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*Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank.*

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# SLAVERY IN CANADA.

BY REV. T. W. SMITH, D.D.

Some well-informed Canadians are incredulous respecting the existence of slavery at any time in Canada. The fact, however, that slaves were held in various parts of the territories now included in the Dominion is beyond question.

The first slave sale recorded in Quebec was that of a negro boy from Madagascar, sold by David Kertke in 1628 for fifty half-crowns. Indian slaves, known as Panis, belonging to a distant conquered tribe, were also sold to French Canadians. In 1689 a royal mandate was issued by Louis XIV., giving permission to Canadians to import African slaves, a number of whom they brought from the West Indies. On the transfer of the colony in 1760 to the English crown, it was stipulated that owners of slaves should still be permitted to hold their human property.

It is not probable that any slaves were held by the French Acadicians. That any were brought to the earliest English capital, Annapolis, or to Canso, a point of much importance, is uncertain; but at Halifax slaves were found at, or very soon after, its settlement in 1749. Their presence there is clearly proved by an advertisement in the Boston *Evening Post*, in September, 1751:—

“Just arrived from Halifax and to be sold, ten strong, hearty negro men, mostly tradesmen, such as caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers and ropemakers. Any person wishing to purchase may inquire of Benjamin Hallowell, of Boston.”

In the *Nova Scotia Gazette*, issued on Saturday, May 30th, 1752, Halifax readers found this notice:—

“Just imported and to be sold by Joshua Mauger, at Major Lockman’s store in Halifax, several negro slaves, viz., a very likely negro wench, of about thirty-five years of age, a Creole born, has been brought up in a gentleman’s family, and capable of doing all sorts of work belonging thereto, as needle-work of all sorts and in the best manner; also washing, ironing, cooking, and every other thing that can be expected from such a slave: also two negro boys of about 12 or 13 years old, likely, healthy, and well-shaped, and understand some English: Likewise two healthy negro slaves of about 18 years of age, of agreeable tempers and fit for any kind of business: And also a healthy negro man of about 30 years of age.”

Among several advertisements of similar character in Halifax papers of that period, but one can here be given, under date of November 1st, 1760 :—

“To be sold at public auction, on Monday, the 3rd of November, at the house of Mr. John Ryder, two slaves, viz., a boy and a girl, about eleven years old ; likewise a puncheon of choice cherry brandy, with sundry other articles.”

With the New England settlers, who in 1760–61 came to take possession of the fertile lands whence the Acadians had a few years before been driven, came a number of slaves ; but a much greater number were brought by the Loyalists in 1783, at the close of the Revolutionary struggle. Of these Loyalist slave owners, not a few sought new homes on the attractive intervals of the St. John river ; others settled in the fertile county of Annapolis ; while yet others found at least temporary homes in the new town at the head of the beautiful harbour of Port Roseway, on the southern shore of Nova Scotia. Slaves were also taken by their owners at this period to several parts of the present counties of Cumberland, Kings and Hants ; to Halifax and its neighborhood ; to the eastern section of the province, and to the islands of Cape Breton and St. John. Additions then made to the lists of slaves in Quebec, as that province is now defined, were not numerous ; but to Upper Canada, settled almost wholly by United Empire Loyalists, bondmen not a few were taken. The number of these was somewhat increased in Upper Canada through English legislation in 1790, intended to facilitate the introduction into the remaining British Provinces of persons desirous of removing thither from the United States.

The value of slaves in the British Provinces varied with time and locality. At a sale at Montreal, in 1780, of slaves captured from Whig owners across the border, the Rev. David C. Delisle, the rector, paid twenty pounds, Halifax currency, for “Charles” ; and Samuel Judah twenty-four pounds for “Jacob,” and sixty for a negro girl. The sums received for others sold at the same time varied in amount, one negro man bringing seventy pounds. In Upper Canada, in 1806, the Hon. Peter Russell, of Toronto, who had previously been Receiver-General of the province, advertised for sale, in the *Gazette and Oracle*, two of his slaves. For “Peggy” the price was one hundred and fifty dollars ; for “Jupiter,” her son, about fifteen years old, and “tall and strong for his age,” two hundred dollars, payable in three years ; with

interest from the day of sale, and to be secured by bond, etc. For ready money, one-fourth less would be taken. In Halifax, in 1769, the executors of the estate of John Margerum, deceased, acknowledge the receipt of nearly thirty pounds, "net proceeds of a negro boy sold at Carolina." In their report, in 1770, from the estate of Joseph Gerrish of Halifax, the executors announce a loss of thirty pounds on three negroes appraised at one hundred and eighty pounds, but actually sold for one hundred and fifty to Richard Williams and Abraham Constable. The executors of the estate of Col. H. D. Denson, one of the original proprietors of Falmouth, Hants county, in 1780, stated that for "Spruce" they had received seventy-five pounds, for "John" sixty pounds, and for "Juba" thirty. Two of these were disposed of in Halifax. Among the items of the inventory of the personal estate of the deceased John Rowland, rector of Shelburne, made in 1798, were these: "Samuel, a black boy, thirty-five pounds; William, a ditto, thirty pounds; a girl, twenty-five pounds." In December, 1801, Dr. Bond, of Yarmouth, paid thirty-nine pounds for a man slave, and for a woman slave, a few months later, he gave forty pounds. The sum of thirty-nine pounds was also paid, in 1807, by Simon Fitch, of Horton, to the executors of the estate of Joseph Allison, late of Horton, for "a certain negro woman named Nelly." In St. John, N. B., in 1789, Abraham Treadell, surveyor, sold to John Ward, merchant, also of St. John, "his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever," Toney, a negro boy, for twenty-five pounds. In Westmorland, in 1804, James Law sold a negro boy to Titus Knapp for forty-two pounds; and in 1808 Sarah Allen sold to the same purchaser a mulatto boy named "Bacchus," "in consideration of thirty pounds." From the details of an interesting trial held in 1788 in the Magistrates' court at Shelburne, I learned that Jesse Gray, of Argyle, had sold a negro woman to a citizen of Shelburne for one hundred bushels of potatoes! The court heard the evidence; and, concluding that Gray had been the legal owner of the chattel, confirmed the sale.

Slavery in Canada was of a mild type, like that of the Northern States. Nevertheless, contemporary history and tradition combine to produce instances of great harshness and even of absolute cruelty. On the other hand, however, though Lieutenant Clarkson, on sailing from Halifax in 1792 with twelve hundred free negroes for Sierra

Leone,<sup>1</sup> declared that the black people were considered in Nova Scotia "in no better light than beasts," many facts preserved in parish records show that they were not by any means excluded from the ordinances of religion. An interesting incident in the history of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, is the baptism there, on February 11th, 1784, of twenty-one negroes, slaves of John Wentworth, Esq., later Sir John Wentworth, whom that gentlemen was about to send to Surinam, to labor on a plantation there in which he was interested. It is possible that in some quarters there may have been a certain disregard of the forms of marriage in cases where the slaves marrying were the property of different owners, but several marriages of slaves, as such, are recorded in old parish registers. One may read in that of St. Mark's, Niagara, Ont.: "Married, 1797, February 5th, Moses and I'ha'be, negro slaves of Mr. Secretary Jarvis;" and in that of St. George's, Sydney, C. B.: "Cæsar Augustus, a slave, and Darius Snider, black folks, married 4th September, 1788." An occasional record of slave burial also appears in similar old registers. Nor were the ministers of the several churches of that day unmindful of their duty to these bondmen, in some cases at the cost of severe rebukes. The attack of the Rev. James McGregor upon the Rev. Daniel Cock, a slave-holding minister at Truro, and his self-denial to enable him to purchase the freedom of a slave at Pictou, have been well described by the Rev. Dr. Patterson in his memoir of Dr. McGregor.

The causes of the early extinction of slavery in Canada furnish an interesting study. In 1793, through the influence of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, a steady opponent of slavery, a bill was passed by the legislature of Upper Canada, providing that from the date of the passage of the Act no one brought into the province should be subject to the condition of a slave; and giving freedom at the age of twenty-five to every child born after the date of the Act of a negro mother. Through the early manumission of some, and the application of the provisions of the Act to others, only a very few were under the necessity of taking advantage of the Imperial Act of 1833. In the Maritime Provinces several causes combined to bring about the rapid

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<sup>1</sup> On January 15th, 1792, Lieut. John Clarkson, a brother of Thomas Clarkson, the well-known English philanthropist, sailed from Halifax for Sierra Leone with a fleet of fifteen vessels, having on board 1,180 negroes, from various parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

decline of slavery. Conscientious scruples led some while they lived to free their slaves, and others to do this in view of death. An important reason also lay in the fact that slavery was ill-adapted to a northern climate, as well as that the character of slave property in the neighborhood of the sea was most uncertain. In the inventory of the estate of Balthazar Creamer, Halifax, a striking illustration of this uncertainty is afforded. The item in the inventory, recorded April, 1796, of a "tract of land at Preston" is followed by "one black man by the name of Benjamin," estimated by the appraisers at sixty pounds; "one black woman by the name of Mary," sixty pounds; "one black girl by the name of Sary," thirty pounds. In a second inventory, required the following year, these items are repeated, with some brief but significant explanatory notes: "One black man, forty pounds, carried off in the Raison frigate; one black woman, ran away at Chester; one black girl, died." But most powerful of all the causes destructive to slavery was the action of the courts of law. The Hon. Thomas Andrew Strange, appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia about 1792, had been under the influence of Lord Mansfield, the celebrated jurist, whose decision in the famous Somerset case tended so greatly to the overthrow of slavery in Britain; and Chief Justice Strange not only influenced his successor in Nova Scotia, Sampson Salter Blowers, but also Sir James Monk, Chief Justice of Montreal, whose decision in 1799, in the "Charlotte" affair, may be said to have given the death-blow to slavery in the province of Quebec. Two notable slave trials, the one at Fredericton in 1800, the other in Nova Scotia in 1801, went far to destroy the value of slave property in the Maritime Provinces. About 1806, so Judge Marshall has stated, a master and his slave were taken before Chief Justice Blowers on a writ of *habeas corpus*. When the case itself, and the question of slavery in general, had been pretty well argued on each side, the chief justice decided that slavery had no legal place in Nova Scotia. There is, however, good ground for the opinion that this baneful system was never actually abolished in the present Canadian provinces until the vote of the British Parliament and the signature of William IV. in 1833 rendered it illegal throughout the British empire.

A few of the former slaves may have been taken to Sierra Leone by Clarkson in 1792; some are known to have been sent away and sold in the West Indies; a much larger number were either sent to



the United States or taken thither by Loyalists, who found their way back to former homes after a few years' residence in the British provinces. Descendants of some of the former slaves are yet to be found in Nova Scotia; they are probably more numerous in New Brunswick. A large proportion of the present colored population of the Maritime Provinces are descendants of slaves released from American owners during the war of 1812, and brought northward on English warships: the majority of the colored people of the upper provinces are the children or grandchildren of fugitive slaves, who crossed the Canadian boundary line in search of liberty during the first sixty years of the now closing century.

The story of the "Underground Railroad," as the various pathways of the escaping slave, all ending at the Canadian border, were called, is a thrilling one. It cannot be told here. It is sufficient to say that it is estimated that, previous to the close of the American civil war, not less than 30,000 escaped slaves had found an asylum in Canada. Again and again the American authorities sought by appeals to the British government to secure some treaty compelling Canadian officials to return escaping slaves, but all such efforts were vain. When once the hunted fugitive had "shook de lion's paw," as a colored rescuer aptly phrased it one day, the power of Britain stood between the fugitive and his baffled pursuer.<sup>1</sup>

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## THE COMBAT AT THE MILL ON LACOLLE.<sup>2</sup>

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL E. CRUIKSHANK.

Two days after his check at Chrysler's Farm, General Wilkinson retired with his army of eight thousand combatants to the French Mills on the Salmon river, and about the same time General Hampton retreated from the Chateaugay to Plattsburg. The presence of so large a force on the frontiers of Lower Canada rendered it necessary to retain a greater body of troops in the vicinity of Montreal than had been anticipated, to protect that town from a sudden raid during the winter. Between Cornwall and Quebec, fully ten thousand men were

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<sup>1</sup>This subject of slavery is treated more at length in the monograph of the author on "The Slave in Canada," published as Vol. X. of "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society."

<sup>2</sup>Near Isle aux Noix on the Richelieu. An event of the War of 1812.

kept under arms, and it soon became evident that the resources of the Province would be insufficient to feed them. Great efforts were consequently made to draw the needful supplies from the enemy's country; which, in fact, proved more successful than could have been reasonably expected. Large quantities of provisions, forage, and grain were quickly brought across the frontier by American contractors, at a time when their own armies seem to have been suffering considerable privation from the lack of these articles. Even a much needed supply of bullion was readily obtained from the same quarter. "The supply of gold or silver during the last twelve months," the Governor-General wrote on the 18th March, 1814, "has been extremely scanty; such, however, as it has been, it has proved of the greatest utility, many articles of indispensable necessity to the troops not being able to be procured without it; and I am in hopes that, either from Halifax or the United States, I shall be enabled to collect a sufficient sum during the present year to meet the demands that shall be made for it; and to lessen the amount of army bills now in circulation."

Less than two months later, Commissary General Robinson reported that he had obtained from the United States since the beginning of the year £150,000 in specie in exchange for bills on the treasury at various discounts from  $17\frac{1}{2}$  to  $21\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

It was probably as much a desire to interrupt this extensive commerce with the enemy as the difficulty of subsisting his own army on the Salmon river, that induced Wilkinson to break up his camp at that place about the middle of February, sending one brigade to Sackett's Harbour and removing the remainder to Burlington, Vt. Soon finding that small detachments were insufficient for the purpose, he determined to establish a cordon of troops along that entire frontier. On March 8th, Colonel Clark was despatched with 1,000 infantry and 100 mounted rifles to occupy the country between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut river, while Major Forsyth was detailed with 300 riflemen and 60 dragoons to watch the lines west of the lake, as it was stated, "with a view to cut up by the roots the smuggling intercourse which had been carried on to a great extent, besides it was necessary to prevent the constant supply of provisions which were daily passing to the enemy from this state."<sup>1</sup>

Within a few days Clark received information that an attack was

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<sup>1</sup> *Vermont Republican*, 12th March, 1814.

meditated upon his widely scattered force, and General Macomb was sent to support him with an entire brigade. From Chazy, Macomb crossed the lake on the ice in sleighs to Isle La Motte and Swanton. On March 22nd, he entered Canada and took possession of Philipsburg. A small field force was at once collected at St. Johns under Sir Sidney Beckwith for the purpose of dislodging the invaders; but, on March 26th, Macomb recrossed the lake and joined the main body of General Wilkinson's division, which had advanced to Champlain.

By this time the American War Department had decided upon a plan of operations. A body of troops was collected at Batavia, ostensibly for the recovery of Fort Niagara, while five or six thousand men had been assembled at Sackett's Harbour. Information had been received from Kingston that the entire garrison did not exceed 1,200 men; and that the place, with the whole British squadron on Lake Ontario, might easily be taken by a sudden dash across the ice. Accordingly, on February 28th, orders were dispatched to General Brown at Sackett's Harbour to strike at Kingston with his whole force, but first to divert suspicion by moving a portion of his troops inland in the direction of Batavia and bring them back rapidly in time to take part in the proposed expedition. At the same time General Wilkinson was instructed to create a further diversion and prevent the reinforcement of the garrison of Kingston from Lower Canada by an offensive movement on the frontier of that province. On March 27th, Wilkinson reported, "my advanced post is at Champlain on this side. I move to-day; and the day after to-morrow, if the ice, snow, and frost should not disappear, we shall visit Lacolle and take possession of that place. This is imperiously enjoined to check the reinforcements he (Sir George Prevost) continues to send to Upper Canada." Before commencing this movement the inevitable council of war was held, at which it was estimated that the British troops, distributed over a distance of nine miles, consisted of 2,000 regulars and 500 militia; while he had a disposable force of 3,999 combatants, including 100 dragoons and 304 artillerymen with eleven guns. It was decided to attack the post at Lacolle. Orders were issued that the entire division should be supplied with sixty rounds of ammunition and four days' cooked provisions. Let every officer and every man take the resolution to return victorious or not at all; for with double the force of the enemy this army must not give ground. . . . An officer will be posted on the right of

each platoon, and a tried sergeant will form a supernumerary rank and will instantly put to death any man who gives back." Thus read the orders of the day.

As usual, the British force had been considerably exaggerated by report. At the bridge over the Lacolle river, a stone mill, a log dwelling converted into a block-house, and a barn, were occupied by seventy Royal Marines under Lieutenants Caldwell and Barton, a corporal and three men of the Royal Artillery with a Congreve rocket-tube, Blake's company of the 13th Regiment, and a detachment of the Frontier Light Infantry under Captain Lewis Ritter, numbering in all 180 combatants, commanded by Major Richard Butler Handcock of the 13th Regiment, an officer who had been wounded under Abercromby in Egypt and had of late years seen some hard fighting in the Peninsula. At Whitman's house on the Richelieu, two miles away on the road to Isle aux Noix, there was a company of Canadian Fencibles; and at Burtonville, on the River Lacolle, two miles to the right, a company of the Canadian Voltigeurs. Isle aux Noix, seven miles distant, was occupied by 550 men under Lieut.-Colonel Richard Williams, composed of the flank companies of the 13th, and a detachment from the first battalion of Royal Marines; an aggregate force of less than 900, instead of 2,500, as reported. The nearest supports, consisting of the remainder of the 13th, and a weak battalion of embodied militia, were at St. Johns, fourteen miles from Isle aux Noix and twenty-one from Lacolle. The difficulty of assembling a sufficient force in time to repel a determined attack on the advanced post is obvious.

At daybreak on March 30th, a battalion of riflemen occupied Odelltown, and was closely followed by the remainder of Wilkinson's division, composed of the 4th, 6th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 29th, 30th, and 31st Regiments of United States Infantry, a squadron of dragoons, and two companies of artillery with an eighteen, three twelves, and four six pounders. The advanced guard, composed of the riflemen and 30th and 31st Regiments, was commanded by Colonel Clark, who had already reconnoitred the British position and reported that the mill could be breached by a six pounder. The main body of the American army was divided into three brigades, under Generals Smith, Bissell and Macomb, each consisting of about a thousand infantry. By eight o'clock their advance became known to Handcock,

who sent to Isle aux Noix for reinforcements. The invaders found the main road obstructed in a very thorough manner by trees felled across it, and were led off by their guide on a narrow sleigh path towards Burtonville. They soon came in contact with the outpost in advance of that place, who contested every inch of ground and inflicted a loss of four men killed and seventeen wounded in a very few minutes. After skirmishing for some time, the guide's mistake was discovered, and the head of the column was countermarched to regain the road to the mill. Nearly three hours were lost in this movement. The weather had turned warm, and a rapid thaw set in which soon began to impede their movement. Consequently it was after one o'clock before Clark appeared before the mill, and the troops were much fatigued by needless exertions. The mill was a three-story building, about thirty-six feet by fifty feet in dimensions, constructed of large stones, with an ordinary shingle roof; and stood on the sloping bank of the stream at the southern end of the bridge. Its walls were about eighteen inches thick, and had been loopholed for musketry and the windows blocked up with solid timbers. On the opposite side, a log house and barn had been converted into blockhouses and surrounded with a breastwork. All trees and shrubs had been cleared away for about two hundred yards, or ordinary musket shot. Beyond this on all sides there was a dense wood of small trees and shrubs, from which the ground dipped rapidly down to the river. The Lacolle was still frozen over nearly to its mouth, but the Richelieu was open everywhere.

Clark, with the advance guard, turned off at once to the left and crossed the Lacolle on the ice above the mill, keeping out of musket-shot; and was followed by Colonel Miller with 600 infantry. They occupied the road to Isle aux Noix, and the adjacent woods on either side, cutting off the retreat of the garrison, and preventing the advance of reinforcements from that place by land by interposing a body of at least 1,200 men. The brigades of Smith and Bissell came up and deployed at the skirt of the woods on either side of the road. It was then three o'clock, and the artillery was still far behind. The first intention of the besiegers seemed to be to carry the position by a rush; as the infantry on the south side of the Lacolle advanced from the woods with loud cheers, but were soon driven back with some loss.

Their eighteen pounder had broken down on the road, and the other guns repeatedly stuck fast in snowbanks; but by great exertions

a twelve pounder was brought forward and unlimbered in the road on the crest of the ridge, within two hundred yards of the mill, with the intention of battering in its gable end. In this position the men working the gun were freely exposed alike to rifle fire and rockets from that building. About the same time the garrison was reinforced by the flank companies of the 13th, which arrived from Isle aux Noix at the mouth of Lacolle in two small gunboats, and made their way along that river to the mill without much difficulty. The gunboats then attempted to aid in the defence by shelling the woods, but without any material effect. Sometime afterwards a howitzer was brought up by the Americans, but both their guns were so badly served that during an intermittent cannonade lasting more than two hours only four shots struck the mill, and but one penetrated the wall. The inefficiency of their fire was mainly due to the exposed position of their guns and the steady rifle fire maintained upon them. Captain McPherson, a gallant young artillery officer, who was acting as secretary to General Wilkinson, had volunteered to direct their fire. Being slightly wounded in the chin, he bandaged this hurt and remained at his post until his thigh was shattered by a musket ball. Lieut. Larrabee, next in command, was badly wounded ; and of eighteen men working the twelve pounder only two remained. The guns ceased firing. Hancock then directed Captain Ellard with the flank companies of the 13th to rush out upon the battery, in the hope of disabling the guns before the infantry could come to their support. These companies formed under cover of the bank and advanced most gallantly in line directly upon the guns, but before they could reach them they were assailed by such a storm of musketry in front and from both flanks that it was marvellous that any of them escaped unhurt. Captains Ellard and Henry and Ensign Whiteford were wounded, and many men killed or disabled ; and all who were able to get away retreated in great disorder. Captain McPherson, in his evidence before a court martial, stated that the "conduct of the enemy that day was distinguished by desperate bravery. As an instance one company made a charge on our artillery and at the same instance received its fire and that of two brigades of infantry."

After some delay, the guns were manned by infantry soldiers, and resumed fire with no better effect than before ; although, as the ammunition of the garrison was nearly exhausted, scarcely any reply could

be made. Two messengers who had been sent to communicate with the gunboats having been intercepted and captured, Private Broome of the Marines, volunteered to make a third attempt. The message was enclosed in lead and placed in his mouth and he succeeded in running the gauntlet of the enemy's fire.

Meanwhile the Voltigeurs from Whitman's, with a few Indians, had joined the Grenadiers of the Canadian Fencibles at Burtonville by a roundabout route; and the whole force moved down the Lacolle to the relief of the besieged post. But the stream had already flooded the roads and in several places, they were obliged to wade to the waist in ice-cold water and mud. However, they moved resolutely forward, and dashed through the gap in the enemy's lines into the mill about an hour before sunset. It was at once determined to make another attempt upon the guns. Lieutenant Barton, of the Marines, offered to lead the charge; and the remnant of the three companies of the 13th, supported by the Fencibles and Voltigeurs, was formed into a column of sections under Captain Blake. This attack was so far successful that they obtained momentary possession of the guns, which were spiked either by the men serving them or by the assailants as they came up. An instant later they were swept back by a murderous fire from the infantry in the woods. They were rallied, and again dispersed. Lieut. Barton fell beside the guns, where he lay apparently lifeless until dark, when he recovered consciousness and crept back to the mill. The dauntless courage of this small party excited the outspoken admiration even of their adversaries. A letter published in the *American Daily Advertiser*, of Philadelphia, relates, "sixty of the British made a rush for the artillery and actually got possession of it, and a grenadier was killed in the act of spiking a gun." Another, quoted in the *Salem Gazette*, (6th May, 1814,) is still more explicit:

"About 300 British made a sally with a view to take a piece of artillery that was playing upon the mill, charged upon our troops and they all gave way except one man. He waited until they advanced within about three feet and then fired the twelve-pounder and made his escape. At the report of the piece our troops took courage and fired from the flanks and the enemy retired to the mill again. However incredible it may appear, 120 men charged our army and they gave way, a fact which no one disputes in this place."

As the gun he had relied upon to effect a breach was disabled, and it was rapidly growing dark, with every sign of a rainy night,

Wilkinson withdrew his artillery with much difficulty and began his retreat. The rising floods which impeded this movement prevented any pursuit except by the Indians, who hung on his rear for a few miles. All night the rain fell in torrents, and a general thaw set in which put an end to the proposed attack on Kingston and rendered any military operations impossible.

The British loss on this occasion was officially stated next day to amount to eleven killed, two officers, two sergeants and forty-two rank and file wounded, and four missing. Corrected returns considerably increased it. The Grenadier Company of the 13th alone lost eight killed and thirty-four wounded, and the total loss of that regiment was thirteen killed and fifty-one wounded. The Americans removed twenty-three sleigh loads of dead or disabled men; and subsequently admitted a loss of thirteen killed, and six officers and 122 non-commissioned officers and men wounded, besides thirty missing.

The efforts of General Wilkinson, and his successor, General Izgard, to prevent the introduction of supplies into Canada, proved equally abortive.

“From the St. Lawrence to the ocean an open disregard prevails for the laws prohibiting intercourse with the enemy,” Izgard reported as late as 31st July, 1814; “The road to St. Regis is covered with droves of cattle and the river with rafts destined for the enemy. The revenue officers see these things, but acknowledge their inability to put a stop to such outrageous proceedings. On the eastern side of Lake Champlain, the high roads are found insufficient for the supplies of cattle which are pouring into Canada. Like herds of buffaloes, they press through the forest, making roads for themselves. . . . Nothing but a cordon of troops from the French Mills to Lake Memphremagog could effectually check the evil. Were it not for these supplies the British forces in Canada would soon be suffering from famine or their government be subjected to immense expense for their maintenance.”

Extravagant as this statement may appear, it is amply corroborated by the correspondence of the Governor-General himself, who observed, in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, on 27th August, 1814 :

“In fact, my Lord, two-thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors, drawn principally from the States of Vermont and New York. This circumstance,

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<sup>1</sup> Cannon, Historical Record.



as well as the introduction of large sums in specie into this province, being notorious in the United States, it is to be expected that Congress will take steps to deprive us of those resources; and, under that apprehension, large droves are daily crossing the lines coming into Lower Canada.”

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## RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, No. II.

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BY JAMES HANNAY, D.C.L.

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The battle for responsible government was fought not in New Brunswick alone, but in all the provinces of British North America, for the same evils existed in them all. It was fought not by one or two individuals, but by a body of enlightened statesmen, who recognized the fact that the country would never be content until the system of government was changed. It was opposed by what has been termed the family compact; which consisted of friends of the governor, old families who had long filled public offices in the colonies, and who regarded any change in the system which was likely to deprive them and their descendants of such offices as little short of high treason. The governor, who was usually opposed to all reform, was supported by those persons; and, as he had the ear of the colonial office to a much greater extent than any of the men who were agitating for responsible government, it is easy to see that the difficulties in the way of obtaining it were very great. At that time the colonial department was usually presided over by men who knew nothing whatever of the colonies, and who had been brought up under the belief that there was some necessary connection between a colonist and a colored man, and that all colonists were people of an inferior race. There was probably not one man in the colonial office who had ever visited the colonies, or who had ever seen a colonist, except some casual visitor in London. To show how affairs were managed, or rather mismanaged, we can refer to the case of Mr. Henry Taylor, who, when he was very little more than twenty-one years of age, was appointed to an important post in the colonial office, and wrote for a great many years most of the despatches which came to British North

America. Mr. Taylor knew nothing of colonial affairs prior to his appointment ; and he does not seem to have known very much about them at any time, for he had no means of understanding colonial feeling ; yet this man was able to a large extent to dictate the policy of the government towards the colonies, especially the colonies in America.

As the whole colonial system of government was altogether wrong, and as responsible government was involved in nearly every change that was made, it is difficult to describe the contest which led to its full realization by the Province of New Brunswick. Clearly, so long as there was an imperial customs department, so long as the British government retained control of the casual and territorial revenues, so long as the governor was able to make appointments without even consulting his council, and contrary to the wishes of the people, the system of government which permitted such things was utterly defective and unsuited to the requirements of a free people. The first movement against the system was to obtain control of the casual and territorial revenues. An agitation on this subject began as early as 1819, in the time of Lieut.-Governor Smyth. The Lieut.-Governor was strongly opposed to the change, and resisted it in every possible way. The colonial office at first refused to even consider the request of New Brunswick ; but after Lieut.-Governor Smyth's death in 1823 a better spirit prevailed, for Sir Howard Douglas, who succeeded him, was a man of enlightened mind and desirous of promoting the prosperity of the colonies in every way. The casual and territorial revenue, which was the revenue derived from the crown land department, was used by the British government for the payment of salaries of provincial officials, many of them being out of all proportion to the services they rendered ; and the remainder seems to have been allowed to accumulate without being appropriated. The surveyor-general of that day received upwards of \$8,000 by way of salary ; more than five times the salary of the present surveyor-general. It was not until several delegations had been sent to England, to represent this matter to the British government, that success was achieved by the transfer of the casual and territorial revenue to the provincial authority. By an act which is known as the civil list bill, which became law in July, 1837, the casual and territorial revenue became the property of the province, the legislature undertaking to pay out of it the sum of £13,393 sterling

for the salaries of certain officials, one of them being the lieutenant-governor, whose salary at that time was \$17,500 a year. The surplus of the casual and territorial revenue, amounting then to the large sum of £150,000 sterling, was also handed over to the province at the same time. Thus a very important step was gained in the direction of responsible government.

Another important step towards responsible government was the change which was made in 1833 in the constitution of the council. Prior to that date the council performed legislative as well as executive functions; but in 1833 the British government came to the conclusion that those functions should be separate, and accordingly two councils were appointed, one which was known as the legislative council, which was abolished about ten years ago, and the other the executive council, which acted as the adviser of the governor, and which exists to the present time. The old executive council, however, was a very different body from the present one, because it was not properly in touch with the people; but this beginning made it possible to effect improvements in its make-up, which were impossible of realization so long as the council had legislative functions. It enabled a member of the House of Assembly to belong to the executive council, which was not possible before. The new legislative council consisted of ten members; while the new executive council numbered five members, of whom three were a quorum. This change was not brought about as the result of any particular agitation in New Brunswick at that time, but in consequence of changes of a similar character which were made in the constitutions of all the councils of British North America.

The imperial customs establishment was another grievance which had been long agitated against, but which existed until the year 1848. It seems very absurd that the duties imposed on goods coming into the province of New Brunswick had to be collected by two sets of custom house officers, one set appointed by the imperial authority and the other by the provincial government. The imperial customs establishment seemed to be kept up merely for the purpose of giving a few men very high salaries. By a return which was placed before the legislature in 1828, it was shown that the imperial duties collected at the port of St. John in that year amounted to £15,231; of which sum £4,135, or almost one-third, was paid out in salaries. At St. Andrews, the duties collected amounted to £6,007, of which £2,382 was paid in

salaries. These figures are in sterling money. The salary of the collector of St. John was then £1,500 sterling; or considerably more than double that paid to the present official, who presides over a port which collects annually almost a million dollars in customs duties. This system survived until the year 1848; when it was abolished, and the customs officials, who had been appointed by the imperial government, were pensioned off.

The Lieutenant-Governor, although he had a council, did not always take its advice, and frequently acted without consulting it. In 1845 the province was agitated greatly by the appointment of a Mr. Reade to the post of provincial secretary, an office which had been filled for sixty years by the Odells, father and son. Mr. Reade was the private secretary of Lieut.-Governor Colebrooke, and therefore an utter stranger to the province. The appointment was cancelled as a result of the agitation which it caused; and thus another step was gained in the direction of responsible government.

Singularly enough one of the things which stood in the way of the full realization of responsible government was the reluctance of members of the House of Assembly to give up the right to move money grants. Before responsible government was established a person might rise in his place in the House and move that a certain sum of money should be appropriated for a certain purpose. Such a system could not exist when responsible government was established, because the initiation of money grants by the executive lies at the very foundation of the system of responsible government. The provincial government did not take full control of the initiation of money grants until the year 1855; and from that time down responsible government may be said to have prevailed in this province to the fullest extent.

Under the system now in force the people have the entire control of their own affairs, the government is the creature of the legislature, which is elected by the people, and no government can exist for a day unless it has legislative support. The functions of the governor have been reduced to the formality of signing his name to the official documents. He does not pretend to take an active part in public affairs; and so under this system all the old grievances which formerly existed have been removed, and the people are contented, prosperous and happy.

## NOTES ON MADAWASKA, No. II.

By W. O. RAYMOND, M. A.

The Acadians living on the St. John river, when the Loyalists arrived in 1783, seem to have well merited the term applied to them by the committee sent by Major Studholme, the Commandant at Fort Howe, to investigate the state of settlement of the river — namely, that they were “an inoffensive people.” They were also an unfortunate people. From the time of their expulsion from their homes along the shores of the Bay of Fundy, they continued for thirty years to be the football of fortune.

Governor Carleton and his Council decided that it was not desirable to interrupt the continuity of settlement upon the river by English-speaking people; and finding the Acadians had scarcely any of them a legal title to the lands on which they had settled, a proposal was made—in which they seem to have acquiesced—that they should be removed to the upper St. John, where they would be nearer their compatriots of the Province of Quebec. One could wish that on this occasion our government might have been more generous. True, most of the Acadians had settled on the St. John river contrary to the desire and intention of the government of Nova Scotia,<sup>1</sup> and they had no other title to their lands than that of possession. Nevertheless, they had taken no hostile part against the government during the late war, and some of them had rendered important services to Major Studholme. The New Englanders in the townships of Maugerville, Burton and Gagetown had, in numerous instances, improved lands to which they had no legal title, and were allowed compensation for their improvements, although, as a class, they were less loyal than the Acadians; and in some cases even assisted the Americans.

<sup>1</sup> See the following extract :

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, Halifax, 20th August, 1768.

GENTLEMEN,—The Lieut.-Governor desires that you will give notice to all the Acadians, except about six families whom Mr. Bailly shall name, to remove themselves from St. John's River, it not being the intention of the Government that they should settle there, but to acquaint them that on their application here they shall have lands in other parts of the Province. \* \* \* \*

I am, etc.

RICHARD BULKELEY,

To John Anderson and Francis Peabody, Esqs.  
Justices of the Peace for the County of  
Sunbury, River St. John.

As stated in a former article, the correspondence between Governor Haldimand and the authorities of Nova Scotia shows that important dispatches were carried over the most difficult and perilous part of the route between Halifax and Quebec by trustworthy Acadian couriers, among whom were the two brothers, Louis and Michel Mercure. The governors at Halifax and Quebec were quite anxious to establish a permanent route of communication by way of the St. John and St. Lawrence, and, in order to further their project, discussed the formation of an Acadian Settlement in the Madawaska region. Governor Haldimand, in his letter to Governor Parr, dated at Quebec, November 27, 1783, observes that he has been informed by Louis Mercure that a number of the Acadians wish to come to the Province of Quebec for the sake of their religion. He suggests that it would be a good plan to establish them at Grand Falls whence the settlement would probably extend to the St. Lawrence. This, he adds, would facilitate communication between the two provinces.

After the division of the old province of Nova Scotia, in 1784, this idea was carried into effect by the government of New Brunswick.

It is related of poor old Jean Baptiste Cyr, who had already experienced many vicissitudes, that when he learned that he must once more abandon his place of sojourn and leave behind him the fruits of years of toil, he gazed sadly upon the fields his hands had cleared and tilled and exclaimed, "Est-ce que le bon Dieu ne fait plus de terre pour les *Cayens*?" ("Can it be that the good God has no place in the world for the Acadians?")

Mournful traditions of the past still live in the Acadian ballads :

Un Acadien errant  
Bannit de son foyer ;  
Parcourait en pleurant  
Les pays étrangers,

Ainsi triste et pensif ;  
Assis au bord des flots,  
Au courant fugitif  
Il adressa ces mots :

Si tu vois mon pays,  
Mon pays malheureux  
Va dire à mes amis  
Que je me souviens d'eux.

To Jean Baptiste Cyr was given the surname or soubriquet of Crock,<sup>1</sup> and his home is believed to have been at or near Crock's Point, above Fredericton. The name of Croc persisted in the Cyr family for some years but has since disappeared.

Governor Carleton seems to have been anxious to keep the Acadians under his jurisdiction and they seem to have reciprocated his desire.<sup>2</sup>

At this time Madawaska was almost an unbroken wilderness, but was known to be a promising location. When one compares the flourishing state of Madawaska to-day and the progress its people have accomplished and are accomplishing, with the little French village, eight miles above Fredericton, it is difficult to think that the removal of the majority of the Acadians in 1786 was other than a providential circumstance. Unfortunately the Acadians were destined to find their new territory a bone of contention between the British government and that of the United States (and as such it remained for nearly half a century); but the controversy did not interfere very greatly with their comfort or prosperity.

It is a curious circumstance that we are largely indebted to the Boundary dispute for our knowledge of the early history of Madawaska.

In the year 1831, the United States Congress sent J. G. Deane to obtain some information about the place. He tells us that he learned, on inquiry, that in the year 1782, Pierre Lizotte, then but a boy of fourteen years of age, found his way to the Indian Village at the mouth of the Madawaska river. When he returned, his report of the country induced his half-brother, Pierre Duperré, to go back with him to trade with the Indians. In 1783 or 1784, they settled on the

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<sup>1</sup> Tradition says that Jean Baptiste Cyr used to manufacture large quantities of maple sugar in the disposal of which he used smilingly to ask his French patrons: "Vont-ils en avoir de quoi a croquer?" Little thinking that the name of Croc would stick to his family. Major Studholme's exploration committee in 1783 reported concerning Jean Baptiste Cyr that he had been settled on the river fifteen years; and during the Revolutionary war had rendered assistance to Col. Michael Franklin in restraining the savages from making war against the English. On his removal to Madawaska he was accompanied by his nine sons Jean Baptiste, François, Jacques, Antoine, Firmin, Joseph Olivier, Pierre and Paul.

<sup>2</sup> Lieut.-Governor Carleton wrote Lord Grenville, the English Secretary of State, October 9, 1790, stating that fifty Acadian families had settled about thirty miles above the Great Falls and hearing that it was proposed to place them under the jurisdiction of Quebec, had forwarded a memorial asking to be continued as a part of New Brunswick.

south side of the river St. John, two or three miles below the mouth of the Madawaska. They were the first French residents there. Two or three years later, about 1786, the Acadians near Fredericton, having been disturbed by the introduction of the Loyalist refugees, went up the river, and twenty or more families settled just below Duperré. About 1790, another body of French, formerly settled on the Kennebecasis, came to Madawaska. Both these little colonies received grants from the government of New Brunswick. Later, there came single families. Mr. Deane's account is not far astray.

In connection with the establishment of the settlement, there is some further information in a letter addressed to George Sproule, Surveyor General, by Hon. Jonathan Odell, under date July 14, 1787. Mr. Odell mentions the settlement at Madawaska as in a state of formation and including a number of people from the vicinity of Fredericton and some from Canada. He says: "They have in general terms been directed to settle themselves so as not to inconvenience one another, and in particular so as not to interfere with improvements made prior to their respective settlements. A licence of occupation was given to a number of these people, whose beginning of cultivation and allotment were reported by Lewis Mercure—and these had a promise of a grant as soon as a regular survey could be obtained of the lands—at the same time I apprehend that those who have made, or are making, settlements in that district, though not named in the Licence of Occupation, are not the less entitled to the protection of the government."

There seems to have been some inexcusable delay in making a survey of the lands, and it was not until October 1, 1790, that the grant was issued.<sup>1</sup> The plan of survey in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton was made by Hon. George Sproule and on it he has written: "The tracts represented on this plan being subdivided into lots by the settlers, and considerably improved before an actual survey was made, the irregularities of the measurements of the fronts of the lots could not be altered without great injury to the settlement." In this grant there are 16,000 acres and about fifty-two grantees. The grant began just below the Indian reserve, at the mouth of the River

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<sup>1</sup> A grant was made of 213 acres to Pierre Duperré on the 11th June, 1790. This land lay on the south side of the St. John, opposite the lower end of the island below the mouth of the Madawaska.



Madawaska, and extended on both sides of the main river down as far as River Verte, a distance of nine miles.

Another grant of 5,253 acres was made to Joseph Soucier and twenty-three others on August 2, 1794. It extended from the River Verte down the St. John river several miles on both sides. Both these grants lay within the bounds of "the disputed territory" claimed by Great Britain and the United States, and when the international boundary was fixed by the Ashburton Treaty in 1842, the inhabitants found themselves under two separate governments—those on the right bank being citizens of the United States, while those on the other side remained under the jurisdiction of New Brunswick.

In the meantime there had been an interprovincial controversy between Quebec and New Brunswick, which arose about 1787. In the summer of that year Hon. Hugh Finlay accompanied by Samuel Holland, the Surveyor General of Quebec, and George Sproule, Surveyor General of New Brunswick, met at the mouth of the Madawaska to survey the boundary, but they differed so essentially in their ideas as to where the boundary should begin that nothing was done. Mr. Sproule wished to proceed to the portage between Lake Temisquata and the St. Lawrence, while the Quebec surveyor wished to begin at or near the Grand Falls. On this occasion Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General at Quebec, seems to have been more far sighted than his brother, the Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick. He observes in his letter of August 6, 1787: "It is very immaterial in itself whether a tract of country be called part of this or the other of the king's provinces; but when it is considered that the United States will naturally look upon the termination of our boundary as the commencement of theirs,<sup>1</sup> the subject becomes important."

The story of the disputes that arose in early times in connection with the rival claims of Quebec and New Brunswick to exercise jurisdiction over Madawaska would take more space than can be afforded in such an article as this. On one occasion Jacques Cyr, who attempted under authority of the government of Quebec to make a seizure of goods, was himself arrested by a sergeant and four soldiers acting under direction of the New Brunswick authorities, and carried to the garrison at Grand Falls. The dispute occasioned much local

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<sup>1</sup> That is to the westward between Quebec and Maine.

excitement, and it is clear that the Acadians—whatever their motive may have been—strongly resented the attempt to serve processes of execution from Quebec and showed a decided predilection to be governed by the laws of New Brunswick.<sup>1</sup>

The settlement at Madawaska was not a purely Acadian settlement; it had its Canadian element even at the first, but the Acadians were largely in the majority and may fairly claim to have been the founders of the settlement. In the plan of the first grant, made in 1790, the names of the grantees are in most cases incorrectly written, while in the plan of the second grant of 1794 the spelling is better. In the list of names that follow, the proper spelling is restored. For the division of the original settlers into two classes, according as the family origin is Acadian or Canadian, I am greatly indebted to my Acadian friends, Placide P. Gaudet and Prudent L. Mercure. The first grant, it must be remembered, included both banks of the river St John from the mouth of the Madawaska down to Green river. The grantees of Acadian origin on the New Brunswick side were Louis Mercure, Michel Mercure, Joseph Mercure, Alexis Cyr, Olivier Cyr, Marie Marguerite Daigle, Jean Baptist Daigle, Paul Cyr, Pierre Cyr, Alexandre Cyr, Jean Baptiste Thibodeau, jr., Joseph Thibodeau, Etienne Thibodeau. The grantees of Acadian origin on the American side of the river were Simon Hébert, Paul Potier, Jean Baptiste Mazerolle, jr., François Cyr, jr., Joseph Daigle, sr., Joseph Daigle, jr., Jacques Cyr, François Cyr, Firmin Cyr, sr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, jr., Michel Cyr, Joseph Hébert, Antoine Cyr, Jean Martin, Joseph Cyr, jr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, sr., Firmin Cyr, jr., Jean Baptiste Thibodeau, sr., Joseph Mazerolle. In addition to these there are several grantees, whose descendants claim to be of Acadian origin, and say their ancestors came from the "lower country" (*pays-bas*); but I am not able to determine whether the following are undoubtedly of Acadian origin or not, viz.: Louis Saufaçon, Mathurin Beaulieu, Joseph Ayotte, Zacharie Ayotte, Alexandre Ayotte.

Respecting the grantees who are undoubtedly of Canadian origin, those on the New Brunswick side of the river are Jean Tardiff, Jean Levasseur, Joseph Dumont (or Guimond) and Antoine Gagnier; and those on the American side, Joseph Sausier, Jean Marie Sausier, Jean Baptiste Fournier, Joseph Au Clair, François Albert, Pierre Lizotte, Augustin Dubé and Pierre Duperré.

<sup>1</sup> See Canadian Archives for 1895 under New Brunswick, pp. 30, 31.

The second grant, made in the year 1794, extended from Green river (with many vacancies) to a little below Grand river. Some six names that occur in the former grant<sup>1</sup> are omitted from the enumeration that follows. Several of the settlers in this grant are known to have formerly lived at French Village, on the Kennebecasis. The names of those Acadians who settled on the east side of the St. John are as follows: Olivier Thibodeau, Baptiste Thibodeau, Joseph Thériault, Joseph Thériault, jr., Olivier Thibodeau, jr., Jean Thibodeau, Firmin Thibodeau, Hilarion Cyr, and there seem to have been but two Canadians, viz.: Louis Ouellette and Joseph Souci. Those Acadians, who settled on the American side, are as follows: Grégoire Thibodeau, Louis LeBlanc, Pierre Cormier, Alexis Cormier, Baptiste Cormier, François Cormier, Joseph Cyr, jr, Firmin Cyr, Joseph Cyr, François Violette, sr., and Augustin Violette; and there are three Canadians, viz.: Joseph Michaud, Baptiste Charette and Germain Soucie.

From the list of names now given, an idea may be formed of the relative proportions of the Acadian and Canadian element in Madawaska. At first the former was much the larger, but since then emigration from the Province of Quebec has been so great that probably the Canadian element is now rather larger than the other. Some family names recur frequently in the grants enumerated notably those of Cyr, Thibodeau and Daigle. The Cyr family in Madawaska, N. B., alone, numbers a thousand individuals who comprise one-twelfth of the population of the county. By intermarriages<sup>2</sup> many families today are of both Acadian and Canadian origin. The Canadian families numbered among the founders of Madawaska came from Kamouraska, Témiscouata, L'Islet and a small part of Rimouski county, and chiefly from the following centres: St. André, Rivière Ouelle and L'Isle Verte.

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<sup>1</sup> The names are those of Paul Cyr, Etienne Thibodeau, Jean Martin, Joseph Cyr, jr., Zacharie Ayotte and Joseph Mazerolle.

<sup>2</sup> Prudent L. Mercure informs me that an old lady whose maiden name was Marguerite Blanche Thibodeau, the wife of Joseph Cyr, was known as the "aunt of Madawaska," or simply "Ma Tante la Blanche." She was the aunt of the Thibodeaus, the Cyrs, the Thériaults, the Violette's, etc. She was a woman remarkable for her qualities of mind and heart, and her name has become proverbial, as synonymous with sweetness and goodness.

In my article No. I, the statement is made that the families living on the "French location," below the mouth of the Keswick stream, removed from thence to Madawaska. Placide P. Gaudet has since convinced me that this statement is quite erroneous, and that in fact not one of those living there, so far as known, went to Madawaska.

Many interesting and romantic incidents in the early history of this very charming region on the Upper St. John might be given did the space at my disposal permit. For example, the first recorded marriage was that of Simon Hébert and Josephite Daigle. The marriage was celebrated in an Indian cabin by a missionary priest from Canada.

The remarkable progress of the little colony founded on the banks of the Upper St. John a century ago is seen in the fact that Madawaska, which had then but twenty-four families, has now twenty-four parishes and missions, and twenty-four thousand souls. I shall hope some day to deal more worthily with the subject of this paper.

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## SUGGESTIONS FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF LOCAL HISTORY.

BY W. F. GANONG, PH.D.

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This series of readings was designed by the editor and the contributors to arouse interest, and a desire for further investigation, in local history. If this object is attained in some marked degree they will feel fully rewarded for their labors. It seems, therefore, appropriate to close the series by giving some suggestion and advice to those who desire to continue studies in the history of their own particular region, especially to those who would like to make their work useful to others, and to contribute something of permanent value to the history of their native land.

To read history which has been written entertainingly and authoritatively by others is interesting and profitable indeed, but it fails in a great part of its value unless it stimulates us to desire to make some return in kind for the pleasure and profit we have received. Most people, however, have the feeling

that there is nothing they can do in original historical investigation, especially if they are shut off from books and lack the means to buy them. There could be no greater mistake. The most marked movement in historical, as well as scientific, investigation to-day, is the tendency to go always to the original sources of information and to examine those sources with the greatest fulness and keenness. In local history, actual facts, however trivial, gathered by observers on the spot, are greatly desired by writers of provincial and county histories; and all such facts about the history of special places, when gathered carefully and critically, are sure of a much wider and more appreciative audience than one at first has any idea of. Sooner or later such facts find their proper permanent places in the history of the country, and their gatherer has the satisfaction of knowing that he has made some permanent, even if small, contribution to knowledge, and has done something to advance scholarship, patriotism and education. The present writer has been greatly impressed by the value of such local information as can be gathered by any local student, no matter how isolated and limited in facilities, through studies he has carried on which necessitated the gathering of a large number of facts directly from special localities. He has been greatly surprised by the readiness and accuracy with which such facts are gathered by local students when once their attention is directed to the subject, and he has often thought, "how much better it would be if such students would systematically gather and place on record these facts for themselves." The present notes are written to help the earnest local student to know what is important to gather in local history, and how it can best be made permanent and accessible.

Of course some localities are vastly more interesting historically than others; but there is hardly a place in Canada, hardly a county or a parish, in which there is not a great deal of information to be gathered, which, even though it may be too familiar to be of interest to residents to-day, will at least interest their successors in the future. The main need is for critical, careful, truthful gathering and recording of facts. The investigator should not take as correct everything he hears, but should seek all evidence and weigh it. He should not only crave facts, but should crave conviction as to their truth. And when he places his results upon record, he should be careful to express them in their proper logical degrees of truth, distinguishing those things which are proven from those which are only probable, and these from those that are merely possible. He should seek always confirmation from documents; or, to be more exact, his study should be as largely as possible documentary, and as little as possible traditionary.

The first requisite for any one undertaking such studies is to inform himself well upon what is already known and published about the history of his particular region. He could carefully read, therefore, the best available his-

tory of his province, which, if too expensive to buy for his own library, should be bought for the school library or by the co-operation of the local history club he will form, for it is not well to attempt to study all alone. If the student does not know which is the best history, he should write for advice to the secretary of the historical society in the capital of his province. All of the provinces have historical societies in their capitals, and the secretary, whose name it is not necessary to know in writing to him, will usually be found glad to give full advice to every earnest inquirer. From the same source, also, the student may ascertain what has been published upon the special history of his own county or parish, and he should thoroughly study everything of this kind. It is well for the student, especially at the outset, to select a somewhat limited region for his studies, such as a county or parish, one which he can readily travel over in his holidays, and with which he can make himself personally acquainted.

The history of any region falls into periods, and, for a country like Canada, these are somewhat as follows :

First, there is the geographical position, surface features, climate, soil, natural productions in animals and plants of the region. These features exercise an immensely important part in determining the future history of any country, a part whose significance has only of late years been recognized. Hence any consideration of the history of a region now-a-days begins with a consideration of the physiography and natural history of the country with especial reference to their effects upon its settlement and later history. Indeed, there is no more interesting study than this investigation into the relation between the natural features and productions of a country and its history, present settlement, industries and distribution of population ; and the local student will here find abundant and pleasing material for observation and reflection. Aside from their historical aspects, however, these subjects are worthy of the minutest investigation for their own sakes by those of scientific tastes, and investigators of wider interests always welcome such local studies if carried out in the proper spirit. The present writer has elsewhere given such advice as he can upon this particular subject for New Brunswick.<sup>1</sup>

Second, in nearly all regions in Canada where white men now live, the Indians dwelt before them. Every fact about these Indians and their lives and works is not only already of interest and eagerly sought by students of such matters at the present day, but the facts will become increasingly valued with time, and are all worthy of record. The student should gather data as to the situations of Indian settlements, burial grounds, and routes of travel. Most

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<sup>1</sup> Biological Opportunity in New Brunswick. Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. XVII, page 131.

regions have abundant traditions to guide him, and he should find out from old residents all that they can remember. Then he should visit the sites and carefully map (by aid of pocket-compass and tape-measure) their exact sizes and positions in relation to neighboring and more lasting objects or places. All relics in the way of arrow-heads, spear-heads, etc., should be collected, described and drawn. They will be highly valued by the provincial historical society, to which they should be presented; and they will bring the donor many a pleasant acquaintance and perhaps gifts of historical publications. All possible Indian names should be collected,—from the living Indians when these exist, from the older settlers if they do not. The Indians can of course point out their ancient settlement and portage sites when all visible traces of them have disappeared. Moreover, all Indians have great numbers of legends, some of them strange and beautiful, such as those which explain remarkable features of the landscape, all of which should be most carefully collected and written down. The student is fortunate if he has Indians near with whom he can cultivate confidence and friendship. They will have a great deal to impart to him that he never yet suspected the existence of. It will be well to construct a map of the district, showing it as it was in the Indian period, with their names, settlements, routes of travel, etc., all marked.

Third, in many parts of Canada, now occupied by English settlers, the French preceded them and were dispossessed by conquest. All traditions of this race should be collected, their place-names ascertained, relics of their presence collected and described, their sites of settlement, dikes, roads, forts, etc., worked out and mapped. All such traces, like those of the Indians, are rapidly disappearing, and should be collected before they are entirely lost.

Fourth, each region had its pioneers, either men of adventurous spirit who loved to penetrate and subdue the wilderness, or, as in many places in Canada, patriots driven from their homes by political changes and forced to begin life anew in the depths of the primeval forest, or sturdy immigrants from the crowded lands of the Old World. All traditions about these pioneers should be carefully collected from their descendants. The places whence, and how, they came; why they left their former homes; the places of their landing and first settlement; their early experiences,—all are historically important, or some day will be. In many cases there are documents relating to these pioneers in possession of their descendants,—grants, diaries, old letters, etc., which are very precious for the light they throw upon early times. These should be borrowed and their important parts copied. One must always be careful to check tradition by documents whenever possible. Tradition is good as a guide to lines in which to work; it is of little value as a final source of authority.

Fifth, and finally, there are the settlers of the present day who are either descendants of the pioneers, or else are new immigrants. The leading events

in the history of these settlers should be recorded, including their part in the development of government, education, transportation, communication, boundaries, agriculture and other industries, religious bodies, patriotic movements, political parties. All of these will interest those who come after us, even though they may seem too well known to be worth recording at present. The development of place-names should be followed also, and all obtainable plans and old maps studied. There is, however, yet another subject of much interest, and attracting to-day no small share of attention among investigators, the folk-lore of a people, that is, their superstitions, stories, belief in signs and portents, etc. These are extremely ancient and widespread; they throw great light upon important questions of migrations and origins of races, etc., and are all worth collecting and recording. The use of peculiar words or phrases (all such as are not used by educated people), of curious or unusual names for geographical features, interest philologists and are worth preserving.

Here, then, is an ample field for the activities of the most restless student, even in the most out-of-the-way place. But the important question now arises, how can the results of such studies be made available to those who will be interested and will make use of them? Publishing such local histories in the form of separate books would be very expensive, since the market for them is extremely limited. But here the aid of the local newspaper may be invited. Most country newspapers would no doubt be glad (more than one in New Brunswick has shown itself willing) to publish good matter on local history. The student should therefore carefully write up his material, making it broad enough to be interesting and instructive to local readers; he should begin with a sketch of the geography and natural history of the region, and then treat the periods in order. Finally he should try to arrange to publish his history in instalments in the nearest weekly paper. Doubtless, in return for contributing the matter, the editor would be willing to print off from the type while standing some 100 copies in pamphlet form, so that when the series is complete, the author would have at least fifty copies for distribution, while fifty could be put on sale at a moderate price to pay part of the expenses of engraving maps, etc. The maps showing the region in different periods, or special historic sites, should be drawn upon a small scale, and reproduced by the cheap but efficient process of zincography; while cuts of specially interesting relics of earlier periods would also add greatly to the attractiveness and value of the narrative. If the author cannot obtain his copies in pamphlet form, he will at least be able to obtain free, forty or fifty copies of each issue of the newspaper as it appears, making this a condition of his contributing. Then his copies of the pamphlet, or else sets of the newspaper, should be sent with the author's compliments to all the prominent historians of the province (whose names may be obtained from the secretary of the historical society), and to several of the leading



public libraries in Canada and the United States, and to the British Museum, all of which will be careful to preserve them. Thus will the history not only be brought to the attention of students elsewhere, and ensured preservation, but it will bring the author many a valued correspondent and many copies of historical publications from those to whom he has sent his own. He will experience the pleasure of entering a new circle composed of men whose acquaintance and appreciation are worth having, and will feel the great satisfaction which always accompanies the accomplishment of something of lasting value. He will acquire, in consequence of his closer study of them, a deeper interest in his fellow countrymen and his native land ; and he will enjoy that stimulus, that better understanding of the aims and methods of study, which always accompanies and is one of the best rewards of investigation. Of course he can receive no pecuniary return for such studies ; there is no way whatever in which they can be made to pay in money. His reward must be his love of the work itself, his joy in the expansion of his own life, and his pleasure in usefulness to his fellowmen.

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## COMMENTS.

London, (Ont.) *Advertiser*: \* \* The editor has struck a novel idea of combining the historical and the literary in supplementary reading for schools. The material has been gleaned by eminent specialists from sources not easily accessible to the general reader. Considering the fact that among the contributors are such men as Sir John Bourinot, Sir James LeMoine and Geo. Johnson, Dominion Statistician, the venture should not only commend itself to those directly interested in school work, but to the general reader as well.

Orillia (Ont.) *Packet*: Capital selections by competent writers. . . . They ought to become a recognized part of the curriculum in every Canadian school.

*Bookseller and Stationer*, Toronto: Teachers, collectors of Canadiana and students will like to have the series.

Yarmouth, N. S., *Telegram*: The series will prove a valuable aid to teachers and students who have limited access to books and documents relating to the history of Canada.

Nelson, B. C., *Miner*: We do not know anything that will tend more to popularize Canadian history than those bright, clever papers, as interesting as they are novel.

Halifax Presbyterian *Witness*: Of the series as a whole we wish to say that we are grateful to the editors and the contributors. . . . Teachers especially ought to encourage the circulation of these historic readings. We hope the young people of the seaprovinces will not forget their obligations to Mr. Hay for this publication which brings so vividly before the reader a part of which, as a country, we need not be ashamed.

*The Wesleyan* (Halifax): An exceedingly valuable and interesting series of pamphlets. Mr. Hay is doing his fellow countrymen, old and young, an unspeakable service in the issue of these eminently readable and accurately written compounds.

Collingwood (Ont.) *Bulletin*: All who are interested in the choicest bits of Canadian history should secure this series.

*Manitoba Free Press*: The complete series will form a body of really valuable historical material. \* \* Contain articles as valuable as they are interesting on incidents in the early records of our country.

*St. John Sun*: The whole publication is not only useful for the purpose designed, but contains historical studies of general value.

Chief Supt. Education, Dr. Inch, N. B.: Is of great interest in connection with the study of Canadian history. I shall be glad to assist in any way possible to bring supplementary readings such as these within reach of the children in our schools.

St. John, N. B., *Globe*: Will certainly prove an acquisition to the school as well as to private libraries.

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

*Montreal Witness*: The most stirring incidents in Canadian history have been selected, many of them from original papers and documents not accessible to the general reader.

*Halifax Herald*: These papers have enough in them to interest intelligent pupils, to teach them something of the sources of history and about authorities, and to awaken the spirit of research.

*Toronto Canadian Historical Records*: Mr. Hay has been fortunate in securing such scholarly and well-informed contributors as Victor H. Paltsits, W. F. Ganong, Col. Cruikshank, Sir John Bourinot, and others.

*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 favoured 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.

## COMMENTS.

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Quebec *Mercury* : No student of history should fail to secure these Readings.

Chatham (N. B.) *World* : Readable, educational, useful to preserve for reference.

St. John *Telegraph* : When the series is complete it will form a most valuable body of Canadian history.

Edmonton (N. W. T.) *Bulletin* : The articles are interesting and of great value from an educational point of view.

Truro *News* : The compiler has in view to popularize knowledge, and to build up in our young a national sentiment that we should all support.

*Religious Intelligencer*, Fredericton : No Canadian school library should be without these historical papers.

Summerside, P. E. I., *Journal* : Every teacher and every student of Canadian history should be a reader of the series.

Digby, N. S., *Courier* : Their purpose is primarily for the schoolroom but they can be appreciated equally by the general reader.

Weymouth (N. S.) *Free Press* : They will stimulate an interest in and for the fascinating study of history.

Charlottetown *Patriot* : Will do much to popularize all that is inspiring in the early records of our country.

Rev. D. Macrae, D. D., President Morrin College, Quebec : Kept up with the spirit and excellence characterizing the first number, it surely must command a large and appreciative support.

R. E. Gosnell, Librarian Legislative Library, B. C. : I must congratulate you, not only on the conception of such a commendable enterprise, but upon the success with which it has been initiated.

Hantsport (N. S.) *Advance* : There is no dry reading in them, and they would be a great help to senior pupils in our public schools.

A. C. Casselman, Normal School, Toronto : Your notes are very valuable and not of transitory value by any means. I am sure that the whole series will be readily sold to those who collect works on Canada. They contain articles that cannot be obtained anywhere else.

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.

*The Canadian Engineer*, Toronto : The "Educational Review" is now publishing a valuable series of leaflets dealing with special features and epochs of Canadian history. Such writers as Sir John Bourinot, Prof. W. F. Ganong and Col. Cruikshank are contributors, and these leaflets will be a most useful means of educating people on many more or less obscure points of Canadian history.

*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* : This means of presenting in a cheap and popular form phases of Canadian history not familiar to the ordinary reader, cannot be too highly commended, and we trust Mr. Hay will be well encouraged in his good work.