the *French* system was so well grounded, as they pretend; but especially when they are informed that only one of them is a *Frenchman*: the other, it seems, is an *Englishman*. However the author of the *Summary* observes, that by their long residence in *America*, and the situation of the countries granted to them, they were more at hand than any besides, to know and determine the limits of *Acadia*. Ought not *Champlain*, at least, to have been excepted? No doubt of it; and to be sure he would, had he been of their side, or confirmed the testimony of *Denys*, as the *French Commissaries* pretend, page 179, of their last Memorial.

The reader, who has already seen the utmost of their boasted strength, may easily know, without being told, that his *Frenchman* is *Denys*. This person, he says, printed a description of the countries claimed by the *English* in 1672; had been 35 or 40 years in the country which he describes; and was governor of the great bay of *St. Lawrence*, from *Canseau* to cape *Roziers*. He adds, that this writer declares in the most precise and formal manner, that *Acadia* does not commence till you are out of the *French* bay, and that it ends at *Canseau*.

They

They who have already read the preceding pages must be convinced of the falsity of this assertion, if applied to the *antient* limits of *Acadia*: I shall therefore pass to his *English* evidence, who is Sir *Thomas Temple*, whose testimony is no less opposite to their scheme, than that of *Denys* is unable to support it.

With relation to this gentleman, he observes that *Cromwell*, having in 1654, taken from the *French* all the coast from *Marlegash* westward to the river *Kennibek*, granted the whole to Sir *Thomas Temple* in 1656. At the peace of *Breda*, the lands which had been taken in the late war were mutually restored: *St. Christopher's*, *Antigua*, and *Monserat* to the *English*; and to *France*, under the name of *Acadia*, those subdued by *Cromwell* and granted to Sir *Thomas*.

When this treaty came to be executed in 1668, Sir *Thomas* refused to obey the first orders of King *Charles*, under pretence that *Port Royal*, *St. John's Fort*, and *Pentagoet* (or *Penobskot*) were not in *Acadia*; but that only *Le Have* and *Cape Sable* were. This the author of the *Summary* declares, is exactly conformable to the sentiment of *Denys*; and then endeavours to establish the validity of his assertions on the authority of such able persons, one *French* the other *English*, concurring to give *Acadia* the bounds in which *France* pretends it ought to be comprized.

The reader, in this deduction, will see some glaring proofs of *French* chicanry and insincerity. King *Charles II.* in execution of the treaty of *Breda*, by an act of cession, dated the 17th of *February*,

February, 1667-8 *, declares he hath given up all *Acadia*, which the said King of France did formerly enjoy, namely, the forts and habitations of *Pentagoet*, *St John's*, *Port-Royal*, *La Have*, and *Cape Sable*.

Mr *Mourillon du Bourg* being sent by the *French King* to take possession of the said country and forts, he received King *Charles's* letter, or order, of the 31st of *December, 1667* †, to Sir *Thomas*, to deliver up *Acadia*, namely, the forts abovementioned. Sir *Thomas* refusing to obey that order, under pretence that the three first forts were not in *Acadia*, there was a definitive order made out the 6th of *August, 1669*; whereby Sir *Thomas* was commanded to deliver up, the country of *Acadia*, as namely the forts of *Pentagoet*, *St John*, *Port-Royal*, *La Have*, and *Cape Sable*, which the *French King* enjoyed till taken by the *English* in 1654 and 5 ‡; that was by *Cromwell*. This order was delivered to Sir *Thomas* at *Boston*, by the *Chevalier de Grand Fontain*, sent thither to receive the country; and with this order Sir *Thomas* complied.

Nothing can be more evident from the premises, than that King *Charles*, as well as the ministers both of *England* and *France*, were agreed and satisfied that the said forts were in *Acadia*; which indeed was delivered up properly in the name of those forts, and not under its own name. Yet the author of the *Summary*, from Sir *Thomas's* denying those forts to be in *Acadia*, would

* Pieces Justific. art. 13. p. 292 and 3.

† See art. 14. p. 298. and 302.

‡ Art. 16. p. 313.

insist, in opposition to such authority, that the country wherein they were situated, was not anciently called *Acadia*: because forsooth Sir *Thomas* knew better than any body else the bounds of the country which was his property, and of which he was governor.

Nothing sure can be more ridiculous and imposing than this. They well know the country in question was called *Nova Scotia* by the *English*; and that Sir *Thomas* took advantage of this circumstance, to avoid giving up a province, which he had purchased; and which *Charles II.* without any justice, recompence, or proper notice, as he complains, would compel him to surrender to the *French*.

Sir *Thomas* had yet still a better pretence, or rather authority, for what he alledged, from the grant of *Cromwell* to him in 1656: for, by that grant he affirmed *, that all the country from *Cape Sable* northward and westward, including the coast of the *French Bay*, to *Penobskot*, belonged to *Nova Scotia*; and all eastward and northward from *Cape Sable* to *Causeau*, and *Cape Roziers*, belonged to *Acadia*.

* The patent grants the country and territories called *Acadia*, and that part of the country called *Nova Scotia*, from *Marlegasb* in the east, to the port and cape of *La Have*, &c. The grant distinguishes *Acadia* as a different country from *Nova Scotia*, the places on whose coasts are mentioned: so that what lay eastward from *Marlegasb*, to *Causeau*, and the river of *Quebek* (or *St Laurence*) as Sir *Thomas* told *Du Bourg*, must be assigned to *Acadia*. For what reason *Cromwell* made the distinction on occasion of this grant, does not appear; but his order of the 18:h of *September*, 1655, is to deliver up to Col. *Temple* the forts of *St. John*, *Port-Royal*, and *Pentagoet* in *Acadia*, commonly called *Nova Scotia*.

'Tis in this sense, doubtless, that the letter of *Du Bourg* || to the French West-India Company in 1668, is to be understood; where he tells them, that *Sir Thomas made a wide difference between Acadia and Nova Scotia*; affirming, *that it extended from Mirlegash [near Halifax] to Pentagoet [or Penobskot], and drawing towards Cape-Breton, as far as the river Quebec* *. *Du Bourg* adds, *Thus, Messrs. he [Sir Thomas] has been wrong understood; and you see that Pentagoet, St. John's, Port-Royal, Cape-Sable, and La Heve, specified in the orders †, are not in Acadia, but in Nova Scotia ‡.*

Will the commissaries allow these to be the true and precise *antient* bounds of *Acadia*; or that the *Peninsula* was *antiently* divided in the manner *Sir Thomas* represents it, one part belonging to *Nova Scotia*, the other to *Acadia*?

Sir Thomas therefore seems to have had two reasons for saying the first three places were in *Nova Scotia*, and consequently for not giving them up: since those places had been, as he suggested, mistakenly inserted in the order, which only concern-

|| See last *Mem.* of the *French commiss.* art. 15. p. 310.

* To restore this passage, or render it more intelligible, it must be read as follows, 'Affirming that it [or *Nova Scotia*] extended from *Mirlegash* westward to *Pentagoet*; and [that *Acadia* extended from *Mirlegash* eastward] drawing to *Cape-Causeau* as far as the river of *Quebek*.'

† *Viz.* the order of 31st of *December* 1667, before cited.

‡ This shews, that the reading given in the preceding note but one is the right; and that the mistakes in the copy produced were owing to the transcriber, rather than *Du Bourg* himself. But here it may be observed, that either he or *Sir Thomas* must have committed some mistake; for in a letter of *Sir Thomas*, Art. 14, p. 302. *Cape Sable* and *La Have* are said to belong to *Acadia*; and yet they should belong to *Nova Scotia* by *Cromwel*'s grant, with which *Du Bourg*'s report agrees.

ed *Acadia*. Nor did the court dispute the fact, although they rejected his plea, and obliged him to surrender them as places in *Acadia*.

The reader may easily see, that the design of the author of the *Summary*, and his employers, is to play-off the defence of Sir *Thomas* against the authority of both the *French* and *English* courts, who have ascribed those forts to *Acadia*, and therefore would have that of Sir *Thomas* take place. They could willingly consent that their own ministers, who obtained the order to Sir *Thomas*, as well as ours, who abjectly approved of it, should be judged to be in the wrong, and even to do injustice, provided the testimony of Sir *Thomas* could be made to favour their system.

Altho' the two parties seem to differ, yet neither can be said to be in the wrong: for it was the same country, tho' under different names; one in use with the *English*, the other with the *French*, who claimed them, and had them yielded up solely under that denomination.

But to come to the point: supposing Sir *Thomas* was in the right, and both courts were in the wrong; let us see how far his sentiments are conformable to those of *Denys*, and his evidence supports the *French* system. If he denies *Port-Royal* belongs to *Acadia*, he does not say with *Denys*, that place and the other two are situated on the *French* bay, and coast of *Eteshemins*: he positively affirms, that they all belonged to *Nova Scotia*. If Sir *Thomas* says with *Denys*, that the south-east coast of the *Peninsula*, from *Marlegash* or *Cape-Sable*, to *Canseau*, is in *Acadia*; *Denys* does not extend it farther, as he does, from *Canseau* to the river of *St. Laurence*; and we are told by the author of the *Summary*, as if from *Denys*,
that

that this last division of the coast is called the *Great Bay of St. Laurence*. It is clear therefore, that the sentiments of Sir *Thomas* are so far from being conformable to those of *Denys*, in his account of this country, and the limits of *Acadia*, that he differs greatly from him.

As to what they affirm that Sir *Thomas* speaks of the *antient* limits of *Acadia*, he does not mention one word about them, any more than *Denys*; altho' he particularly sets forth the original bounds of *Nova Scotia*, from King *James I's* patent, and division of it by Sir *William Alexander* into the provinces of *Alexandria* and *Caledonia*, as exhibited in our map: the first including the *Main land*, the latter the *Peninsula* *.

Du Bourg, by his acquiescence in what Sir *Thomas* told him, shews that he knew nothing at all about the limits, either *antient* or modern. And here I would ask those gentlemen, who have declared Sir *Thomas Temple* knew the limits of *Acadia* better than any body else; whether they will submit to his definition of the limits, or to his partition of the *Peninsula*, between *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia*, to be according to the original or *antient* state of things in that country? Granting all which they affirm with respect to his knowledge of such matters to be true; yet it is manifest, that

* Sir *Thomas* observes, that *Nova Scotia* was the first national grant regularly bounded in all *North America*; on the north by the river of *Canada*, &c. also that Sir *William Alexander's* patents were established and confirmed by divers acts of parliament, and the country annexed to the crown of *Scotland*; the records whereof are kept at *Edinburgh* castle. [Lett. to the council, Art. 14. p. 300.] He might have added, this was so public and serious an affair, that King *Charles I.* created an order of *Baronets* on the occasion (to the number of 40 or 50) for this new kingdom, which still subsists.

he had no thoughts of displaying it on this occasion ; but for his defence confined himself chiefly to *Cromwell's* grant, which was his best authority.

By the disagreement between the only two authors, who (according to the writer of the *Summary*) speak expressly of the limits of *Acadia*, the evidence in support of the *French* Commissaries system is reduced to one : but as they have allowed them to be of equal authority, they must be deprived even of that one till the question shall be decided which of the two is in the right. Thus by overstraining the string it has cracked ; and by making use of *contemptible artifices*, (to use the words of the author of the *Summary*) have at last not left themselves one author to be depended on for support of their system.

The writer of the *Summary*, like the Commissaries, is for pressing Sir *Thomas*, as they did *Denys*, into their service. They would have every author, who ascribes less extent to *Acadia* than the *English* Commissaries give it, to speak of its *antient* limits. But since the passages, cited from the case of Sir *Thomas*, turn-out so untowardly against them, they must either give up their groundless system, or acknowledge that they relate to his own times.

They must likewise, upon his authority, since they have declared his knowledge of the country to be so much superior to that of others, confess not only that *Port Royal* is in *Nova Scotia* ; but also that this country had its existence, and was even very well known, both to the *French* and *English*, long before the treaty of *Utrecht*. The passage from *Du Bourg's* letter, to the *French East-India* Company, shews that both he and they were

were no strangers to it. In short, if it had not been known in the world before, the altercation which happened on this subject from the opposition given by Sir *Thomas Temple*; and the motions which it occasioned at the courts both of *Paris* and *London*, was sufficient to have made it known all over *Europe*: For, besides the solicitations carried on here by the *French* ambassador, they were obliged to send over two *French* Commissaries at different times to *America* to demand the surrender of those places from Sir *Thomas*, before he would comply.

With what face then can they assert that it was not known, from its not having been inserted in any treaty before that of *Utrecht*? which omission was indeed chiefly owing to the indolence of our court, and its too great complaisance for that of *France*, during two or three reigns of our Kings. With no less assurance, than impertinence, do they alledge, that King *James* the 1st's grant of *Nova Scotia* in 1621, is void in itself. Besides, the question is not about the *English* title to *Nova Scotia*; but whether the country was known to them, and the World, by that name? That they asserted a right to the country before it had the name of *Nova Scotia*, appears from the expedition of *Argal* in 1613, when he took *Port Royal* and drove the *French* out of that province, as the Commissioners themselves acknowledge †. But to return to the *Summary Discussion*.

People often boast of their strength to conceal the want of it; and then betray their weakness by the methods they take to supply the defect. The *French* Commissaries, if they saw the ill consequences of Sir *Thomas*'s testimony, alledged it, doubtless to amuse, not to convince: with

† Pieces justific. art. 2. p. 37.

with the same view have they found out another piece of chicane, to oppose to the authority of the *British* and *French* ministers at that time, and prove against it that *Port Royal* did not belong to *Acadia*. This piece of chicane is, that the three forts in question *were not surrendered by the English as being part of Acadia, but because they had belonged to France before the year 1654.*

'Tis true that by the treaty of *Breda* in 1667, *Acadia* was to be delivered up, and likewise every thing else in *America* which had belonged to *France* before the said year: but it is no less true that they were demanded and given up also, as belonging to *Acadia*. To satisfy every reader in this particular, he need but look back to the clauses in the act of cession and orders of the King: by which it should seem that those places made the very essence of *Acadia*, as it is given up solely under their names, and is considered as a country only as they belong to it.

The fallacy of this argument of the Commissioners (for I consider them, and their agent the *Summary*, as one and the same person) consists in their changing the state of the question, by placing it on the motive of the surrender: whereas the question is not, on what account those places were surrendered, but whether they belonged to *Acadia* or not? And since the affirmative appears so evidently to have been the case, it matters not on what motive they were surrendered.

However the author of the *Summary* either unable* or unwilling to make the distinction, still pursues

* Most of the facts and arguments which the Commissioners dispute, are so extremely clear, I might say self-evident, that

fues the argument upon the motive ; alledging, that unless the circumstance of former possession was the reason for giving up *Port Royal, St. John's, and Pentageot* to France, *Cayenne* in *South America* must be considered as part of *Acadia* ; in regard the *Act of restitution* delivers it up along with them : falaciously insinuating, as if they were all mentioned together in the same clause ; whereas they are ceded in two different clauses, *Cayenne* distinct from the rest, as appears from the act of restitution itself, inserted in the Memorials † : to this act, however, he has the front to refer his readers, on a presumption, no doubt, that they will take his word for it, without giving themselves the trouble of enquiring farther.

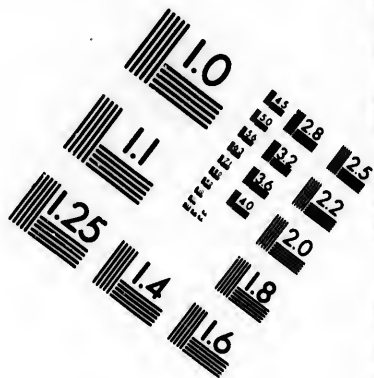
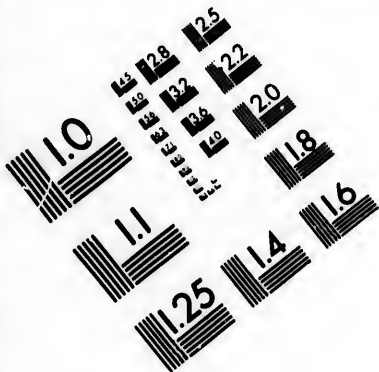
The Commissaries and their agent have yet another argument, to prove that *Port-Royal* is not in *Acadia* ; and this is taken from the words of the treaty of *Utrecht* : *all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, and also Port-Royal*. From whence they would infer, that as *Port Royal* seems to be added to *Acadia*, it cannot be a part of it.

This is the only instance which looks like an argument among all which they have alledged : for it is doubtless a great inaccuracy or impropriety in *speech*. But then the *English* Commissaries shewed, by several parallel instances, that the words *and also* might be used, without causing the separation insisted on by the *French* Commissaries, who opposed those instances, as u-

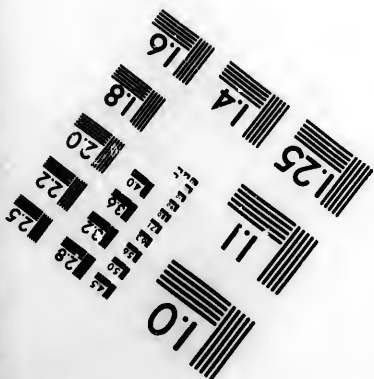
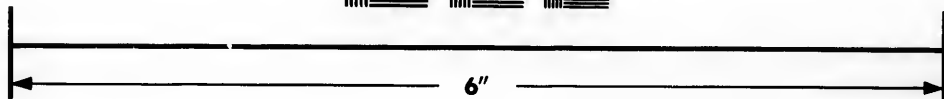
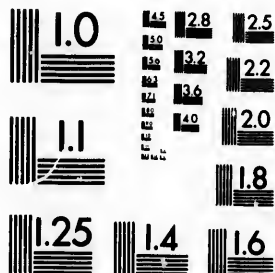
that if it was not for their suppressing so many authorities and perverting others, one would be apt to imagine that they were destitute of the ordinary degrees of penetration and discernment. If that be not their case, 'tis certain, by the grossness as well as number of their chicaneries and evasions, that they must think all but themselves, at least, of their own nation, to be so

† Pieces Justit. art. 1. p. 2, 2.





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sual, with quibbles. They reject one only because the word *and* singly is used instead of † *and also*; as if the question was not to be determined by the *force* or *import*, but by the *number*, of the words.

After all, there is no necessity to produce similar instances on this occasion: since their objection may be destroyed by the very words which they alledge to support it.

For supposing it should be granted that *Port-Royal* did not belong to what they call *antient Acadia*; yet it can't be denied to have belonged at that time to *Nova Scotia*, of which it was always esteemed the capital.

So that as the objection falls with respect to this last country, *Port-Royal* must be admitted as part of the whole, in virtue of one name, if not of the other.

And if it be allowed to have been part of the whole, it must be allowed to have been part of *Acadia*; for the two countries being then united, it could not belong to one country and not to the other. Thus let them consider it which way they will, it comes all to the same thing.

That the *English* ministers insisted on the cession of all *Nova Scotia* in its greatest extent, as above.

† The *English* Commissioners, among others, produce a passage from the treaty of *St. Germain*, in 1632, which refers to *Lewis XIII. New France, Acadia, and Canada*. This passage is indisputably similar; but the *French* Commissioners, p. 165 of their last memorial, wont allow it. Why? Because it is only said, *and Canada*, not *and also Canada*. Is not this a *despicable quibble*? As if saying *Acadia and Port-Royal*, does not imply a separation between the two, as much as *Acadia and also Port-Royal*?

mentioned, and consequently had it ceded in the treaty, appears likewise from the same important clause in their instructions, where *Nova Scotia* only is inserted. They were to insist particularly on the cession of that country, the whole at least of which was the object they had in view: if, therefore, the addition of *Acadia* in the treaty was to make so vast a reduction of *Nova Scotia* as the *French* Commissaries pretend, should we not have heard something about it? Would the Queen, who had resolved to have the whole of that country, have parted with it so easily? Should we not have found some debate about it in the proceedings of the ministers? Would not at least their instructions have been accommodated to such reduction? For in that case, can it be imagined that they should still have been ordered to insist on more than the Queen had agreed to accept? Nay, is it possible they would have ventured under those instructions, to sign a treaty so extremely contrary to the intent and meaning of them? Could they believe they were to have less than what they were by their instructions to demand, when they were to have by the treaty *all the property and dominion which the King of France ever had acquired in the countries ceded, either by right, treaty, or any other means whatever?* If they could have imagined that such a clause, however strongly worded, in reality conveyed nothing but the shadow of a country, whose bounds had never been settled, and about which neither the *French* geographers and historians, nor the Commissaries themselves, do † agree: In such case, I say, is it possible they would not have had them settled before-hand; or at least taken care to insert a clause

† See hereafter, p 91.

for having them settled afterwards by commissaries, as they had done in the preceding article with respect to * *Newfoundland*?

In reality the words *and also* Port-Royal, are no more than an inaccuracy crept into the articles of cession thro' inadvertency, instead of *and expressly* Port-Royal, in which sense they ought undoubtedly to be understood.

That this is the case, appears to a demonstration, from the instructions to the *English* plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht* †, who were ordered particularly to insist, that the *French* King should *quit all claim or title, by virtue of any former treaty, or otherwise, to the countries called Nova Scotia, and expressly to Port-Royal*. These words were inserted at the particular command of *Queen Anne*; and in dressing the xii. article of the treaty ‡ of *Utrecht*, *expressly* was changed into *also* by the secretary; doubtless as thinking it more suitable to the occasion, without imagining it made any alteration in the sense, or could admit of a construction prejudicial to the rights of *Britain*.

Lastly, to obviate every cavil, if it should be suggested, that the words *and also*, seem to indicate as if, at the time of the treaty, *Port-Royal*

* If the bounds assigned by the *French* Commissioners were the ancient bounds referred to in the treaty, were they more fixed and certain than those of *Hudson's Bay*? And did they not deserve, as well as those, to be settled by Commissioners? This circumstance alone methinks shews, that they were the well-known limits, claimed by the *British* Commissaries, and not any of those about which the *French* themselves can't agree.

† Pieces Justific. art. 30. p. 372.

‡ See art. 30. p. 372.

*

was judged by the *British* ministers, not to have belonged to *Nova Scotia* itself; it is answered,

That besides the manifest absurdity and chicanery of this suggestion, (as if the capital of a country could be supposed to be situated out of it, or in a different country) it is destroyed by comparing the words of the instructions with those of the treaty. For can it be imagined that *Port-Royal*, which in 1712, was in *Nova Scotia*, as by the words of the instructions, *and expressly*, it appears to have been, should in 1713 be dismembered from it; and that the words *and also*, were inserted in the treaty to mark that separation? Must not an assertion of this kind appear to every sober person a very wild one? And yet the *French* Commissaries, in asserting the words *and also*, exclude *Port-Royal* from *Acadia*, in effect assert that absurdity, no less than in saying they exclude it from *Nova Scotia*.

This instance evinces that the change must have been made in the manner I have mentioned. But if it should still be suggested by the *French* Commissaries that it was made with a design to reduce *Nova Scotia* to the scanty limits of their *ancient Acadia*, at the instance of *France*; it is farther answered, that so great a change, so vast a diminution of the *British* claim, must have occasioned much debate in the course of the negotiation, which every body must have heard of. It could not have taken place in so profound a silence, without throwing a suspicion of the highest perfidy on our ministers, for which there does not appear to be the least ground. On the other hand, is it possible that on gaining so great advantage, the *French* ministers would have been content to mark it by

the change of a single word, *expressly*, into *also*, amongst so many hundreds in the same article, in the opposite sense? would they have risked so great an acquisition on such slight security as a change, which made so little alteration in the sense? A dubious term, liable to the same explanation with the word in whose room it was substituted? As if they were satisfied with a phrase, which gave them but a handle for a future contest, instead of ample and explicit terms, which they might have commanded? Could they have thought themselves secure with the change of this single word, and left so many other strong words standing in support of the *English* claim, as they do in the article of cession, *all Nova Scotia, or Acadia—with all the right, title, &c. of France to the said lands, &c.* To suppose things of this nature, is to suppose either that the *French* are very easy people, and careless of their interests, or that they duped our ministers, by artfully getting the word *expressly* changed into *also*, as a thing of no consequence, with a view only to furnish themselves with a pretence for future disputes.

But this is perhaps to ascribe too much to *French* address in matters of this nature; and to tax *Louis XIV.* with deeper dissimulation and collusion than perhaps he was capable of, or if he was, would at that time have put in practice: since in his proposals and answers to the queen's demands, he expresseth so much desire to preserve the peace, and care to prevent any future contests about the points stipulated in the treaty*. Would not a prince, who appeared to act with such great caution, have had every thing expressed at large, and in the clear-

* See Pieces justif. art. 28. and 32. p. 341, and 383.

est manner in the treaty, on his own side; and had every thing removed on that of the *English*, which might create debate, and frustrate his pacific intentions?

In short, any one of the above circumstances would be sufficient to shew the absurdity of suggesting the change to have been made with a design to reduce either *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*; and that it could not possibly have happened any other way than hath been mentioned.

The words of the instructions being then admitted to explain those of the treaty, as it is presumed every sober and impartial reader will judge they ought; the objection of the commissioners founded on the words *and also*, must fall to the ground, by this means likewise, and consequently with it their system.

For it being proved so many ways, that *Port-Royal* is in *Acadia*, their system of its *antient* limits, which exclude that place, must be false; and consequently the *English* must be allowed their demands, as the *French* cannot pretend to take up another system of antient bounds. Nor indeed have they left themselves room for another, since they confine their views to the limits described by *Denys*: and if they had room for cooking up a second system, on what authority would they ground it, since they acknowledge that *Denys* is the only *Frenchman* who hath treated with *accuracy* and *precision* concerning them?

In thus removing the objection grounded on the words *and also*, it follows, 1. That *Port-Royal* is in *Acadia*, as well as in *Nova Scotia*. 2. That the limits which the *French* Commissioners ascribe

to *antient Acadia*, not comprizing that place, must be false limits.

On the whole : although the *French* Commissaries build so much on the words *or Acadia according to its antient limits* ; and although the cession was proposed in that form by *England*, yet I would undertake to make it appear that, by placing the name of *Nova Scotia* first in the treaty, the state of things is so much altered, that the words *antient limits*, supposing them before to have related to *Acadia*, are transferred to *Nova Scotia*, and refer to it, as their proper antecedent, and not to *Acadia* : for this name, by being placed last, is by its situation deprived of every thing before belonging to it, which it assigns to *Nova Scotia*, in consequence of possessing the first place ; and receives a share of them in common only in consequence of being united with it.

In reality the name *Acadia*, as it now stands in the treaty, is to be considered no otherwise than as an explanation, or term synonymous with that of *Nova Scotia* ; and might without any inconvenience or loss to the sense, be omitted, as in reality it is omitted in practice : for no *Englishman* in speaking of *Nova Scotia*, tacks to it the name of *Acadia*, or substitutes this last name (which is indeed quite out of use) in place of the former.

The *French* Commissaries have certainly given to the term *also* its right signification, in rendering the words thus, *Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia* : but by this explanation they suppose what I have advanced, that the name *Acadia* stands for little more than an expletive ; and prove for us, that the words *according to its antient limits*, refer immediately

immediately to *Nova Scotia*: nor can they, without the most obvious violence to the rules of grammar, be applied to *Acadia*. This will appear at first sight, in stating the words of the treaty after their manner: France *cedes to Great-Britain Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia* †, *in the whole, according to its ancient limits*. It is plain that the words, *otherwise called Acadia*, stand as in a parenthesis; and have nothing to do with any thing which goes either before or after, as they serve only to inform us that *Nova Scotia* has another name. Neither the words *the whole*, nor *according to its ancient limits*, can be joined to *Acadia*: because *Acadia* stands only for a bare name, as the words, *otherwise called, or named Acadia, &c.* properly declare; and limits belong to lands and territories, not to names. But as *Nova Scotia* stands not for a bare name, but for the country of that name, consequently the words, *according to its ancient limits*, must, and indeed only can, refer to *Nova Scotia*.

In effect, the expression, *otherwise called Acadia*, either separates those words (*according to its ancient limits*) from *Acadia*, or else supposes them to make part of the name. For as *limits*, or dominions, cannot be ascribed to a simple name, the said words can in no sense be applied to the name (*Acadia*) but as being part of it. We may suppose a country named *Acadia, according to its ancient bounds*, but we cannot form an idea of a name (or the name *Acadia*) *according to its ancient bounds*.

On this occasion I cannot but observe, that the *English* Commissaries having said ‡ it was the in-

† See note (a) of the *French* Commissaries to the *English* memorial, p. 56.

‡ Ibid. p. 16.

tention of *France* to cede to *Britain* all *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, according to its ancient limits ; the *French* Commissaries take up the expression, and say in a note, *France did not cede Acadia, or Nova Scotia, according to its ancient limits ; but Nova Scotia, OTHERWISE CALLED ACADIA, in the whole of it, conformable to its ancient limits.* They add, *these are the ancient limits of Acadia, not of Nova Scotia : By transposing the words, the sense is altered, and obscurity introduced, where there was none before.*

This stricture of the *French* Commissaries only serves to shew how extremely jealous they are of the least expression which seems to thwart their darling system ; and how needlessly they multiply their observations (which are indeed divided between such abject cavils and jockey-like evasions) since but three lines before the *English* memorial mentions the *cession of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, by the treaty of Utrecht.* But the censors had better, I presume, have let alone their needless remark ; since from the principles laid down in the preceding paragraphs, it is manifest that it would have been lucky for their system, if the clause of cession had been worded in that form : for then things would have turned out in their favour ; and they might perhaps have had some reason to dispute the *English* claim to so much country as they lay pretensions to.

As, therefore, the literal meaning, or grammatical construction of the words, turns so point-blank against them ; I shall apply to them the rigid rule which they lay down in the very next note *, although they often appeal from it ; That

* Note (b), p. 56.

the business (in this dispute) is not to examine how far the *desires* of the contracting powers may extend: but solely what is the result (or literal meaning) of the TREATY, whose restrictions or extensions are the sole objects which the parties have in view.

I therefore sincerely wish them joy of the advantages, great or small, which they may have gained, as well by their establishing that rule as by their exposition of the term *also*, and zealous attachment to the form of cession, in placing *Nova Scotia* before *Acadia*. However I cannot but take notice here, how extremely opposite *P. Charlevoix* is to them in his sentiments on this occasion: for he has adopted the very form which the Commissaries condemn, citing the words thus: “ That the most Christian King cedes to the Queen of England, and her successors for ever, all *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, conformable to its antient boundaries,” &c. *

P. Charlevoix was of opinion that *France* could not maintain her cause without inverting the order of the words of cession, and making *Nova Scotia* change place with *Acadia*; and in case the principles we have proceeded on, in examining that clause, be just, it must needs be as he says. However, it is not my intention here to decide between them: it is left to our readers to judge which of the two is most fit to be relied on, the quibbling Commissaries, or the falsifying *Jesuit*. My business is only to let the world see, from the direct opposition found between these two parties, (in barely citing the words of the treaty on which their pretensions are founded) how little certainty or sincerity there

* *Hist. Nov. Fran.* tom. 1. p. 113.

must be in their citations, and the principles which they proceed upon, as well as in the meaning they put on passages; and whether it is possible that their system, being in the main the same, can be right at bottom, when they draw it from such different fountains. However, they will wonder at this the less, when they come to understand that all the chief *French* geographers and historical writers, at present, differ from one another, as well as from the most ancient and respectable testimonies, in their opinions concerning the *ancient* limits of *Acadia*; and that the Commissaries differ from them all.

Charlevoix, in his *History of New France* *, acknowledges, that all the country from *Pentagoet* to *Cape-Breton* was comprised in the treaty of *Breda*, under the name of *Acadia*; and that sometimes the neighbouring coasts went by it. Mr. *Du-rand*, in his memorial presented to our ministry in 1749, ascribes to *Acadia* the whole peninsula of *Nova Scotia*; which he says is conformable to all the historians, and maps of all nations †. Mr. *Bellin*, in his map for *Charlevoix's History* above-mentioned, 1744, gives *Acadia* the same dimensions. Mr. *William de l'Isle*, the King's premier geographer, in his maps of 1700 and 1713, extends its limits beyond the peninsula, over one third part of the north main. In his map of *America* 1723, he restrains them to somewhat less than the peninsula. Mr. *D'Anville's* map of *America*, published in 1746, agrees nearly with Mr. *de l'Isle's* first two maps: in a second edition of it, he reduced the bounds of *Acadia* to the peninsula; and in a third to about one half of it. Messieurs *Nic. de l'Isle*, and *Buache*, the present premier geographer,

* Tom. i. p. 417. and 113.

† Mem. Commiss. Angl. p. 59. par. 71.

have also done the like in their general map of *the new discoveries to the north of the South-Sea*, 1752.

The *French* Commissaries reject the opinions of the several persons abovementioned; and declare they are all in the wrong (and it must be allowed only one of them could be right) misled, as they pretend, by following the *English* maps, or other bad authorities †; and affirm that the ancient *Acadia* consists of nothing but the single line of coast from *Canseau* to cape *St. Mary*, including *Port-Royal*, without any inland bounds; and to their ideas Mr *Robert*, in his map of *Canada*, 1753, has conformed himself. But it has been proved that the Commissaries have erred themselves, as much as any of those whom they charge with error. It seems very strange, if these were the real *ancient* bounds of *Acadia*, as ceded in the treaty of *Utrecht*, that there should be any disagreement at all about them: much more that they should be known to none but the Commissaries, who yet take their authority solely from *Denys*; whose book was in the hands of every body; as well as theirs, though not one but themselves could make the discovery.

It seems farther strange, that the Commissaries could see the *ancient limits* in *Denys*, and not in the more early monuments: likewise, that in a matter of such importance, there should be but one author in *France* who had treated precisely and accurately about it. They reject the authority of Count *d'Estrades*, the *French* ambassador, who

† See Mem. Angl. p. 57 to 67. and Mem. Fran. art. 12. p. 117. and art. 13. p. 118 to 123.

transacted the affairs of the treaty of *Breda*, with great approbation of his King, because he makes *Pentagoet* the first place in *Acadia*.

They reject the authority both of the *French* and *English* ministers concerned in the said treaty, and prefer that of *Sir Thomas Temple*; because they make *Pentagoet*, *St. John's fort*, *Port-Royal*, and others, to belong to *Acadia*, and *Sir Thomas* does not.

They reject the authority of their Kings *Lewis XIII.* and *XIV.* who from the year 1632 assigned the rivers *St. Laurence* and *Kennibek* as the limits of *Acadia*; because 'tis with them a modern regulation, though established forty years before *Denys* wrote.

Lastly, they suppress, and consequently reject, the testimony of *Champlain*, the first discoverer of *Acadia*, and those parts, in 1603; for no other reason, doubtless, but because he knew the limits of *Acadia* best, and his report subverts their system.

Whatever reasons the *French* Commissaries might have to reject the authority of some, and differ in opinion from others, it must needs seem surprizing to every body, that they should disagree so widely from *Mr. Durand*, who but the year before had exhibited to the *English* Ministers a memorial, explaining the sentiments of the *French* Ministers with respect to the ancient limits of *Acadia*, supported, as he said, by all the *bisshops and maps of all nations*.

However, I would not have it thought, that I impute this receding from their predecessor's demands,

mands, as well as further invasion of the *British* rights, to the same rapacious views which instigated them at first, as if they thought that even one half of the *Peninsula* was too much for us. They would doubtless gladly compound for the whole, would we accept of it: nor would they perhaps, for sake of a greater matter than the difference comes to, have given the world, by that variation, so much reason to suspect the justice of their cause; or have let them so plainly see that the limits, which they pretend with so much confidence to have been ceded to the *English*, were not known to themselves till within these four or five years at most.

If it be asked then, what could induce them to blunder thus, and vary, in effect, from themselves, with regard to a point which ought to be supposed fixed and immutable? the answer is, that if they had adhered to Mr. *Durand's* description of the *limits*, their second grand argument, grounded on the words, *and also Port-Royal*, could not have found a place. To make room for it therefore, they changed their first system; by reducing the bounds of *Acadia* from the whole *Peninsula* to a small part of it, on the authority of a passage of *Denys*, a modern author, foreign to the purpose; and this change shews, that the application of the words *and also*, to support that reduction, was a discovery made by them not till after Mr. *Durand* had delivered in his memorial: at which time perhaps the *French* ministers had not observed, or been informed, that the same objection to the *English* claim, had been started some years ago by *Charlevoix*.

This was indeed an unlucky oversight; and to retrieve it, if possible, they saw would cost them dear. However, they chose to disavow their first agents system, and confess, that till of late, they had no fixed idea of the *ancient* limits in question, rather than lose the benefits which they flattered themselves might accrue from that new quirk: which after all hath been proved to be of no manner of service, unless to shew what desperate shifts they have been driven to; and what *contemptible artifices* they have made use of, to defraud the *English* of their just rights. Must we be the dupes of such bare-fac'd juggling? Must we be the dupes of their juggling, and their bungling at the same time?

Thus I think I have by fair reasoning, and substantial proofs, effectually brought to the ground the *French* hypothesis, concerning the *ancient* limits of *Acadia*; by beating down the second un-found pillar (founded on the words *and also*) which supported their chimerical fabrick: for they had but two; the passages of *Denys*, already proved un-found, being the other.

I have further made it appear, that the *ancient* limits contended for by the *English* Commissaries are the right; whether they ought to be considered as those described by *Champlain*, or such other *ancient* limits as are referred to in the treaty of *Utrecht*. One of these two must be the *true and ancient bounds* of *Acadia*: and since the *French* Commissaries have declared in their last memorial, p. 173, that *the whole question between the two powers is to determine* that single point, as without doubt it is; methinks, as that question is here solved more
ways

ways than one, the *French* ministers ought to acknowledge themselves in the wrong, and yield to the *English* all which they demand to be their due by treaties. If they do not, 'tis presumed the world will no longer hesitate to conclude, that their dispute about *ancient* limits, is a scheme laid to defraud the *English* nation of their proper rights, in the most express terms given-up by solemn treaties; that their defence or system is evidently falacious, imposing, and without the least solid foundation; and that if they should declare war, it will be because they are determined to support the most bare-fac'd quibbles and flagrant injustice.

If therefore they are sincerely willing to avoid the above censure, let them examine things well, and be sure that they are in the right, before they resolve to maintain them by force. For if the Ministers who sent over Mr. *Durand* in 1749, could mistake so egregiously in ascertaining the limits of *Acadia*; why might not those have mistaken, who undertook to settle them the next year, as they are found in the Memorials of the present Commissaries? especially as, instead of enlarging, they have diminished its limits more than one half: which should render their determination still more suspicious.

If their agent, the writer of the *Summary*, dare venture to make a reply, let him, if he can, answer fairly, and not overlook the principal facts and arguments. The eyes of foreigners are now pretty well opened; so that suppressing evidence, misrepresenting facts, sophistical reasoning, false assertions, low chicanery, and such like *contemptible artifices*, will no longer avail him. I have
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met with nothing yet on the subject but what is of this kind, in the productions of the *French*, from the Commissaries down to the author of the *Summary* †. And indeed this way of writing, become as it were a rule with them in controversy, especially with foreigners, is found, more particularly of late, in the works of their geographers and astronomers, as well as their historians and politicians.

I am sensible that the many inaccuracies, inconsistencies, and even contradictions, to be met with in the imperfect and often discording accounts of travellers; in charters, patents, and other monuments on this subject, afford them ample room to exercise the abovementioned arts, in which they are by practice, become such great proficients. But let them not depend too much on their dexterity and skill: for however obscure or perplexed the grand point concerning *ancient* limits, may at first sight appear to be, yet by comparing the several kinds of evidence produced on both sides, with proper attention, it will be no difficult matter to investigate the truth; and set it in so strong a light, that it will not be in the power of bewildering comments to obstruct the view of it, or of sophistical arguments to raise mists about it. To come to

† Among the rest, there is a diminutive piece called *L'Observateur Hollandois*, by way of letter from a *Dutchman* at *Liege*, to another at the *Hague*. But the writer betrays the *Frenchman* in every page, and his enmity to the *English* under the mask of friendship. His topics, and way of treating them, by suppressing and misrepresenting facts, are the same with those employed in the *Summary Discussion*; of which it seems to be a commentary, retailed in monthly parcels, which, to make them more saleable, are not above half the size of the *Summary*. By such arts and industry do the *French* propose to baffle truth, and justify injustice.

the point at once, by removing the heaps of rubbish thrown in the way, and bringing it in the shortest manner I could to the test of facts and reason, is what, in the present remarks, I have undertaken to do. But to return to the *Summary Discussion*.

The author of that tract, having made the most he could of his two authorities, in support of the *French* system concerning the *antient* limits of *Acadia*; starts a new kind of argument to prove, against the *English*, that it could not have been the intention of *France* at the treaty of *Utrecht* to give up the country to the north of the *Peninsula*; namely, because that would be to deprive the *French* of the passage to *Quebek* by the river *St. John*, during seven months of the year, when the river *St. Laurence* would be shut up with ice.

If this was the case, how comes it that argument was never thought of before? How comes it that the *French* commissaries have not made use of it in their memorials? The reason is obvious.

While they thought, by insidious encroachments, to get possession of this river with the rest of *Nova Scotia*, they said nothing about it: But now they find themselves on the point of being expelled, the mystery comes out.

Hence it seems evident, that the main drift of the author of the *Summary* and his directors, by that pamphlet, is to see if our Ministers can be prevailed with to give up to them the possession of *St. John's* river in *Nova Scotia*.

It is for this that they have disputed the treaty of *Utrecht*, and invented so many quibbles and falsities to evade it ; in particular, that the cession solely concerns the *antient* limits of *Acadia*, as confined to a part of the *Peninsula*, or to the whole at most.

Is it not a very modest request to desire the possession of a river, which runs through the heart of the whole country, as *St. John's*, does from the borders of *New England* to the bay of *Fundy* ? *Louis XIV.* had too much modesty, as well as equity and desire for peace (expressed in his proposals and answers to those of *Queen Anne* *) to make such a request : a thought which none could be capable of forming, but those who would reduce the *English* pretensions in *Acadia* by the treaty of *Utrecht*, to a line of coast. It is just as reasonable as if the *English* should require possession of either the river *Rhone*, *Loir*, or *Garrone*, each of which runs through great part of *France*.

Grant them this request, and I should not wonder, if sometime hence, they should ask the *Kennebék*, *Konnektikut*, or *Albany* river. If this request was granted them, they would, in effect, gain more than is at present in dispute, that is, two countries instead of one ; and be put in possession, not only of *Nova Scotia* simply, but also of the country of *Sagadahók*, or county of *York*, which lies between it and *New England*. This might be easily effected by fortifying the river in proper places ; and from the port at its mouth, they would have it in their power to disturb our

* Pieces justific. art. 28, and 32. p. 341, and 383.

commerce, and annoy our settlements on that side at pleasure, as hath been already observed. Hence, it would not be long before we should be forced into a new war, without any probability of removing the evil. This alone must be a sufficient reason, if there was no other, for rejecting their motion.

Their pretence for demanding the possession of this river is, that it is necessary for preserving a communication with the *Isle-Royal*, or *Cape-Breton*, and *St. John's Isle*, as well as between *Old France* and *Quebek*, during the time when the river *St. Laurence* is not navigable; and that therefore *Canada* will be of little advantage to them without *St. John's river*.

But the plea of inconvenience or disadvantage to them, is no reason why the *English* should grant their demand, which would be no less inconvenient and detrimental to themselves. At the treaty of *Utrecht* they got *Cape-Breton* ceded to them, under pretence of securing a free passage to *Canada* by the river of *St. Laurence*; now under pretence of wanting another free passage, they would fain have the river *St. John* delivered up to them.

If this river be so necessary for them, as they alledge it to be, sure it was so at that time as well as now: and why then did they not apply for it at the treaty of *Utrecht*, as well as for *Cape-Breton*?

They have only one answer to make to this, viz. that although there was the same occasion for *St. John's river* then as now, yet there was

not the same occasion to apply for it, because they did not apprehend that it was ceded by *France* at that treaty. This in effect is what the author of the *Summary* means, p. 27. when he affirms, “ Nothing was more contrary to the intention of *France*, than to suppose she should have ceded to *England* ALL THE SOUTH PART OF THE GULPH OF ST. LAURENCE, as well as the south side [or country on the side] of the river of that name, as far as *Quebek*: for such a cession must have produced much more surely than the yielding up of *Cape-Breton*, all the effects which *Louis XIV.* had so justly apprehended.”

’Tis in vain to pretend want of intention †, and the improbability of ceding the country in question, from a suggestion of inconveniencies against facts: since the cession has been clearly prov’d by several kinds of arguments. This plea likewise seems to be contradicted by a clause in the answer of *Louis XIV.* of the 10th of *June*, 1712, cited in the same place * by the author of the *Summary*.

For the King, as a reason why he ought to have the sole possession of *Cape-Breton*, expressly observes, “ that should the English, being already masters of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, possess in common with the *French* the island of *Cape-Breton*; his ships, in case of a war, would be entirely deprived of the benefit of entering the river *St. Laurence*, and *Canada* would be lost to *France*. For the same reasons, he would reserve to himself the liberty of erecting forts in the isles (of the gulph †), and within the mouth of

† The absurdity of this suggestion is humouly exposed in *The conduct of the French, with regard to Nova Scotia*, p. 60.

* P. 16.

† By the isles of the gulph, are to be understood the isles

“ of the river *St. Laurence*, as well as in *Cape-Breton*.”

Does not the plain meaning of the King's words seem to be this, “ that by the cession of *Acadia*, “ which I have agreed to in the preceding article, “ my subjects will be deprived of the communication of *Quebek* with *St. John's* river, which “ is part of *Acadia* so ceded; if therefore I should “ yield also part of *Cape-Breton*, my ships would “ be hindered, in case of a war, from getting in- “ to *St. Laurence* river, which would be the loss “ of *Canada*, as in that case my subjects could “ have *no access* to it.” *Louis* therefore thought it but reasonable that he should have one free passage to his northern possessions; and 'tis likely our Ministers, from the same consideration, were induced to yield him up *Cape-Breton* and the isles of *St. Laurence* gulph.

But supposing all the country to the north of the *Peninsula* was to have remained in the hands of the *French* at the treaty of *Utrecht*, *Louis XIV.* could not have had the same plea; for although his ships might be hindered from getting into the river of *St. Laurence*, yet how could *Canada* be lost, in case *St. John's* river was in his possession; since by that river the *French* could have admittance to it all the year round? It is remarkable likewise, that in this place, as elsewhere, he speaks of the cession of *Acadia* in general, without any limitation; and consequently had in view nothing less than *Acadia* in its utmost extent, such as he had

in general, and in particular those in the mouth of the river *St. Laurence*; as appears by comparing the King's answer with the proposals of *England*, art. 31. par. 4. p. 377. and art. 32. par. 4. p. 384.

all along granted to his governors, and seems only to have been known to him.

But whether the *English* sharing with the *French* the island of *Cape-Breton* would have hindered their ships from having access to the river *St. Laurence* or not; yet it is plain from *England's* claiming it, and other isles of the gulph of *St. Laurence*, then in the possession of the *French*, and from *France's* reserving them by treaty, that it was the intention of the one to have the whole of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, and of the other to yield up the whole, excepting those reserved isles.

Those islands being then in the possession of *France*, *England* could have had no pretence of claim to them, but as *Nova Scotia* was ceded to her, and they originally belonged to it. She was so far from believing *Nova Scotia* to be contracted or diminished from its antient dimensions, by the words *antient limits*; that it was by the authority of those very words she undertook to extend her claim and jurisdiction over places then actually in the hands of *France*. Nor did *France* gainsay her, but in effect acknowledged her demand to be just: and it was to prevent their passing to *Great Britain*, by virtue of the cession of *Nova Scotia*, that *France* reserved them, particularly *Cape Breton*, which never was (much less originally was) a part of *Acadia*. If it had not been for that, *France* would not have had the least occasion for reserving them in the treaty.

Needs there a stronger argument than this, to prove, that under the words *Acadia according to its antient limits*, *France* ceded not only the *Peninsula*, but likewise all the country to the north of it, as far as the river *St. Laurence*? Besides, if
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the islands at the mouth of that river belonged to *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, must not the coast opposite to them have also belonged to it? Whence it is clear, that *Louis XIV.* and his Ministers at the treaty of *Utrecht*, had nothing so much in view, as to cede to *Great Britain* all the *Acadia* of his predecessor *Louis XIII.* and all the *Nova Scotia* of King *James I.* of *England.*

If no more had been ceded to *Great Britain* by the preliminary articles, than the piece of *Peninsula*, which the commissaries would put them off with, she would have had no pretence to claim those islands, as being quite out of the bounds of the part so ceded.

And if so, is it to be imagined, she would have presumed to tell *Louis XIV.* that *his subjects might enjoy the island of Cape-Breton in common with those of the Queen* * ; as it were to offer him a part of what was his own, as well by actual possession, as by such scanty cession.

In that case, would not *Louis* have rejected the proposal, not only as a *new* demand, contrary to the articles signed at *London* the 8th of *October*, 1711, (in the same manner as he did with respect to the islands in the mouth of the river *St. Laurence* † :) but also as a kind of affront offered to himself?

On the other hand, supposing things to have been in this situation, if he thought it so necessary to reserve by treaty so small a part of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, as those islands, is it likely, that he would have taken less care of the by-far more valuable part, the main land? Could he without such a

* Pieces justific. art. 31. par. 4. p. 376.

† See art. 27. par. 4. and the answer, art. 28. par. 1.

surrender, have judged himself more secure of the continent than of the islands, especially as he had in express terms yielded up the *whole* of that country to *Britain* ?

This is on a supposition, that the continent to the north of the *Peninsula* was at that time in the hands of the *French King*, as well as the islands. But supposing it was then in the possession of the *English*, as it was by the late conquest in 1710 (for *French* intrusions, if there were any, did not affect our right *) there was still the more reason in case *France* ceded no more than a part of that *Peninsula* to *Britain*, why the remainder of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, should have been formally restored to *France*, which, for want of such authentic restitution, must want a title to the same, which title consequently remains in the *English*.

The argument against a partial cession of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, in the treaty of *Utrecht*, drawn from *Louis XIV.* not reserving a right to any part thereof, except the islands, is corroborated his by not reserving a right to fortify any other part.

If that King had judged the east coast of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, belonged to him, is it not likely that he would have required liberty to fortify some of its ports, as well as the adjacent isles ? But whatever reasons might be urged for not fortifying the eastern coast of *Nova Scotia* (on account of the neighbouring isles defending it, or

* Besides, instead of depriving the *English* of the lands, if any *French* remained in the country, two years after the treaty, they became the property of the *English* by the 14th article of it.

otherwise); yet, if *St. John's* river had been in the hands of the *French*, and is of such importance as the author of the *Summary* alledges, methinks it would have been no less necessary to fortify the mouth of it, than that of the river *St. Laurence*, as well for securing the passage up it, as the ships in port there; more especially, as *Port-Royal*, which lies so near it to the south, was fortified. It seems manifest therefore, since *Louis XIV.* did not reserve a right to fortify it, that he did not judge it to be in his possession: and he not only knew that the *English* had conquered it two years before, but was conscious he had given it out of his possession, by ceding to them all *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, that is, the northern, as well as the southern part of the country; the continent as well as the peninsula.

Do not all these circumstances clearly evince, as far as inferences can evince, the falsity of the assertion, that *France* had no intention to give up the country south of the river *St. Laurence*, which includes *St. John's* river? In short, the reader sees, that all the arguments which the *French* bring in support of their system, from facts, from reason, and from circumstances, turn against them; and concur no less to overthrow their system, than those brought against it by the *English* commissaries; since they agree with the cession of the whole, and are incompatible with that of a part.

But now we are come about again to *St. John's* river, let us see what our Summarist has farther to say on this topic, which at present seems to be the chief bone of contention with *France*.

The author of the *Summary*, to make the refusal of the *English* to yield them the river *St. John* appear the more invidious, pretends, p. 13. that their reason is, “ Because they intend to make a communication by land along the coast, and round the *French* (or *Fundy*) bay, and the most eastern parts of *Acadia*.” Which project he treats as chimerical, tho’ it will be necessary when the country comes to be settled : but supposing it should not, he ought not to have assigned this as the only reason they have for the refusal, when there were so many others of much greater importance before his eyes. But it must be remembered, that the whole business of the *Summary* is to suppress and impose.

As to the suggestion, that the *English* keep this river and the country of *Nova Scotia*, chiefly because their design is to conquer *Canada*, it is so absurd in itself, that it scarce deserves to be taken notice of. If the *English* were so fond of conquering *Canada*, they would have done it many years ago, when there was small difficulty in the undertaking to what there might be now. But the *French* have for a long time given them so great provocation from thence, that their Ministers think we ought to conquer it. However that may be, the possession of the river or country in question, does not give the *English* a better opportunity of conquering *Canada*, than it would the *French* of conquering the neighbouring provinces, which would then be surrounded by them.

If the forbearing disposition of the *English* for many years past be considered, it will appear that they

they were so far from having had any intention to conquer *Canada*, that they had scarce any inclination to preserve their own territories; while the *French*, by their continual encroachments, and building forts on our very frontiers, have demonstrated the most sanguine desire to conquer them. Does not this shew the folly, as well as hypocrisy, of their suggestion?

They are either so thoughtless or hardy, as generally to make use of arguments, which, like this, turn against themselves. Of a like kind is another suggestion of the author of the *Summary*, viz. that not only the territories of the *French*, but even those of the *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese*, are in danger from the *English*, who have it in their heads to conquer them.

This might with some justice be said of the *French*, who, by their settlement at *Cayenne*, on the north-east coast of *South America*; have thrust themselves in, between the *Dutch* at *Surinam* on one side, and the *Portuguese* in *Brazil* on the other, in order to thrust both out, whenever they have an opportunity. By their settlements at the mouth of the *Mississippi*, and on the adjacent coasts, they have divided *New Spain* from *Florida*; and have intruded on the claims and possessions of the *Spaniards*, as well as the *English*; with a view to carry on, as they do, an illicit trade at their *Mexican* mines, and doubtless to seize them at length. Their frequent encroachments put it beyond all doubt, that both will be in danger from them whenever they grow strong: Whereas the *English* territories, being all confined, as yet, to the eastern coast of *North America*,

merica, do not come near the territories of either the *Dutch* or *Portuguese*; and only border in one part, of no great extent, on the *Spaniards* in the peninsula of *Florida*.

Will it not seem strange to those unacquainted with the *French* politics, that they should exclaim so much against the *English* for cutting logwood in certain places on the *Spanish* main, to which they claim a right by agreement, as well as prescription; and at the same time, besides their other encroachments, have actually seized near one half, as well as the best lands, of the island of *Hispaniola*, from the *Spaniards*, under pretence of a title derived from those notorious sea-robbers and pirates, the *Buccaniers*? Have they not discovered strong indications of a design to conquer *Cuba*, which lies so at hand, and make themselves masters of the windward passage?

Is it possible then that the *Spaniards* can join them against the *English*, on a supposition, that they have more to fear from us than the *French*? Such arguments sure can serve only to put them in mind of the injuries which the *French* have done them; and convince them that their greatest danger is to be apprehended from that quarter, rather than from any other *European* nation settled in *America*, or than from them all together?

F I N I S.

A D D I T I O N S.

P Age 41. line 5. after existence, read, but a shadow more than their *Nova Scotia*.

P. 42. l. 2. at *La Corix*, this note. The Commissaries produce *Le Carbot*, as one of the three authors who treat of the limits of *Acadia*, and yet do not produce one passage from him, in which *Acadia* is mentioned: nay, they acknowledge that he makes no mention of it. See *Mem. Fran.* art. 17. p. 142.

P. 71. l. 3. a note at the word enjoy. — Thus far are the words of the treaty: now since the five forts aftermentioned were given up, as demanded by *France*, 'tis plain, that here are found the ancient limits of *Acadia*; namely those which *France* enjoyed formerly, or before the *Breda* treaty, westward to the *Kennibek*. And as the ceding words of the treaty of *Utrecht* run in the same form, extending to all places, &c. which the *French* had at any time formerly possessed; consequently, by those words, must be understood the same limits as were ceded in the treaty of *Breda*, to which our plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* had an eye.

P. 80. at the end of the note. — And here it may be observed, that the third article of the treaty of *St. Germain en Lay*, 1632, restores to *France* all the places possessed in *New France*, *Acadia*, and *Canada*, by the subjects of King *Charles I.* which places are afterwards specified to be *Port-Royal*, the fort of *Penobskot*, and *Cape-Breton*.

Whence 'tis manifest, that *Port-Royal* belonged to *Acadia*, as *Quebek* did to *Canada*; otherwise a place in, or for *Acadia*, was not ceded by the treaty, which yet suggests there was.

P. 86. after Acadia, line 4. from the bottom, read, conformable to the words of the act of cession, made by Louis XIV. in May, 1713. as also to the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, as cited, and rendered, by the Commissaries. Mem. 4th October, 1751. p. 3.

E R R A T A.

Page 29. par. 3. for Memorials read Memorial. P. 60. l. 27. for also read expressly. P. 87. note †. for 16. read 56. P. 95. l. 8. after given-up, read to them.

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