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Sir John Bourinot, K. C. M. G.

VILLEBON AND FORT NASHWAAK,
James Hannay, D.C.L.

THE EARLY POSTAL SERVICE IN
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA,
Lieut-Col. E. Cruikshank.

THE NEW ENGLAND MOVEMENT
TO NOVA SCOTIA,
W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

GENERAL CAMPBELL'S MUSTER.
Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

THE ACADIAN LAND IN LOUISIANA.

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THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG IN 1758.

BY SIR JOHN BOURINOT, K.C.M.G., LL. D., LIT. D. (LAVAL).

In 1756, what is generally known in America as "The Seven Years' War" between France and England, was publicly proclaimed. In Europe, the four powers of France, Spain, Russia and Austria combined to crush the famous representative of Protestantism, Frederick the Great, whose sole ally was England. The results were most glorious for England and humiliating for her ancient rival. Frederick's victories prepared the way for the unity of Germany; while India, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada are the heritage of a war which drove France from the eastern and western hemispheres.

The prospect, for some months after the declaration of war, was gloomy in America. This brief account of a memorable event of the Seven Years' War is chiefly condensed from my "Cape Breton and its Memorials of the French Régime," now out of print. The reader may refer to all the authorities given in that book, which also appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. IX., Sec. 2.

When that great imperial statesman, Pitt, was recalled to office in July, 1757, it was too late to prevent the humiliation of England through the incompetency of Holbourne, Loudoun and Webb, and the year closed with Montcalm triumphant on Lakes Champlain and Ontario. While the military genius of Frederick and the inspiring statesmanship of Pitt were successfully thwarting the ambitious plans of France and her allies in Europe, the English statesman, now first minister, also decided on a vigorous campaign in America. With that intuitive sagacity which he possessed for recognizing ability in others, he chose General Amherst, Admiral Boscawen, General Forbes, Lord Howe and Brigadier Wolfe, as most competent to retrieve the disaster which Loudoun and Holbourne had brought upon the English army and navy in America. He was forced, for the time being, by the strong influences around him, to retain General Abercromby at the head of one of the expeditions; but he hoped that the advice and popularity of Lord Howe would keep up the courage and

confidence of the army on Lake Champlain and prevent any serious mistakes on the part of the too slow and obtuse commander-in-chief.

The plan of the campaign, which opened in 1758, was to send three expeditions simultaneously against the three all-important positions held by the French, in the Ohio valley, on Lake Champlain, and at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. General Forbes was to march on Fort Duquesne, General Abercromby was to lay siege to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and General Amherst was to unite with Admiral Boscawen for an attack from land and sea on the fortress of Louisbourg, acknowledged to be the key to the St. Lawrence.

Whilst Louisbourg had been in the possession of the French, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the fortifications had been strengthened, and the town was in much better condition to stand a prolonged siege than in 1745. Fourteen men-of-war, carrying nearly six hundred guns and manned by nearly three thousand men, defended the harbour in which they were anchored. The French Governor, Chevalier Druçour, had under his immediate orders a regular force of about three thousand four hundred men, besides officers, and seven hundred militia, drafted from the inhabitants of the town and island, besides a considerable band of Indians, probably exceeding three hundred in all. The town was well supplied with provisions and military stores; the walls were defended by two hundred and eighteen cannon and seventeen mortars, with a considerable reserve of large guns for a time of need.

The English naval and military forces made their appearance off the southeastern coast of Cape Breton in the beginning of June. The fleet was composed of twenty-two ships of the line, sixteen frigates, a sloop or corvette, and two fireships; which carried in the aggregate eighteen hundred guns, and was under the orders of Honourable Edward Boscawen, Admiral of the Blue. The second in command was Sir Charles Hardy, Vice-admiral of the White. The army was made up of over twelve thousand men, including some provincial rangers, and commanded by General Amherst, who divided it into three brigades, under the orders of Brigadiers Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe respectively.

Although the fleet arrived off Gabarus Bay on the 2nd June, it was not until the 8th of the month that a landing was successfully effected. The artillery and stores could not be safely brought ashore

for several days later on account of the windy weather and heavy surf. As soon as the French found that the English were on land, they destroyed the Grand or Royal Battery, on the western shore of the harbour, spiked the guns in the lighthouse battery, and burned down all the storehouses and other buildings around the port. It took several weeks to land all the stores, to build blockhouses and redoubts, dig trenches, and make the investment complete. It is only possible to give a few leading details of the siege within the few pages at my command. The cannon on Wolfe's batteries at the entrance of the harbour soon silenced the island defences, and four ships were then sunk by the French at this important point with their masts fastened together by a strong iron chain. The French fleet was practically of no use to the town throughout the siege. A few were sunk, several taken by the English as they were attempting to get out to sea, and the remainder were all captured or destroyed by naval expeditions of the English. The French squadron was only redeemed from the charge of cowardice or febleness by the signal bravery of Commander Vauquelain, who at last evaded the English men-of-war and reached France. The sorties made by the French from the town were bravely conducted, but did little or nothing to weaken the besieging force. The fire of the besiegers eventually destroyed many of the principal buildings. At last, when the fortifications were tumbling in all directions on the west front, and great gaps were visible in the important bastions, and not a dozen cannon were reported as really serviceable, the French governor decided to capitulate. The crisis had clearly come in the siege, and M. Drucour felt that it was madness to defend the ruined town and fortifications against the general assault of the British naval and military forces, which was imminent at any moment. On the morning of the twenty-seventh of July, the English took possession of the town, and the cross of St. George was hoisted on the ramparts of a fortress destined very soon to disappear from the pages of history.

England had won her first great success in the campaign commenced under the inspiration of Pitt. The news was received in England and America with many rejoicings, and the eleven stands of colors that were won at this gateway of Canada were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral amid the roar of cannon. Thanksgivings were offered to heaven from the Puritan pulpits of New England; loyal toasts were drunk at many a festive board in New York and Philadelphia, and

even in staid old Boston—probably with smuggled rum; bells pealed from the towers and steeples, towns were illuminated from Maine to Virginia; and in the English posts of Acadia, in the camp at Lake George where Abercromby was fretting under the humiliation of defeat, wherever the tidings came, Englishmen predicted a speedy end to French power in America.

Wolfe distinguished himself and was the very soul of the enterprise:

“Wolfe, where'er he fought,
Put so much of his heart into his act
That his example had a magnet's force,
And all were swift to follow whom all loved.”

The capture of Louisbourg was the prelude to a series of events which gave Canada to England. Though Abercromby was beaten at Ticonderoga, and Lord Howe met an untimely death at Lake George, Forbes drove the French from the valley of the Ohio; and Bradstreet won Fort Frontenac and gave the control of Lake Ontario to the English. St. John's, now Prince Edward Island, was occupied by a detachment of troops from Louisbourg; and the French settlements on the eastern coast of New Brunswick and in the valley of the St. John river were generally destroyed. In the following year, Amherst assumed command at Lake Champlain, and Montcalm was forced to retire to Quebec, where he met his death on the same battlefield on which “died Wolfe victorious.” Quebec fell in 1759, and Montreal was surrendered by the Marquis of Vaudreuil in the following year. Canada was ceded in 1763 by France to England, who reigned supreme on the northern continent of America until that unhappy year when the old Thirteen Colonies, as a result of successful revolution, entered the community of nations as the federal republic of the United States.

VILLEBON AND FORT NASHWAAK.

BY JAMES HANNAY, D. C. L.

There is a little mound of earth at the junction of the Nashwaak with the St. John, on the north side of the first named river, that for several years was the head-quarters of French power in Acadia. This was in the time of Governor Villebon, one of the most energetic

and able representatives the King of France ever had in this quarter of the world, and whose grave is here, on the shores of the St. John, but unknown and unrecognized, like that of Lady Latour, the Acadian heroine, who died here more than half a century before him. Villebon was one of the sons of Charles le Moyne, Seigneur of Longueuil, near Montreal, and therefore a native of Canada. All his brothers, like himself, were in the service of the King of France; and all seem to have been men of courage and capacity. One of them, Menneval, was governor of Acadia in 1690, when the name of Villebon first appears in the annals of this part of New France. In that year Villebon, who was captain of a company of infantry, was sent to Port Royal to serve as an officer of the garrison there under the command of his brother, Menneval. He had with him M. Saccardi, an officer of engineers. But when he reached his destination, on the 14th June, he found neither governor nor garrison, for the place had been captured by an English expedition under Sir William Phips, in the previous month, and Menneval and most of his garrison carried away as prisoners of war. Here was a difficulty well calculated to show of what stuff Villebon was made; for he had become at once the principal officer in Acadia, and the fate of the province rested upon him. In this emergency he took counsel with M. Perrot, a French trader, and one or two others who had escaped the English, and decided to abandon Port Royal as a military station. This was done, and such of the garrison as remained were removed to Jemseg, on the St. John river, where there was an old fort which had been occupied by the French ten or twelve years before. The Jemseg fort was a small affair, 120 feet long, by 90 wide, and mounting five light guns; and it had been abandoned for several years. It was unfortunate that Villebon, while effecting this removal, had not taken with him the "Union," the ship in which he came out from France, for almost as soon as he left Port Royal, two English privateers hove in sight, captured the "Union" and robbed the people of Port Royal of what was left of their property. As all the presents which Villebon had brought out for the Indians and all his arms and stores were taken with the "Union," it became necessary for him to return to France to obtain a fresh supply. Before leaving, he gathered the Indians about him and exhorted them to remain faithful to the cause of France, promising them that they would be indemnified for all their losses.

Villebon went to Quebec, and from there to France, returning to the former place in July, 1691. He did not reach Acadia until late in the autumn of that year, but he brought fifty soldiers with him, a force large enough to defend his fort at Jemseg against any ordinary attack. During his absence the Indians had been at war with the English, but with little result. Although brave enough, they seldom accomplished anything substantial unless led by white men, and even then it was difficult to keep them faithful if they met with losses and reverses. For the next six years, all Villebon's energies were directed to the work of directing the Indians in their wars against the people of New England, and preventing them from making a permanent peace.

As soon as Villebon returned to his fort at Jemseg, he put himself in communication with Thury, the priest of the Penobscot tribe, and arranged for a winter attack on the English settlements. In February, 1692, York was attacked by the savages, and about seventy-five persons killed, including the venerable Mr. Dummer, the minister of the place. In the spring of the same year a band of four hundred Indians, composed of the tribes of the Penobscot and Kennebec, Micmacs, and Malicetes from the St. John, met at Penobscot to attack Wells; but their attack was repulsed by the bravery of Captain Converse, who occupied the principal garrisoned house. These attacks aroused the English of New England, and they sent an expedition, under Captain Church, an old Indian fighter of King Philip's War, to make reprisals. The main object of this expedition was the capture of St. Castin, a French officer who lived at the mouth of the Penobscot, and whose word was law with the Indians of that district; but it failed.

In 1692, Villebon removed his garrison from Jemseg to the mouth of the Nashwaak, and there began to erect a new fort on the northern bank of that river. The reason given for this change was that Jemseg was subject to inundations when the river was in flood; but a stronger reason, no doubt, was the fact that it was less easy for an English expedition to reach it, and it was nearer the villages of the Indians, on whom Villebon so largely relied for the defence of Acadia. Fort Nashwaak was built on a much larger scale than the Jemseg fort. It was 200 feet square, palisaded after the manner of all the Acadian forts of that day, and with bastions at each corner on which the guns were mounted. Outside of the line of palisades was a ditch, so that

it was safe from any attack that could be made upon it except by an enemy possessing heavy artillery.

Nashwaak thus became the headquarters of French power in Acadia, and the place from which the cruel orders went forth which ravaged the border towns of New England for several years. It would be both tedious and unprofitable to relate these atrocities in detail; so I will make but the merest reference to them in this article. They were disgraceful to human nature; yet they had the sanction and support of the French authorities in Canada, and the English who were thus attacked were not less bloodthirsty and cruel when they had the opportunity of making reprisals. It was an age of cruelty, when even the ministers of religion encouraged the shedding the blood of their enemies.

In the summer of 1694, the Indians, who were led by a French officer named Villieu, were very active in attacking the English settlements. They captured Dover, where they killed one hundred persons, and they committed depredations at Groton, Piscataqua, York, Kittery, and other places. Villieu was able to boast in his letter to the French governor that two small forts and fifty or sixty houses had been captured and burnt, and 130 English killed. The scalps of the murdered English were sent to Count Frontenac at Quebec.

Scarcely were these bloody operations ended, when a mysterious and mortal illness fell upon the Indians of the St. John river. The Chief of the river died of it, and upwards of one hundred and twenty members of the tribe, including many of the best warriors. Its ravages extended to all parts of Acadia, sweeping off the Indians by hundreds; but it was nowhere more severe than on the St. John. One of its effects was to cause the Indians to abandon their town at Meductic, and it was not re-occupied for several years. The strength of the Indians and their ability to wage war was greatly reduced by this plague; indeed, it is doubtful if they ever recovered from its effects.

In the summer of 1696, Villebon gathered together all the Acadian Indian warriors that he could muster for an expedition against Fort William Henry at Pemaquid. He was assisted by two French war-ships from Quebec, under d'Iberville and Bonaventure, and by all the tribes of the Penobscot and Kennebec. Fort William Henry was a new stone work which had just been erected at a cost of twenty

thousand pounds by the government of Massachusetts. It mounted fifteen cannon and had a garrison of ninety-five soldiers under Captain Chubb. It was expected to make a brave resistance, but Chubb surrendered it almost as soon as summoned, and it was demolished and blown up. This was a great triumph for the French; and it was particularly pleasing to the Indians, who had found the fort a great annoyance.

The New Englanders were aroused to active measures by the fall of Pemaquid, and Col. Church was again put in command of an expedition against the French in Acadia. He had about five hundred men, including some Indians, and they were embarked in sloops and whale-boats, such vessels being the most convenient for ranging the coast. Church was rather more disposed to plunder than to attack fortified places; and his principal achievement was the sack of Chignecto, where he burnt down all the buildings, including the chapel, and killed most of the cattle. He had been ordered to attack the French fort on the St. John; but some of his men, who landed on the site of the present city of St. John, captured two French soldiers, who showed him a place on the shore where twelve cannon were buried in the sand. These he recovered, and, thinking he had done enough, Church set sail for Boston.

In the meantime the people of New England had despatched Col. Hawthorne, with 200 men in three vessels, to re-inforce Church and to supersede him. Hawthorne intercepted Church at the St. Croix, as he was going home, and turned him back to St. John. His object was the capture of Villebon's fort at Nashwaak, and it is quite possible that this might have been accomplished if the English expedition had arrived a few days earlier. But the French had been warned of Church's presence on the coast and had gathered all the Indians available for the defence of the fort. The English did not reach the fort until the 18th October, when the weather was cold and disagreeable. They landed on the south side of the Nashwaak river, opposite the fort, and at once commenced the erection of a battery on which three guns were mounted. There was a lively cannonade on that and the following day, but the French fire was the more powerful; the English guns were disabled or had to be abandoned, and on the night of the 19th, Col. Hawthorne's men took their departure, after losing twenty-five men, of whom eight were killed.

This was the last important event in which Fort Nashwaak figured. In the following year the Treaty of Ryswick ended the war between France and England, and in the autumn of 1698 Fort Nashwaak was abandoned and its garrison removed to old Fort LaTour at the mouth of the St. John.

THE EARLY POSTAL SERVICE IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

BY LT.-COL. E. CRUIKSHANK.

Shortly before the close of the war of the American Revolution, General Haldimand, having become convinced of the necessity of securing an overland communication from Quebec to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, caused a trail or footpath to be cut through the wilderness from Kamouraska to Lake Temiscouata, and thence along the Madawaska and St. John rivers to the scattered settlements on the Bay of Fundy. In the summer of 1787, Hugh Finlay, who had been Deputy Postmaster General for Massachusetts before the revolt of that province, was sent by Lord Dorchester, who had succeeded Haldimand as Governor-General, to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to make arrangements for the conveyance of a monthly mail to and from Halifax by this route, as the communication during the winter between Quebec and England, by way of New York, was not considered altogether safe. On October 3rd, Dorchester informed Lord Sydney that Finlay had returned and reported that he had made satisfactory arrangements with the Deputy Postmaster Generals in those provinces for the employment of "foot-messengers" carrying letters. Six mails a year, it was estimated, would pay the expense of the overland route, and as each province advocated the advantages of its own port, he suggested that the mails from England should be sent alternately to Halifax and St. John, until experience should demonstrate which of these ports should be selected as the best. He advised, however, that the New York route should be also used until passable roads for horse-travel could be cut through the woods, and, "to prevent disagreements," recommended that the post-offices should be placed under control of a single official to be known as the Deputy

Postmaster General in British North America. On account of his previous experience in a similar situation, he nominated Finlay as a suitable person for this place. About a month later (Nov. 8, 1787), Finlay was duly appointed; and Sydney informed the Governor-General that a monthly mail service had been actually established between London and Halifax. All expenses were to be under control of agents of the post-office who were to be solely responsible for their safe delivery.

When the war with France began six years later, the number of hostile cruisers rendered it unsafe for the packets to follow their customary route to New York, and they were sent direct to Halifax in winter as well as summer, and it is stated, "made their passages with great ease, performing them in a much shorter time than they had previously done in the same months to New York."¹ This arrangement continued for about two years, after which the British navy had so effectually secured the mastery of the Atlantic that it was considered expedient to re-establish the New York service.

Packets were occasionally taken by the enemy's ships of war, or were lost at sea. Others were driven out of their course by gales or buffeted by contrary winds for weeks and sometimes for months. The transmission of even the most important despatches was at all times precarious and uncertain. A letter from Lord Dorchester to Hon. Henry Dundas, written at Quebec on March 28th, 1794, was received on June 10th, while another dated June 7th was not received until September 20th. His despatches to the Duke of Portland, dated 1st January, 1795, was not received until April 20th; while another of April 25th was received on June 25th; and a third, dated 26th October, was not received until December 7th. Simcoe's despatch of 5th August, 1794, to Mr. Dundas, was received on October 17th; another, of August 13th, was received on December 13th; and a third, written on September 12th, was received on December 23rd; while his letter of October 30th, 1794, to the Duke of Portland, was not received until May 1st, 1795, or 182 days afterwards.

On April 5th, 1800, Finlay was succeeded by George Heriot, who is now best remembered as the author of a quarto volume of travels in Canada published seven years later. The postal service seems to have been gradually extended and improved by him, but not rapidly

¹See George Provost to Lord Bathurst, 12th August, 1813.

enough to meet the wishes of certain influential colonial merchants ; and on January 26th, 1811, a memorial was addressed to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade, reciting their grievances in this respect, signed by Simon McGillivray, A. Gillespie, William Hamilton, Charles Idle & Co., Thomas Forsyth, John Inglis, John Bainbridge, and seven others. They complained that an average period of three weeks was consumed in the conveyance of each mail between Quebec and Halifax, although the journey had been accomplished by other courses in six days, and that three weeks were likewise occupied in conveying it between Quebec and York, when this too might be done in six days. The consequence was that any person receiving important news could easily out-travel the mail and "thus derive the most important and unfair advantages in every branch of trade. North American merchants, particularly in the interior, do not forward one-tenth of their letters by the post-office, preferring to take advantage of private and casual opportunities owing to the great delay of the mails." They suggested that a surveyor should be sent to examine the country and ascertain the best routes to be followed.

Heriot remarked that to make the journey between Quebec and Halifax in only six days was "a very extraordinary and rapid march, as the distance is 633 miles, during 368 of which neither horses nor carriages are to be found, and the road can be only travelled in day-time in safety owing to rapids in the river which it would be dangerous to pass even by moonlight ; although a man may go much quicker from Quebec to Halifax than the other way, as he descends in that case the St. John, a very rapid river, and in the other has to ascend it in a birch canoe, much of the way by poling." On April 23rd of the same year, he made to Francis Freeling a general report on the entire postal service of the provinces.

"The mail is carried from New Brunswick to Quebec and *vice versa* by two couriers, one setting out from Quebec and the other from Fredericton once a fortnight in summer and once a month in winter. The distance is 361 miles ; the cost of conveying the mails, £240. There is one courier once a week between Fredericton and St. John, N. B., eighty-two miles, at a cost of £91 5s. There are two packets weekly across the Bay of Fundy, between St. John and Digby, N. S., thirty-six and a-half miles, at £350. There is one courier twice a week between Digby and Annapolis, twenty miles, at £50, and one

courier between Annapolis and Halifax once a week, 133½ miles at £260. A courier leaves Montreal on Monday evening for Swanton, Vt., where he waits for the United States mail and returns on Saturday night with the latest mail from Boston. (The mails from England usually come by this route.) He has a salary of £156 per annum. From the commencement of the present year a communication by post has been opened from Montreal to Kingston. The distance is two hundred miles. The courier goes once a fortnight and has a salary of £100. The reason he can do it so cheap is because he carries the newspapers on which he has his own profit. A post to York is proposed for six months, or during the close of navigation. The water-communication is so frequent during the summer as to render a post unnecessary. The expense will be about £80. The post between Quebec and Montreal is despatched twice a week from each of those towns. Couriers leave the offices on Monday evening at five o'clock and arrive on Wednesday following. They set out again on Thursday evening and arrive on Saturday morning. Between those places there are three post-towns—Three Rivers, ninety miles from Quebec and the same distance from Montreal; Berthier, forty-five miles from Three Rivers and the same from Montreal, and L'Assomption, twenty-two miles from Montreal. Eight pence is charged for postage on a single letter from Quebec to Montreal. The expense for the conveyance of the mail for twelve months is £604 stg. On the 5th April, 1800, I took charge of the Post-office department in the British provinces of North America. The net revenue for twelve months from that date was £884, and for the last twelve months it was £2,514 sterling. There are on the road between Quebec and Montreal about twenty-seven persons whose houses are seven or eight miles distant from each other and who keep four or five horses each, not of the best description, and small vehicles with two wheels of a homely and rude construction, hung upon bands of leather or thongs of unmanufactured bull's hide by way of springs, and these are termed *calèches*. They will with much difficulty contain two persons, in front of whom a man or boy is placed to guide the horse. The rate at which they go when the roads are favorable is not more than six miles an hour. Considerable time is wasted by changing vehicles, and travellers are sometimes obliged to wait half an hour, so that fourteen hours might be lost in this way alone. The legal fare is a shilling a league for a

single person if he has one horse, and eighteen pence if he has two. There are no inns on the road. A person travelling should bring with him his own provisions and liquors. There are no less than six ferries to be passed on the road to Montreal. That at Three Rivers is three miles and that at Montreal three-quarters of a mile across. The roads are generally in a very bad state, as no proper measures are taken for their repair. There are officers called *Grand Voyers*, whose duty is to enforce the existing laws for the repair of the roads, but they neglect it owing to the smallness of their salaries. Any extension of the post or increase of speed," he affirmed, "must be attended with great expense."

Nearly a year later (16th March, 1812,) Sir George Prevost was able to state that Mr. Heriot had made arrangements for the transmission of the mails between Quebec and Halifax, designed to remove all reasonable grounds for complaint; but to carry them into effect it would be necessary to open a road through the "unsettled country between this place (Quebec) and Fredericton, and that encouragement should be held out to persons to settle on it. The necessity of a ready and sure communication becomes every day more obvious owing to the state of American politics." It was his opinion that the mails would reach Quebec in winter as soon if forwarded by way of Bermuda and Halifax as by way of New York, and he recommended that they should be sent by that route in future "to obviate the risk they are exposed to in passing through American territory."

The establishment of a line of steamboats between Quebec and Montreal had diminished travel by land and rendered the necessity of improving the road between those towns less obvious if not less urgent. Prevost asserted that the mails on that route were carried as rapidly and regularly as could be expected, and that the extension of the service "to Kingston, York, and posts more in the interior had been placed on a footing which will materially promote the intercourse between the Provinces."

The ocean packet service seems to have been greatly improved. Despatches from Quebec were frequently delivered in London in five or six weeks. Prevost's despatch, dated at Montreal on 22nd October, 1812, was in the hands of Lord Bathurst on November 26th. But in time of war it still remained precarious, as in the vessels employed the means of defence were sacrificed in the effort to secure speed.

“I have received an account of the May and June packets from Falmouth to Halifax having been taken, one by the ‘President’ and the other by an American privateer but afterward recaptured by the ‘Maidstone’ and sent into Halifax; both mails were sunk before the vessels were taken,” Sir George Prevost wrote on 12th August, 1813. “Several months must elapse before I can receive copies of the despatches lost. The duplicates of the May despatches being lost in the June packet, I have received no communication of importance since your despatch of the 12th of May last. I cannot now expect to receive them till January or February next. The great injury arising to the public service from the want of a more frequent and regular communication with your Lordship, during the winter months, induces me most strongly to urge the expediency of sending the packets direct to Halifax during November, December, January and February, instead of sending them to Bermuda. I have every reason to think, from every information I have obtained upon the subject, that the passage during the winter will be equally safe and expeditious as to Bermuda.”

“Should this plan be again adopted, I shall receive your Lordship’s despatches several weeks sooner, and can reply every month.”

THE NEW ENGLAND MOVEMENT TO NOVA SCOTIA.

BY W. F. GANONG. PH.D.

In the Maritime Provinces of Canada there are living to-day not far from a million people. They are derived from five distinct sources. There are, first, a few thousand Indians, once owners of all the land where now they exist by sufferance of their conquerors. Second, there are the Acadians, more than an eighth of the population, best known to the world through the sufferings they endured under ruthless political necessity. Third, there are the English and New Englanders, concerning whom something is to be said below, who gave us perhaps a sixth of our population. Next are the Loyalists, our greatest and most valuable accession, from whom more than a half of our people are descended. Finally, there are the later immigrants, mostly from Great Britain and Ireland, who have not yet had time to make history, but who will be heard from in the future.

Between 1760 and 1770 there was a large immigration from the American colonies, principally from New England, into Nova Scotia, then including New Brunswick, which proved of immense value to the province. The causes leading to this remarkable movement are well known. The expulsion of the Acadians, in 1755, left their rich lands vacant and the province nearly without inhabitants, except for the settlements at Halifax and Annapolis. But a country without inhabitants is a valueless possession, for the only true wealth of a nation consists in industrious, law-abiding and patriotic citizens. Governor Lawrence, with great foresight, resolved to seek settlers among the people who had proven themselves the greatest of colonizers,—the people of the American colonies. Accordingly, in 1758, he spread broadcast through these colonies copies of a proclamation in which he called attention to the richness of the vacant lands, and invited proposals for their settlement. This proclamation did not, however, contain information upon matters which the New Englanders held dearest of all, namely, political and religious liberty. Accordingly, in 1759, Governor Lawrence issued a second proclamation, of which Nova Scotians have long been justly proud; for its promises of religious toleration and political freedom have since been more than fulfilled. This document,¹ sometimes likened to a charter of the province, contains full information upon the size and conditions of grants and other practical matters, and these passages:

“The Government of Nova Scotia is constituted like those of the neighboring colonies; the Legislature consisting of a Governor, Council, and House of Assembly, and every township, as soon as it shall consist of fifty families, will be entitled to send two Representatives to the General Assembly. The Courts of Justice are also constituted in like manner with those of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other Northern Colonies. That, as to the article of religion, full liberty of Conscience, both of his Majesty’s royal instructions and a late act of the General Assembly of this Province, is secured to persons of all persuasions, Papists excepted, as may more fully appear by the following abstract of the said act, viz.:

‘Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, whether they be Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers, or under what denomination soever, shall have free liberty of conscience, and may erect and build meeting houses for public worship, and may choose and elect ministers for the carrying on divine service, and administration of the sacrament, according to their several opinions; and all contracts made between their ministers and congregations for the

¹ It is given in full in Huling’s, “Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia.” (Providence, R. I., 1889).

support of their ministry, are hereby declared valid, and shall have their full force and effect according to the tenor and conditions thereof; and all such Dissenters shall be excused from any rates or taxes to be made or levied for the support of the Established Church of England.'”

Convinced by these assurances, and attracted by the liberality of the conditions as to land-grants, settlers from New England began to arrive in 1760, and came in large numbers during the next few years. As one reads of the many who so willingly left the comforts of the older settlements for the hardships of pioneer life, he wonders what could have induced so remarkable a migration. But we have only to recall the race to which they belonged, its ever-present joy in adventure and ambition for progress, to have at least a part of the explanation. A gr̄eat war had been practically ended with the fall of Quebec, and that fever of expansion and speculation which always follows successful wars had set in. At that time, farm life was relatively far more attractive than it is to-day, and the vision of a rich country estate beckoned men from afar — as the glitter of gold draws them to the Klondike to-day. No doubt, too, rich as the Nova Scotian lands really were, their value was greatly exaggerated in the minds of the New Englanders; for such is human nature. The destruction of French power in North America had just made Acadia for the first time a safe residence for New England farmers. All these reasons, with doubtless others, combined to start the stream of New Englanders towards Nova Scotia.

If the reader will open before him a good map of the Maritime Provinces he can the better learn what parts of Nova Scotia received the new settlers. The first to come were from Newport, Rhode Island, and they settled on the rich diked lands of Falmouth and Newport, near the modern Windsor. A little later, others from the same colony took uplands on the Tantramar, and founded Sackville, in what is now New Brunswick. Rhode Island sent the first settlers, but other colonies soon followed; and New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and, later, Pennsylvania, all sent considerable numbers during the next few years, who took up lands at Cornwallis, Horton, Annapolis, Granville, Liverpool, Onslow, Truro and Amherst, in Nova Scotia, and at Maugerville and on the west side of the Petitcodiac, in New Brunswick. In all of these cases, except Liverpool and Maugerville, it was the abandoned marsh lands of the Acadians which were occupied. But the New Englanders did not confine themselves to

these places, for they settled in considerable numbers in Halifax, Chester, Barrington, Yarmouth, and scattered to numerous other places. In 1762, some 5,000 of these new settlers had reached Nova Scotia, and by 1767 some 2,000 more, at which time over half of the total population of Nova Scotia consisted of New Englanders. They continued to arrive, though in lesser numbers, for some years longer, and although in the meantime there was considerable immigration from England and Scotland, the breaking out of the American Revolution found nearly half the population of Nova Scotia of New England origin.

The distribution of the settlements founded by the New Englanders shows that by far the greater number settled in what is now Nova Scotia. New Brunswick received but a few hundreds, probably not a thousand in all, who settled at Maudersville, and on the Petitcodiac and at a few other points. Prince Edward Island received not over a hundred or two in all. Hence it was that, at the close of the Revolution, New Brunswick had a much greater extent of vacant lands to offer to the Loyalists than had Nova Scotia. Therefore the Loyalists came in greater numbers to New Brunswick, and made it "The Loyalist Province." But the Loyalists were not only like the New Englanders who preceded them in race, customs and character—they were really the same people. Hence it is that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, though with very different proportions of New Englanders and Loyalists in their populations, have developed alike.

We have seen that nearly half the population of Nova Scotia were New Englanders when the American Revolution broke out. Naturally these people were bound by the closest ties of kinship and sympathy to the revolting colonists, and it is little wonder that during the progress of the Revolution this sympathy was sometimes manifest. That it did not lead to more trouble than it did speaks highly for the good management of the British authorities on the one hand; and on the other it testifies to the rapidity with which men become attached and loyal to the country in which they live. In only one locality did the New Englanders of Nova Scotia take up arms for the Colonists. A party from Maudersville, aided by their fellow-countrymen of Sackville and Amherst, attempted, in 1776, to capture Fort Cumberland. But they were dispersed, and many of them returned to live in the United States. But from that day to this, England has had no more loyal, progressive, and serviceable subjects than these Nova Scotian New Englanders.

GENERAL CAMPBELL'S MUSTER.

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

In the Canadian Archives for the year 1884, published at Ottawa, there appeared for the first time in print, an exceedingly interesting report on Nova Scotia, by Lieut.-Col. Robert Morse, of the Royal Engineers. The report was compiled in 1784, by order of Sir Guy Carleton, as we learn from its rather elaborate title :

“A General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia, and a Report of the present State of the Defences, with Observations leading to the further Growth and Security of this Colony, done by Lieutenant Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer in America, upon a Tour of the Province in the Autumn of the year 1783 and the Summer, 1784, under the Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, General and Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, given at Head Quarters at New York the 28th Day of July, 1783.”

In his report, Col. Morse estimated the number of inhabitants in Nova Scotia (including New Brunswick) at 42,747. Probably this estimate is too small, for it takes no account of the native Indians and reckons the number of Acadian families at only one hundred, which undoubtedly is a long way under the mark. Colonel Morse, however, claimed to be able to give with precision the number of new inhabitants, viz.: the disbanded troops and Loyalists, the whole having been mustered in the summer of 1784, in order to ascertain the number entitled to the Royal bounty of provisions. In his report he includes an abstract of the number of the new inhabitants, compiled from the returns of the muster-masters, and the publication of these figures, in connection with his report, in the Canadian Archives for 1884, has led several of our local historians to designate the muster as “Morse's Muster.”¹ This is an error to be regretted and one that should not be perpetuated. Colonel Morse himself says nothing in his report to lead to the inference that the muster was made under his direction;

¹ Among those who have inadvertently fallen into this error may be mentioned the compiler of the Canadian Archives, who in the Volume for 1894, p. 412, speaks of “The Muster by Morse in the summer of 1784.” Henry Youle Hind makes the same mistake in his History of King's College, Windsor, p. 13. I have myself in several newspaper articles help to propagate the error.—W. O. R.

indeed, a moment's consideration should satisfy anybody that a muster of this kind lay entirely outside the sphere of duty of an officer of Engineers, and could only be undertaken by order of the General commanding and under direction of officers customarily employed on such occasions.

I have in the title of this paper termed the muster of 1784, General Campbell's Muster, for the simple reason that it was made by his order. If credit is to be given to any subordinate officer, that credit undoubtedly belongs to Colonel Edward Winslow, and on the principle of giving honor to whom honor is due it could scarcely be considered as incorrect to speak of the muster as "Winslow's Muster." A few words will suffice to show how Edward Winslow came to be the guiding spirit in the matter.

When the Revolution broke out in America, he was in the prime of life, energetic, talented and popular. However, he was an ardent Loyalist, and his conduct in acting as guide to the relieving party under Lord Percy at Lexington, gained for him the enmity of many of his former friends. The service rendered, however, was an essential one, saving the British expedition from capture or annihilation. This circumstance the enemies of Edward Winslow neither forgot nor forgave. At the evacuation of Boston there was for him no alternative but to accompany the British army. Winslow was too high-spirited to have remained even if he could have done so with safety. On his arrival at New York he became one of the most active and influential organizers of corps of armed Loyalists, many of which served with distinction side by side with the king's troops and were called "Provincial troops," or "British American regiments." During the progress of the war more than forty distinct corps were organized by the Loyalists, and in these there served, at various times and for longer or shorter periods, from 25,000 to 30,000 men.¹ Edward Winslow was appointed General Muster-Master of the Loyalist regiments,² and in that capacity was called upon to muster them once in two months. In the exercise of this duty he became very closely identified with them and had

¹ This estimate is based upon the Muster Rolls of the Loyalist Regiments which at the time of writing are in my possession.

² Edward Winslow's appointment to this office was thus gazetted :

"Head Quarters, New York, 30th July, 1776.

Edward Winslow Esq., to be Muster-Master General to the Provincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the colonies lying in the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to Florida inclusive.

STEPHEN KEMBLE, *Deputy Adjutant General.*"

perhaps a better general knowledge of them than any other single individual.

At the close of the war Winslow was sent by Sir Guy Carleton to Nova Scotia to assist in making arrangements necessary for the disbanding of such of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men as desired to settle there. He made an exploring tour of the River St. John and largely on his recommendation it was decided to fix the location of the Loyalist regiments in that quarter. He was soon after attached to the staff of Brigadier-General Henry E. Fox,¹ the Commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia, as his Private Secretary, and afterwards filled the same position with his successor, Major General John Campbell. General Campbell² arrived at Halifax from New York on December 9, 1783.

We come now to consider the circumstances which rendered it advisable to hold a general muster of the disbanded troops and Loyalists at the various places where they had settled upon their arrival in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Early in the year 1784, it had become evident to the commissariat officers that considerable abuses existed with regard to the distribution of the provisions ordered by government for the relief of the new settlers. The complaints that abounded were of various descriptions. In some cases settlers complained of having been overlooked or neglected. In a few instances they were said to have been defrauded by their agents. In others it was asserted that certain officers drew rations for nominal servants *ad libitum*. In others, that rations were drawn for families expected from the United States that had not yet arrived. In others, that rations continued to be drawn for individuals who had abandoned the settlements where they had been located.

In order to ascertain the exact condition of the various settlements, a general muster was ordered by Major General Campbell in May, 1784. The details were planned by Colonel Winslow, who seems also to have nominated the muster-masters who were appointed by

¹ General Fox was the brother of the celebrated statesman, Charles James Fox; he was offered the position of first Governor of New Brunswick, but declined, and the appointment went to Col. Thomas Carleton.

² Major General Campbell's Regiment, the 57th, came to Nova Scotia at the same time as himself, and was in garrison at Halifax and Annapolis.

General Campbell. The names of the muster-masters and their respective districts were as follows :

1. William Shaw, Esq., Provost Marshal to the Forces in Nova Scotia. District—The settlements on the coast from Halifax eastward as far as Chedabucto.

2. William Porter, Esq., Commissary of Musters. District—The settlements on the coast from Halifax westward to Port Matoon.

3. Lieut. Charles Stewart, late Nova Scotia Volunteers. District—The Island of St. John¹ in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the settlements on the coast from Pictou southward to Chedabucto.

4. Capt. George Stewart, 33rd Regiment. District—The settlements on the road from Halifax to Windsor, at Windsor, Newport, Kentecook, Falmouth, Horton, Cornwallis, the settlements about Cumberland and the country adjacent.

5. John Robinson, Lieut. Loyal American Regiment. District—Annapolis, Wilmot, Granville, Digby, the settlements on St. Mary's Bay and the country adjacent.

6. Thomas Knox, Esq., Deputy Commissary of Musters. District—Passamaquoddy, the River Saint John and Quaco.

The officers appointed were furnished with instructions issued by Major General Campbell, who is styled "Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces on the eastern coast of the Atlantic Ocean, etc., etc." The instructions directed "that fair Rolls be prepared of each Corps or class, specifying the names, sex, age and description of every individual contained therein, and the said Rolls are to be certified by two at least of the officers or principal men of the corps or class thus mustered." It was further explained that the Royal Bounty was intended as a relief to indigence and as a spur to industry, and the muster-masters were enjoined to exercise due care that such as were in situations to support themselves by trade or professions, as well as those who were dissolute and indolent should not partake of it. The Imperial Government had promised provisions to disbanded officers and soldiers who should become settlers in Nova Scotia, but those who did not comply with the intention of Government by becoming settlers *on the lands assigned them* were not to be considered as entitled to the bounty. The muster-masters were particularly directed to enquire if those applying for provisions were actually settled on the lands assigned them or were making preparations for that purpose.

During the summer the returns kept coming in to Colonel Winslow,

¹Prince Edward Island.

and were tabulated under his supervision. Several of the original returns with copies of much of the correspondence are now in my possession and are of great interest. The general result as regards the number of those mustered will be seen in the following table :

General Return of all the Disbanded Troops and other Loyalists who have lately become settlers in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, made up from the Rolls taken by the several Muster-masters. Halifax, 4th November, 1784.

WHERE SETTLING.	Men.	Women.	CHILDREN.		Servants.	Totals.
			Above Ten.	Under Ten.		
Halifax Harbour.....	27	15	..	6	..	48
Dartmouth.....	175	104	68	92	41	480
Musquodobbin.....	10	4	..	2	..	16
Jeddore.....	7	5	8	6	..	26
Ship Harbour.....	77	25	28	19	2	151
Sheet Harbour.....	71	21	7	18	5	122
Country Harbour.....	201	26	7	14	41	289
Chedebucto.....	580	204	68	139	62	1053
Island of Saint John.....	202	60	27	65	26	380
Antigonish.....	76	12	8	6	18	120
Pictou and Merrigonish.....	192	65	27	40	..	324
District of Cumberland.....	257	160	186	232	21	856
Partridge Island, N. S.....	38	26	31	24	69	188
Cornwallis and Horton.....	91	37	44	27	38	237
Newport and Kentecoot.....	150	60	28	47	22	307
Windsor.....	127	49	23	58	21	278
Windsor Road and Sackville...	52	26	23	26	3	130
Annapolis, Granville, Wilmot... and Clements.....	608	349	325	318	230	1830
Bear River.....	71	18	3	14	9	115
Digby.....	483	240	216	204	152	1295
Gulliver's Hole, St. Mary's Bay and Sissiboo.....	53	26	50	31	13	173
Nine Mile River.....	38	17	6	6	5	72
Chester Road.....	16	6	1	4	1	28
At Halifax (Objects of charity)	90	39	46	29	4	208
Between Halifax and Shelburne	326	146	51	120	8	651
Shelburne.....	3401	1823	1420	1279	..	7923
Passamaquoddy.....	833	304	340	310	..	1787
River St. John.....	4130	1619	1630	1439	441	9260
Total,.....	12,383	5,486	4,671	4,575	1,232	28,347

The names of nearly all the localities mentioned in the foregoing table have persisted to the present time. The Loyalist settlement on Chedabucto Bay soon after took the name of Guysborough, and in the course of time Sissiboo was altered to Weymouth.

A number of observations upon the state of the infant settlements named in this table were submitted by the muster-masters which are of great interest and will afford material for another paper, in which I shall take occasion also to discuss the question of the number of Loyalists who came to the Maritime Provinces, concerning which there has been some difference of opinion.

THE ACADIAN LAND IN LOUISIANA.¹

It is only within the past year that my attention has been particularly called to a wonderland situated within the confines of my own State, although in a vague way I have always known something about it. It is the land of the departed Acadians of whom Longfellow sang. These sorrowful pilgrims soon found the place of their exile a land of balmy air, bright sunlight, abundance, comfort and peace. As the shades of evening fell myriads of wild ducks from the Gulf marshes, seeking their evening meal on the broad savannas, furnished an epicurean feast. The lakes, bayous and bays teemed with the finest fish in the world—pomp, sheephead, trout, red-snapper and Spanish mackerel, oysters superior to any that Baltimore can furnish. Drovees of red-deer skimmed the plain or slept secure in the tall grass. Flocks and herds multiplied wonderfully in a climate where the air was cooled by the invigorating sea breezes, and there was grass to eat winter and summer, where the whole country was one broad, level meadow, so level that you could see your neighbor's children playing before the door five miles away. In the black loamy soil vegetables grew almost without cultivation in the greatest profusion. Oranges could be plucked from the trees even in December. An acre or two barely scratched over and sown in rice furnished the favorite food for a large family. No cultivation was necessary.

¹ The editor of the LEAFLETS is indebted to a gentleman in Shreveport, Louisiana, Capt. Geo. E. Thatcher, for the following description of the land of the Acadians in the South, and the industrial development that has recently taken place there.

Such was the new home of the exiled Acadians; here they grew and multiplied for generations, till their home in the far away cold North was forgotten. Their herds, the fish and the wild game, and rice, furnished them a living. Skins and pelts bought ammunition and clothing; so long as the roof did not leak they slept comfortably. Why should they work? Well, they did not work. They just lived, ate, drank, frolicked, married, got children and died, and the begotten reigned in their stead. And this land, the fairest that ever the sun shone on, remained undeveloped, a broad waste of hundreds of thousands of beautiful meadows supporting a sparse population of idle, thriftless, happy-go-lucky beings, who had no more conception of the meaning of the word progress than they had of Cordan's rule for Cubics.

But such a state of things could not last forever. There was only needed the man and the occasion to effect a revolution. The Acadian had depended upon Providence rice.¹ Now it occurred to a shrewd son of the Hoosier State, who had drifted to this country, to be a kind of Providence to himself; so finding an old engine and pump for sale cheap, he bought it, set it up on the bank of a bayou that bordered his little place of one hundred acres, and pumped water on his rice in July and August. The yield was enormous, as much as 1500 bags, worth \$3.25 a bag. This was the occasion, and the needed man was there taking notes. A revolution in the industrial affairs of this southern Acadia was impending. Give it water and it would average from eight to twelve bags of rice per acre, worth from three to four dollars per bag.

* * * * *

I know of no section of the South so unique in its attractions, of such peculiar and unusual natural beauty. The broad expanse of perfectly level meadow, here and there intersected by streams bordered by a fringe of evergreen trees, fanned by balmy breezes,—where cattle live and thrive the year around, where peaches, apricots, oranges and figs will grow for any one who will merely set out the trees, where the rewards of agriculture almost surpass belief, and fill the mind with astonishment.

¹ Providence rice—so called because if Providence sent rain the Acadian farmer made a crop, if Providence did not send rain he did not make a crop.

COMMENTS.

Greenwood (B. C.) *Afiner*, R. E. Gosnell, Editor; G. U. Hay, M.A., Editor of the *Educational Review*, St. John, N. B., a gentleman well-known to all New Brunswickers, is issuing a series of historical studies on Canada. These appear quarterly, and have reached No. Seven in the series. A number of well-known Canadians are contributing, and when completed the series will contain a vast amount of reminiscence concerning the early days of the country now included in the Dominion of Canada.

Halifax Chronicle: The history of Nova Scotia need not make dry reading if the chief incidents are well handled. In the September issue of the *EDUCATIONAL REVIEW* SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS, Mr. Arthur P. Silver, of this city, gives a most interesting account of "The Maroons in Nova Scotia." The closing years of the eighteenth century saw these fierce Jamaican rebels landed at Halifax, and the failure of the experiment, as well as the underlying causes thereof, it has been Mr. Silver's good fortune to set forth most entertainingly. The article is calculated to arouse considerable interest and to lead to some speculation regarding the wisdom and farsightedness of men in authority in the "good old days."

Montreal Gazette. What we said some time ago of the Old South Leaflets as affecting United States readers, is especially applicable to this experiment of Mr. Hay's, as affecting students of our own annals. At a nominal cost (ten cents a number) one is favored with a veritable treasury of tid-bits by our foremost historians, dealing authoritatively with what is most noteworthy in the records of the old regime and the new.

Kingston Whig: A great deal of information, valuable in an educational way and for storing in the literary archives of Canada, is being produced by this series. Canada requires national spirit and historical pride, such as is being coaxed into life.

St. John Telegraph: Mr. G. U. Hay is doing good work by the issue of these supplementary readings, and we congratulate him on their success. * * * The series may now be considered to be well established, and the youth of the Maritime Provinces are to be congratulated on the manner in which history is now being taught through this magazine and similar publications.

Montreal Herald: The series has been planned with the special object of giving interesting sketches on a variety of topics connected with our country's history. The

result cannot fail to be of great benefit to the students of Canadian history.

St. Andrews Beacon: All these gentlemen (the writers for the leaflets) are well qualified by study and experience to write not only intelligibly, but truthfully, upon the subjects they have chosen. The historical accuracy of their contributions may, therefore, be relied upon.

St. John Sun: The whole publication is not only useful for the purpose designed, but contains historical studies of great general value. * * * Love of country is everywhere held to be a virtue in a people, and love of country should be grounded in a knowledge of our country's history.

Charlottetown Patriot: The papers are very interesting and instructive. All who desire to know the history of their country will find the leaflets an up-to-date and delightful means of attaining this object.

Halifax Presbyterian Witness: These papers ought to be placed in the hands of senior pupils in our schools in order to accustom them to the pleasing exercises of looking into the sources of history, and the study of events as narrated at first hand.

Toronto Globe: The object of the publication is obviously to popularize knowledge and build up national sentiment.

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Montreal Witness: The series * * * gains in interest as it reaches the sixth of the proposed twelve numbers. The matter contained is of great interest to students of Canadian history and geography. The most stirring incidents in Canadian history have been selected, many of them from original papers and documents not accessible to the general reader.