THE ACADIANS

UNDER ENGLISH RULE

1713 - 1763

by

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From Le Drame Acadien, The Reverend Antoine Bernard, C.S.V.

PREFACE

This thesis subject proved to be not only exceedingly interesting and rewarding but timely as well; for in 1955 the Acadians, particularly of Canada and Louisiana, will celebrate the bicentennial of their expulsion from Nova Scotia. No spirit of bitterness or recrimination will mark the anniversary but rather a sense of gratitude for the blessings that divine Providence has showered upon them, an intensely French and Catholic-minded people.

The student has endeavored to survey the whole controversial history of Acadia, 1713 to 1763, from the twentieth century viewpoint, to note each phase in dispute, to compare and analyze the pro-French and pro-English sources, to explore and to indicate the possible or probable solutions. Although the student began the research with an open mind, she found herself after some months of work becoming pro-Acadian and decided then and there to base and form her study on pro-English or non-French sources as much as possible, in order, by avoiding the charge of a prejudiced background, to establish more convincing conclusions.

The task completed, the student finds herself indebted to many people, necessarily so because of the restrictions consonant with religious life and because of the inaccessibility to her of any real research library for the greater part of the year. Only a cursory acknowledgement can be made of those

who patiently fingered library files, drew out books at their own risk and mailed them often half way across the United States or mailed them from Canada to the United States. Mr. Clarence Mark, Jr., the student's brother, was the prime mover who received appeals, found the libraries which owned the treasures, and contacted the influential people who could release the books, even rare and precious ones. For him and with him worked a corps of men whom the student has never met but to whom she is most grateful. First among these would be Mr. Edward Weaver and then Richard Clewett, Irwin A. Berg, Herbert Hicklin, and James Hurford. Recognition is due likewise to Miss Helen Tessman who was responsible for the typing of the manuscript.

Mrs. David Thoreson, a personal friend, has been tireless in making the student's annual tour of Chicago libraries most profitable by previously scouting out the valuable or potentially promising material. Mr. Edward Dreis, Mr. Gordon Mark, and Mr. Ormsby Annan, relatives, have been admirably accommodating. Mrs. William Larson of Evansville, Indiana, remembered the student's interests when she visited Saint Martinsville, Louisiana, in the summer of 1952.

As the student explains in the Appendix, she stands indebted to Doctor Émile Lauvrière of Paris, distinguished author and professor of the University Louis-le-Grand, and to Doctor Émile Le Blanc of West Pubnico, Nova Scotia. The

Reverend Antoine Bernard, C.S.V., Professor of Montreal University, has graciously permitted the student to photostat a map from his book, Le Drame Acadien. The National Air Photographic Library, Ottawa, in conjunction with the Royal Canadian Air Force released the pictures of Annapolis Royal and the dyked lands of that vicinity. To Mr. C. B. Fergusson, Assistant Archivist of the Public Archives of Halifax, Nova Scotia; to Mr. Jules Bazin, Head Librarian of the City of Montreal; to Mr. William Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist of Ottawa, Canada; to Mr. A. L. Morfee, Honorary Superintendent of Fort Anne and Port Royal National Historic Parks; and to Mr. Andrea Olivier, Proprietor of Evangeline Museum, St. Martinsville, Louisiana, the student is grateful for professional service promptly rendered.

Within her own community the student has found very patient friends. Sister Saint Agatha read critically the first two chapters, and Sister Eugenia, Supervisor of High Schools, the entire manuscript. Sister Mary Agnese read the revised manuscript, checked many of the French translations and proved herself generally helpful.

The Reverend Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., Ph.D., Head of the History Department of Marquette University, has given hours of his valuable time appraising the outline and bibliography, reviewing the manuscript, and generally counseling the student.

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INTRODUCTION

> "...it were impossible to find on this continent any other spot so interesting as Acadia was. The most thrilling dramas of America in the seventeenth century were played in the waters of the Bay of Fundy."[1]

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1 Edouard Richard, Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History (2 vols., New York, 1895), 1:27.

Thus an Acadian by ancestry expresses it. John Bartlet Brebner characterizes the historic site as New England's Outpost, and Herbert Ingram Priestley comments that it was significant as:

> "...an active smuggling center, as the scene of romantic episodes of international rivalry on a very small scale, and as the one French colony where the popular town meeting became a vital agency of government."[2]

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2 John Bartlet Brebner, Ph.D., New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada (New York, 1927); Herbert Ingram Priestley, The Coming of the White Man (History of American Life in Twelve Volumes, New York, 1929), 1:211.

It is necessary to distinguish geographically between Acadia of the French regime (intermittently, 1605-1710) when the denomination was loosely applied, and to Acadia or Nova Scotia of the English regime (1713-1763, the span of this paper). In the first instance, Acadia in its widest sense comprehended most of present-day New Brunswick, all of Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton. In the second instance, since the French and English never agreed as to boundaries, we shall

limit it, for the purposes of this paper, to the area of present-day Nova Scotia.

In outline Nova Scotia is frequently compared to a lobster, Cape Breton being the head. Down the lobster's spinal column is a rugged irregular hill formation extending from the Strait of Canso to almost the southern tip of the peninsula. Another group of hills stretches westward through the narrow isthmian passage to New Brunswick. The whole entity is practically an island, considered geographically or sociologically; for throughout its history Nova Scotia has differed from the rest of Canada, and Acadians even from French Canadians.[3]

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3 Dorothy Duncan, Bluenose, A Portrait of Nova Scotia (New York, 1942), 7, 9.

The place names of Nova Scotia and those along the shores of Cape Breton reflect the history that has explored, navigated, commerced, and settled in these waters as early as 1497. Indian, Basque, Breton, Portuguese, Scotch, Irish, and Hannoverian contacts left traces on the map, though English denominations have replaced most of them.[4]

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4 Indian: Chedabucto; Basque, Baccaro; Breton, Bras d'Or; Scotch, Ben Eoin; Hannoverian, Lunenburg; Gaelic, Skir Dhu. See: Nova Scotia Tour Book; An Official Guide to the Highways of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1952), 8, 120.

French and English of the 17 and 18 century era described the climate as cold and variable with long severe winters

that caused great hardships and much suffering to the colonists. But they spoke, too, of many advantages. Lord Philipps mentioned the soil that readily yielded all the necessities of life, that was able to support cattle and fowl, and that was rich in the produce related to trade: timber, iron, copper, coal, soft stone.[5]

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5 Sieur de Diereville, Relation of the Voyage [1698-1699] to Port Royal in Acadia or New France (Mrs. Clarence Webster, trans.; John Clarence Webster, ed., Toronto, 1933), 90; Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia: A Description of Acadia, 1606 (trans. by P. Erondelle in The Broadway Travelers, E. D. Ross and E. Powers, New York, 1928), 33-4; Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1608 (W. L. Grant, ed., Original Narratives of Early American History, New York, 1907), 52-4; Lord Philipps to Lords of Trade in: Thomas B. Akins, ed., Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1865), 40.

Etymologically, the name Acadia has been accounted for in several ways, but the most satisfactory explanation is that the word was derived from the Indian Micmac term cadie or the Malecite term quoddy, both meaning fertile lands or pastoral fields; and in view of the fact that the suffixes cadie and quoddy are common to the place names of the entire region, such a derivation is very reasonable.[6]

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6 Émile Lauvrière, La Tragédie D'Un Peuple, Histoire Du Peuple Acadien De Ses Origines à Nos Jours (2 vols., Paris, 1924), 1:8; J. H. Schlarman, Ph.D., From Quebec to New Orleans (Belleville, Ill., 1929), 309.

Certain it is that the first concession of the territory by Henry IV in 1603 to Sieur De Monts titled the grant La

Cadie.[7] It has the distinction of being the first permanent

7 Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 1.

settlement of white men north of the Gulf of Mexico.[8] And

8 Historic Nova Scotia (by authority of Hon. Harold Connolly, Nova Scotia, n.d.), 10, 11.

very intimately associated with this initial French foundation was the famous Champlain in the official capacity of explorer and royal map maker. It was he who named the site Port Royal, who described the harbor as one of the finest wherein two thousand vessels might lie in security.[9]

9 Champlain, Voyages of, 34; Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 13. Lescarbot contradicts Champlain saying that De Monts named it Port Royal.

Established then in 1605, Acadia was destined to survive all the vicissitudes of climate and to cling, however tenuously, to its existence through the multiple attempts of the English to wipe it out. The piratical raid of the Virginian Argall on the French settlements of Saint Sauveur and Port Royal in 1613 was the opening encounter of the Anglo-French conflict on American shores which would go on intermittently until the Treaty of Paris, 1763.[10] The year 1629 witnessed

10 Reuben Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896), 1:229-233.

the seizure and occupation of Port Royal by the Scotsman Sir William Alexander and his seventy followers, in accordance with an English grant. By a strange and disappointing quirk of history the three year period of Scottish settlement was sufficient to give the land for all time the name of Nova Scotia. Returned to France in 1632 by the Treaty of St. Germaine, new life and new French blood were poured into this important artery of French holdings on the North American continent. Cardinal Richelieu's Company of New France transported three hundred colonists under the leadership of Isaac De Razilly to Port Royal that same year. These colonists were actually the first Acadians, the nucleus of a fine sturdy people.

The succeeding years were just as challenging to the colonizing spirit. It was not long before the Pilgrims and Puritans firmly entrenched in Massachusetts were pressing farther and farther north. The frontier wars that ensued constituted the origin of a boundary problem that became more acute with the passage of time, and that was only settled in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain.[11]

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11 Interesting to note that the Ile St. Croix, very first site of the De Monts-Champlain colony, abandoned after the first winter for Port Royal, determined that the River St. Croix would be the international boundary line in 1783. See: Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, ed., The Atlantic Provinces, 13 (Canada and Its Provinces, A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates. (23 vols., Toronto, 1914, Edinburgh ed.), 13:21.

In all, Acadia was traded back and forth eight times in Anglo-French diplomacy, 1605-1713.[12] England was forever

12 First: French settled Port Royal, 1605; second, King James I gave it to Sir Wm. Alexander; third, Treaty of St. Germaine, 1632, restored it to France; fourth, captured by English in 1654; fifth, returned to France by Treaty of Breda, 1667; sixth, captured by England in 1690; seventh, given back to France in Treaty of Ryswick, 1698; eighth, captured by English in 1710 and definitively theirs by Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

seizing it, and France was forever bartering to get it back at the next peace table. Historians have said that neither France nor England cared much for a region of so little apparent value.[13] But why then was France always bargaining

13 Justin Winsor, ed., Narrative and Critical History of America; The English and French in North America, 1689-1763 (6 vols., Boston, 1887), 5:407; Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:17.

to repossess it? She seems to have been aware earlier than England of its strategic value as guardian of the Gulf, security for the fishing banks and fur trade; but she was tragically neglectful, too. Dynastic conditions in Europe explain much.[14]

14 The paternalism of French colonial policy gave way to wanton indifference as Louis XIV became embroiled in his European wars.

Consequently the year 1710 presaged the ultimate loss of French possessions on this continent. A fleet from Great Britain with four regiments mustered in the New England colonies appeared thirty-six sail strong at Port Royal, made an

unopposed landing, October 16, and forced the surrender of the small French garrison, which in a ragged and half starved condition marched out with full honors of war, drums beating and colors flying.[15] Too late had the French ministry be-

15 Report and Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for the Year 1878 (Halifax, 1879), 1:82. See also: George M. Wrong, The Conquest of New France; A Chronicle of the Colonial Wars (56 vols., The Chronicle of America Series, Allen Johnson, ed., New Haven, 1920), 10:55.

stirred itself to rescue Port Royal, and the last minute aid which she urged and directed Quebec to dispatch was inadequate and ineffectual.[16] Never again would the French flag fly

16 Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1946-47, 381, 397.

over the fort. The name was changed to Annapolis Royal as compliment to England's queen, and the terms of surrender were made known to the French habitants. Those living within cannon shot of the fort were to be protected for two years in person and property on taking the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, or they were to be allowed to remove to Canada or Newfoundland.[17] No mention was made of the other Acadian

17 Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc., 1:82. See also: Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:408.

settlements that had been founded in the course of years: Beaubassin, Les Mines, Cobequid, Chipody, Le Hève, Chedabouctou,

Cape Sable.

Henceforth the Acadians were subjected to English rule, and their first taste of it was under the governor, Samuel Vetch (1710-1712), who made his influence felt throughout the peninsula, a controversial figure alternately supported and condemned by partisan history.[18] Vetch went out of office

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18 James Wilson, "An Acadian Governor," The International Review, 11:462-502 (Nov., 1881) cites the pros and cons, but on the whole he is favorable to Vetch. The Rev. George Patterson, D.D., in a biographical sketch of the governor incorporated in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1884 (Halifax, 1885), 4:11-63 completely whitewashes him and states that Wilson is in error in some respects because he is not acquainted with the provincial archives of Nova Scotia. In documents contemporary with 1710-1712, selected by Adam Shortt but revised and edited by Gustav Lanctot, Documents Relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia with Prefatory Documents, 1675-1758 (Ottawa, 1933), 17, 18, 20, 21, 42, there are arraigned charges against the man who extorted heavy taxes, threatened, and treated the Acadians as "slaves." In the personal opinion of the student writing this thesis, the papers to which Patterson refers do not exonerate Vetch, though because of the exigencies of his circumstances, they excuse him to some extent.

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in 1712 but was re-appointed in the same capacity in 1715. Whatever the truth regarding the character of this first English governorship (the matter does not constitute an integral part of this paper), certain it is that the experience on both sides was unpleasant, and the Acadians waited with apprehension and foreboding the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.[19]

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19 Vetch's second term of governorship was an absentee lordship.

Chapter I

THE TREATY OF UTRECHT AND THE ACADIANS

The negotiations resulting in the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713 (which terminated what we call on this side of the Atlantic, Queen Anne's War) were begun secretly and ex-officio as early as August, 1710, prior to the fall of Port Royal; but it was April, 1711, before there was a genuine basis for deliberation.[1] All the European politics

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1 George Macaulay Trevelyn, England Under Queen Anne; The Peace and the Protestant Succession (New York, 1934), 178. Full treatment of negotiations, Jacobite influence, hope of Stuart restoration, etc. is detailed in this work.

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of the day were enmeshed and involved in this treaty, and the fate of Acadia was only a minor consideration; but one, nevertheless, that proved to be a stumbling block, that meant protracted and prolonged bargaining.

France ceded to England: The Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia.[2] Lauvrière maintains that if the French

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2 W.S. [sic], ed., A General Collection of Treatys of Peace and Commerce, Renunciations, Manifestos, and Other Publick Papers, from the Year 1642, to the End of the Reign of Queen Anne (4 vols., London, 1732), 3:431-2. The geographic term Nova Scotia was used at Utrecht for the first time in any Anglo-French treaty according to Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:199.

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had deployed from a military point of view the least competency and energy that they exerted on the diplomatic terrain, Acadia would still be French. He quotes Pontchartrain,

Minister of the Marine, as advising the French plenipotentiaries:

> "You will not be able to obtain anything more advantageous [than Acadia] for the service of the King. It is the only country which will compensate us for the loss of Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay. ...Do not abandon Acadia until the last extremity."

Ponchartrain proposed that they offer in exchange all the Atlantic Coast from the River St. George to the River St. John. King Louis XIV, himself, on September 10, 1712, suggested still further concessions: islands extending to the Antilles, plus the forfeiture of the Newfoundland fisheries -- provided Acadia were returned to France. The suggestion was futile. "We have specific orders," insisted the British, "to break off everything rather than yield Acadia or Newfoundland."[3] And Britain remained adamant in

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3 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:154; Francis Parkman, A Half Century of Conflict (2 vols., France and England in North America, A Series of Historical Narratives, Part Sixth, Boston, 1892), 1:178-9. See also: Wrong, Conquest of New France, 65.

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her decision to retain Acadia. Too often had she provoked Puritan wrath by allowing France to repossess it, a risk she could not afford to run again.

According to Article 12 of the treaty, Nova Scotia was ceded in accordance with "its ancient limits."[4] That one

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4 W.S., General Collection of Treatys, 3:432.

phrase begot a series of diplomatic wars. What were the "ancient limits?" According to Article 10, a commission would be appointed to determine the boundaries, but within the next forty years no decision was reached.[5] During the

5 W.S., General Collection of Treatys, 3:431.

interim frontier strife broke out periodically, pushing the English claims and defending the French holdings. In 1755, therefore, France appealed to the sense of world justice, published the counter memoirs of the French and English, and distributed copies to all foreign capitals.[6] In these memoirs

6 Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:475.

England claimed territory in the west from the mouth of the Penobscot river in a direct line north to the St. Lawrence river; on the north, the St. Lawrence itself constituted a boundary as far as Cap Rosiers at the mouth of the river; in the east, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence down past Cape Breton; on the south, along the Atlantic coast; and then around Cape Sable in a south-westward direction to the Bay of Fundy and Penobscot. France asserted, on the other hand, that "ancient Acadia" began at the extremity of the Bay François (Bay of Fundy) and extended along the coasts of Nova

Scotia, terminating at Cap Canseau.[7] Nothing came of this

7 The Memorials of the English and French Commissaries Concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia (London, 1755), 5, 7, 11. England published her own edition with supplementary documents. See also: Discussion Sommaire Sur Les Anciennes Limites De L'Acadia, Et Sur Les Stipulations Du Traité D'Utrecht qui y font relatives (Altona, 1755), 9-11. Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:127.

exposé. And then a few years later the matter lost most of its significance, for France ceded all of Canada to England by the Treaty of Paris, 1763.

The historian Hannay remarks that it was evident from the beginning that the French were determined to interpret the cession of Acadia in as restricted a sense as possible [one can hardly blame them for that]; and Winsor states that the French constantly shifted their ground in boundary treaties, extending or restricting the "ancient limits" as best served their interests. Francis Parkman observes that the Treaty of Utrecht only "staved off the settlement of questions absolutely necessary for future peace."[8] In actual practice,

8 James Hannay, The History of Acadia from Its First Discovery to Its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris (London, 1880), 307; Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:475; Half Century of Conflict, 1:177.

however, the French retained Cape Breton, and the English made no physical attempt to occupy the territory north of the Bay of Fundy. For years a Canadian force stood guard between Baie Verte and Bay Chignectou to prevent the English from

putting a foot on the north side of the little river Missaguash, which constituted an international boundary between French Canada and English dominated Acadia.[9] The St. John river

9 Wrong, The Conquest of New France, 169; Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:127.

area on the northwest coast of the Bay of Fundy later on became a place of refuge for hosts of political exiles from Acadia.[10]

10 Hannay, History of Acadia, 326. For evidence that the British attempted unsuccessfully to exercise political authority in the St. John region, see: Archibald M. MacMechan, Ph.D., Nova Scotia Archives, Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739 (Halifax, 1908), 3:144 149-50; 171.

According to Article 14 of the treaty, the Acadian subjects had the liberty of emigrating within a year's time, taking all their movable effects with them, to a place of their choice. If, however, they preferred to remain under the rule of Great Britain, they were assured of the right to practice their religion conformably to the usage of the Roman Catholic Church, in so far as the laws of Great Britain would permit.[11] Then

11 W.S., General Collection of Treatys, 3:433.

there was in a certain sense an appendix to Article 14. Because Louis XIV obligingly released certain Englishmen imprisoned on his galleys for professing the protestant religion, Queen Anne of England informed Governor Nicholson by letter that

she was willing to show some special mark of favor to the Acadians. Nicholson was directed to allow them to retain their lands and property without molestation, as freely as English subjects would. If they desired to emigrate, they should be permitted to sell [italics mine] their lands and estates and move elsewhere.[12] No time limit was mentioned

12 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:15.

by Queen Anne, and hence the right of emigration existed without limitation of time. That was the conclusion conceded to be valid even by Thomas Akins who is generally considered anti-Acadian.[13]

13 Ibid. 1:12; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:200. Lauvrière calls Akins one of the worst enemies of the Acadian people.

And so finally after three years of wrangling the terms of the treaty were proclaimed to the Acadians, who numbered two to three thousand souls, distributed mostly in the principal settlements: Port Royal, Mines, and Chignectou.[14]

14 Wrong, Conquest of New France, 74; Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:72.

How did the surrendered Port Royal, now Annapolis, appear in those days and who were these people expected henceforth to live under this treaty? The Baron de Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant in 1692 of the French colony at Placentia, New-

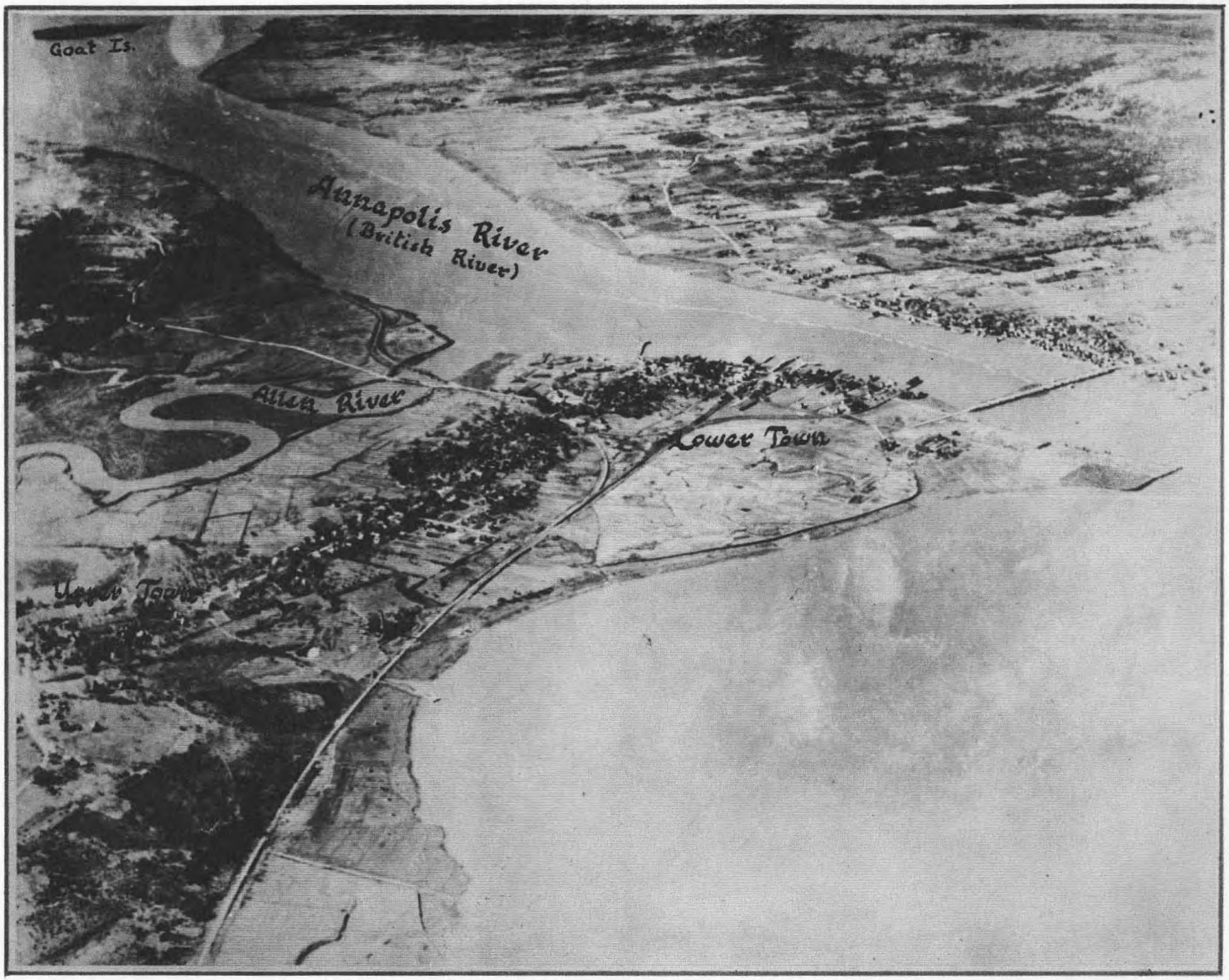
foundland, speaks of Port Royal, the capital or only city of Acadia, as no more than a paltry town, a handful of houses two-story high with few inhabitants of any note. And Lauvrière laments that this famous Acadian capital was only a shabby town with a scattered population of about five hundred souls.[15] The surrendered fort was located

15 Baron de Lahontan, New Voyages to North America (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. Reprinted from the English edition of 1703 with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index, 2 vols, Chicago, 1905), 1:330. Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:158-9. Longfellow's description of their picturesque, vine-clad, strongly built cottages is not factual. Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:417. See also: Archibald MacMechan, "Evangeline and the Real Acadians," Atlantic Monthly, 99:202-13 (Feb., 1917). The general authenticity of Longfellow's poem, however, will be treated later in this paper.

at the junction of what are now the Annapolis and Allen rivers, and the immediate area was known as the Lower Town. An Upper Town stretched a mile and a half south-east from the fort, and it was in the Upper Town that most of the Acadians eventually resided, their properties in the Lower Town being purchased by the few resident English families.[16] As late as

16 A.L. Morfee of Fort Anne National Historic Park in correspondence addressed to Sister Mary Jean, May 10, 1954.

1743 Annapolis was described as consisting of two streets, the one extending along the river side, and the other along the neck of land, the extremities being a quarter of a mile



ANNAPOLIS ROYAL

With permission of National Air Photography Library, Ottawa, Canada

distant from the fort.[17] This probably was the general

17 Governor Mascarene to Duke of Newcastle, quoted in Beamish Murdoch's A History of Nova Scotia or Arcadia (2 vols., Halifax, 1866) 2:23-4.

layout in 1713, too, since the town of Annapolis did not grow. Throughout the history of French garrisoned Port Royal and English governed Annapolis, the independent Acadian farmers preferred to live in areas more distant from the fort. English raids on the fort prior to 1710 had made this decision most advisable.

Diereville in 1699 described the beauty of Port Royal, agreeably situated on two rivers, called in his time the Dauphin and Mill rivers [Annapolis and Allen today]. The Dauphin, he said, was as wide as the Seine and rose five or six leagues above Port Royal having on both of its banks dwellings more or less separated that stretched in a line for almost a league toward Goat's island [an island outpost screening Annapolis Basin from Port Royal]. Here apple trees grew as in Normandy. On the shore of the Mill river were several houses and three mills, one for wheat and two for lumber. But the houses, Diereville described, as being badly constructed with chimneys of clay. Actually he wondered how people could live there. Even the church, he commented, was in a most deplorable state, resembling, in fact, a barn.[18]

18 Voyage to Port Royal, 82-5.

Sister Chausson of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, the second religious teacher in Port Royal, described the church as she saw it in 1701:

> "The poverty of the church is appalling with its straw roof, thin wooden walls and window panes of paper. As there is no bell, a drum summons the congregation to Holy Mass. At the altar someone must hold the candles. Neither are there any pictures nor a censer. A cupboard is lacking for three shabby chasuables and the two albs which are almost useless. But that which is most deplorable, the Blessed Sacrament is reserved only in a wooden box. The English carried off the suitable tabernacle, the sacred vessels, and all other properties."[19]

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19 Sister Chausson quoted in Lauvrière's La Tragédie, 1:159. Parkman, Half Century of Conflict, 1:109, says that in 1704 the Acadians erected a new wooden church to the building of which they contributed 800 francs and His Most Christian Majesty the rest. Perhaps Sister Chausson's letter was the inspiration for the king's generosity.

And the last line of Sister Chausson's quotation gives the reason for such a state of affairs, the frequent attacks of the English. Lauvrière lists "a dozen attacks in less than a hundred years, a half dozen in the last twenty" prior to 1701.[20]

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20 La Tragédie, 1:159.

Diereville wrote a first-hand account of the fear that such attacks constantly engendered, relating that when his ship entered Annapolis Basin, 1699, there was great alarm. Everyone

fearing an English raid, snatched his most valuable possessions and fled to the forest. Once Diereville's party had actually landed, and they perceived them to be friends, he beheld carts coming back from the woods loaded with all household utilities.[21] In the event of a real attack, the

21 Voyage to Port Royal, 80-82.

able-bodied population furnished one hundred to one hundred forty militiamen to the garrison, and the rest: women, old men and children fled to the forest, demanding from the savages some shelter until the English peril had passed. Then they returned to the village, repaired the ruins, rebuilt the houses with some rudely quartered beams, stopped the chinks as well as the bad cracks in the walls with grass, moss or some clay, covered the roof with straw, rushes, or shingles, and installed themselves ever in fear of the next English piracy.[22]

22 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:159-60.

Justin Winsor observes that one may "pick out the most opposite views" regarding Acadian dwellings, but he does not offer a solution.[23] However, it seems that the reconciliation

23 Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:457.

of the divergent testimony might be comparatively simple. In times of less danger or in places more remote from Port Royal, the somewhat superior type of house described by Jacques de

Brouillan, governor from 1701 to 1705, was probably common. He mentioned small houses of wood with high roofs of birch, which, he said, might be poor in appearance but were nevertheless, warm and comfortable. He told of barns and stables with thatched roofs, of strong palisades about the farmer's vast enclosure, of the rustic furniture, and of the crude farming implements because of the scarcity of iron.[24] It is

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24 Jacques de Brouillan quoted in Lauvrière's La Tragédie, 1:163. George Bancroft, History of the United States of America from the Discovery of the Continent (6 vols., New York, 1883), 2:426, says their houses were neatly constructed and comfortably furnished. But a letter from Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count de Maurepas from Quebec, Sept. 12, 1745, quoted in E.B. O'Callaghan's Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York; Procured in Holland, England, and France by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent. Under and By Virtue of An Act of the Legislature, Entitled "An Act to Appoint An Agent to Procure and Transcribe Documents in Europe Relative to the Colonial History of the State," Passed May 2, 1839 (11 vols., Albany, 1839), 10:5, describes their homes as "wretched wooden boxes, without conveniences, and without ornaments, and scarcely containing the most necessary furniture." Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 1:532, has a favorable viewpoint supported by architectural remains.

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interesting to note that Parkman withdrew to a great extent his most unfavorable statements regarding Acadian housing. In a magazine article for November, 1884, Parkman demeaned their dwellings and said the people were not remarkable for cleanliness; but eight years later in Half Century of Conflict, he described Port Royal village of 1704 as consisting of seventy or eighty small houses of one story and attic, built of planks or logs, simple and rustic but tolerably

comfortable.[25]

25 "The Acadian Tragedy" in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 69 (November, 1884), :878. Half Century of Conflict, 1:109.

And what type of people were these Acadians? There is an historical controversy about their character, and neither partisan or non partisan writers have successfully put their picture in focus. John Bartlet Brebner speaks of "threading the mazes of contradiction which characterize not only the secondary accounts but the sources of this history themselves."[26]

26 New England's Outpost, 10.

Charges and counter charges have been flung at every historian who has tried to adjust the lens. Hannay states that:

> "The enemies of British power have industriously labored to invest the Acadians with a certain halo of sanctity, so that their expulsion in 1755 might be made to appear an awful and inexcusable crime."

On the other side, Lauvrière comments that "the English histories of Nova Scotia and even of Acadia are as incomplete as partial." Edouard Richard goes even further, speaking of systematic attempts unmistakably and continually renewed to falsify history; and he feels compelled to point out Thomas Akins, the compiler of the volume Archives of Nova Scotia and Francis Parkman.[27] To the defense of Akins comes

27 History of Acadia, 305; La Tragédie, 1:xv; Richard, Acadia, 1:9.

Archibald MacMechan, Ph.D., editor of Nova Scotia Archives, II and III.

> "French controversialists accuse Akins of partiality and continue to write under the influence of Raynal, Haliburton, and Longfellow."[28]

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28 "Evangeline and the Real Acadians," Atlantic Monthly, 99 (February, 1917),:206.

Again in the support of Richard, we read:

> "Edouard Richard has done good work in unmasking the studied attempts to whitewash the matter by casting aspersions on the loyalty and good faith of the Acadians and by suppressing and omitting important documents giving their side to the accusations brought against them. He [Richard] has shown the unbelievable knavery of Akins in his compilation of the papers in the Archives of Nova Scotia."[29]

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29 Margaret P. Hayne, "Reconstruction of a Lost Chapter in American History" [review of book by Richard] in The Catholic World, 108 (March 1919),:808. It should be pointed out that Edouard Richard is an Acadian by descent, and Archibald MacMechan and Akins are, of course, English.

And thus it goes on ad infinitum. More of it will be cited in proper context, but it is evident that it requires some temerity on the part of the student to probe the matter further.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the first Acadians were really the three hundred colonists brought to America in the spring of 1632 by Isaac De Razilly, a relative of Cardinal Richelieu and an agent of Richelieu's Company of New France. Some of the original De Monts band were still in Acadian

territory, but they were comparatively few in number and living for the most part as coureurs de bois. De Razilly's band had been recruited principally from the districts of Touraine and Brittany, and when he took over Port Royal from the Scotch, most of these last returned to their native land, although some few intermarried with the French and remained.[30]

30 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:41.

D'Aulnay, in a sense one of the co-founders with De Razilly, brought over twenty more families in 1638; La Fontaine transported sixty people, only five of whom were women, in 1671. And finally from 1686 to 1710 sixty to seventy others were added [Richard says eighty-five], mostly disbanded soldiers from the small garrison which the French government maintained at the fort.[31] Thus De Razilly's group, D'Aulnay's, La Fon-

31 Hannay, History of Acadia, 282, 291; Richard, Acadia, 1:33.

taine's, the soldiers, a strain of Scot, and some Indian blood make up the cell of Acadian culture.[32] Few Canadians

32 Hannay, History of Acadia, 295, 297, 298. Good treatment of Indian marriages with this conclusion:"...the percentage of Indian blood in the veins of the Acadians is too small to be worthy of being taken into account." But L'Abbé J. A. Maurault, Histoire Des Abenakis Depuis 1605 Jusqu'a Nos Jours (Quebec, 1866), 75, asserts that the alliance of the French and savages was strengthened by marriage. Many Frenchmen married Indian women especially from 1607 to 1675 when European women were few in Acadia.

mingled for any length of time with the Acadians, and thus the latter, according to Hannay, constituted a very homogeneous people "to a greater degree than almost any other race that can be named."[33]

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33 History of Acadia, 291.

How did the contemporary English governor Philipps describe them?

> "...they are rather a pest, an incumbrance than of an advantage to the Country, being a proud, lazy, obstinate and untractable people, unskillful in the methods of Agriculture, nor will be led or drove into a better way of thinking, and (what is still worse) greatly disaffected to the Government. They raise ('tis true) both Corn and Cattle on Marsh lands, that wants no clearing, but they have not in almost a century, cleared the quantity of 300 acres of Woodland. From their Corn and Cattle they have plenty of Dung for manure, which they make no use of...this, I take it, proves the first assertion, amd as to their disaffection, their being of the Romish Religion, puts that beyond all doubt."[34]

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34 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 102. Another selection from page 42 of the same compilation reiterates the charge of laziness.

They are indicted then for being proud, lazy, obstinate, and disaffected toward the English government. As evidence of their laziness we are told they did not clear the wooded areas and they did not utilize manure as fertilizer. Hannay, in regard to the non-clearance charge, suggests the very probable exaggeration on the part of the English governor, and

then, he reasons, that if the cultivation of the marsh lands were more profitable, the Acadians were not to be blamed for directing their energies to reclaiming them. And the manure they did not use? Brebner says that for decades men have been laughing at the Acadians who had so little use for it, but he argues that with their system of flooding and drainage, they did not have to bother with it.[35] However, after

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35 History of Acadia, 283; Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia; A Marginal Colony During the Revolutionary Years (New York, 1937), 140-1. Is it necessary to comment that diking marsh lands and maintaining the system was more rewarding but more difficult than clearing wooded areas?

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praising the Acadian system, Brebner retracts the value of his commendation:

> "Nevertheless, it cannot be an accident that the testimony which we have about Nova Scotian agriculture, Acadian or New England is unanimous [not true] in its charges of slovenliness and laziness."[36]

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36 Ibid., 139. Brebner's comments and interpretations have lost considerable weight with the student since he writes in such a weak, cautious manner, stating a fact and then retracting the implications of what he has said. In New England's Outpost Brebner takes the Acadians' part in most instances against the agents of expulsion, though even there he asserts and then almost negates his conclusion a few pages on. But his later work Neutral Yankees has an "Appendix B" wherein he retracts more of the statements in his first work. He seems to try to straddle both sides of the controversies.

The testimony of the French governor Villebon has often been cited by English authorities to corroborate the accusation of laziness. Villebon commented that although Port

Royal was a little Normandy for apples, there would be a more abundant harvest of them if only the people were more industrious. He complained that the Acadians were unwilling to clear the uplands because the work was too hard. Instead they cultivated the marsh lands with much less trouble but often with unfortunate results; for when high tides were accompanied by strong winds, the lands were inundated and had to lie fallow for two years because of the salt deposits.[37]

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37 John Clarence Webster, ed., Acadia At the End of the Seventeenth Century: Letters, Journals, and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau De Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700 and Other Contemporary Documents, Monographic Series No. 1 (New Brunswick, 1934), 128, 133.

Such testimony coming from a French governor does seem to have condemnatory weight until one recalls the phase of Acadian history during which Villebon was governor, 1691-1700. Villebon arrived in Nova Scotia to take over the powers of his commission shortly after Phip's raid of 1691. Port Royal and the adjacent lands were nominally held by the English for the next nine years. Villebon lived in exile, as it were, on the St. John's river across the Bay of Fundy; for the Acadians of Port Royal had been forced to take an oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and the English flag flew above their fort. On account of the precariousness and the uncertain tenure of such a situation, we can hardly blame the Acadians for not cultivating assiduously the apple orchards which were producing an abundant yield anyway. The English forbade all commercial enterprise.

Neither are they to be blamed for not clearing the uplands which might any day be surrendered to the nominal English landlord and which meantime afforded shelter in the event of future raids. See pages nine and ten above. It was 1700 before Villebon's successor, Governor Sebastien de Villieu re-established the headquarters of the French government at Port Royal.[38]

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38 In reference to the clearing of the uplands and the alternative use of the marsh lands that Villebon stressed, the student notes that Villebon made no mention of dyking. Was it possible to cultivate the marsh lands undyked or merely quasi-dyked? This would have been the "easy way out" and yet an expedient readily excused, in view of the fact that the English might return at any time to usurp the full rights of their conquest.

But "by their fruits you shall know them." Truly, the sources themselves are a "maze of contradictions." Consult Akins again and another English governor, Caulfied, November 1, 1715, implied that the Acadians were excellent farmers. He mentioned the lands at Mines, the great quantities of wheat yearly harvested, and the cattle stock, expressing fear that if the Acadians emigrated, "the best farms in the country" were likely to be drowned, "by cutting a dyke, which the Inhabitants at goeing off will not want ill nature to do."[39]

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39 Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:34. The phrase, "cutting a dyke" refutes the idea that the Acadians were ever just menial subservient peasants. They had courage, and later we shall see why they might feel like cutting dykes.

From another source we have a more detailed report, dated

May 26, 1720. Annapolis is described as the "Metropolis" of about three hundred able-bodied men of whom ninety had families. The rich sound soil produced 10,000 bushels of grain, chiefly wheat, some rye, oats, and barley. Oxen and cows numbered about 2,000; sheep about 2,000; hogs, about 1,000. Masting could be had with difficulty, but pitch was frequently made. Forty thousand weight of furs had been taken out of Annapolis each year. Minis (Mines) had some five hundred men, of whom two hundred were permanent inhabitants. Here was "the most improved part of the colony." The fertile soil yielded over 20,000 bushels of wheat, pease, rye, and barley. Oxen and cows were about 3,000; sheep, 4,000; hogs, about 2,000. Then there were copper mines at Minis, and the inhabitants made spoons, candlesticks, and other necessary utensils. They had between thirty and forty sail of vessels which they had built themselves and which they used in fishing. Other localities were detailed in the same report, but these mentioned constituted the principal ones.[40]

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40 Archibald MacMechan, ed., Nova Scotia Archives. A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1714 (Halifax, 1900), 2:24-5. Note variants: Mines, Minas, Minis.

The point here is that such prosperous farmers could not be justly characterized as lazy. The phrase Acadian farmer automatically conjures up the famous dyke system he employed. Coming as they did from the marsh lands of France, where the sea was kept out by artificial dykes, the French found in

Acadia similar regions and went to work. Diereville described the cooperative and arduous task of dyking that took many days but which was compensated for with abundant crops. Short and Doughty speak of the "laborious aboiteaux" which still skirt the water courses and constitute the "Acadians best monument."[41] Even in modern times the Acadian dyke

41 Voyage to Port Royal, 94-5; Atlantic Provinces, 13:71-2.

system continues to be wondered at, praised, and admired. The Acadians are esteemed as master dyke builders, masters of flooding and drainage, who turned marsh lands into fields ripe with golden harvest, and who nurtured trees laden with heavy fruit.[42]

42 Clara Dennis, Down in Nova Scotia, My Own, My Native Land (Toronto, 1934), 57, 87; Duncan, Bluenose, Portrait of Nova Scotia, 32, marvels that in less than a century a handful of Acadians had turned a wilderness into a valley of beauty and fruitfulness, devastating tides had been dyked, apple orchards had been nurtured to full fruitage.

In summer the men were continually employed in husbandry or fishing. In winter they had to cut timber for fuel and fences, and they engaged in hunting. The women were busy with carding, spinning, and weaving wool, flax, and hemp. There was a type of communism amongst them, an "obliging exchange of products and farm duty," vital to their dyking success. A sort of patriarchal nucleus was the custom. The head of a family lived on a grant of land surrounded by his

children and grandchildren of several generations. Hence there often occurred the "Village of the Heberts," the "Hamlet of the Richards," the "Meadow of the Bourgs," et cetera. Before marriage a girl was expected to give proof that she could weave a pair of sheets; the young man was expected to know how to make a pair of wheels.[43]

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43 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:182, 184; Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc., 2:133.

The Sieur De Diereville, who lived amongst the Acadians for a year (1699-1700) spoke very highly of them, depicting the quiet pastoral life in which each one lived content with his lodging, worked for a living, emptied his bread box and wine cask, and kept himself warm in winter under his rustic roof without a farthing spent on wood. The women he pictured as "wise and modest." It was the abode of virtue, for women had nothing to offer men if Hymen did not sanction their love. In almost every family he found at least five or six children. No thought was given to social status. The noble married the peasant girl; and if she were widowed, she was apt to marry a peasant the second time and forego her ladyhood. He related how leisure delighted them and how they enjoyed their ease. But we cannot infer that they were lazy, because Diereville praised highly their industry, observing that without having learned a trade, they were in all things good artisans. There was nothing, he asserted, which they could not do, and

he illustrated his point with an example. Although the Acadians had never seen a Bark or Longboat in the process of construction, when they heard he desired to establish a cod fishery, they not only built the boats but undertook to man them at sea. On the other hand, he commented, the spirit of invention did not stir amongst them; but given a model, they could execute with ease. They were never daunted by difficulty but rather challenged, and thus they achieved, he claimed "a thousand things."[44]

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44 Voyage to Port Royal, 90-3; 96-8. Both English and French historians pay tribute to high Acadian morality.

Arthur Doughty, an English Canadian historian, quotes from the "Brown's Collection" wherein the Acadians are portrayed as a strong, healthy, virtuous people, sincerely attached to their religion and traditions. They were stubborn, but could be led by kindness, "inclined to litigation but not unwilling to arbitrate their differences." And Doughty apparently credits this verdict of Brown's.[45]

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45 The Acadian Exiles, A Chronicle of the Land of Evangeline (32 vols., Chronicles of Canada, 9, Part III, The English Invasion, George Wrong and H. H. Langton, Toronto, 1916), 14. Doughty as author is more generous toward Acadians than is the work he edits in collaboration with Shortt. Here Doughty cited the "Brown Collection," Public Archives of Canada (M.651a, 171).

Dr. Brown, a Scotch Presbyterian minister who lived in Halifax, 1787-1795, became interested in the Acadians and collected all material possible with the intention of writing their history, which he actually began but never completed. Documents and manuscript were lost and eventually re-discovered. John Bartlet Brebner, "The Brown Mss. and

Longfellow," in The Canadian Historical Review, 17:172-8 (June, 1936), says that some of the documents are "precious originals;" others are corroborative copies of doubtful materials. Brebner states that failure to evaluate the Brown manuscripts mars the writings of Abbé Casgrain and Émile Lauvrière, and then he comments that Richard attacks Francis Parkman for his failure to use the Brown material.

It is clear from the above then that Francis Parkman failed to use, even with discretion, the Brown's documents, some of which Brebner admits are precious originals.

W. C. Milner, "Condition of Public Records in the Maritime Provinces," in the Canadian Historical Association: Report of Annual Meeting Held at Ottawa, May 22-23, 1922, With Historical Papers (Ottawa, 1923), 42, states that:

> "Some of them [Brown's documents] give important evidence as to the character and conduct of the Acadian French, especially on the ground of disloyalty to the British Crown, and it is alleged, if published would greatly modify the hostile judgment passed on them."

Milner says the letters of de Brouillan at Louisbourg in reply to British authorities are particularly significant.

Regarding the charge that the Acadians were lazy and unskilled farmers, I have avoided using the testimony of either Edouard Richard or John Frederic Herbin, Acadian descendants, as being perhaps prejudiced in French favor; and I have referred instead only to English sources and one French primary; but I shall now quote Lauvrière, as I translate him, on the English accusation of stubbornness, for Lauvrière is in entire agreement.

> "The dominant trait of their character was, nevertheless, from their origin, an obstinate energy: 'stubborn as an Acadien' became in North America a popular saying. It was necessary to them, indeed, a more than common energy to found a new country with precarious beginnings, with no aid

> from the mother country, despite the hindrances of administration and all the obstacles of nature. But it was necessary to them still more when they had to flee into the forest before the incursions of the English, and find after their return: their crops burned, their livestock slaughtered, their houses in ruin, their dykes broken. Everything to be done again, as on the first day. Be it as it was, they began again."[46]

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46 La Tragédie, 1:185.

That they were litigious is repeatedly claimed, and the French authors for the most part do not deny it but find excuses. The problem will be treated in chapter two under English government.

The criticism of illiteracy is frequently hurled.

> "The Acadians were not a promising people ...they were prosperous but ignorant. Almost none of them could read. It seems as if history hardly need mention a people so feeble and obscure. Circumstances, however, made the role of the Acadian important."[47]

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47 Wrong, Conquest of New France, 74.

Regarding Acadian illiteracy, it is difficult to ascertain just how much education was available or secured. Bernard, Mombourquette, and Lauvrière treat of the matter, but Bernard somewhat more extensively. Bernard speaks of the zeal of M. Petit, pastor of Port Royal after 1676, for the education of youth. M. Petit was assisted by a young man whose name we do not know, a sort of lay apostle, who held class for the

boys in the priest's house while M. Petit himself took the girls for catechism in the church. Mombourquette and Bernard tell of the first religious teaching Sister in Acadia, Marguerite Bourgeoys of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Monsignor de Saint-Vallier, second bishop of Quebec, sent this good Sister sometime previous to 1686; and when Monsignor made his episcopal visitation in Acadia that year, he was gracious in his praise of Sister Marguerite's work, and he planned that she would take in boarders and that she would train other young women to follow in her steps. Just how many of the bishop's plans were realized is uncertain. Mombourquette records that Sister Marguerite stayed only ten years, and he suggests that possibly the task was beyond her strength. Then in 1701, according to Mombourquette and Bernard, M. Geoffroy, a Sulpician, arrived as assistant to M. Petit, and he took over very zealously the schooling of youth. It was M. Geoffroy who asked for and received Sister Chauzon of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross to instruct young Acadians, but she remained only until the final conquest of the country by the English in 1710. Lauvrière mentions the school opened in 1701 at Port Royal by Sister Chausson (spelling differs) of the aforesaid community and then speaks of a "regular school" founded at Port Royal in 1703 by Father Patrick René, and of still another a little later at Mines by L'Abbé Louis Geoffroy. There was no

formal schooling for the Acadians during the English regime in Nova Scotia; and yet, as Bernard indicates, there were certain English functionaries who accused the priests of having allowed the French Neutrals to grow up in profound ignorance. Mombourquette gives details of a boarding school established by French religious in Louisbourg in 1727. This school lasted until 1745 when Louisbourg was captured by the English, and it was reopened after that citadel was returned to France by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.[48]

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48 Antoine Bernard, C.S.V., Le Drame Acadien Depuis 1604 Avec cartes et illustrations (Montreal, 1936), 165-7. Abbé A.-E [sic] Mombourquette, "Les Convents Acadiens," Canada Français (Deuxième Série du Parler Français, 7, September, 1921),:5-6. Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:159, 189. The seeming contradiction between Mombourquette and Bernard's account with that of Lauvrière is reconciled by Bernard's note to the effect that L'Abbé Geoffroy went to Mines in 1703 and organized the parish and school there as he had previously done at Port Royal.

Lauvrière concludes that the Acadians were not so illiterate as historians want us to believe, that many signed their names to various acts and oaths, and even in the absence of their priests gave to their petitions and grievances a touch of oratory; that in this regard they scarcely have to yield place to men of their class in France or England. And despite the fact that education was forging ahead in New England colonies, the Acadian author Herbin is probably correct in

his reasonable assertion that the Acadians were not more illiterate than other people in isolated sections of New England.[49]

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49 La Tragédie, 1:189-90. Doughty in his Acadian Exiles, 14, corroborates this, substantiating it as derived from Public Archives of Canada, "Brown's Collection," M651a, 171, which general source is also listed at end of Lauvrière's chapter. John Frederic Herbin, The History of Grand-Pré: The Home of Longfellow's 'Evangeline.' (New Brunswick, n.d., [1913]), 59. In Placide Gaudet's "Acadian Genealogy and Notes" in Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905, Appendix A, Part 3 (3 vols., Ottawa, 1900), 2:76, is the facsimile of a document addressed to Governor Armstrong, November 11, 1731, by 87 Acadians. The student noted that 36 of the 87 signed their names, and the rest made only their mark.

If their homes were not particularly attractive, still the Acadians seem to have taken pride in their personal appearance. They were shod, Indian fashion, in a sort of moccasin of elk skin or seal, and with the flax of their own fields, the wool of their sheep, and the furs available, they contrived very often becoming clothing. Later they received from La Gâtine du Poitou some heavy cloth in exchange for exported skins. Only black and green dyes were procurable, but the Acadian women painstakingly took red threads from English cloth to brighten their handiwork. The men were distinguished by their buckles of ribbon, their flowing ties. The women wore fichus edged with bright colors over head and shoulders.[50]

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50 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:183-4; Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 14; Diereville, Voyage to Port Royal, 96-7; N.S. Hist. Soc., 2:133.

The vast majority of the Acadians were tillers of the soil or fishermen, but there was another small group that played an important role in French colonial history and later in Anglo-French relations. They were known as coureurs de bois, men who trafficked in furs. But actually they disappeared into the forest for months at a time, lived amongst the Indians, were adopted into their tribes, intermarried with them, became leaders, and at certain seasons appeared in civilization to sell their spoil of the chase. In Acadia these coureurs de bois were very few in number. The Church and government (French and English) frowned on such a life that was often licentious.[51] In time of Anglo-French

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51 O'Callaghan, Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 9:141, 143-4; 442-3.

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friction, however, the coureurs de bois rendered great service to France, rallying the Indian allies and employing them skillfully against the English. One of the most picturesque of these men was an Acadian, the Baron St. Castin, who had lived a soldier's life before he came to New France where he established himself at Penobscot, married a daughter of an Indian chief, and wielded unsurpassed power over the Abenakis for some thirty-eight years. Once the Puritans had begun to push through the woods of northern Maine, it was to a great extent the Baron St. Castin and his son in their outpost at Pentagoet who maintained all the savages of that region faithful to the French and prevented them from allying themselves with

the English. The author Maurault believes that Baron St. Castin alone retarded English colonization for more than thirty years.[52]

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52 Histoire Des Abenakis, 107; Lahontan, New Voyages, 1:328, said that the Indians looked up to St. Casteins [sic] as their "Tutelar God," that the "Governours General of Canada [sic] keep in with him, and the Gouvernours of New England are afraid of him."

Lahontan's testimony is not generally considered reliable because of a spurious exploration he claimed to have made, and because of his anti-Jesuit bias. See: Gustav Lanctot, ed., The Oakes Collection, New Documents by Lahontan Concerning Canada and Newfoundland (Ottawa, 1940), 7,9,11,13, 25,37. But Reuben Thwaites, editor of Lahontan's New Voyages to North America, xxxviii, while conscious of Lahontan's transgressions, says that: "The frequent neglect of Lahontan by scientific and historical students has not been justified ...," and he insists on the "admirable reports" that Lahontan did author. It seemed advisable to the student, however, to use Lahontan only when she has corroborative material.

Another area in Nova Scotia that caused endless difficulty between the Bastonais and the Acadians was the Strait of Canso lying between Cape Breton and the peninsula. The island of Canso itself and several smaller adjacent ones constituted the best sites (possibly in the whole world) for cod fishing. Jealousy, rivalry, smuggling, illicit traffic, and Indian raids characterized its history for over a hundred years until the Treaty of Paris, 1763.[53] You could say, no

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53 MacMechan, Letter-Books and Commission Book, 2:56, 76, 77, 91, 109, 128. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:48.

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doubt, that the incessant competition centering at Canso and the recurring frontier atrocities were the primary causes of

the capture of Port Royal in 1710 and the underlying causes in America of the French and Indian war.

In considering Anglo-French friction, it is necessary to examine the role of the Catholic missionary amongst the Acadian people, and even to understand the people themselves, we must know his place in their lives and hearts. Longfellow's Evangeline is historically correct in its delineation of this priestly man. Every colonizing permit issued by the French government stated as its primary purpose the evangelizing of the savages, and this part of the contract was always fulfilled. These clergy either doubled as ministers to Acadians and Indians or were appointed for the separate purposes. Amongst the French the missionaries were not only directors of conscience but instructors in schools, arbiters in family dissensions, and political guides in contacts with the English. In the succeeding chapter it will be evident how bitterly the English resented this priestly influence, but I think James Douglas, speaking primarily of Jesuits, places the matter historically in its correct perspective.

> "...their assistance, as diplomats, in negotiating with even the hostile Iroquois often made them powerful aids to the government [French]. Their invaluable services as educators, their great learning and social tact, their profound religious devotion -- arduous missionary labor...made them the most influential group of men in the Colony. We may today, perhaps unreasonably, resent ecclesiastical interference in politics, but then it was regarded by both Catholics and Protestants as one of the most essential functions of

> the clergy. The Jesuits of Canada really participated in state affairs more prudently than did the Puritan ministers of New England."[54]

54 James Douglas, LL.D., New England and New France; Contrasts and Parallels in Colonial History (New York, 1913), 113.

I would say that the Catholic missionary in New France was similar to the Spanish friar in New Spain, in that he was largely responsible for the peaceful relations that the French enjoyed with the Micmacs and Abenakis. Unlike English colonies to the south, the Acadians had no Indian raids to fear unless they were English incited and connected with the frontier warfare.

From the very beginning the French left nothing undone to cultivate the friendship of the Indian, and these amicable relations endured for over one hundred-fifty years. There was absolutely nothing to fear from the Indians of Acadia proper: the Micmacs (Souriquois) inhabiting the peninsula, the northwestern shore of the bay, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island, or from the Etchemins (Malecites) whose domains extended from the St. John river to the Kennebec.[55]

55 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:23.

Father Biard, S.J., who arrived at Port Royal in 1611 wrote:

> "And for us, we're very glad to be in a country of safety; for among the Etchemins, as these are, and the Souriquois, as are those at Port Royal, we are no

> more obliged to be on our guard than among our own servants."[56]

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56 Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations, 2:49, 51. See also: Maurault, Histoire Des Abenakis, 84. Lahontan's New Voyages, 1:327-8, footnote, explains that Abenakis is the generic term for the Algonquin Indians of Maine and New Brunswick, the word itself meaning people of the East. According to Webster, Acadia, Seventeenth Century, 213, the Abenakis were not strictly speaking Acadian Indians, though the term is loosely applied. All three groups: Micmacs, Etchemins, and Abenakis were, however, of Algonquin stock.

However, Champlain had the misfortune of alienating the Iroquois by associating himself with a Huron-Algonquin expedition into their country via Lake Champlain, using firearms upon the proud race who had had no former acquaintance with such weapons and who fled in terror. Perhaps it is far fetched, but Douglas claims the incident had:

> "...an almost controlling influence over the destinies of France in the New World...it made the powerful Iroquois confederacy a staunch ally of the Dutch and subsequently of the English, and it compelled the French to assume the protection and engage in the quarrels of the weak Algonquin tribes and of the Huron nation, a defaulting member of the great Iroquois family."[57]

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57 New England and New France, 93; J. H. Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage in New France (New Haven, 1950), 25. Kennedy states that Iroquois rivalry with the Huron-Algonquin alliance had become traditional when Champlain committed French arms in 1609.

After the priest the most important personage in a village community was the seigneur. The captain of the militia, before whose house stood a flag post, was just a habitant.

The seigneur was more highly respected. The seigneury itself was the civil limit of the ecclesiastical parish.[58]

58 Douglas, New England and New France, 32.

This seigneurial system was related to the old feudal regime of France, but relationship is as far as one can push the comparison. The harsher, tyrannical features of European feudalism were not known in Canada. The censitaire or habitant was not a serf. He was a free man, and he knew himself to be such.[59] And finally the seigneurial system of Acadia

59 Charles W. Colby, Canadian Types of the Old Regime, 1608-1698 (New York, 1908), 145.

was not so rigid as that of Canada proper. Under the feudal tenure every censitaire was liable to military service, and in Quebec and Montreal this was not a mere formality, since the first century of Canada's colonial period was practically a state of war with the Iroquois.[60] But in Acadia the habi-

60 Douglas, New England and New France, 32.

tants seldom took part in such engagements, leaving that to the Indians and coureurs de bois. After the surrender of Port Royal to the English in 1710, almost all of the seigneurs left Acadia.[61]

61 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:52-3

Another figure of some importance in the French system was the Notary, a man of professional standing who drew up deeds, gave copies to the interested parties, and retained the original in his cadastre.[62] The English retained the

62 Douglas, New England and New France, 31-2.

notary system when they took over Acadia.

The Acadian village was usually referred to as "the fort" because the word comprehended houses and farms in the vicinity of a fort proper or fortified place; and as late as the latter half of the nineteenth century the French habitant still spoke of the village as "the fort."[63] Since the Acadians were noted

63 Hon. William Renwick Riddell, "A Late Official Report on the French Posts in the Northern Part of North America," Michigan History Magazine, 16 (Winter No., 1932),:68.

for their large families (the population having quadrupled itself from 1671 to 1714),[64] settlements multiplied over the

64 Brebner, New England's Outpost, 46

peninsula, and the famous ones with their old French and Indian names were: Beaubassin, Les Mines (which included Grand-Pre), Cobequid, Chipody, Peticodiac, Chignectou, Chebouctou, La Heve, et cetera. Frequently whole families migrated to new settlements to escape from a French government that was too troublesome. For the Acadians, unlike their French Canadian brethren, were quite independent in spirit.

Neglect and indifference on the part of France had taught them to regulate their own affairs. Thus they held their own village meetings, usually on Sundays after Mass outside the church door. Such a practice suggests the New England town meetings, but the Acadians were much less formal, their organization less complex. The rules of their gatherings were simple; the spirit was essentially democratic. In this sense Acadia as a French colony was unique.[65]

65 Richard, Acadia, 35-6; Douglas, New England and New France, 32; Priestley, Coming of the White Man, 211; Brebner, New England's Outpost, 47.

It was this political freedom enjoyed by the Acadians for so long a time that made them chafe under the paternalism of Louis XIV's more personal rule, 1663-1670.[66] For during

66 After 1670 Louis' zeal waned because of European wars.

most of the French regime, the Acadians, although they had a residing governor and small militia, usually at Port Royal, were separated from the central government of New France, from the policies and intrigues of Quebec. It is necessary to point out that Quebec and Montreal were faraway places to the Acadians. It took more than a month to reach Quebec, the ordinary pony express being the Indian runner, and it was a long difficult trip with frequent portages.[67]

67 Rev. William Kip, (ed. and trans.), The Early Jesuit Missions in North America, Compiled and Translated from the Letters of the French Jesuits, With Notes. Part 1 (New York, 1846), 7. Mr. C. B. Fergusson in correspondence

addressed to Sister Mary Jean, April 14, 1954, records the fact that Nicholson sent dispatches from Annapolis Basin, October 19, 1710, relative to the fall of Port Royal, to Vaudreuil, Governor of Quebec, and Vaudreuil did not receive them until December 6.

And then Quebec was another world, a Versailles to the simple Acadian peasant. Environment, therefore, had contributed to Acadian independence throughout the French regime, and how much more would that spirit be likely to assert itself under an alien government, a government they had found unpleasant at close range. For Boston was very near, too near for comfort -- the ships of the Bastonais prowled their coastlines continually, especially in the region of Canso. Protestant-Catholic antipathy, consequence of the Protestant Reformation and the Huguenot wars, highlighted the difficulties. Politically, I think, the Acadians were more like the colonists of Virginia and Massachusetts than like their own countrymen of Quebec and Montreal. There was bound to be trouble, and, true to tradition, the English would try to "muddle through."

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH RULE 1713-1740

It was the Age of Autocracy, and the most illustrious autocrats of the period sat upon the thrones of Europe in the span 1713-1763. In their number were Louis XIV and Louis XV of France; Frederick the Great of Prussia; Marie Therese of Austria; Peter the Great, Czarina Elizabeth, and finally Catherine the Great of Russia. Six Popes occupied successively the throne of Peter, the most eminent being Benedict XIV. Queen Anne, George I, and George II ruled in England. It was the Age of Mercantilism, and the two greatest wars of the century, that of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years, became almost simutaneously colonial struggles in North America and Asia. France during this half century lost almost all of her empire in the New World, in Africa, and in India. England became dominant in North America, India, and on the sea. Prussia gained ascendancy over Austria and on the continent of Europe. It was the Age of Enlightenment, and the philosophers of the time spoke of religious toleration, but Voltaire, the "Great Philosopher of Enlightenment" was cynical and anti-clerical in matters Catholic.[1] John Locke of England urged toleration

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1 Richard Aldington, trans., Letters of Voltaire and Frederick the Great (New York, 1927), 74, 75, 324, 381.

for all creeds except Catholicism, paganism, and atheism.[2]

2 John Locke, Treatise of Civil Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration edited by Charles L. Sherman (New York, 1937), 210-12.

In Puritan and Anglican America there was bitter anti-papist feeling. Just prior to 1713 the leading Puritan minister, Cotton Mather, had stressed effectively the "Wiles of popery." Thomas Hughes, S.J. cites the anti-clerical laws passed June, 1700, in Massachusetts, laws prohibiting Jesuits, priests, and popish missionaries from entering that colony under penalties of death or imprisonment, and he further illustrates how protestant bias prevailed from New England to South Carolina when the unfortunate Acadians were distributed along the Atlantic coast in 1755.[3] But we shall not

3 "Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708," Part I in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series 7 (Boston, 1911) 7:572. Thomas Hughes, S.J., History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal. Volume Two From 1645 till 1773 (2 vols., New York, 1917), 2:189, 276-7.

further anticipate.

About the glamour of European courts or the mighty despots who held sway there, the Acadians knew little. That the selfishness implied in the economy of Mercantilism and the benevolence to be expected of Enlightenment would negate each other, they did not comprehend. Most of them had probably never heard of Voltaire or Locke, but the anti-papacy of the Bastonais had been their daily fare for years. Now in 1713

the Acadians realized that the surrender of Port Royal in 1710 had been given permanency by the new Treaty of Utrecht. They had hoped that once more the terms would give them back to his "Most Christian Majesty." Article XIV of the treaty promised them the free exercise of their religion, and to their devout peasant minds that was the best and the most important news of the day. But their loyal French hearts were heavy. The more than two years of extortion, taxation, and mistreatment of the first governor Vetch were behind them. What would the future bring?

Colonel Francis Nicholson, who had commanded the expedition against Port Royal three years previous, had succeeded Vetch as governor in 1712; and the Acadians could not have been happy when the treaty terms were read to them; for Nicholson was to continue as the appointed governor. However, Thomas Caulfeild, the lieutenant-governor, administered affairs locally.[4] Nicholson made a practice of absentee

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4 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:1, says that Akins spells Caulfeild's name Caulfield and that authors dependent on Akins have done the same but without any justification for such a rendering.

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governorship, and during his whole tenure of office which terminated in January, 1715, he paid only one short visit to Annapolis.[5] Nevertheless, his exercise of power was unfor-

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5 Rev. George Patterson, D.D., "Hon. Samuel Vetch, First English Governor of Nova Scotia," in Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc. 4:52, footnote.

tunate for everyone concerned, as we shall see.

Information regarding matters at Annapolis during the summer of 1713 is meager.[6] But there is a letter of

6 Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc., 4:48.

Caulfeild's to Nicholson, editorially assigned to that year, which states that the soldiers were in debt, having no credit within or without the garrison. Although their chief trade was with the Indians, who came only when compelled by necessity to English headquarters, the Boston merchants were underselling Annapolis, and Caulfeild made it plain that such a practice must cease or the Indians would be entirely estranged.[7]

7 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:1-2.

The reference to debt is characteristic of the English garrison at Annapolis from 1710 to 1716 and to a less precarious degree long after that. Governor Vetch's correspondence with the Lords of Trade, English Officials, and the government of Massachusetts had one constant refrain, the need of money and credit.[8] By 1714 matters had improved

8 Lanctot, Documents, Currency, 35, 37-41, 44, 46. Vetch says, Nov. 20, 1712, that "...never any Garrison was left in so abandoned a Condition as this hath been ever since its Reduction." Down to the last extremity and to prevent "total mutiny and abandoning of garrison" he had advanced his own private funds -- so he asserts. Ibid., 48-9.

to some extent, but they were far from satisfactory.

The 1714 exchange of correspondence between Caulfeild and Nicholson contains frequent mention of Vetch and the financial straits of Annapolis. Nicholson charged Vetch with having acted arbitrarily and illegally, assuming powers as governor that he had no right to, and devising all ways and means to "Cheate her Majty and Subjects in the affairs of the Garrison as far as itt was possible for him to do."[9]

9 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:2-3.

Nicholson by April 6, 1714, had secured molasses, pork and beef for the garrison and had arranged for a clothing shipment sometime in the indefinite future. He cautioned Caulfeild about keeping exact accounts, as Her Majesty "hath been Notoriously cheated in this Artikle of Provtions." Furthermore he was not to issue any more bills of credit.[10]

10 Ibid. It would be well to say here that the spelling in the archival volumes of Nova Scotia is quaint.

Still the situation remained serious, and in May, Caulfeild informed Nicholson that he had been obliged by absolute necessity to issue more bills of credit, the number and specie of which he had strictly kept. He detailed his economy of the past winter, having used only twenty-four cords of wood per week instead of sixty [Acadians supplied these.][11]

11 Ibid., 7.

In October, 1714, the lieutenant-governor writes his superior that the garrison is in want of food and is reduced to provisions "poor in quality and extremely difficult to get."[12] Caulfeild sympathized with Nicholson in regard to

12 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:3-4. In the years 1715 and 1716 Caulfeild continues to complain. Ibid., 13, 14, 30, 37, 38, 42. See also: Lanctot, Documents, Currency, 83, 86, 87.

difficulties arising from Vetch's administration, describing it as "arbitrary and loose."[13] Patterson relates that

13 Lanctot, Documents, Currency, 61. The fourth volume Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc., a defense of Vetch, does not include Caulfeild's denunciations of Vetch.

Nicholson had a "sort of commission" to investigate the conduct of all colonial governors, but that his enquiry was directed almost entirely against Vetch, whom he summoned to appear before a meeting of the council, February 13, 1714. But Vetch, finding himself facing serious indictments, evaded and left for England to clear his name with the authorities there.[14]

14 Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc., 4:49-50.

In July, nearly two years after his appointment as governor, Nicholson set foot for the first time in Annapolis on a brief official survey, the issue of which was deplorable. From that time on Caulfeild was opposed to Nicholson and all

his policies. In a letter to the Board of Trade, Caulfeild described the hardships imposed on Acadians and English soldiers. Orders had come from Nicholson on April 6, 1714, that no vessel was to go to any port without a customs officer (there was only one such in existence), thereby stopping the whole trade of the colony for almost four months. Upon his arrival at Annapolis in July, Nicholson assured the garrison of his favor and interest, though at the same time he stopped their pay in England and injured their credit in Boston. Moreover he drove the French out of the country, shut the gates of the fort against those that remained, and declared them traitors, "though he knows the garrison must depend upon their [Acadian] help during the coming winter or perish."[15]

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15 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:27-9. Collection de Documents Inédits sur Le Canada et L'Amérique publiés par Le Canada Français (Quebec, 1888), 1:108-9. John Adams, officer at Annapolis, wrote to one Captain Steele that Nicholson had pulled down the fort [reference to palisades pulled down by Nicholson in temper] driven away the French and done the English interest much damage. Ibid., 114-5.

Nicholson felt justified in calling the Acadians traitors because of the fact that they had manifested a desire to leave the country; but to provide the proper background for this phase of the topic, it is necessary to refer to the Treaty of Utrecht, Article XIV, and to the place of Louisbourg in the Acadian picture.

According to the treaty the French retained Cape Breton which was separated from Acadia proper only by the narrow strait of Canso, and which now took on new significance in the eyes of the French government. From an agricultural viewpoint, the island had no particular merit, the soil being rocky and of little fertility, the terrain being cut up with bays and salt lakes, the climate so cold that wheat did not thrive very well.[16] Its principal value prior to the

16 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:201.

treaty had consisted in its fisheries, its woods, and its possibilities for naval construction. But the loss of Newfoundland and Acadia gave to Cape Breton

> "...a capital importance; this last of our maritime provinces became the advance post of Canada, its port of entry and departure, its unique rampart on the sea coast..."[17]

17 Ibid., 202.

Accordingly we find on March 29, 1713, the French Ministry writing to Vaudreuil, Governor at Quebec, regarding the resolution of the king to make an establishment at Cape Breton and to transfer there all the garrison and inhabitants of Plaisance (Newfoundland).[18] On September 2, 1713, the

18 Rapport De L'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec pour 1947-1948, 197.

French governor of Newfoundland, Saint-Ovide de Brouillan, made the military transfer with his engineer l'Hermité and some officers. They chose for the site of the projected fort, Port English, henceforth Louisbourg, and for a secondary town, Saint Anne, to be called Port Dauphin. Louisbourg, though not fitted to agricultural purposes had a good harbor, always free from ice, well screened from the winds and capable of sheltering some three hundred vessels. Port Dauphin was its complement to some extent in agricultural possibilities. Not many months later Monsieur de Costabelle, a former governor of Newfoundland, was named governor of Cape Breton with orders to organize as soon as possible and with a credit of 800.000 livres to create Louisbourg. The civil and military projects were confided to engineers of merit.[19] Pontchartrain, French Minister of the Marine, re-

19 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:203-4.

ported that the English recognized the importance of Louisbourg and took "umbrage at it." He said, "If France should lose this isle, such a loss would be irreparable, because it would entail the loss of all her possessions in North America."[20]

20 Ibid., 204.

A vital part of the French plan was to invite the Acadians to leave Nova Scotia and take up residence anew in Cape

Breton under the French flag at Port Dauphin. In accordance with Article XIV of Utrecht the Acadians were supposed to have full right to do this if they so desired. The French Ministry wrote to Vaudreuil as early as March 29, 1713:

> "I send word to Sieur de St. Ovide and L'Hermité that it is absolutely necessary and likewise of consequence to attract and to urge all the inhabitants of Acadia to come to the new establishment [Cape Breton]. I am persuaded that they will go and will dispose themselves to leave when they know that Frenchmen are going to live there. Likewise I know these people have been pressed to take an oath of fidelity to England since the 16 of last October..." 1712 [21]

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21 Rapport de L'Archiviste pour 1947-1948, 198.

The oath of fidelity was the crux of the Anglo-Acadian difficulty, and it was to be the bone of contention throughout the next forty-two years. The Acadians in 1712 refused to take an oath of allegiance to England, though Vetch had pressed it. And now when the invitation came in 1713, after the treaty terms were known, urging the Acadians to go to Cape Breton, there was a momentous decision confronting them. They declared to Father Felix Pain that they would never take an oath of fidelity to the Queen of Great Britain at the expense of the loyalty they owed to their country and their religion, that if it were demanded of them, they would rather leave the country. On the other hand they did not know as yet how the English were going to deal with

them. Some of their delegates had gone to Cape Breton to inspect the land and had reported that it was inadequate for their own needs and those of their cattle.

> "There is not in the whole island, land suitable for the maintenance of our families, nor are there prairies sufficient for the nourishment of our cattle from which we draw our principal subsistence... It would be to expose us to die of hunger charged with families such as we are, to leave our homes and our clearings, and without other resources to take new uncultivated lands..."[22]

22 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:206-7.

They definitely preferred to remain in Nova Scotia. But their fears regarding Cape Breton were considerably allayed by the generous offers on the part of the French crown. The Acadians were to have all facilities possible: gratuitous transport, concessions of lands, exemptions from all taxes for ten years, and subsistence for one year.[23] If they mani-

23 Rapport de L'Archiviste pour 1947-1948, 198; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:207.

fested a preference for the Isle Saint Jean or the Bay of Chaleur, it was perfectly admissible.[24]

24 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:206. The soil of Isle St. Jean was superior to that of Cape Breton. Ibid., 205.

Accordingly a number of Acadians passed over to Cape Breton in 1713 and many others applied to Vetch in 1714 for permission to leave, but he informed them that he had been

replaced in office by Colonel Nicholson (Vetch remained some time at Annapolis after he had been supplanted), and they would have to await the arrival of the new governor.[25]

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25 Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 30; Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:407; Herbin, History of Grand Pré, 45; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:209.

There is extant a letter of Vetch's to the Lords of Trade, dated November, 1714 (after he had left Annapolis), relative to the Acadian withdrawal. He says that their departure would leave Nova Scotia entirely destitute of inhabitants:

> "There being none but French and Indians (excepting the Garrison) settled in those parts...And as the accession of such a number of Inhabitants to Cape Bretton [sic] will make it at once a very populous Colony...So it is to be considered that one hundred of French, who were born upon that continent, and are perfectly known in the woods; can march upon snow shoes and understand the use of Birch Canoes are of more value and service than five times their number of raw men, newly come from Europe."

He goes on to insist that their skill in fishery and cultivation of soil would result in making Cape Breton the most powerful French colony in America and the greatest peril and damage to all the British colonies, as well as to the universal trade of Great Britain [italics mine]. In summary the Acadians should not be allowed to depart.[26]

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26 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:6.

Winsor says:

> "Fully persuaded of the correctness of this view [Vetch's] the successive British governors refused to permit the French to remove to Canada or Cape Breton."[27]

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27 Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:408.

In July, 1714, Major L'Hermité wrote to Nicholson, still in Boston, that many of the inhabitants of Port Royal, Mines, and Beaubassin had been refused permission to leave Nova Scotia, contrary to the provisions of Utrecht, and he asked Nicholson's permission to send two French officers in August to confer about the detention of the Acadians and to obtain another year of grace in view of the fact that they had been prohibited from withdrawing thus far.[28]

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28 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:4; Lauvrière La Tragédie, 1:209.

Nicholson courteously assented, and the French officers were permitted to address some 2,400 inhabitants. But when about three hundred fathers of families signed a document in the presence of Nicholson, who had only recently arrived, attesting their desire to emigrate from Nova Scotia within a year's time, the governor was alarmed. He pointed out that the year allowed for emigration had passed and before he could give permission for their departure, he would have to have recourse to the queen. The queen died a few weeks later, and he then said the matter had to be deferred until

George I might consider it.[29] There would always be some

29 Brebner, New England's Outpost, 66-7; Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 31; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:211-12; Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 48. All this despite the fact that Queen Anne had given the Acadians the right to depart without limitation of time. See page 6 of this thesis.

pretext.

The Acadians, however, fully determined to leave set about constructing boats to transport themselves and all their movable effects. They were peremptorily refused permission to buy any rigging at Louisbourg or Boston. Nicholson next forbade them to leave in boats constructed on English soil [interpretation of Navigation Acts?]. Further he forbade French vessels to enter Acadian ports and finally he confiscated the boats they had built.[30] Of Governor

30 L'Abbé H.R. Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage Au Pays D'Evangeline (Paris, 1889), 44; Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:159; Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 31; Parkman, Half-Century of Conflict, 1:188; Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 48; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:211.

Nicholson, Parkman says:

> "...like his predecessor, he was resolved to keep the Acadians in the province if he could. This personage, able, energetic, perverse, headstrong, and unscrupulous, conducted himself even towards the English officers and soldiers in a manner that seems unaccountable, and that kindled their utmost indignation. Towards the Acadians his behaviour was still worse."[31]

31 Half-Century of Conflict, 1:187-8.

Queen Anne died in August, 1714, and in America on the morning of December 2, 1714, her death was proclaimed at Annapolis Royal. The troops of the garrison were drawn out in the Upper Town on parade, and Major Caulfeild with the captains and other officers stood at attention while the flag was hoisted to half mast. The bell tolled [church bell?] and the cannon around the fort fired "Sharp Shott" at minute intervals. In the afternoon the flag was raised to full mast, the troops again in parade formation. The French inhabitants were assembled and His Majesty's proclamation read, declaring the high and mighty Prince George Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh to be the lawful and rightful "Liege Lord George by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, ffrance [sic] and Ireland" et cetera. The cannon was fired three rounds and was answered by the small arms of the soldiers. Then a party was detached with an officer and the Fort Major to repeat the ceremony in the Lower Town and Cape. English gentlemen next went to the home of the lieutenant-governor and there drank His Majesty's health, and the night was concluded with the discharge of thirty-nine "Coehorns" and "Mortars" three times. A great bonfire was made, candles were lit in the windows and "all Illuminations possible on so great an occasion." The whole garrison took the oath of allegiance to His Majesty.[32] Did the Acadians

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32 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:13.

realize with sinking heart that the "Protestant Succession" was practically ensured?

It was in January, 1715, that Messrs. Capoon and Button were assigned the task of proclaiming George I and of administering the oath of allegiance in all the areas of Nova Scotia. They proceeded in the sloop Caulfeild to Mines, Chignectou, to the River St. John, Passamoquoddy, and Penobscot; but the French unanimously refused to take an oath and reiterated their determination to leave the country. The worried Caulfeild wrote to Stanhope, Secretary of State, saying that the method of supplying the garrison must be changed if it were to survive through the winter. The French were "most of them quitting the country" especially at Mines, the chief corn plantation.[33]

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33 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:12-14. O'Callaghan, Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 9:931.

In the meantime Vetch had made progress with the powers in England, had had his reputation vindicated, and in January, 1715, was reappointed governor of Nova Scotia.[34] As far as

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34 Patterson in Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc., 4:52, says this fact seems to have been entirely unknown to all who have written on the early history of Nova Scotia. They represent Nicholson as governor from 1712-1717.

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can be ascertained, however, Vetch did not return to Annapolis Royal; Caulfeild stayed on in the capacity of lieutenant-governor. Caulfeild's letters of 1715 to various

officials in England, to Stanhope, to Prime Minister Walpole, and to the Board of Trade embodied various recitals of the damage Nicholson had wrought to Caulfeild's personal reputation and to British interests in Nova Scotia.[35] The lieu-

35 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:13-6, 27-8.

tenant-governor, of course, had to reopen correspondence with Vetch, and in lackey fashion, turn about, he sympathized with Vetch's trials, writing that he was only "too sensible of N.'s [Nicholson's] malice" and was persuaded that if his designs had been carried into effect "There would not be an inhabitant of any kind in the country nor a garrison on foot."[36]

36 Ibid., 29.

In 1715 Caulfeild was still wrestling with the problems of credit at Boston. The garrison at Annapolis, primarily composed of New Englanders, was maintained by the British Government, but provisions and even military pay were negotiated between the commandant of Annapolis and Boston through bills of exchange drawn on the British Treasury.[37] In May, 1716,

37 Lanctot, Documents, Currency, xvi

Caulfeild complained to Stanhope that the soldiers had had no bedding for some five years, that the clothing in the

store was so rotten and dear that the men refused it, "soe that at this time there are but few Soldiers that Mount ye Guard that have either Shoes, Stockings or Shirts." And to William Poulteney, Secretary of War, he expressed his fear of the "intire desolution [sic] of the Garrison, a place of great Importance to his Majtie."[38] In June,

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38 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:38, 40.

1716, he wrote to Colonel Taylor of Boston regarding the desertion of soldiers of the garrison "in such Numbers as will in a very little time Oblige us to be subject to most Emminent Dangers." Taylor was asked to send a ship of war to cruise the coast near Le Have where some of the deserters were said to be among the French fishermen. But shortly thereafter he was assured by Stanhope that his bills would be honored.[39]

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39 Ibid., 42.

During the winter of 1716 Caulfeild again summoned the inhabitants of Annapolis to take the oath of allegiance but without success, and he wrote to the Secretary of War that he would inquire into the sentiments of those in more remote places as soon as the season permitted. He commented that his opinion of the Acadians had undergone change, that little reliance was to be placed on their friendship, but they would leave the country with reluctance. Those who have

left [some got away during Nicholson's regime] have returned, he reported. For permanent improvement, he advised English inhabitants.[40] Hannay comments that the Acadians were able

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40 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:44-5.

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to refuse the oath of allegiance with impunity since the garrison at Annapolis was weak and there was no British force in any other part of the province to hold them in awe.[41] Parkman further avers that from that time on --

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41 History of Acadia, 312.

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apparently after Nicholson's tenure of governorship -- all the Acadians except those of Annapolis [italics mine] and its vicinity were free to go or stay at will.

> "If they had wished to emigrate, the English governor had not power to stop them...They were armed and they far outnumbered the English garrison; while at a word they could bring to their aid the Micmac warriors...To say that they wished to leave Acadia, but were prevented from doing so by a petty garrison at the other end of the province, so feeble that it could hardly hold Annapolis itself, is an unjust reproach upon a people who, though ignorant and weak of purpose [italics mine?] were not wanting in physical courage."[42]

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42 Half-Century of Conflict, 1:189.

Granted Parkman is correct about the physical possibility of a defiant emigration of a large portion of the people,

he still disregards the peace-loving psychology of the Acadian French who would have contemplated with horror the instigation of an Indian war. Since the Acadians were all related among themselves by close ties of blood, what might not the reprisals have been upon their kin at Annapolis and its vicinity? In addition an emigration involving thousands of men, women, and children required months of advance preparation, boats, supplies, and all necessities. What was to prevent the English governor from making the venture impossible by securing military assistance from Boston? It would only have been one of many times that New England soldiery had reduced Port Royal.

The Jesuit historian Charlevoix of the contemporary eighteenth century period wrote that the inspection of Cape Breton discouraged the idea of emigration amongst the Acadians, and the reversal of policy on the part of the English persuaded the colonists to remain in Nova Scotia. Brebner concurs with Charlevoix regarding the effect of the inspection of Cape Breton and concludes that the Acadians decided they were better off where they were. Then the modern Acadian authority Bernard speaks of the resolution that possessed the entire Acadian community in Nicholson's time to emigrate, possessed them until their delegates reported that Cape Breton was richer in mines than in arable land. After that, says Bernard, their enthusiasm fell, and a second movement of opinion favorable to remaining in

Acadia gained ground little by little.[43]

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43 The Rev. P.F.X. Charlevoix, S.J., History and General Description of New France (6 vols. trans. by John Gilmary Shea, New York, 1871), 5:296-7; Brebner, New England's Outpost, 64-7; Bernard, Le Drame, 250, 253. The reversal of English policy -- when the matter of unrestricted allegiance to England was not pressed -- alluded to by Charlevoix, was too far distant, 1730-1741, to be operative at the time in question, 1715.

There is doubtless much truth in the above observations, and the student agrees that the weight of the deputy report on Cape Breton caused the Acadians as a whole to permanently forego plans of emigration there. But in view of the fact that successive years repeatedly raised the question of emigration and witnessed a constant trickle of Acadian refugees to the region of Chignecto and the shores across the Bay of Fundy, the idea of emigration was certainly not abandoned. Indeed, as late as 1749, Governor Cornwallis of Halifax, worried about the tide of westward emigration, consequent on renewed pressure to elicit an oath of British allegiance, and he tried first to retain the Acadians by persuasion and finally checked them by the military occupation of their settlements. It seems to this student that Doughty's explanation is the only one that agrees with all the evidence. Doughty contends that circumstances being what they were, the Acadians patiently accepted the inevitable and resigned themselves to staying in Nova Scotia, where apart from political and

religious considerations they would have been most happy.[44]

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44 Acadian Exiles, 38. The following contend that the Acadians could not emigrate: Charles C. Smith, Narrative and Critical History of America (Winsor, ed.), 5:408-9 and French authors in general.

In 1717 Governor Richard Philipps was appointed to the post at Annapolis, and his Lieutenant Governor, John Doucette, took over in the capacity of Caulfeild from 1717 to 1726. Philipps held the title of governor until 1749, but he was actually resident at Annapolis for only six years, from 1720-1723 and again, 1729-1731. English government now began to take on definite structure and policies became definable.

Brebner says that the first arrangements of English government in Nova Scotia were make-shift and erratic. Shortt and Doughty agrue thus:

> "With the formal cession of Acadie to Britain began a typical experiment in government, which, owing to the lack of documents, has hitherto been little understood. This was the government of a large population by a handful of Englishmen divided by race, language and religion from the people they governed. In spite of the indifferences of the home authorities and the continuous intrigue of French political agents, these few ill-paid army officers in their crumbling fort at Annapolis Royal did succeed in holding the vast territory of Nova Scotia for the British crown, in establishing a framework of civil rule and in introducing order, law, and justice to a people that had never known [?] these blessings."[45]

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45 New England's Outpost, 70; Atlantic Provinces, 13:69.

Shortt and Doughty further maintain that it was the intention of the British government to establish representative institutions in the newly acquired province as "soon as possible," that the officers themselves were desirous of abandoning martial law; but the difficulty came from the Catholicity of the Acadians, for Catholics in England or in her colonies were legally debarred from suffrage. [There is an inherent contradiction in the preceding statement unless one supposes that originally the British government did not know that the Acadians were Catholics.] Consequently, an elective general assembly such as Virginia enjoyed was "not feasible." Nevertheless, "a system of government was devised, which proved to be [according to these historians] a fairly satisfactory working substitute for a more regular and constitutional administration."[46]

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46 Atlantic Provinces, 13:69. See MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:120, wherein is quoted letter of Annapolis council to Philipps to effect that the French being Roman Catholics, they are unqualified to form a House of Representatives.

The governor was a petty autocrat, holding office at the king's pleasure and assisted by a council of twelve whom he appointed and whom he might remove or suspend for due cause. He was empowered to levy forces, to wage war against foreign or domestic insurrection, and to determine the disposal of prisoners, even their death sentence. In addition he could do whatever he judged necessary for the security of the

province, and the limitations on his power were few. [In practice, however, the governors consulted meticulously, if one can judge from the archives.] The powers of his council were mainly advisory, five of the twelve members constituting a quorum.[47] In the governor's absence, which was a common

47 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:69-70.

occurrence even for a long span of years, the lieutenant-governor assumed responsibility.

The governor reached the Acadians through the medium of a deputy system. Deputy elections were held annually on October 11, the assembled Acadians choosing one "honest discreet person," an "ancient man of property" to represent them for a year. Later the number of deputies was increased to even as many as eight from one district. The newly-elected deputies went to Annapolis for the approbation and orders of the governor. These deputies were intermediaries between the government and the governed and were held responsible for the order and good behaviour of their respective districts. The written orders and proclamations of the governor were read to the people on Sunday after Mass and affixed to the "mass-house" door. Sometimes the deputies acted as arbitrators and examiners of disputed lands; sometimes they inspected roads, dykes, and bridges. However, they had no powers except those delegated by Annapolis, "but they formed a fairly efficient

lever wherewith to move the mass of the population." Just "a fairly efficient lever," for British authority was never popular nor too successful, and its power, prior to 1749 when Halifax was founded, over the democratic-minded Acadians diminished in ratio to the distance from Annapolis Royal, becoming weak at Mines, weaker at Cobequid, and at Chignectou reaching a vanishing point.[48]

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48 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:70-1. MacMechan, Minutes of Council, 3:7, 23, cites instances of elected deputies refused governor's approval. See also: Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:46; Hannay, History of Acadia, 303. Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 86, demonstrates the great power of the British lion after 1749.

The governor held power at the king's pleasure, but the Hanoverians George I and George II took little personal interest in colonial affairs. George I spoke no English and did not even attend Cabinet meetings. Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister of England from the accession of George I until 1742, was behind the broader aspects of English policy which have been characterized in the main as war-preventing, and so industriously did he strive for peace that he was criticized for promoting the House of Bourbon to the detriment of Austria. However, Fleury was accused by the French of being "cajoled by Walpole into sacrificing the marine," which ultimately meant the loss of all Canada to French

possession.[49]

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49 William Coxe, M.A., F.R.S., F.A.S., Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Exford, With Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers Never Before Published. Volume First Containing the Memoirs (3 vols., London, 1798), 1:745. Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:222 - "la stupide anglophilie de Fleury."

But to the Lords of Trade and to the Ministers Newcastle and Bedford went the primary responsibility for colonial matters, and of the two latter, Newcastle in particular had the onus of the northern department.

> "Having the patronage of a continent, he would gratify his connections in the aristocratic families of England by intrusting the royal prerogatives to men of broken fortunes, dissolute and ignorant, too vile to be employed near home..."[50]

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50 Bancroft, History of the United States, 2:330-2. See also: Laurence Larson, History of England and the British Commonwealth (New York, 1924), 505, 561. R.W. Ketton-Cremer, Horace Walpole, A Biography (New York, 1940), 220-1. But Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, 1:329-30, has some good words for Newcastle.

Newcastle's position was between the Lords of Trade who framed instructions and the Cabinet which proposed measures to enforce them. One gathers the general impression that Newcastle was always busy and hurried but accomplished little. Bailey says that for a decade Newcastle discussed Cape Breton without knowing it was an island.[51]

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51 Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People (New York, 1947), 2, footnote. Larson, England and Commonwealth, 505. Walpole and Newcastle did not get along at all. See Coxe, Memoirs, 636-7 and Bancroft, History of the United States, 331.

The officials resident in the colony included a collector of customs, a naval officer, and a secretary for the province. For petty cases there were justices of the peace commissioned by the governor to keep order, especially among the large population of fishermen at Canso. However, the governor and his council tried all kinds of civil and criminal cases until the establishment of regular courts, which were not instituted in the Anglo-Acadian era.[52]

52 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:71, 86.

One of the accusations brought against the Acadians was the charge of being litigious. Both Casgrain and Bernard admit that they were thus inclined.[53] The most common instances

53 Un Pèlerinage, 114-5; Le Drame, 268-9.

of litigation were based on land disputes, and a portion of the blame can be thrown back upon the English administration. No new grants of land were made under Philipps or Armstrong, 1717-1739 and very few after that time. The situation became acute. Unappropriated land was granted to protestants only. The Acadian population multiplied, grew apace. Their farms were divided and redivided, and this state of affairs led to disputes.[54] In fact, Governor Lawrence accusingly struck

54 Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 61.

the breast of British authority when he wrote to the Lords of Trade, December 5, 1753:

> "I come next to the French Inhabitants who are tolerably quiet, as to Government matters, but exceeding litigious amongst themselves. As this spirit of litigation shews the value they set upon their possessions, it is so far a favorable circumstance. But, as there is no regular method of administering Justice amongst them, they grow very uneasy at the decision of the disputes having been put off from time to time."

He goes on to say that to give them a hearing in English courts would be attended with insuperable difficulties because it would be a recognition on the part of England that they had a claim to the land without having taken the oath of allegiance. He says, also, that the claims relate to lands that have never been surveyed as far as he knows.[55]

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55 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:206. Richard, Acadia, 1:37, demonstrates the harmony and concord that must have existed amongst the Acadians by reason of the united front they always showed to the British government.

Regarding judicial sentences, they were similar to the general practices of Puritan New England: imprisonment, whipping, irons, pillory, and ducking. One Richard Nicholes who had attempted violence on the person of the Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong was sentenced thus:

> "The Punishmt therefore Inflicted on thee is to Sitt upon a Gallowes three Days, half an hour each Day, with a Rope about thy Neck and a paper upon your Breast Whereon shall be Writt in Capitall Letters

> AUDACIOUS VILLAIN [sic]. And Afterward thou art to be Whipt at a Carts til from the Prison up to the Uppermost house of the Cape and from thence back again to the Prison house Receiving Each hundred pace five Stripes upon your bare Back with a Catt of Nine tails and then thou art to be turn's over for a Soldier."[56]

56 MacMechan, Minutes of Council, 3:127.

Further on in this chapter it will be apparent why an Acadian would attempt violence on Governor Armstrong. A quaint instance of the transmutation of a sentence is the following. For gossiping, Jean Picot had been condemned to a ducking on Saturday at high water. She asked if instead she might not be allowed to beg pardon publicly at the Mass house door on Sunday. Her request was granted.[57]

57 Ibid., 300.

There has been a misunderstanding regarding taxation in Nova Scotia. Parkman says, "The British government left them [Acadians] entirely free of taxation." And Bancroft, Murdoch, and Wrong have been led into stating the same error.[58] Shortt

58 Parkman, "The Acadian Tragedy," Harper's Monthly Magazine, 69 (November, 1884),:878; Bancroft, History of the United States, 2:426; Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 2:40-1; Wrong, Conquest of New France, 75.

and Doughty explain that by the year 1730 all the seigneurial rights of the various French proprietors had been bought out by the Crown and a determined effort was made to collect for His Britannic Majesty all quitrents, homages, and services of

whatever kind formerly paid to their respective seigneurs. Rent gatherers were appointed for the various districts. These men kept rent rolls and gave an account to the administration twice a year, retaining for themselves three shillings out of every pound. There is abundant primary source substantiation for this matter, but it is not to be found in Akins' compilation.[59]

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59 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:74-5. In Lanctot, Documents, Currency, 19-21, are the details of the taxes Vetch imposed in 1710. MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:192, 197, 212, 213, 216, 217, 222, 232. MacMechan Minutes of Council, 3:227, 229, 260, 261, 290, 293, 294, 346.

Once John Doucett, a Huguenot, became lieutenant-governor in 1717, he wasted no time in an endeavor to obtain an oath of allegiance from the Acadians, promising them the same liberty and protection as other inhabitants enjoyed if they complied; but if they refused, he declared that their vessels could not pass the fort to trade or fish along the coast. Instead of signing the papers that Doucett had prepared for them, the Acadians of Annapolis replied in writing, begging Doucett to consider that they were only a small number. They desired him to assemble, likewise, the deputies of Mines, Beaubassin, and Cobequid. They protested they would not dare take the oath proposed unless His Majesty could give them protection against the Indians who would cut their very throats if they took such a pledge. If His Britannic Majesty could

not afford them such protection, they asserted that they were willing to swear not to take up arms against England or France, and not to commit any act of war against English subjects or allies.[60] It was the oath of neutrality, and

60 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:51; Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:15-6.

it was to win for them later the designation, "Neutral French." Doucett reporting this to England commented:

> "To cover their disobedience to King George, they pretend fear of the Indians, which is impossible, as the Indians here are entirely ruled by the French, who treat them like slaves."[61]

61 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:51.

Hanny speaks contemptuously of their "alleged fears" of Indian reprisals; but Parkman sees ground for their terror, as do Wrong and French authors.[62] The fear was reasonable

62 History of Acadia, 311; Half-Century of Conflict, 1:199; 2:189-90; Conquest of New France, 165.

considering the close contact the Indians had with Quebec and Louisbourg and Indian hostility toward all that was English.

In the spring of 1718 when he was able to reach the more outlying districts of Mines, Cobequid, and Beaubassin, Doucett gave the Acadians the choice of taking the oath or of having their commerce with the English and Canadian French cut off, even their fishing prohibited. There followed the admonition:

> "Know under what domination you live, and do not pretend to decline that which is offered to you. It is necessary for you to become subjects of the King of Great Britain and remain in Nova Scotia or become subjects of the King of France and withdraw under his domination."[63]

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63 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:218. See also: Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:13.

Meanwhile the authorities in London cautioned Doucett to have patience. "So long as there are no English colonists, and since the savages are hostile, do not punish the insubordinate French as they deserve."[64]

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64 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:219.

The Acadian predicament at this period is well summarized in an extract from the French Council of Marine, dated 1719.

> "Acadia was ceded by the Treaty of Utrecht only on the conditions which have not been fulfilled by the English. By a mutual convention between the two crowns, the lot of the inhabitants of Plaisance and of Acadia was equal: with the permission to withdraw themselves, they were to have the liberty of transporting their movable goods and to sell their immovable. The English governors have absolutely refused even the vessels of the king [of France] which have gone to Acadia to transport those willing to leave; they have refused to allow the preparation of rigging for the boats which they [Acadians] had constructed and which they were obliged to sell to the English. Their [Acadian] defense for not emigrating has been that they cannot transport themselves without cattle or provisions of grain, their grief at abandoning their

> possessions, heritage of their father's toil and that of their children, without any reimbursement or compensation. All these infractions are the principal motives of the inaction in which they live and which today is their only crime."[65]

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65 Quoted in Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 64-5 as coming from Conseil de Marine, année 1719, Vol. IV, fol. 96.

In 1720 Governor Philipps arrived in person at Annapolis, and the question of the oath again arose. This time the Acadians were told they must swear allegiance or leave the country in four months time, but they were forbidden to sell, dispose of, or take away their possessions. They were allotted only two sheep per family.[66] Anxious, the inhabitants

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66 Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 35. Doughty says the ultimatum was only a farce, purpose to extract an oath by intimidation.

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of Annapolis, Mines, and Beaubassin wrote to the Governor of Ile Royal (Cape Breton) telling him of the constraint put upon them to take the oath or abandon the country.

> "We are resolved not to take the oath because we are good and true subjects of the very Christian King, and we are not able [italics mine] to emigrate without the proper facilities which have been promised us on the part of the Court of France and which have always been refused on the part of the Court of England. As our situation is very precarious and as the predicament in which we find ourselves is very delicate, we supplicate you to honor us with your charitable

counsels in case there will be further trouble."[67]

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67 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:219. Only naive Acadians would expect the Court of Louis XV to fulfill those promises. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:25-6, quotes a portion of the above letter omitting phrase relative to what was refused by Court of England.

Somewhat later the Acadians determined to leave by an overland route, but when they actually started to cut a road for passage, Philipps immediately issued a proclamation forbidding the construction of any such road without written permission from him.[68]

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68 MacMechan, Minutes of Council, 3:9. According to minutes, Phillips suspected road was to be used for emigration purposes or for means of attack on Annapolis. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:29, 31, 33. See also: Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 35; Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 55.

However, Philipps had a change of heart in May, 1721, when he wrote to Secretary Craggs that he was not without hope of maintaining the authority of government amongst the French. They had assured him they would obey as good subjects in every respect except that of taking up arms against the King of France. Philipps "humbly" proposed that a new oath be formulated for them in which they would oblige themselves to take up arms against the Indians if required, to live quietly and peaceably in their houses, not to give harbour or assistance to the king's enemies, to pay obedience to his government, and to hold the lands of the king by a new tenure.[69]

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69 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:35.

Other problems in the Anglo-Acadian administration were conflicts centering in Indian relations to the British government and what was considered unwarranted priestly influence over Indian and Acadian subjects. Frequent were the charges hurled by British governors that the French poisoned the mind of the Indian against their rule.[70] There is ample

70 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2: 59, 60, 63, 65, 67, 71, 72, 86; Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1: 32, 34, 36, 45, 49, 50, 53.

evidence that the French priests patriotically endeavored to hold the Abenaki-Micmac alliance for France, to retain it in counterbalance against the powerful Iroquois confederacy that for the most part was pro-British.[71] After all the stake at

71 O'Callaghan, Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 9:440, 879. Rapport de L'Archiviste, 1947-1948, 199; Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:13, 16.

issue was half a continent. But there were some very ignorant ideas as to how this priestly influence was applied. Governor Philipps asserted that twice a year the priest assembled the Indians for confession and gave them absolution on condition that they would remain enemies to the English.[72]

72 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:50.

The great authority on the frontier wars of the early 1700's, Samuel Penhallow, a contemporary pro-English historian of the period, says that he asked one of the chief sachems why the

Indians favored the French, considering that their traffic with them was not so advantageous as with the English. The Indian replied that the friars taught them to pray, but the English never did.[73]

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73 Samuel Penhallow, Esqr. The History of the Wars of England with the Eastern Indians, or a Narrative of their Continued Perfidy and Cruelty, from the 10th of August, 1703, to the Peace renewed 13th of July, 1713. And from the 25th of July, 1722, to their Submission 15th December, 1725, Which was ratified August 5th, 1726 (Cincinnati. Reprinted from Boston edition of 1726 with a Memoir, Notes, and an Appendix by J. Harpel, 1859), 14. Kip, Missions from Letters of Jesuits, 6-7. Kip quotes Rale on facilities of trade with English. Quebec was more than fortnight's trip for the Indians whereas Boston was only two days away; but faith was infinitely dearer to Indians than such conveniences. See also: Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 9:879.

Amongst the frequent complaints regarding clerical influence over the French is one of Philipps' addressed in 1719 to the Board of Trade. He stated that Père Vincent and Père Felix distinguished themselves as inveterate enemies to the British interest, that the people paid them a willing obedience and had grown so insolent as to say they would never swear allegiance or leave the country.[74] On this subject of

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74 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:16, 17, 50, 58, 59.

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priests as political agents, Shortt and Doughty comment:

> "...indignation has been displayed by partisan historians on both sides, but the French are no more to blame for striving to win back their lost province than the Eng-

lish are to be blamed for striving to retain it."[75]

75 Atlantic Provinces, 13: 91.

As previously mentioned in this paper, Acadian history recorded the loss and restoration of Acadia to French rule many times. It was natural then that the Acadians would hope -- after all, the greater part of Canada was still French domain. Nevertheless, it is easy to understand the English viewpoint and sense of frustration in regard to these people. But if in the New England colonies, the people chafed under English governorship, it is not to be wondered at that the French under less generous terms, with a religious barrier, would do so. The very oaths of office taken by the governor and his council included one to a Declaration of an Act of Parliament entitled, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants."[76] The minds of the English

76 MacMechan, Letters and Commission Books, 2:1; MacMechan, Minutes of Council, 3:51. The Chevalier Artaud De Montor, The Lives and Times of the Popes Including the Complete Gallery of the Portraits of the Pontiffs Reproduced from 'Effigies Pontificum Romanorum Dominic Basae', Being a Series of Volumes Giving the History of the World During the Christian Era, Retranslated, Revised and Written Up to Date from Les Vives Des Papes (10 Vols., New York, 1911), 6:195-7. De Montor says the oath consisted in swearing that the descendants of James II had no legitimate right or pretensions to the crown.

governor and of the Acadian peasant could never meet -- in that era.

In 1722 a new frontier war broke out which, while not directly implicating the Acadians, seriously affected them; and by the hatred engendered, it helped to bring about the expulsion of 1755. The cause was the advance of the English settlements in the Abenaki country between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, country the English claimed had been anciently ceded them by the Indians, a statement the Indians vigorously denied.[77] A number of incidents led to

77 O'Callaghan, Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 9:942-4.

the final break: The English lured the Baron St. Castin on to one of their ships, taking him as prisoner in 1721 to Boston; other Indian deputies were treacherously retained.[78]

78 Charlevoix, History of New France, 5:271-4.

Penhallow maintained that French Jesuits were primarily responsible for spurring Indian resistance, advising the tribes that the English were invading their properties.[79]

79 Wars of New England, 74, 84, 85, 87.

And there is sufficient evidence, aside from Penhallow himself, to substantiate the accusation. French missionaries doubtless felt justified in their stand, both from the viewpoint of Indian interest and from a patriotic sense of what constituted French Canada domain. The boundaries of Utrecht were still undetermined. His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XV,

encouraged the Governor of Quebec, Vaudreuil, to support the Abenakis secretly, giving the Indians to understand that the design of the English was to become masters of the entire continent. Since they were unable to wage war against the French because of the peace in Europe, the English were attacking the allies of the French and invading their territory. The Indians were to be told of the vast number of English in comparison with the few French, and they were to be reminded that it was the French who maintained the Indians in liberty.[80] The statements were true, cleverly conceived, but

80 O'Callaghan, Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 9:935-6; 948.

callous. Penhallow says that many people stigmatized the English as chiefly culpable in causing the first breach with the Indians, invading their properties and defrauding them in their dealings; but he insists that the general public should not be censured for the sinister actions of the few.[81]

81 Wars of New England, 15.

The culminating incident of the frontier war, which broke the Indian resistance, was the invasion of Norridgwock by the New England soldiery in 1724, their chief object being to take prisoner the Jesuit Rale, whom they considered to be the main instigator of Indians raids. Rale, however, was killed in the melée. How Rale died and whether he was a martyr or a devil is the subject of another great controversy.

Setting aside French Catholic testimony, it is interesting to study what we have:-

> "The number of dead which we scalped were twenty-six, besides Monsieur Rallé the Jesuit who was a bloody incendiary, and instrumental to most of the mischiefs that were done us, by preaching up the doctrine of meriting salvation by the destruction of hereticks."[82]

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82 Penhallow, Wars of New England, 103. Regarding the spelling of Rale, Parkman gives variants: Rasle, Rasles, Ralle, Rallé; but states that Rale's autographed letter is signed Rale. Half-Century of Conflict, 1:209.

In the preface to Penhallow's work, written by Benjamin Colman, one of the most eminent divines of New England, we read:

> "In a special manner the wonderful victory obtained August 12, 1724...was the singular work of God...the plain hand of Providence...And he, who was the father of the war, the ghostly father of those perfidious savages, like Balaam the son of Beor, was slain among the enemy, after his vain endeavors to curse us."[83]

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83 Wars of New England, 11-12.

Thomas Hutchinson, later governor of Boston (1771), wrote an account severely maligning Rale who, he said, was found in his wigwam, refusing to take or give quarter, firing upon the English, and holding as hostage an English boy whom he shot in the thigh and stabbed. All this Hutchinson avers he se-

cured from two ocular witnesses under oath.[84] Does all this

84 Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, From the Charter of King William and Queen Mary, in 1691, Until the Year 1750 (3 vols., Boston, 1767), 2:311-12. The boy recovered. Hutchinson was amazingly sympathetic with the exiled Acadians in 1755. See also: John Gorham Palfrey, History of New England From the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century (5 vols., Boston 1875), 4:437 against Rale.

give an idea of the prevailing anti-Catholic sentiment?

Murdoch studied Hutchinson's account with considerable incredulity, stating that Hutchinson wrote some thirty years after the destruction of Norridgewock, that one of the two witnesses who took the oath to the above charges was absent in the corn fields at the time and could only repeat what he was told. Murdoch regrets that Hutchinson appears indirectly to justify and palliate the whole line of English conduct on this occasion. Hannay deplores the fact that Rale, a feeble old man, was killed, scalped, and his remains "barbarously misused." However, he points out that some allowance should be made for men who had seen their homes ravaged and their wives and children murdered. The Catholic primary source records and the secondary accounts tell the glorious story of a Jesuit martyr.[85]

85 Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 1:413-14; Hannay, History of Acadia, 320; Charlevoix, History of New France, 5:275-79. (Hutchinson speaks of Charlevoix's exaggeration). M.de Vaudreuil, Governor of Quebec, in O'Callaghan's Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 9:937. Theodore Maynard, The Story of American Catholicism (New York, 1949), 107, has a comparison of the accounts.

Philipps writing to the Board of Trade in September, 1722, says that he was surprised to find himself drawn into this Indian war, that the Indians had hoped to reduce Annapolis Royal, and he had had to send armed vessels from Canso and still later Canso had to be defended. There is no mention of disloyalty on the part of the Acadians at this time. They were aloof as usual.[86]

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86 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:61-2

Hannay comments:

> "Thus happily closed a conflict... which would have been fatal to English interests in Nova Scotia but for the fact that the French were obliged to preserve the appearance [italics mine] of neutrality."[87]

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87 History of Acadia, 322. And Hannay is the author who states in his preface that facts justify the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755.

Of the frontier wars in general, Douglas says that neither protestant, Papist, Englishman, nor Frenchman can claim exemption from almost equal blame, and it would be better to drop a veil over these border raids which were a disgrace to civilization than to recall them. But so great was the furor created and the anti-Catholic fanaticism aroused [especially by the Norridgewock incident] that the Bostonians were led to adopt as a duty what was undoubtedly to their interest --

the destruction of the French colonies in Acadia and Canada.[88]

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88 New England and New France, 278-9, 138. See also: Wrong, Conquest of New France, 48.

Was it just coincidence that the Anglo-Abenaki treaty was signed in 1725 when Lieutenant Governor Lawrence Armstrong took over office from John Doucett? However it may be, Armstrong was in his attitude the most anti-clerical of all the English officials. Abbé Casgrain speaks of a veritable religious persecution suffered by the Acadians during the regime of Armstrong. Brebner says Armstrong was particularly troubled by the French priests who seemed to him to be the primary obstacle in the way of making Acadians good British subjects. In the archives of Nova Scotia are numerous allusions to his difficulties with the clerics.[89]

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89 Un Pèlerinage, 76-9; New England's Outpost, 87-8. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:82, 83, 95, 96, 99, 101, 103, 104; MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:88, 104, 105, 107. (There is some duplication in Akins' compilation and MacMechan's, but these citations are not duplicated.)

The personal character of Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong was most regrettable, and the testimony is unanimous. Without using any French source, we find Brebner characterizing him as a "brooding, moody man whose dark speculations found vent in violent action..." An "unfortunate man with a tem-

per" whose mind became unbalanced, according to Shortt and Doughty. Hannay writes:

> "...there is reason to fear that for some time prior to the melancholy event which ended his career [he committed suicide] the Lieutenant Governor was not in a proper mental condition to administer the affairs of the government."[90]

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90 New England's Outpost, 86-7; Atlantic Provinces, 13:73; History of Acadia, 327.

Like his predecessors, Armstrong endeavored unsuccessfully to obtain an oath of allegiance from the Acadians in 1726. On the death of George I and the immediate accession of George II to the throne in 1727, efforts to secure allegiance were renewed. Three Acadian deputies: Charles Landry, Guillaume Bourgois, and Abraham Bourg were summoned before Armstrong. They had previously assembled their constituents to learn their mind, and they now presented Armstrong with a letter from the people. The three delegates were judged to be insolent, rebellious, and disrespectful. The first two were put in irons and imprisoned, but in consideration of Alexander Bourg's advanced age, he was told to go to Louisbourg, leaving his effects behind him. The inhabitants in general were debarred from fishing on British coasts until the further pleasure of His Majesty could be known.[91]

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91 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:77-8; 80-1; Bernard, Le Drame, 264-5; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:241-2.

In MacMechan's Letter and Commission Books, 2:158-161, we read that Landry was reported to be in a dangerous state of health and likely to die, whereupon his wife applied for leave to take him home, but this was refused since Landry was "a very Great Offender and Incapable to give sufficient Bail," but otherwise he was to be shown leniency and favor towards the recovery of his health.

Ensign Wroth was next commissioned by Armstrong to visit the Acadian settlements with a detachment of soldiers. He was to proclaim George II and to secure an oath of allegiance. Wroth obtained an oath but with such concessions that it was regarded by Armstrong and his council as dishonorable, null, and void. However, the embargo which had rested on these places for more than a year was lifted.[92]

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92 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:78-9. Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 73, gives the concessions in full, but Akins omits them.

Conditions were in such a state by 1729 that Governor Philipps sailed from London to establish order in his distant domain. He was greeted with demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of Annapolis who were in great distress because of what their very elderly pastor Abbé Breslay had suffered at the hands of Armstrong. According to the account of Armstrong to the Lords of Trade, Monsieur Bresley [sic] had assumed the powers of judge in civil affairs, had endeavored to withdraw the people from their dependence on His Majesty's government, and had used his spiritual censures to force the people into submission. Casgrain relates that Abbé Breslay was insulted in church while he was fulfilling his sacred

functions, parishioners defending him were flogged, the doors of his presbytery were closed; his house was pillaged; his beasts, wherewith he supported himself, were sold, and his life threatened. Finally the Abbé fled into the forest and hid for some fourteen months, appealing to England, where Armstrong eventually had to go to defend himself. Upon Philipps' arrival the Abbé was vindicated and restored to his parishioners.[93]

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93 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:82-3; Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 77-9; Bernard, Le Drame, 266; Brebner New England's Outpost, 87-8.

The above details of Abbé Breslay and similar behind-scene descriptions of English government cannot be obtained from the cryptic reports English governors dispatched to London, which, of course, were intended to justify their administration. In addition, when Akins of the first Nova Scotia archives compiled and selected as he did, the Acadians were thrown into a bad light until conscientious men, such as Haliburton and Brown, investigated the other side of the story. Let us face the facts.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton, an Englishman, prior to 1829 went to the archives of Halifax seeking the records on the Acadian expulsion of 1755, but he was unable to find anything pertinent. Correspondence, orders, memorials, he was told, had never been filed there. Akins, who was to publish in 1865 the first archival volume, Public Documents of Nova Scotia assisted him, but still Haliburton complained that

the archives of Halifax resembled a mystery which someone sought to hide. There was reason to believe, he wrote, that important papers of various epochs had disappeared in whole or in part.

> "The particulars of this affair [expulsion of the Acadians] seem to have been carefully concealed, although it is not now easy to assign the reason, unless the parties were, as in truth they might well be, ashamed of the transaction."[94]

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94 Thomas C. Haliburton, Esq., An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia, in Two Volumes, Illustrated by a Map of the Province and Several Engravings (Halifax, 1829) 1:196.

Haliburton recorded his suspicions in his book, and upon its publication, immediately a protest arose from partisan British historians to the effect that Haliburton was mistaken. Nothing had been destroyed or hidden. The documents had been stored in an attic and forgotten -- that was all.[95]

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95 Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 37; Bernard, Le Drame, 267, 408.

After the extant material was classified in 1860, Rameau de Saint-Père, author of Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique, L'Acadie, 1604-1881 made arrangements to consult the available documents at Halifax. M. Rameau was admitted at a designated time and shown a table where a number of registers and volumes were deposited. But he was told he could not take any copy or extract, could have neither pen, pencil, or paper. He was given no seat and eight or ten clerks working in close

proximity kept his movements under surveillance. And Rameau like Haliburton recorded these archival rebuffs in the first edition of his Une Colonie Féodale.[96]

96 Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 38. The student has had to cite Rameau's account second-hand, although after some difficulty she obtained his book from Canada. That copy, however, turned out to be the revised edition of 1889 in which Rameau merely alludes to the earlier unpleasantness at the archives. In preparation for his second edition Rameau was accorded the courtesies of the archives. See Rameau de Saint-Père, Une Colonie Féodale En Amérique, L'Acadie, 1604-1881 (2 vols. bound together, Montreal, 1889), 1:xxix. Parkman says of Rameau's work: "It is filled with errors of every sort." "Letters of Francis Parkman to Pierre Margry with Introductory Notes by J.S. Bassett" in the Smith College Studies in History, 8, John Spencer Bassett and Sidney Bradshaw Fay (Nos. 3 & 4, October 1922-July 1923), :182-3. But French historians highly regard Rameau.

In 1865 the Legislature of Nova Scotia directed Thomas B. Akins, conservator of the archives, to prepare an archival volume from the available material. Akins had already accomplished a gigantic cataloging and indexing task on some 473 volumes and on some sixty-one boxes of manuscript documents. Finally he published 750 pages entitled, Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia.[97]

97 Milner, "Public Records in Maritime Provinces," 42-3.

In turn Abbé Casgrain worked at the archives in Halifax, attentively studying Mr. Akins' compilation of 1869. Noticing various gaps in the story, Casgrain went to London for comparative purposes, to the Public Record Office and to the British Museum. His cross checking confirmed his suspicions:

> "The Choice of Documents [sic] published at Halifax has been evidently compiled with a view to justify the government of Nova Scotia on the deportation of the Acadians. For this reason there has been a systematic elimination...of the most compromising portions, those which would better established the rights of the Acadians. The compiler of the volume cannot plead ignorance for he indicates the many opportunities he had to study the official material in the Public Record Office for comparative purposes with those of Halifax."[98]

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98 Un Pèlerinage, 38-9. Richard, Acadia, 1:80. Richard says that by leaving out all the documents between 1710 and the end of 1714 Akins has led into error nearly all the writers of the history of Nova Scotia.

Thomas Hughes, S.J. says:

> "Many things are accumulated...by this Commissioner of Public Records, T.B. Akins, ... which show his knowledge to be as defective as his documents or else his documents to be undergoing a careful trimming, for fear of the knowledge which hangs thereby."[99]

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99 Society of Jesus in North America, 2:180. Brebner in New England's Outpost, 207, calls attention to the suppression of a significant part of a letter which quite perverts the meaning.

Francis Parkman recognized the research of his friend Abbé Casgrain:

> "Abbé Casgrain, with passionate industry, has labored to gather everything in Europe or America that could tell in favor of the French and against the English. Mr. Akins, the editor of the Nova Scotia Archives, leans to the other side, so

> that the two collections supplement each other. Both are copious and valuable."[100]

100 Half Century of Conflict, 1:203.

Richard points out that Akins' compilation was meant to be the arsenal of facts from which all historians on the subject would draw, behind which few writers would trouble to go.[101]

101 Acadia, 1:9.

Today, however, the truth is available to students through MacMechan's supplementary second and third archival volumes and the complementary Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, if and when these are weighed against the French documentary compilations, some of which are cited in this thesis.

To resume the chronological account of British government, we consider again Governor Philipps and the year 1729 when he restored Abbé Breslay to his happy, grateful parishioners at Annapolis Royal. Philipps seized the psychological occasion to ask for an oath of allegiance, and, according to his own account, he obtained it without reservations. However, when he went to more distant settlements there is a disparity even in his own dispatches. In September, 1730, he writes of getting an unreserved oath, but two months later he concedes that the oath administered in the Bay of Fundy

differed somewhat from that taken by the French of Annapolis. He did not give particulars.[102] Acadians always maintained

102 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:86-88; Brebner New England's Outpost, 96, says he "lied roundly" in his first report.

that the oath was sworn only on condition that a clause of military neutrality would be inserted, and governor Mascarene in 1748 alludes to the oath, supporting the Acadian contention that it was a neutral oath. Historians in general accept the Acadian version, since it is consistent with the position the French always assumed.[103] However, Philipps was

103 Mascarene quoted in Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:159. Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:409; Hannay, History of Acadia, 324; Brebner, New England's Outpost, 95-6; Parkman, Half-Century of Conflict, 1:201. French authors cite documentary proof that military neutrality was included. Bernard, Le Drame, 266-7; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:250-1.

pleased with himself and considered that he had obtained from the Acadians that which they had refused to former governors. Hence from 1730 on the matter of allegiance was in abeyance until the war of Austrian Succession broke out in Europe in 1741.

Philipps returned to England in 1731, and again the reins of power were held by his lieutenant-governor Armstrong. And Armstrong, that strange character, dominated once more over the English garrison and the Acadian people, dominated until his suicidal death in December, 1739. His death, however,

must have been a relief both to the English garrison and to the Acadian subjects. Major Paul Mascarene succeeded Armstrong as lieutenant-governor, while Philipps in England retained the title and emoluments of governor. But with Mascarene there began a new chapter in British government. Then it became apparent that the Puritan New Englanders were infected with the mercantilist spirit of their age, and Mascarene testified to their greed for the cultivated lands of Acadia which he asserted the New Englanders would willingly take, pretext given.[104] The Bastonais always

104 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:131.

interested in a monopoly over the Canso fishing banks became increasingly more obnoxious and aggressive. Tensions increased, and finally the clash of arms between France and England in Europe in 1744 became King George's War in America. The shadows of the tragedy of 1755, when the British expelled the Acadians from Nova Scotia, gathering ever since 1713, darkened more ominously after 1739.

CHAPTER III

THE FORESHADOWED EXPULSION AND THE EXPELLEES

The new governor, Major Paul Mascarene, of French Huguenot descent, had participated in the siege of Port Royal in 1710, had mounted the first guard in the captured fort, and had been for some twenty years a member of His Majesty's Council in Nova Scotia. Of all the English governors thus far his rule was the most temperate and conciliatory. Parkman describes Mascarene as treating the Acadians with a leniency that to his council members seemed neither fitting nor prudent.[1]

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1 Half-Century of Conflict, 2:189; Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:73.

Bernard concedes that Mascarene governed Acadia for ten years "with an exterior prudence and a spirit of justice" which gained for him the esteem of the Acadians. But, Bernard questions, to what extent was Mascarene guided by:

> "...secret calculated interests? We do not know. We do affirm that Mascarene although the antithesis of Armstrong, was still the man of Boston, the administrator who introduced William Shirley ...into the affairs of Acadia, and that, unfortunately, to the worst interests of the French inhabitants."[2]

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2 Le Drame, 272. Murdoch does not question Mascarene's sincerity, History of Nova Scotia, 2:13, 14. See also Brebner, New England's Outpost, 109.

Since Mascarene's wife and children were living in

Boston, his contacts there were frequent, and having discovered a congenial spirit in Governor William Shirley, he fell into the habit of sending to him his London reports unsealed in order that the latter might be kept continually informed and could support or supplement his communications with London accordingly.[3]

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3 Brebner, New England's Outpost, 109. See: Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:140-6 for example of a long detailed account to Shirley.

However, before we study the role of Shirley in Acadian affairs, it is necessary to treat first of other problems, one of which was contemporary with Armstrong's administration but critical and more in the foreground by Mascarene's time. This was the problem of land. The rapidly increasing French population, a numerous and hardy youth, pressed urgently for more acreage to cultivate. But the English governors resented the fact that all the richest soil of Nova Scotia was already or fast becoming the possession of a French Catholic population. Desirous of attracting English or Scottish protestants, British officialdom realized that land tenure was one of the principal obstacles.

> "Their [meaning Acadians] possessing the best lands has been a discouragement to possible English settlers to offer themselves for Settling any New and uncultivated Lands!"[4]

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4 His Majesty's Council to Philipps quoted in MacMechan's Letter and Commission Books, 2:120.

Consequently, David Dunbar, General Surveyor, was directed by the London Chamber of Commerce to reserve 200,000 acres of the best Nova Scotian forests for the British marine and to prepare a general plan for the English colonization of the remainder of the region.[5]

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5 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:125, 176, 194; MacMechan, Minutes of Council, 3:179-80; 328; Bernard Le Drame, 272, 275.

Armstrong called in all the old property deeds of the French and promised new official papers in exchange; but the canny Acadian farmers saw through the pretext. Suspicious and defiant, they refused to yield their legal papers; some even resisted, in so far as they were able, the efforts to survey their properties. The men employed had to be given military protection, but all the land was surveyed.[6]

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6 Bernard, Le Drame, 275; Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:90; MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:186, 195. Gaudet, "Acadian Genealogy," Canadian Archives for 1905, 2:76-7, quotes Acadians' tactful petition to Armstrong, taking liberty to represent to His Honor that for one thing they were too poor to pay the tax for surveying.

Afterwards new land concessions were categorically refused by Armstrong, though Mascarene accorded a few. Hence it was in the decade 1730-1740 that there began the exodus of youthful Acadians and of some senior Acadians, too, toward the isthmus of Chignectou, where in 1750 they erected Fort Beauséjour as a barrier to English encroachments on what was

considered French Canadian domain. Gradually a new Acadia projected itself still farther northward into the region of Memramcook and, thither, as times became worse, went many political Acadian refugees who would ever be in great part disaffected toward the British.

Mascarene's whole governorship was colored by the contemporary European struggles. In 1739 war broke out between England and Spain, the War of Jenkin's Ear, and there were significant reverberations in far off Nova Scotia. Newcastle addressed himself to Armstrong, not long before the latter's suicide, to the effect that the King of Spain had failed to pay the 95,000 pounds indemnity according to treaty terms and therefore the ships, effects, and subjects of the King of Spain were to be seized wherever possible, and the settlers in all parts of His Majesty's government were to "Annoy the Subjects of Spain in the best Manner they are Able." Mascarene somewhat dubious about French loyalty sent a proclamation of the public news to Piziquid and Cobequid in March, 1740, to the effect that France had not declared herself in favor of Spain as late as February, and he cautioned the habitans not to render themselves suspect, as the people of New England would ask nothing better than an excuse to take possession of their lands already cleared and cultivated. The deputies of Mines were urged to regulate their conduct in accordance with the state of war.[7] In reality Mascarene

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7 MacMechan, Letter and Commission Books, 2:127-8, 131-2.

had nothing to fear, as events proved.

This War of Jenkin's Ear was but the prelude to the War of Austrian Succession which broke out in 1740. Frederick the Great boldly invaded Silesia, the domain of Maria Therese of Austria. Political amity between England and France, so carefully preserved by Walpole, was ruptured; the long peace of Utrecht definitively shattered, because France threw her support to Prussia and England lined up with Austria. Events effected Walpole's fall in 1742. England and France would fight it out now to the denouement of 1763.

France declared war against England, March 15, 1744, n.s., and Great Britain against France, March 29, 1744, o.s.[8] The

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8 After 1700 the old style, o.s., was eleven days behind George XIII's calendar. England used the old style until 1752.

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war was proclaimed at Boston, June 2, o.s., but was known two months earlier at Louisbourg, and the French governor of Cape Breton, Duquesnel, resolved to avail himself of his informational advantage.

Accordingly, he sent Duvivier with a small force [Murdoch says 900 men; Doughty, 500; Bernard and Lauvrière, 315] regulars and militia, and a few armed vessels from Louisbourg, on May 15, 1744, to attack English forts. Without any difficulty Duvivier surprised and captured Canso, sending the English garrison to Cape Breton as prisoners of war. Now confident that the Acadians would rally to his standard and that

he would take all of Nova Scotia, Duvivier went by way of land toward the Bay of Fundy to recruit soldiers and ultimately to attack Annapolis. But the Acadians with few exceptions were mindful of their oath of neutrality, and he was confronted with a major disappointment in their refusal to join his service.[9]

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9 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:134-7. Murdoch History of Nova Scotia, 2:27, 40-3; Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 50; Bernard, Le Drame, 276; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:277; Hannay, History of Acadia, 335.

Mascarene expressed his appreciation to the deputies of Mines, Piziquid, and Canard for the loyalty of their districts in allegiance to Britain's king, "notwithstanding the efforts which have been made to cause them to disregard it." However, Mascarene said he had reason to suspect the inhabitants of Chignectou who continued to consider themselves beyond the pale of British jurisdiction, and who, doubtless, political refugees as they were, had at least succored the enemy.[10]

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10 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:137-9.

One of the few Acadians who aided Duvivier was Joseph Le Blanc of Grand-Pré, the wealthiest man in all Acadia, whose lands and possessions were valued at not less than 120,000 pounds. Le Blanc invited Duvivier to his home, giving arms and provisions to the expeditionary force and even a considerable sum of money. Carrying dispatches from Duvivier

to Duquesnel via the strait of Canso, Le Blanc risked his own life. Stopped by enemy English cruisers, he threw his dispatches into the sea, advanced bravely, completely hoodwinking his British interrogators, and after gaining Cape Breton shores, he delivered verbally the memorized message and returned.[11]

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11 Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 393-4.

Nevertheless, in actual man power Duvivier secured only some three hundred Micmac Indians belonging to Abbé Joseph Louis Le Loutre. This particular missionary, who had arrived in Canada in 1737 and in Nova Scotia in 1740, was destined to influence all future Anglo-Acadian relations and to draw upon himself the worst anathemas that the English governors could hurl. Pro-British historians have many epithets and few kind words to say for him. One example will be typical.

> "He was probably the most dangerous and determined enemy to British power that ever came to America."[12]

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12 Hannay, History of Acadia, 332. John Clarence Webster, The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia With a Translation of His Autobiography (Shediac, 1933) - whole book. See also Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 2:10, 270. But after Murdoch's numerous condemnatory statements regarding Le Loutre, he very fairly acknowledges, (Ibid., 271) - :

> "It must nevertheless be remembered that we have derived our information of this person from sources not friendly to the priests of his church, - the French of that period being tinged with the philosophy of Voltaire."

Meanwhile, Mascarene, having been alerted, summoned the Acadians to help repair the fort at Annapolis. They complied with his orders until the Micmacs reached the upper end of the river, July 17, when they withdrew to their homes. The few English civilians and families of the English officers had embarked for Boston. Mascarene organized a capable defense, and the Indians discouraged and deprived of their leadership withdrew.[13]

13 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:140-1.

Duvivier himself arrived in August 1744, taking up headquarters in the vicinity of Port Royal at Belair, the establishment of another wealthy Acadian, Nicholas Gauthier. This was a habitation of vast dependencies which included two mills for wheat, a saw mill, and two ships for transporting produce, the nucleus of a commercial enterprise with a capital of some 80,000 livres. On the death of the parents of Madame Gauthier, the English governor had seized her heritage in the name of the Crown, and the disaffected husband and his two sons were ready and willing to assist an invading French force.[14] But the other Acadians continued neutral.

14 Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 387-8.

The timely arrival of three ships from Boston, dispatched by Governor Shirley, forced Duvivier to abandon his enterprise.

From Quebec the following January, 1745, came Captain Paul Marin to capture Annapolis. Some four hundred Micmac Indians joined him at Beaubassin. Again the headquarters were Gauthier's establishment at Belair; but when news came that the New Englanders were laying siege to Louisbourg, Marin was ordered to its support. These two attempts to help the invading French forces cost Gauthier dearly. The English retaliated by burning Belair, taking his wife and child captive to Annapolis, where she was thrown into irons and prison for some ten months. Then she escaped to the protection of her husband who always eluded capture.[15]

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15 Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 388-9.

Three attempts on the part of the French within the span of the year 1744-1745 to take Annapolis had failed. Let us analyze the situation. Lauvrière attributes all to the skillful policy of Mascarene who knew the psychology of his countrymen, knew that indulgence would succeed better than the harsh measures of his predecessors. With finesse, Mascarene, during the eight years of King George's war, maintained in neutrality a population fundamentally French, and in the worst possible circumstances preserved to England the possession of a colony uncolonized by the English.

> "Thus duped, misled by regrettable counsels, tormented by contradictory sentiments, bound by the oath of neutrality, the unhappy Acadians abstained from these Canadian military enterprises intended

> for their deliverance. The French troops which counted on their immediate uprising were stupefied. Turn by turn they pleaded and threatened the Acadians, but it was to no avail."[16]

16 La Tragédie, 1:297-8.

Parkman explains that the Acadians did not join Duvivier openly, fearing the consequences if he should fail in his attack, but they did what they could without committing themselves. They made one hundred-fifty scaling ladders for the besiegers. Mascarene, however, claimed that Nova Scotia was saved because of the timely succour received from Governor Shirley of Massachusetts and because the French remained quiet. "If the inhabitants had taken up arms, they might have brought three or four thousand men against us."[17] This

17 Half-Century of Conquest, 2:81. Mascarene in Akins' Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:148-9. See also: Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 2:38-9.

is significant testimony from the pen of the governor that the Acadians were loyal to their oath of neutrality.

Yet two men, the wealthiest in the country, Joseph Le Blanc and Nicholas Gauthier, both of whom had so much to safeguard or lose, and some eight or ten others, were the first to shake off the English yoke and compromise their future. Casgrain explains that they were more clear-sighted than their fellow Acadians. They saw the abyss toward which all

were marching. They risked everything to avoid that abyss.[18]

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18 Un Pèlerinage, 393. Governor Shirley listed the disloyal Acadians: Gaudet, "Acadian Genealogy" in Canadian Archives for 1905, 2:48.

> "Gautier [sic] of Annapolis Royal - Armand Bujeau and Joseph Le Blanc of Grand-Pré in Menis, Le Loutre the priest and another priest to be inserted by Mr. Mascarene with their proper additions as also two more notorious offenders within His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, have contrary to their Allegiance to His Majesty, in a notorious manner been guilty of holding a traiterous Correspondence with his Enemies and adhering to, and assisting 'em within his said Province of Nova Scotia."

Murdoch's reasoning in view of the evidence seems ridiculous. He claims there was no uprising amongst the Acadians because after thirty-four years death had removed most of the inhabitants born under French allegiance and then:

> "The kindness, moderation, and justice habitually [italics mine] exercised by the English government at Annapolis, had made strong impressions on the better feelings of the people. The perfect freedom they enjoyed from taxation or oppression,...the enjoyment of their religion, which was in no wise interrupted, except when a missionary made himself obnoxious... the system of government, by which their own chosen deputies and the notaries managed all their local affairs had all contributed to reconcile them to the English rule."[19]

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19 History of Nova Scotia, 2:40-1.

But in the overall picture of King George's War, the three attempts to wrest Annapolis from the British were minor incidents when compared with New England's conquest of Louisbourg in 1745. Since the Acadians themselves played no active role in the assault or defense of that bastion, we will merely summarize the facts, though the event is critically related to Acadian history. The fortifications of Louisbourg had been more than twenty-five years in construction and had cost the French Crown somewhere between five and six million dollars. Covering an area of about two and a half miles in circumference, Louisbourg was known as the "Dunkirk of America." And says Hannay:

> "Its gloomy walls, behind which the Jesuit, the gay soldier of France, and the savage of the Acadian woods found shelter, were looked upon by the descendants of the Puritans as the bulwarks of a power which they dreaded and a religion which they abhorred."[20]

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20 History of Acadia, 337-8.

Who first conceived the mad, fantastic idea of attempting the conquest of Louisbourg is a disputed matter, of little consequence to this paper; but that Governor Shirley of Boston had the major role in adopting the suggestion, drawing up the plans, obtaining New England support, recruiting and forwarding the assault troops is established fact.[21]

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21 Parkman, Half-Century of Conflict, 2:84-6, 90, 95 101-3, 113, 124. John Fiske, New France and New England (Boston, 1902), 256; Bernard, Le Drame, 277.

Shirley betrayed his mercantilist outlook in a letter to Newcastle dated January, 1744, wherein he spoke of the possibility of taking Louisbourg and commented:

> "But what seems a much more considerable advantage arising to the Enemy from their possession of Cape Breton is that it is the principal Settlement of their growing Fishery...It would require too particular Calculations for me to pretend to ascertain what the Revenue of the whole Fishery in those Seas, clear of the French Incroachments upon it, would be to Great Britain...But the Revenue would certainly be large...And it would render the Roman Catholick States in the neighboring Seas in some measure dependent upon His Majesty's Subjects for part of their provisions."[22]

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22 Charles Henry Lincoln, Ph.D., ed., Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760 (2 vols., New York, 1912) 1:162-3.

The expedition against Louisbourg took on the nature of a crusade against popery. No historians have made this more apparent than two protestants. Parkman, for example, tells us that George Whitfield, the famous preacher of the Great Awakening, gave the expedition the motto: "Nil desperandum Christo duce." The Reverend Samuel Moody, "Parson Moody," senior chaplain of the movement, took with him an axe "to hew down the altars of Antichrist and demolish his idols." And of the conquest, Parkman writes:

> "The news that Louisbourg was taken reached Boston at one o'clock in the morning of the 3d of July by a vessel sent express. A din of bells and can-

> non proclaimed it to the slumbering townsmen, and before the sun rose, the streets were filled with shouting crowds. At night every window shone with lamps, and the town was ablaze with fireworks and bonfires. The next Thursday was appointed a day of general thanksgiving for a victory believed to be the direct work of Providence. New York and Philadelphia also hailed the great news with illuminations, ringing of bells, and firing of cannon."[23]

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23 Half-Century of Conflict, 2:96-7, 158-9. The Boston Weekly News Letter (Thursday, July 4, 1745), 2, does not sound Puritanical. "There was a large bonfire in the Common where was a large tent and where the populace was entertained with plenty of wine." See also: Brebner, New England's Outpost, 114, whose description of a crusade is referred to above. Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus, 2:277.

When the news was disseminated abroad, "the civilized world was dumb with amazement." The realization gripped Europe that a new military power had arisen in America and that one of the "strongest fortresses on the face of the earth had surrendered to a force of New England militia."[24]

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24 Fiske, New France and New England, 256.

The event was probably comparable to the by-pass of the Maginot Line in World War II.

To France it was now a point of national honor to recapture her "Gibraltar" of North America, and in May of 1746 a magnificent fleet set sail under the Duc d'Anville to recapture Louisbourg, take Annapolis, burn Boston, and harass the New England coastline; but it ran into multiple perils:

tempests, disease, the death of d'Anville, the suicide of his successor, and the loss of over a thousand of the personnel in shipwreck. A small part of the armada returned to France without striking a single blow at the enemy. The disaster did not crush France. In May of 1747 a second but necessarily smaller fleet under La Jonquière set out again, but near the coast of Europe it ran afoul of the English who destroyed it. From then on British sea power was undoubtedly superior to the French, and this was an ultimate factor in the Anglo-French struggle.[25]

25 Wrong, Conquest of New France, 92.

Louisbourg conquered, Shirley was eager and ambitious to proceed with the conquest of Canada, and he is quoted as crying out to the Court of Massachusetts: "Canada delenda est." Whereupon the members voted men and money on a scale that involved the bankruptcy of the Commonwealth.[26] Brebner credits

26 Ibid., 87-8. Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 2:87.

the Great Awakening or religious revival that swept the northern colonies and created an evangelical and militant protestantism with influencing Shirley and Mascarene, making them look "askance at popery," imparting to them the "sentiments of Cromwell and his New Model Army."[27] The man power was

27 New England's Outpost, 109-10.

actually mustered throughout New England, but Britain's promised fleet did not arrive. The companies were disbanded, and the whole grandiose scheme was indefinitely postponed.

In accordance with the terms of capitulation at Louisbourg, the inhabitants of Cape Breton had been transported to France, and rumors being afloat that the Acadians would suffer a similar fate, they sought some assurance as to their security in the possession of their lands. Actually there was some foundation in fact for such reports; still Shirley denied all knowledge of them in his public utterances. In dispatches to Newcastle, June, 1746, he suggested the removal "of the most obnoxious." In correspondence with Mascarene, December 19, 1746, he said that Governor Knowles had advised Newcastle that the French "shou'd be drove out of Nova Scotia early next Spring," and that Knowles was coming to Boston very shortly to discuss it. Still later Shirley suggested to Newcastle and Bedford, by turn, the removal of Romish priests from amongst the Acadians, the encouragement of mixed marriages, the introduction of French protestant ministers, the establishment of protestant English schools with due rewards for those conforming to the protestant religion or sending their children to such schools. Liberty of conscience for papists should be terminated at some definite time, after which all papists should have the same disqualifications and incompacities as in England. And according to Hughes,

Shirley further suggested to Bedford the removal of all the Acadians if they would not intermarry with protestants.[28]

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28 Lincoln, Shirley's Correspondence, 1:xxvi, 328, 336, 337, 474; Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 2:129-131; Hughes, History of Society of Jesus, 2:175. See also: Mascarene to Lords of Trade in Akins' Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:110-11; Mary G. Chadwick, "Evangeline in a New Light," American Catholic Quarterly Review, 46 (April, 1921),: 282-3.

The Duke of Newcastle, however, advised Shirley to issue a proclamation assuring the Acadians that they need have no apprehension but were to continue in the quiet and peaceable possession of their lands and in the free exercise of their religion. Shirley issued the proclamation but omitted the clause relative to religious liberty.[29]

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29 Newcastle to Shirley: Lincoln, Shirley's Correspondence, 1:388-9; Shirley to Newcastle, Ibid., 405. Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 56-7.

A dramatic incident occurred in early February, 1747, that redounds much to French military credit. Colonel Noble and about five hundred English militia were in winter quarters at Grand-Pré where they considered themselves inaccessible to the nearest French Canadian forces under De Ramezay at Beauséjour. In a saga that surpasses Washington's crossing of the Delaware, Ramezay decided to attack and traveled across impassable snows for two weeks in terrible weather. The Gauthiers, still at large with a price on their heads,

were the scouts conducting Ramezay's men, imparting valuable information that enabled the Canadian French to surround the twenty-four houses in which the English were quartered, and where they were attacked and captured. But when De Ramezay in turn was desirous of making encampment at Grand-Pré, the Acadians insisted upon his departure in accordance with their oath of neutrality. Shirley informed Newcastle that very likely the French expedition was accomplished only with Acadian connivance, but he explained the Acadian position:

> "This fluctuating State of the Inhabitants of Accadie seems, my Lord, naturally to arise from their finding a want of due protection from His Majesty's Government; and their Apprehensions that the French will soon be Masters of the Province, which their repeated Attempts every year...at Annapolis Royal, and the Appearance of the late Duke D'Anville's Squadron from France...strongly Impress upon 'em..."[30]

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30 Parkman, Half-Century of Conflict, 2:351.

Then came the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 with its unexpected twist in favor of French colonial America. Cape Breton was returned to French dominion in exchange for French-occupied Belgium which reverted to Austria.

> "Boston was of course angry at the terms of the treaty. What sacrifices had Massachusetts not made!...Her sons had born almost incredible hardships! New Englanders had died like 'rotten sheep' in Louisbourg. The graves of nearly a thousand of them lay outside the wall...A spirit of discontent with the mother country went abroad and...

never wholly died out."[31]

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31 Wrong, Conquest of New France, 93-4.

To offset the treaty loss of Louisbourg the British government immediately undertook the founding of Halifax in 1748, and by launching an advertising campaign that would do credit to modern techniques, she had sent to America by July of 1749 under the leadership of Edward Cornwallis (uncle of General Cornwallis of American Revolutionary fame) more than 2500 immigrants.[32]

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32 The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, 18 (April, 1749), :183. Tells would-be settlers that this is not an unknown country or untrodden climate to risk their health; but it is a country long since discovered, well known and familiar, within moderate distance of six weeks sail from London, already settled by some seven to eight thousand Europeans. The September issue, 18:414-15, described the lots to be assigned, erection of a saw mill, supplies of plank and timber coming regularly. Twenty schooners often arrive in one day. See also: March issue, 18:110-121.

England now had a strong naval base four hundred miles nearer French Louisbourg, a fact which led indirectly to the second capture of that citadel in 1758. The new city was named Halifax in honor of Lord Halifax, president of the Lords of Trade. Its population was more than 4000 by 1752, and it was unique in Nova Scotia, both socially and morally a great contrast to pastoral Acadia.

Murdoch says that the English gentlemen of Halifax in their cocked hats, wigs, knee breeches, and shoes of glittering buckles, their ladies in hoops and brocades, the soldiers

and sailors of the late war who had been given special land concessions, the commercial-minded Bostonians going in and out, intent on saw mills or shipments of lumber, must have been a novel picture to the Acadians in homespun.[33]

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33 History of Nova Scotia, 2:146.

There is extant an eye witness account of Halifax in 1760:

> "We have upwards of one hundred licensed houses and perhaps as many more which retail spiritous liquours without license; so that the business of one half of the town is to sell rum and the other half to drink it. You may judge from this circumstance of our morals and naturally infer that we are no enthusiasts in religion."[34]

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34 Quoted by W. S. MacNutt, "The Beginnings of Nova Scotian Politics, 1758-1766," Canadian Historical Review, 16 (March, 1935), 41-2, 48. Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:86. See also: Winsor, Critical and Narrative History of America, 5:414, who would have us believe that matters were speedily gotten under control.

Once Mascarene had marched the veterans of Annapolis to the new capital at Halifax in 1749, Cornwallis was in power. The British were now formidable. Soon second and third protestant settlements followed in the wake of Halifax and were, in fact, offshoots of it. To Dartmouth, a neighbouring vicinity, went a thousand French Huguenots; and then some four or five hundred German Lutheran families from the Palatinate, who were not a harmonious part of Cornwallis' new enterprise, had to be transported about sixteen leagues

of water away to an isthmus southwest of Halifax.[35] This

35 Bernard, Le Drame, 296.

last settlement was called Lunenberg, and the British were to experience typical colonial travail before reducing it to military obedience.[36]

36 The Northcliffe Collection, Public Archives of Canada, presented to the Government of Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth as a memorial to his brother The Right Honourable Alfred Charles William Harmsworth Viscount Northcliffe (Ottawa, 1926), 19-22.

The Acadians soon realized that they had a new governor to deal with; in fact, conditions were very different. The instructions of the British Ministry to Cornwallis echo the earlier suggestions of Governor Shirley. The Acadians were to be allowed to remain in possession of their lands, but they were to take within three months time an unrestricted oath of allegiance. They were to have liberty of conscience, but efforts were to be made to Anglicize and protestantize them, and marriages between the Acadians and the English were to be encouraged. Trade with French settlements was to be forbidden them and no episcopal jurisdiction from Quebec was to be tolerated. Every facility was to be granted for educating Acadian children in protestant schools, and those who embraced protestantism were to be confirmed in their lands free from quitrents for ten years.[37]

37 Gaudet, "Acadian Genealogy," Canadian Archives, 1905, 2:49-51; Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 62-3.

Cornwallis did not give the Acadians the complete impact of his orders, but he demanded the unrestricted oath within the three months period or their departure. The Acadians who had shown themselves most loyal to the English in the late war addressed a respectful petition to him signed by a thousand heads of families and carried by ten delegates to him at Halifax. Among other things their petition pleaded the services they had rendered his Majesty's government, the fact that they had not violated their neutral oath. If His Excellency Cornwallis would accord them their former oath of neutrality carrying exemption from armed service, they would gladly accept it. Otherwise they wished to retire from Nova Scotia.[38] Cornwallis hedged. They would have to con-

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38 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:165, 169-73; Bernard, Le Drame, 292.

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form to the regulations and obtain their passports; but it would not be possible to accord passports until tranquility was reestablished in the province, and then those who left could not take their effects with them, and all their goods would be confiscated. Thus for the threats, but he was also persuasive. Their determination to go had caused him pain. Their industry and temperance were well known; they were not given to any vice. In their possession were all the cultivated lands of the country, producing sufficient grain to nourish the whole colony. Should they not stay and enjoy

the fruition of their own work and that of their fathers?[39]

39 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:174-5; 189-92.

Uneasy, the Acadians, especially the young, looked toward Chignectou and Beauséjour and beyond where the New Acadia was rising, but where they were forbidden to go under penalty of being regarded and treated as deserters. Some managed to escape. Cornwallis proceeded to strengthen his hand, installing garrisons and eventually forts at Mines and Piziquid, temporarily quartering, with some apologies, soldiers in Acadian homes. Even the deputy system was abolished, and the French were directed to have recourse to resident military commanders in case of necessity. All assemblies of the inhabitants were strictly forbidden unless with permission of the resident English officials. It was supposedly a time of peace, 1749-1750, but military occupation was the prevailing pattern.[39]

39 Ibid., 191-2.

Meanwhile Abbé Le Loutre, the parish priest of the Acadian village of Beaubassin and still missionary of the Micmac Indians, was, it is understandable, much concerned about the attitude of Cornwallis toward the Acadians in general and probably, too, about the scandals of the atmosphere in Halifax. He intercepted British correspondence more than

once, was undoubtedly well informed regarding the English intentions of protestantizing and Anglicizing the Acadians, and he reacted as a priest and a patriot.[40] He opposed

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40 The best defense of Le Loutre that this student has found comes from the protestant pen of Brebner, New England's Outpost, 119-121, but it is in great part negated in his later work Neutral Yankees, 364. See also: Bernard, Le Drame, 278, 282, 294, 305. On page 305, Bernard records that Thomas Pichon (alias Thomas Tyrrell), a spy in the British service, was unfortunately in the confidence of Le Loutre, whom he betrayed and against whom he testified, even falsifying papers to raise the ire of the British against the priest.

Cornwallis from the beginning. His Micmac Indians terrified the newcomers to Halifax, making it unsafe for them to leave the palisaded city without protection. When English vessels approached Chignectou in April, 1750, to overawe the Acadians in his parish at Beaubassin, Le Loutre insisted that his parishioners cross the river Missaguash (spelling varies) into French Canada domain; and it is very probable that, as stated, he threatened them with spiritual penalties and even Indian revenge, should they resist his orders. It was he and his Indians who set fire to the deserted village of Beaubassin prior to the English arrival. For all of these activities there was a price of 100 livres upon his head and upon the scalps of his Indians.[41]

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41 Short and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:91-2; Wrong, Conquest of New France, 169-70. Regarding the burning of Beaubassin, Wrong says:

"A whole district was laid waste by

> fire. Women and children suffered fearful privations -- but what did such things matter in view of the high politics of the priest and of France?"

Bernard, Le Drame, 295, argues that the Acadians knew the English were coming to pillage and destroy their outpost anyway. Since Beaubassin was a haven for political refugees and since the English came with impressive military support, Bernard is doubtless correct. Le Loutre probably saved them from worse suffering.

During this same period France and England were wrangling over the still undefined boundaries of Utrecht. Shirley headed the English Commission, and both countries were soon fortifying the disputed area. In September, 1750, the English again landed on the Chignectou isthmus and proceeded to erect Fort Lawrence at Beaubassin on the south side of the Missaguash river. Forthwith M. de la Jonquière, governor of Canada, gave orders to construct Fort Beauséjour on a hill two miles or so away on the opposite shore of the same river. For the next five years Forts Lawrence and Beauséjour glared at each other.[42]

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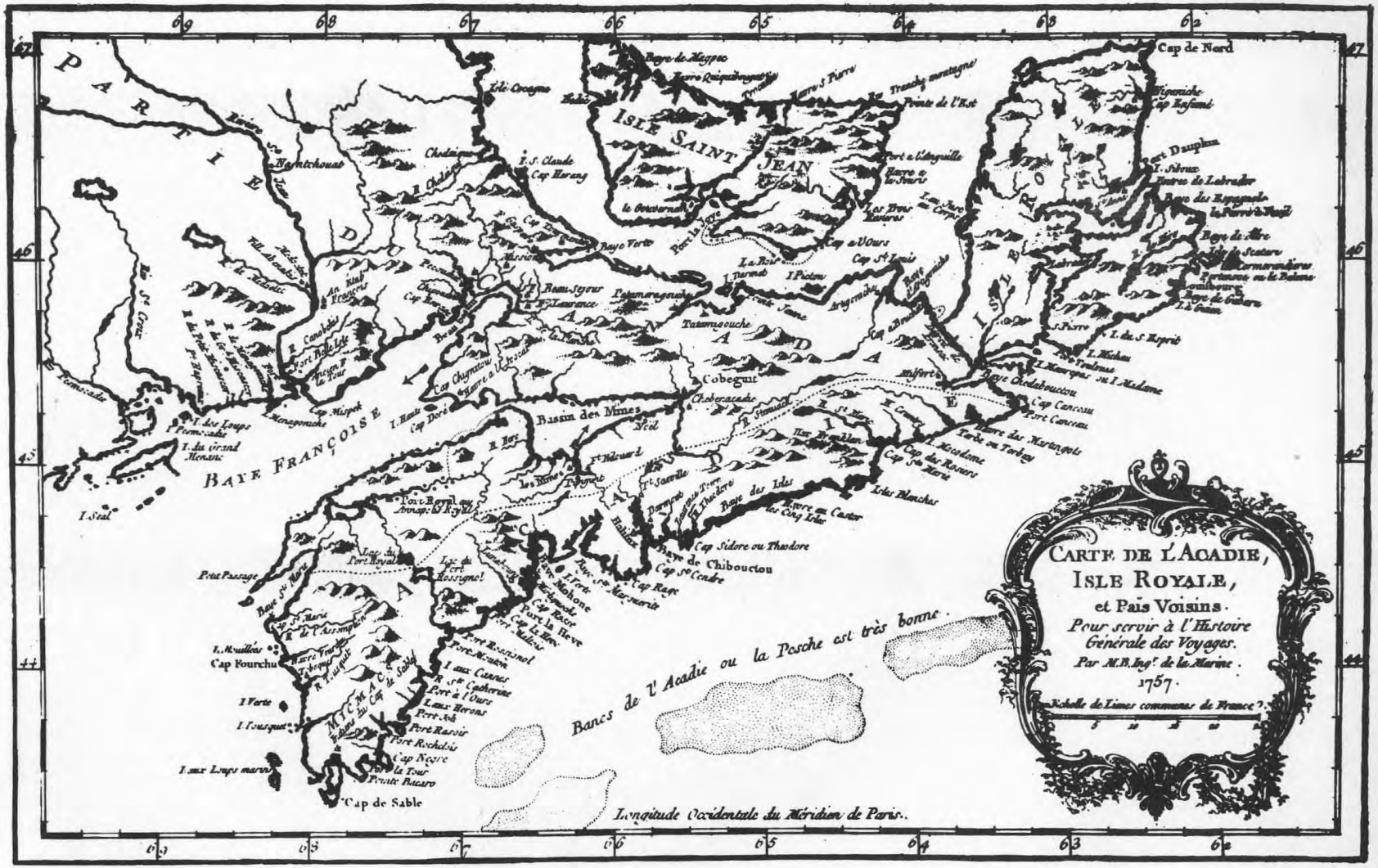
42 Memorials Concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia, 7, 10, 11; Rapport de L'Archiviste de Québec, 1923-1924, 126-7. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1: 191, 405. Wrong, Conquest of New France, 169-70.

Cornwallis was recalled to England in October, 1752, and was replaced by Colonel Peregrine Hopson. French historians are enthusiastic about this governor, "representative of the most noble British traditions," who in the fifteen short months before ill health caused his removal, brought order



Contemporary map showing Fort Beausejour and Fort Lawrence

out of chaos. Hopson opposed Shirley, refusing to place protestant settlers amongst the Acadians, writing to the Board of Trade that he wished no more of the type of colonist immigrating to Halifax, who embarrassed rather than aided British interests. He also represented to authorities that he could not exact an unrestricted oath from the French, that it was untimely and they were a useful people necessary to colonial welfare. According to Lauvrière, Hopson directed the commandants of Grand-Pré and Piziquid to treat the Acadians as they would protestant subjects of His Majesty, not to insult, offend, or overcharge them. And London officials gave his discretion full scope.[43]

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43 Bernard, Le Drame, 297; Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:385-6. See also: Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 83, 86. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:197-8; 201-03.

But Hopson was succeeded by Governor Charles Lawrence, the man accused by both French and English historians of playing a major role in connivance with Shirley in the coming expulsions. Lawrence's policies reversed those of Hopson as quotations exemplify:

> "If they [Acadians] should fail to comply, you will assure them that the next courier will bring an order for military execution ...No excuse will be taken for not fetching fire-wood, and if they do not do it in proper time the soldiers shall take their homes for fuel."[44]

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44 Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 86. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:223, 227 has the same quotation except the line regarding taking their homes for fuel.

Events moved quickly to the outbreak in America of the French and Indian War, 1754-1763. In our country it began as a struggle between the French and English for possession of the Ohio Valley. And dare we say it began in Nova Scotia for protestant possession of the rich cultivated lands of the Acadians? It was a motive disguised as necessary subjugation of a people too sympathetic with French interests. The declaration of war published in the colonial papers gave as a cause:

> "The unwarrantable Proceedings of the French in the West Indies and North America...particularly Our Province of Nova Scotia have been so notorious..."[45]

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45 Pennsylvania Gazette Containing the Freshest Advices Foreign and Domestick (July 29, 1756); The Boston Weekly News Letter (Thursday, August 5, 1756).

On February 13, 1755, Shirley announced to the General Court of Massachusetts that an expedition was being fitted out to dislodge the French from their forts in the regions of Beauséjour and the St. John river. "By the region of Beauséjour" Shirley had references to two dependent forts on the isthmus and to several villages. Munitions from Canada and Louisbourg always arrived at Fort Gaspereau from whence they passed to Fort Baie Verte and thence to Beauséjour. According to the report of Engineer Franquet there were 1111 Acadian refugees, men, women, and children gathered at Fort Beauséjour in 1751, but that number would have been

considerably increased by 1755.[46]

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46 Lincoln, Shirley's Correspondence, 2:127-9. Franquet's report on forts in Rapport de l'Archiviste, 1923-1924, 125-8. See also: Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:243, 391-2, 400-1, 403.

Approximately a week before the scheduled siege of Beauséjour and the forts on the isthmus, Lawrence disarmed the Acadians of Nova Scotia proper. Around the sixth of June, 1755, one hundred soldiers of Halifax went to Piziquid and fifty to Mines under pretext of a fishing holiday; but that night they paired off, went to the homes of the inhabitants and demanded their guns, powder, and all weapons. Other settlements were ordered under penalty of being treated as rebels to bring their arms to Fort Edward. Canoes and boats were confiscated. "Extracting the teeth of all the neutrals," commented Lawrence.[47]

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47 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:410. See Akins: Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:247-9. Acadians petitioned Lawrence reminding him they had never violated their oath, had maintained it "despite the solicitations and dreadful threats of another power," representing to him the need of canoes for their livelihood, firearms for protection. Deprivation of firearms, they argued, would not keep a man faithful. Conscience safeguarded the oath.

With more security then, Shirley probably felt he could execute the plans of his "D Day" assault on the isthmus of Chignectou. Once the fall of Beauséjour was certain, Abbé Le Loutre fled to Quebec, embarked for France, was captured on the high seas by the British, and imprisoned for the next eight years. Released after the Treaty of Paris, 1763, he

returned to France. Relative to the siege of Beauséjour, however, a serious accusation was registered against Le Loutre; namely, that he conferred with Captain Howe under a flag of truce to provide opportunity for his Indian emissary to shoot the captain. A few British authors have made much of the story, but on the whole it is discredited. From the several available contemporary accounts, Parkman in his Montcalm and Wolfe chose the condemnatory, citing two most questionable authors. One was an anonymous Pichon, a traitor in the English service. Richard with consummate skill shows how ingeniously Parkman used Pichon for much of his Acadian material. In the same book Parkman cited Pichon once as a French officer without naming him; another, place, Parkman gave only the archival volume and page wherein Pichon was quoted; thirdly, he used Pichon's name without enlightening the reader as to his character; fourthly he spoke of Pichon as a man of education acting the part of traitor -- thus building him up in the reader's eye. And says Richard:

> "Directly, inferentially or in essential details [regarding Le Loutre and the flag of truce] he [Parkman] was contradicted by Maillard, Prevost, La Vallière, and Cornwallis, that is by a distinguished priest, two officers of high rank and one governor."

Parkman cited these four authorities, it is true, in his own footnote, but in such a way as to create the impression that with the exception of Maillard (whose priestly testimony

Parkman scorned) they corroborated Pichon's account.[48]

48 Montcalm and Wolfe (2 vols., France and England in North America, Part Seventh, Boston, 1922), 1:124. Richard, Acadia, 273-291. For character of Pichon see footnote 40, page 112, of this thesis. Abbé Casgrain, a good friend of Parkman's was the first to take Parkman severely to task, Un Pèlerinage, 375-6; and in Parkman's later work Half-Century of Conflict, 2:197, Parkman accedes to the criticism so far as to comment that the charge against Le Loutre "has not been proved." Webster in his Career of Abbé Le Loutre, 17, 30, challenges Casgrain's defense of the priest and re-condemns him. Webster's study makes Brebner in Neutral Yankees reverse his favorable opinion of Le Loutre. But in this student's opinion Webster is not nearly as convincing as Richard. Mason Wade in eulogy of Parkman entitled, Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian (New York, 1942), 440, acknowledges that Parkman gives his "anti-democratic, anti-clerical, and anti-Jesuit feelings" some play. Lastly, George N. Shuster, The Catholic Spirit in America (New York, 1927), 81, records that Parkman told Shea he had been forced to underscore his narrative with little peppery allusions to bigotry in order to render his work palatable to its audience. See also: Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:194-5, 210, the letter of Cornwallis, the extract from Pichon, and Cotterell's letter. Collection de Documents Inédits sur Le Canada et L'Amérique, 1:67, 69, Maillard's defense of Le Loutre.

After the English conquest of Beauséjour on June 16, and of Forts Gaspereau and Baie Verte on June 17, the prelude to the expulsion had been accomplished.[49] In the light of what

49 Boston News Letter (June 24 and July 17, 1755); Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:408-9; O'Callaghan, Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 10:381.

follows, it is significant to read Lawrence's statement:

> "As regards the Acadians [meaning those settled in Beauséjour area] as they were forced to take arms on pain of death, they will be pardoned for the part they have just taken."[50]

50 Northcliffe Collections, 78-9.

Were these lines penned just to lull the Acadians into a sense of security and blind them as to their impending fate?

With the Acadians disarmed and Beauséjour surrendered, Lawrence in July proceeded to demand from them an unrestricted oath of allegiance. Apparently the decision to deport them was to depend upon their compliance or refusal, although they were not so informed.

Deputies were summoned before Lawrence on July 3, told to prove their sincerity and to take an unrestricted oath. Asking leave to return home for consultation with their constituents, they were forbidden to do so; but they were allowed until the following morning to reach a final decision amongst themselves. The next day the deputies reiterated their determination not to take the oath unless with a clause exempting them from bearing arms. They were advised that henceforth they would not be allowed to take any oath, and they were summarily ordered into confinement. One hundred new delegates arrived at Halifax on July 25, presenting a courteously worded memorial to the council which stated their desire to observe faithful obedience, which represented that they had unanimously consented to deliver up their firearms, although they never would have used them against His Majesty's government. They pointed out that several amongst them had risked their lives to give information regarding the enemy, that when necessary they had laboured "with all their heart" on the repairs at Annapolis and at other work assigned. Lawrence informed this

second delegation that they must take the oath demanded or they could not be considered "subjects of His Brittanic Majesty." They also were allotted time for reconsideration, but this second delegation consistently refused the new oath, begging that if it were the king's intention they quit their lands, they be allowed a convenient lapse of time for departure. They, too, were imprisoned.[51]

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51 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:247-66. Brebner, New England's Outpost, 214-5, describes Lawrence's interview with the delegates:

> "There followed a most unfair discussion, point by point of the petition, during which they were most harshly questioned and inexcusably bullied."

The shameful interview is fully recorded in the archives but is too extensive for this paper.

All the deputies were imprisoned on the Island George near Halifax, and naturally their families were agitated and disturbed at their detention. Family petitions signed by hundreds of Acadians were sent to Lawrence humbly imploring him to release the men, asking him to be touched by their miseries. But Lawrence was adamant. Those presenting the new petitions were imprisoned.[52]

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52 Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:265-6; Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 114.

The delegates were poorly fed, treated as criminals and detained until October when embarkations were in order. Casgrain and Herbin record a visit of Lawrence to the island.

Lawrence asked the prisoners if they still persisted in refusing the oath. One of them replied:

> " 'Yes, more than ever.' The Governor drew his sword and said, 'Insolent, you deserve that I run my sword through your body.' The peasant presented his breast and replied, 'Strike, Sir, if you dare. I shall be the first martyr of the band.'"[53]

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53 Casgrain, Un Pèlerinage, 105; Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 93. I have avoided using French testimony of the above nature. This is authenticated as coming from the pen of Daudin, curé of Annapolis that year. See also: Bernard, Le Drame, 311-13.

The decision for a general expulsion of all the Acadians from Nova Scotia, was, according to the records, reached at Halifax, July 28, 1755. Two of the outsiders who sat in on the council meetings were Admiral Boscawen and Judge Jonathan Belcher. Their presence, of course, was intended to make the whole proceedings unimpeachable for rectitude and equity. Hughes says that the "gallant admiral" had recently been in the East Indies "where he left in his wake nothing but the wrecks of Catholic churches, destroyed or confiscated..." Belcher, remarks Doughty, had prepared a legal opinion on the justice of expelling the Acadians that was "ill-founded in fact and contemptible in argument." Present also was Charles Morris, ready to give the council his detailed plan for deportation, a plan executed many months previous and designed to prevent the escape of any of the Acadians from the trap.[54]

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54 History of the Society of Jesus, 2:180; Acadian Exiles, 115. See also: Bernard, Le Drame, 311.

Had everything really depended on the final refusal of the Acadians to swear the oath? Probably not, but it was made to appear that way.

Lawrence's next step was to arrest almost all of the missionaries. The Sulpician Chauvreulx of Mines was taken August 4. Abbé La Maire of River Canard hid himself for several days in order to reach his various churches and comsume the hosts, but he surrendered himself on August 10. Père Dadin (spelled Daudin, too), curé of Annapolis, who left a detailed account of these events, was taken the sixth of August immediately after he finished saying Mass. The priests were taken to Halifax and there exposed to insults and much disrespect before being shipped to England from whence they were allowed to go to France. Their churches in Nova Scotia became barracks for His Majesty's soldiers. At Dadin's house the English seized all the papers, registers, letters, memoirs, and legal acts -- a seizure the Acadians always lamented, crying out in exile that they were thus deprived of the principal means of proving their innocence and the justice of their cause. And as Bernard, remarks, Longfellow sweetened history when he left Père Felicien with his beloved flock.[55]

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55 Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:438-9; Bernard, Le Drame, 312-3. Both Lauvrière and Bernard use Dadin as their source for the above. There has always been much hue and cry about missing records in Acadian history. See Bancroft, History of the United States, 2:427. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:223-7, gives account of Dadin's arrest.

The most valuable source for what actually occurred in the process of expulsion is the journal of Lieutenant Colonel John Winslow, published in the third and fourth volumes of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. Winslow headed the entire deportation project and made his headquarters at Grand-Pré, the most populous and the wealthiest of the Acadians settlements. Subordinate officials were assigned to other localities.

On September 4, 1775, some four hundred-eighteen men from all the villages of Mines assembled in obedience to casual but official notification in the church of Grand-Pré. A table was set in the center of the church and through interpreters Winslow told the Acadians that he had received from his Excellency Governor Lawrence the "King's Commission" which he had in his hand [an outright lie, as we shall show]. With some apologies for the disagreeable duty he had to perform, Winslow read aloud the decrees:

> "That your lands & Tenements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sortes are Forfitted to the Crown with all other Effects Saving your money and Household Goods and you Yourselves to be removed from this his Province."

They were further told that each family might take all the household goods that could be carried without discommoding the vessels; and he assured his stunned audience that he would do everything in his power to see that whole families

were embarked in the same vessel.[56]

56 "Journal of Colonel John Winslow" in Report and Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for the Years 1882-1883 (Halifax, 1883), 3:94-5, 98, 107, 157.

With the man power thus trapped in the guarded church, Winslow waited with impatience the arrival of the transports which were to disperse the French neutrals down the entire Atlantic coastline. Twenty of the imprisoned men were allowed to return to their families each day to communicate the news and to make necessary arrangements. That was a concession, but on the other hand, the individual families were expected to provide food for their captive husbands and brothers. All unnecessary expense was curtailed by Winslow. Doubtless, he was just obeying orders, because he writes that, although he knew the Acadians deserved what they were getting:

> "...yet it hurts me to hear their weeping & waling and Nashing of Teeth. I am in Hopes our affairs will Soon put on another Face and we Get Transportes and I rid of the worst peace of Service yt Ever I was in...I am afraid there will be some Lives Lost before they are Got together, you Know our Soldiers Hate them and if they Can Find a Pretence to Kill them, they will."[57] [italics mine].

57 Ibid., 95, 107, 113, 136, 171. See also: Bernard, Le Drame, 410.

Why did they hate the Acadians? Was the expulsion another Louisbourg crusade to the three hundred-thirteen soldiers working under Winslow? Was Longfellow's poem sentimentally exaggerated? What account could be more pathetic than

Winslow's record of the embarkation of the young men? Aware that the Acadians outnumbered his soldiers and having noticed on September 9 some unusual restlessness amongst them, he determined to embark two hundred and fifty of the youngest on five transports recently arrived. Accordingly that number was summoned from the church and at point of bayonet put in formation six deep and told to march shorewards. The young men replied that they would not go without their fathers. Winslow threatened, put his hand on one young man in the lead and bade him proceed. He obeyed, and the others followed. They went off, said Winslow:

> "Slowly, Praying, Singing, and Crying, being Met by women and Children all along the way (which is 1½ mile) with Great Lamentations upon their Knees praying."

The people were bidden to send food henceforth to these men on the boats, which would wait in harbor until more transports arrived.[58]

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58 Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc., 3:108-9. Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus, 2:181, gives the French hymns these young men sang, "Vive Jesus! Avec la Croix son cher partage..." taken from manuscripts in British museum.

What did the people suffer mentally and physically in the bleak fall and winter months of that Nova Scotian climate? As the men were confined in the church or on the transports, the women and children were left to gather the harvest and

to provide for themselves and their men. The first embarkations of whole families and sailings from Grand-Pré began October 8 and continued at intervals until all had been shipped, December 20. Winslow described the scene of October 8 very graphically:

> "Began to Embarke the Inhabitants who went of Very Solentarily and unwillingly, the women in Great Distress Carrying off their Children In their arms. Others Carrying their Decript Parents in their Carts and all their Goods Moving in Great Confussion & appeard a Sceen of woe & Distress."[59]

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59 Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc., 3:166, 179.

Although Winslow had orders to load the transports two personages to a ton, in order to accomodate the numbers, he wrote that he considerably exceeded that proportion. Herbin records that the people were crowded to suffocation and much of their household goods had to be abandoned on the shore where English settlers found it in 1760, carts, furniture, household goods of every description.[60]

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60 Ibid., 79, 179. Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 117. See also: Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:97.

The pattern of arrest and deportation was similar though not as successfully executed in other districts, Piziquid, Annapolis, Beaubassin. The Micmac Indians managed to alert their friends and many escaped, fleeing into the face of the

coming winter northward, to the regions of Memramcook and the more distant Bay of Chaleur, where those who survived played hide-and-seek from the English round-up troops for the succeeding years of the war. Acadians in these regions contributed their man power to an Acadian division, a division that engaged in guerrilla tactics and one that constituted a worthy and appreciated adjunct to colonial France in her life-and-death struggle with Great Britain, and finally a division that merited Montcalm's tribute.[61] Others of the

61 Montcalm's tribute in O'Callaghan's Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 10:492. See also, Ibid., 401, 466, 924, 956. Contemporary newspaper accounts speak of Acadian guerrilla warfare. Boston Weekly News Letter (Thursday, August 5, 1756), 2; Pennsylvania Gazette (July 29, 1756), 2. Akins, Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:427, 436. The Rev. Antoine Bernard, C.S.V., Histoire de la Survivance Acadienne, 1755-1935, Avec cartes et illustrations (Montreal, 1935), 21, 23-30. Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc., 3:100.

escapees fitted out privateers and successfully preyed on British shipping.[62]

62 Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:114; Akins Documents of Nova Scotia, 1:436.

Thus it was in 1755 that with little of this world's goods somewhere between six and seven thousand Acadians (if we accept the conservative estimates of Parkman, Doughty, Winsor, Herbin, and Wrong) were distributed down the coast line of North America. Many families were irrevocably separated, despite Winslow's assurances. Their sufferings for the next decade or so from hunger and want, their frustrated anguish

at beholding their children bound out in service, their constant humiliations, their pathetic endeavors to find their loved ones, to preserve their faith defy all attempts to do them historical justice.[63]

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63 Canadian archival records preserve some of the story of their afflictions. Gaudet, "Acadian Genealogy," Canadian Archives, 1905, Appendix A, 93-5; 105, 112-3; 118, 123-5. Their petition to the Governor of Massachusetts, April 13, 1756, protesting the binding out of their children is significant, Ibid., 88.

> "We have taken the liberty of presenting this petition to you, as we are in affliction on account of our children. The loss which we have suffered from being deprived of our farms, from being brought here, is nothing in comparison to that which we are now bearing in having our children torn from us before our eyes..."

Henri D'Arles, La Deportation des Acadiens (Montreal, n.d.), 19, says there are in the archives of Boston two enormous cahiers entitled French Neutrals, in folios of original papers. Here are the deliberations of the Chamber of the Assembly and the orders of Council -- the story of the treatment meted out to the Acadian "pariahs." Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote his son of the plight of some nine hundred French neutrals sent to Maryland who would have met with very humane treatment from Roman Catholics, "but a real or pretended jealousy inclined this government not to suffer them to live with Roman Catholics." See: Kate Mason Rowland, The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832, With His Correspondence and Public Papers (2 vols., New York, 1898), 1:27.

British partisans allege that families were not separated, at least to any great extent; but contemporary accounts bear witness to the contrary. Hutchinson speaks of members of families who were sent to colonies remote from each other. Contemporary newspapers carried advertisements publicizing the

divisions of families.[64]

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64 Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1749 to 1774, Comprising a Detailed Narrative of the Original and Early Stages of the American Revolution (3 vols., London, 1828), 3:39-40. Boston Weekly News Letter (March 4, 1756, March 11, 1756, March 18, 1756). The Pennsylvania Gazette (March 13, 1756). Doughty, Acadian Exiles, 138, says that despite efforts to keep families together there were many separations. See also: Bancroft, History of the United States, 2:433; Hughes, History the Society of Jesus, 2:177-8; Bernard, Le Drame, 409.

The student inquired of Doctor Émile Le Blanc, West Pubnico, Nova Scotia, who is of Acadian descent, as to what the Acadian tradition might be, and Doctor Le Blanc assured the student that long-standing tradition is definite, many families were sundered. By way of substantiation, Doctor, assisted by Miss Laura Hardy, Curator of Fort Anne's Museum, Annapolis, cited several passages from Winslow's Journal relative to the exigencies of the time when transports were few and confusion general. Doctor quoted Doughty's Acadian Exiles to the effect that the real separation of families began in the colonies when the poor people were disembarked a ship at a time and shunted from town to town, and Doctor made reference to other authors whom the student has used in this study. Doctor Émile Le Blanc in correspondence addressed to Sister Mary Jean, October 11, 1954.

It is a matter of surprise to many people that there were actually four expulsions, two of which were successful. By February of 1756 the English had rounded up some two hundred twenty-six more neutrals who, according to the Boston News Letter, March 11, 1756, succeeded in capturing the vessel from Captain Moulton and taking it to St. Mary's Bay where they again escaped. In 1758, however, four thousand Acadians of Prince Edward Island were deported, one boatload of three hundred bound for France foundered in the Bay of Biscay, all but five perishing. In 1762, the war over, five more transports of Acadians were shipped to Massachusetts where they

were refused admission, and the vessels had to return to Halifax with their unwanted cargo.[65]

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65 For the expulsion of 1756 see O'Callaghan's Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y., 10:427, 518-9. Boston News Letter (March 11, 1756), 2. Expulsion of 1758, Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:324-5; 327. Expulsion of 1762, Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 2:422-3; Winsor, Critical and Narrative History of America, 5:417.

Unhappy in the American colonies, literally hundreds of the Acadian D.P.'s escaped and made their way hazardously by land and sea back to Nova Scotia. Some were caught in the subsequent round-ups by British troops; others successfully evaded further apprehension until the peril was over. Many made their way down to Louisiana where they took up life anew in French-speaking communities. Saint Martinsville, Louisiana, is known as the "Evangeline Capital of the South," for it is there that Emmeline Labiche, said to be the prototype for Longfellow's Evangeline, went in quest of and found her "Gabriel" who in harsh realism was by that time pledged to another.[66]

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66 Richard Estes and Margaret Hall, "Yankee Visits Longfellow's Evangeline," in Yankee, 17:32-44 (February, 1953).

Today the Acadians of Louisiana, numbering almost 500,000 look forward to celebrating their bicentennial year in 1955. And the Acadians in the Maritime Provinces of Canada opened their bicentennial commemorations on various dates close to and including the feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1954.

They plan its solemn close with the unveiling of a commemorative plaque at Annapolis Royal, August 16, 1955.[67]

67 Details of bicentennial plans in Louisiana: Daily Iberian (Jan. 20, 1954 and March 20, 1954), page 1. Louisiana's Deep South (Vacation Guide, 1954, first edition), 113. Bicentennial plans in Nova Scotia: Le Petit Courrier, "Du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Ecosse," (Jeudi 28, Janvier, 1954; Jeudi 18, Mars, 1954; Jeudi 6, Mai, 1954; Jeudi 20, Mai, 1954). Doctor Émile Le Blanc in correspondence with Sister Mary Jean, November 18, 1954.

Hence some six or seven thousand Acadians were exiled in 1755 and four thousand more were deported from Prince Edward Island in 1758; and then on September 15, 1759, Quebec surrendered. Montreal capitulated September 8, 1760. In the Montreal terms of surrender Governor Vaudreuil of Canada was mindful of the Acadian people, and he stipulated that the French remaining in Canada would not be transported to English colonies or to England; and that the French officers, soldiers, and Acadians imprisoned in Nova Scotia would be sent back to their country. Amherst accorded both points "sauf a l'egard des Acadiens." In the peace preliminaries of 1763, Louis XV demanded that the Acadians be sent back to France or allowed to remain in Canada in legal possession of their lands; but George III and his minister, John Stewart, excluded the Acadians from all treaty mention.[68] Their last

68 Bernard, Histoire de la Survivance Acadienne, 30. Rowland, Charles Carroll and His Correspondence, 1:54. In a letter dated January 7, 1763, Charles Carroll tells his father that there will be no provision or indemnifications for the poor neutrals in the coming treaty.

hopes for justice in this world were doomed in the publica-

tion of that treaty.

However, Governor Murray of Canada proved to be a true friend to the French Canadians by making more easy their assimilation into British Canada. And then as if his British conscience twinged him, this same governor in 1765 invited Acadians to settle in the province of Quebec. Some nine hundred of them left Massachusetts to accept the invitation.[69]

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69 Jean Nichol, "The Expulsion of the Canadians," The Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report 1925, 35, 38. Title of this article explained in bibliography.

The question now is timely. What were the causes of the deportations? Winsor points out that for more than a generation the French had refused a real oath of allegiance and their claim to a qualified allegiance was one which no nation then or now could sanction. Others focus attention on the French and Indian War and the probable effect of Braddock's defeat in the Ohio Valley. According to Shortt and Doughty:

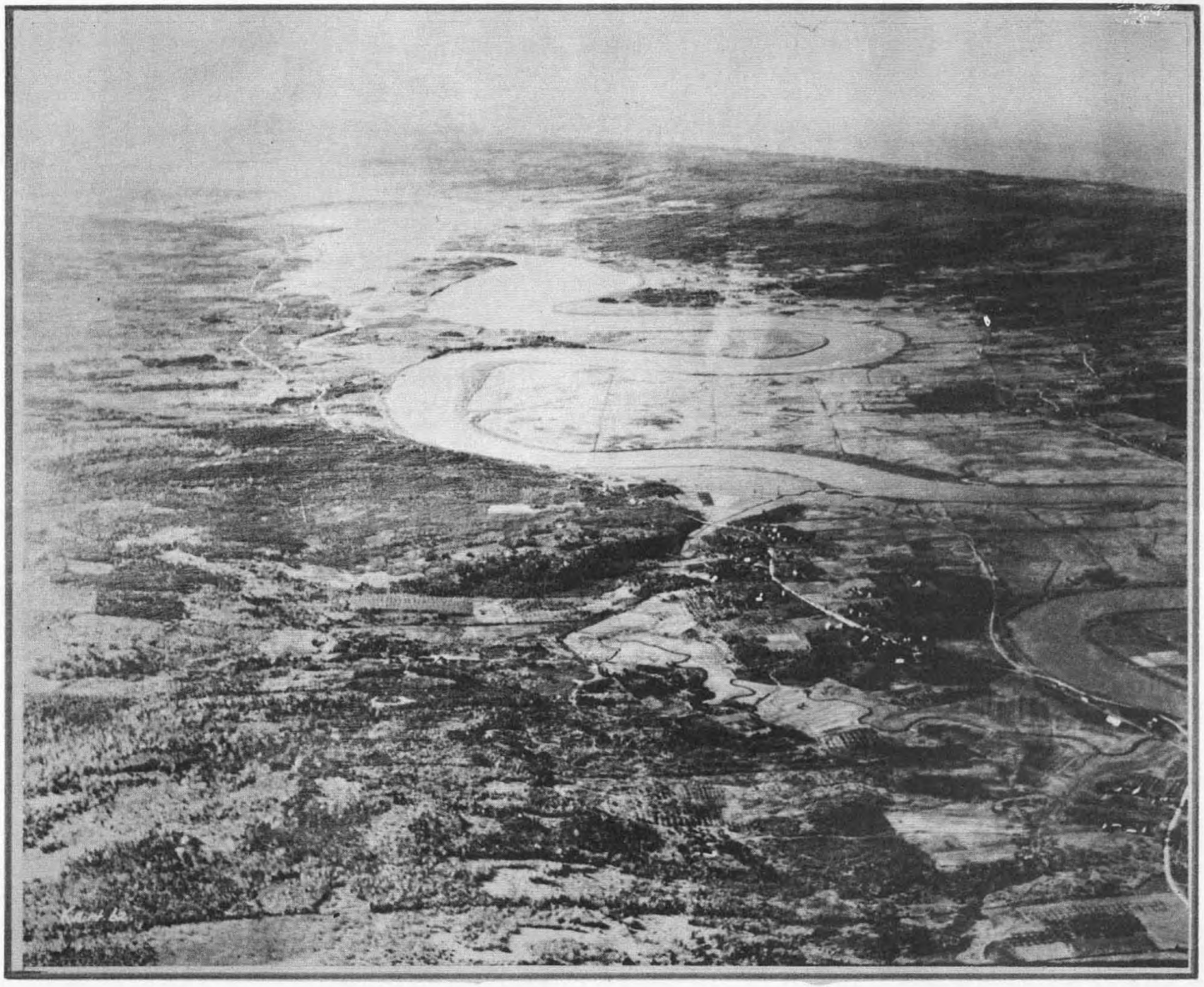
> "Within a fortnight the dire news [Braddock's defeat] reached Halifax and no doubt tended to confirm Lawrence and his council in a momentous resolution they had already taken." [italics mine.]

Another historian stresses the cruel policy of the missionaries; Ferland, the violations of neutrality. The role of greed? A number of authors emphasize it, particularly the French authorities. Historians line up in the following order according as they attach importance to or put stress on

one or another cause.[70]

70 OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, Winsor, Critical and Narrative History of America, 5:415, 417. WAR, BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT, Winsor, Ibid., 455-6; Shortt and Doughty, Atlantic Provinces, 13:89-90; 92-3; 98; Brebner, New England's Outpost, 214, 220. MISSIONARIES, James P. Baxter, "What Caused the Deportation of the Acadians?" in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series, April 1899-April 1900 (Worcester, 1901), 86-7. VIOLATED NEUTRALITY, J.B.A. Ferland, Prêtre, Cours d'Histoire du Canada, Seconde Partie, 1663-1759 (2 vols., Quebec, 1865), 2:518. GREED, Ferland, Ibid.; Brebner, New England's Outpost, 233; Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 125-6; Bernard, Le Drame, 408; Dennis, Down in Nova Scotia, 60-1; Abbé Lionel Groulx, L'Histoire Acadienne (Montreal, 1917), 25.

Doubtless the expulsion was due to a number of operative factors, but the student has taken special note of the many contemporary allusions to a covetous motive. In Winslow's Journal, for example, we read that he is to be on the lookout for horses for the use of the Lieutenant Governor, horses for someone else, that the Acadians will have the harvest in [one reason why the first transports were not loaded and sent off] that settlers going to Lunenberg had permission to help themselves to Acadian live stock, account to be taken for government credit. There are four hundred bullocks that can be fattened; Grand-Pré has "6000 Neat Cattle," "8000 Sheep," and so on through a long list. The Boston News Letter speaks of the great number of cattle Lawrence has taken from the French. The New York Mercury gives another list of cattle that have arrived in New York, besides all kinds of poultry and supplies that are daily arriving, of ships loaded with wines. The



DYKED ACADIAN LANDS

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Pennsylvania Gazette mentions the "great and noble scheme" of sending French neutrals out of the province and then adds:

> "If we effect their Expulsion, it will be one of the greatest Things that ever the English did in America; for by all Accounts, that Part of the Country they possess is as good land as any in the World. In case therefore we could get some good English Farmers in their Room this Province would abound with all Kinds of Provisions."

Shirley betrayed his own motives basely mercantilistic; and Mascarene stated that the people of New England would like nothing better than an excuse to take possession of the Acadian lands already cleared and cultivated.[71]

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71 "Winslow's Journal," Coll. N.S. Hist. Soc., 3:91-2; 108, 125, 127-8, 131, 133, 152-4; 157-8; 163-5. Sometimes there was more than one item on a page. Boston Weekly News Letter (Thursday, July 17, 1755), 1; The New York Mercury (Monday, October 20, 1755), 3; The Pennsylvania Gazette (September 4, 1755), 2; Lincoln, Shirley's Correspondence, 1:162-3. [Shirley's quotation is given on page 101 of this thesis.] Mascarene in MacMechan's Letter and Commission Books, 2:131.

Dennis states that thousands of the finest acres of Nova Scotia were granted to members of Lawrence's council at Halifax and thousands more to other prominent persons.[72]

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72 Down in Nova Scotia, 60-1. Herbin, History of Grand-Pré, 125-6, corroborates this.

But Henri D'Arles, a French historian, says that it is not too certain that Charles Lawrence personally profited or

reaped a fortune. In seemingly reliable documents, we read, according to D'Arles, that Lawrence died poor less than five years after the deportation of 1755. However, Bernard wonders how poverty can be associated with Lawrence since he was the annual recipient of some ten thousand pounds sterling and since he founded and generously endowered the village of Lawrencetown to the east of Halifax. Moreover, just a week or so before his death he gave a banquet for some three hundred guests. Bernard also records that Lawrence was formally accused by his associates in Halifax of embezzlement and extortion; and hence it is not surprising that the documents of 1755 to 1758 relative to his personal transactions were among the missing papers that Haliburton later decried.[73] Weighing both versions it seems to this student

73 La Deportation, 24; Le Drame, 328, 408.

that whether Lawrence died in poverty or wealth need have no direct bearing on the conclusion that greed was or was not a dominant motive for the expulsion of the Acadians. Primary evidence is most convincing in its witness to the greed and acquisitiveness of New England. Lawrence's well laid plans to realize a personal fortune and ingratiate himself with his confederates might easily have miscarried.

What role did bigotry play? It is the student's opinion that bigotry or anti-popery had a definite influence on the supporting circumstances and events that culminated in the

expulsions, and she has endeavored to indicate that influence in the course of this study, though it remains an intangible force that defies measurement.

There are still to be discussed the person or persons who were ultimately responsible for the deportations and the justification or lack of justification for the whole procedure. Both are historically mooted problems.

Even the French historians are sharply divided upon the matter of culpability. Casgrain, Richard, Gaudet, Herbin, and Bernard concurring with Allison, Brebner, Doughty, and Wrong accuse Lawrence, or Lawrence and Shirley; or Lawrence, Shirley and accomplices. On the other hand, Lauvrière and Le Blanc together with Bancroft point the finger at Lord Halifax and his associates on the Board of Trade. The crux of the matter is the impossibility of locating the letter of instructions from the king permitting the deportations. As Bernard argues, Lawrence himself never alluded to such a document, nor did the Board of Trade or the Secretary of State. Winslow, quoted by Bernard, stated that it was:-

> "...decided to call together all the male inhabitants...<u>under the pretext</u> of communicating to them the instructions of the king."[74] [Bernard's italics].

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[74] <u>Le Drame</u>, 322. New books referred to: David Allison, M.A., LL.D., <u>History of Nova Scotia</u>, 1 (2 vols., Halifax, 1916); Dudley Le Blanc, <u>The True Story of the Acadians</u> (Lafayette, 1937).

In May, 1747, Newcastle had directed Shirley to inform the Acadians that there was not the least foundation for any fears of deportation. Wrong and Doughty point out that Sir Robinson's letter dated August 13, 1755, conveyed to Lawrence the word that the Acadians were not to be molested, which letter was received by Lawrence after nearly one thousand Acadians had embarked on the seas.[75] But Lawrence

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75 Newcastle to Shirley in Gaudet's "Acadian Genealogy," Canadian Archives, 1905, 46-7; Conquest of New France, 173; Acadian Exiles, 124. See also: Bernard, Le Drame, 322, 325-7. Robinson's letter was omitted in Akins' compilation.

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proceeded with his plans, probably counting on the exigencies of war to exonerate him. The number of historians and the weight of evidence are against Lawrence and his coadjutors.

Was the expulsion of the Acadians justified? Parkman and Hannay contend that it was justified. To quote Parkman:

> "New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own. Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale expatriation, it was not put into execution until every resource of patience and persuasion had been tried and failed. The agents of the French court, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, had made some act of force a necessity..."[76]

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76 "The Acadian Tragedy," Harpers New Monthly Magazine, 69 (Nov., 1884),:886. History of Acadia, v.

But the majority of authors seem loath to sanction the deed,

Allison expresses it well:

> "As for the expulsion of the Acadians as a whole, but particularly, in its inclusion of the older valley settlements, the writer of this history can only conclude that the more it is investigated, the more indefensible it appears."77

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77 History of Nova Scotia, 1:284.

Wade (may I remind the reader again that Wade considers Parkman one of the greatest of American historians) concludes:

> "Parkman based his view largely upon the collection of historical documents edited by Thomas Akins of the Nova Scotian Archives. Casgrain, by industrious research, demonstrated that Akins bowdlerized the evidence and modern historians tend to accept more of his view of the matter than Parkman's."78 [italics mine]

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78 Heroic Historian, 435-6.

The story of the Acadians under English rule is then the story of a democratic-conscious peasantry under a succession of British autocratic governors who ruthlessly interpreted the mercantilist policy and the anti-Catholic bias of early eighteenth century England. It is a story complicated by the acquisitiveness of protestant New England for the richly dyked Acadian farmlands, by the greed of Boston for monopolistic control of the Canso fishing banks. It is the story of an anti-popery crusade which the oratory of Puritan miniterial leaders and the sentiment of the Great Awakening quickened. It is finally the history of a people un-

assimilated by almost fifty years of English colonial rule, of a people caught in the melée of two colonial wars between their mother country and the country to which they had pledged and toward which they had preserved a neutral allegiance. It was a tragedy that culminated in the expulsion of some 12000 people from Nova Scotia, deportations which sundered many families and dispersed them amongst an alien population who persecuted, despised, belittled, and hated them for the simple reason that they were both French and Catholic.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Because of the controversial character of this study and the inadequacy of footnotes embodied in the text to deal critically and comprehensively with the sources of information, a bibliographical essay reviewing the major works seems imperative. Brebner has been cited as asserting that the sources themselves are a "maze of contradictions." In addition the secondary authors readily fall into two or possibly three classes: pro-British, pro-French, or, perhaps, baffled. Such blatantly contradictory material continually challenges one's sense of historical justice. Truth is not contradictory. The student inevitably makes and unmakes his own verdict several times. One cannot maintain neutrality, for a neutrality achieved by sidestepping the issues or ignoring the sources would be a farce. One could conceivably be left baffled, but that would be most unsatisfactory.

To this student who began to explore the subject with an open mind, there came at first a pro-British leaning, pro-British books are multiple. But once the partiality in Thomas B. Akins' Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia was exposed, as explained in the body of this work, there succeeded a pro-French leaning which ultimately became a certainty. The student was struck by the fact that Englishmen and non-Frenchmen first challenged British historical justice. The British archives at Halifax were

first suspected and accused of withholding documents by an English lawyer, Thomas C. Haliburton. Again it was a New England poet who first touched the sympathies of the people of the United States on Acadian behalf. And it was Doctor Andrew Brown, a Scotch Presbyterian minister living in pro-British Halifax, who became interested in the Acadian people even before Haliburton's time, who investigated their story, collected testimonials from witnesses still living, and began to write a defense of the Acadians which he did not live to complete. A fragmentary part of Brown's papers is compiled in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for 1879-1880, but the Society could well afford to give more space to these manuscripts. Le Canada-Français Documents Inédits and Gaudet in the Report of Public Archives of Canada for 1905 have published more extensively. John Bartlet Brebner in his "The Brown Mss. and Longfellow," The Canadian Historical Review, 17:172-8 (June 1936) insists that the Brown manuscripts are misleading and that they have betrayed some historians into the sentimentalism of Longfellow. Brebner acknowledges that precious originals are comprised in the collection, but he deplores the testimony of elderly men such as Richard Bulkeley, Isaac Deschamps, and Joseph Gray. Accordingly the student has utilized the Brown material with greatest circumspection avoiding entirely the testimony of those above named; but, nevertheless,

she has been impressed by the favorable Acadian verdict of several of these non-French witnesses who lived through the expulsion era and testified for protestant Doctor Brown, though admittedly their memory may have played tricks with details.[1]

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1 Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc., 2:149-53. Bulkely and Deschamps published a vindication of British role in expelling the Acadians. Not clear why Brebner named them.

It is striking that there is no comparable charge on the English side against a French compilation of documents nor have Frenchmen supported the British contentions. The English counter attack has been directed against Abbé Raynal's picture of Acadian life, rather absurdly idealized. But the charge falls flat, since modern French writers likewise brush Raynal aside.[2] The focal point of British attack has

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2 Richard, Acadia, 1:10. Bernard, Le Drame, has no reference from him.

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been against the Englishman Haliburton's An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia in Two Volumes, Halifax, 1829. Haliburton was a contemporary of some of the men who figured in the deportation. But Shortt and Doughty point out that this "provincial lawyer" began his studies when the modern school of history was unborn, and consequently the work is very faulty. At the same time Shortt and Doughty admit that this first history of a Canadian province has decided importance and, in spite of its defects, is a most

valuable work containing a mass of information not easily accessible elsewhere.[3] The student has had no recourse to

3 Atlantic Provinces, 13:272.

Raynal's work and with the single exception of Haliburton's exposé of the critical papers missing in the archives of Halifax, she has neither consulted nor read Haliburton.

The British historians further attack the so-called sentimentalism of Longfellow, whom they claim was influenced by Haliburton's account, and they attack the school of thought that Raynal, Haliburton, and Longfellow have jointly been accused of engendering.[4] This is the full strength of the

4 MacMechan, "Evangeline and the Real Acadians," Atlantic Monthly (February, 1917), 206, states: "French controversialists accuse Akins of partiality and continue to write under the influence of Raynal, Haliburton, and Longfellow."

English counter charge, and, significantly, there is only one Frenchman amongst the three. One does not, generally speaking, rely on remantic narrative poetry for historical facts. Admittedly Longfellow never visited Nova Scotia and erred to some extent in regard to Acadian housing and such minor details. With a flare for drama Longfellow portrayed Evangeline in the denouement as a nun (a well-informed Catholic would not have so handled her career); but all that does not touch the historical import of the expulsion of the Acadians, which the poem actually underplays if one compared it with Winslow's

Journal, incorporated in the third volume of the Report and Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. And again the poem cannot begin to reach the pathos of the harsh fate the Acadians experienced in exile. A New Englander could not have written that chapter in poetry or prose.

To proceed from here with an alphabetical or occasionally a grouped discussion of the remaining documents, primary sources, and secondary materials major to the thesis seems most practical. Archibald MacMechan's compilations: Nova Scotia Archives II, A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the Possession of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741 and Nova Scotia Archives III, Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis, 1721-1739 together with Akins' volume 1 make an indispensable trilogy for any study of Acadia. MacMechan's books are supplementary to Akins, and in some instances overlapping. He supplies matter omitted by Akins, though he loyally supports his predecessor. These three archival volumes plus the four of Report and Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society etch out the documentary picture quite well, especially from the British viewpoint, though material very sympathetic to the French cause is included.

O'Callaghan edited the collection of Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York; Procured in Holland, England, and France, published in 11 volumes,

a monumental work. Volumes 9 and 10 were pertinent to this thesis and contained transcripts from the archives of the French Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies, from the archives of the Minister of War, and the Library of the King. They were of considerable value to this study since they served to balance the English collections of Akins' and MacMechan, and the student felt more free to use them as having been collated under non-French auspices. The various Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1923-1924; 1946-47; 1947-48 were significant. The volume 1923-24, for example, contained the account of the French engineer Franquet's visit to Beauséjour. The most important was the Rapport for 1947-48 which discloses the French policy on Cape Breton and furnishes proof that Nova Scotia was the prototype of Alsace-Lorraine, to be recovered if possible.

Amongst primary source material, the several issues of the Boston Weekly News Letter, the New York Mercury, and the Pennsylvania Gazette were surprisingly enlightening as to the climatic events from 1745, fall of Louisbourg, on to 1756. Here was evidence that greed for Acadian land and cattle motivated New Englanders, evidence that families were separated and lost to each other in the expulsions of 1755 and later, evidence that the Acadians had not taken refuge behind an oath of neutrality because they were either physical or moral cowards. Here was evidence that they had courage and spirit and would fight in what was to them a

just cause.

Diereville's Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia, 1699, was invaluable as coming from the pen of a surgeon who sailed from La Rochelle with two clerks and some merchandise in August, 1699, for Port Royal where he remained a year engaged in trading. He described minutely the Port Royal of his day: houses, people, Indians, geographic and climatic conditions; and his authorship is generally esteemed. Brebner asserts that Diereville's Relation is the best early description of the land and the people. Webster, editor of the Relation, comments that Diereville's observations are seldom at fault.[5]

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5 New England's Outpost, 39. Relation of Voyage to Port Royal, 12.

In regard to secondary material, the five books (this bibliography lists only two) by the Reverend Antoine Bernard, C.S.V., LL.D., professor of the University of Montreal, definitely classify him as the major Acadian historian of today. Bernard writes with authority having had access to all the sources that the passage of time has opened up, and, as far as the student knows, he stands virtually unchallenged by a pro-British historian. Almost all of this research was completed when the student discovered him; for his works in French seem to be relatively unknown in the United States. It was only by correspondence with Montreal City Library that the student learned of him, and it was with some satis-

faction that the student checked her notes against his material.

Abbé Casgrain's Un Pèlerinage Au Pays D'Evangéline, Paris, 1889, was the outstanding study, I would say, until Émile Lauvrière published in the 1920's. Casgrain was the first to take Parkman to task on his anti-Acadian slant, and he did it with the freedom of a friendship that had been building up for a long time; but after the publication of Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe a coldness estranged the men for some four years. Meanwhile Casgrain, laboring to refute Parkman's Acadian chapters, wrote his Un Pèlerinage. Wade explains that Parkman's theses rested on sources already available to him, especially upon Akins' collection; but Casgrain found much new evidence by ransacking the Archives of the Marines and Colonies in Paris and the British Museum and Public Record Office in London. The resulting book was impressive enough, says Wade, "to cause Parkman to abandon partially his view that the Acadians got their just deserts," and the friendship of the two men was reestablished.[6]

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6 Parkman, Heroic Historian, 436.

No French historian has dedicated himself more entirely or unselfishly to Acadian history than has Doctor Émile Lauvrière beginning with his two volume work La Tragédie d'un Peuple; Histoire Du Peuple Acadien De Ses Origines À Nos Jours, Paris, 1924, which he abridged into a one volume

text as recently as 1946. Professor of the University Louis-le-Grand, Doctor Lauvrière has done intensive Acadian research on both sides of the Atlantic, and, in addition to the books cited, has published four other works of Acadian interest, besides founding and heading the Comité France-Acadie, tasks which he admits have held out no hope of glory or profit, but which had enabled him to pay a debt of gratitude on the part of the mother country France. It was on Lauvrière's work that this student early relied for the French side of the controversy. Comparatively speaking, Lauvrière has not been a target to any great extent of pro-British attack, especially in the historical range covered in this paper. The most serious charge is Brebner's to the effect that Lauvrière failed to properly evaluate the Brown manuscripts.[7] The student substantiated information from

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7 "The Brown Mss. and Longfellow," Canadian Historical Review, 17 (June, 1936),:175.

Lauvrière with non-French sources whenever possible, for reasons explained in the preface.

Beamish Murdoch's three volume History of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1865, is listed in practically every Acadian bibliography. It is primarily a compilation, considerable material from Akins' Documents of Nova Scotia being quoted. Little indication of stress separates major incidents from unimportant facts. The whole is definitely pro-English and occasionally anti-clerical, though Murdoch has the honesty to acknow-

ledge that his information regarding Le Loutre is from sources not friendly to priests.[8] Winsor alludes to Murdoch's

8 History of Nova Scotia, 2:271.

confused arrangement but insists that he is worth careful study. George Patterson, A History of the County of Pictou, challenges the accuracy of the latter part of Murdoch's second volume, which is matter, however, not relative to scope of this paper.[9]

9 Narrative and Critical History of America, 5:419. A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia (Montreal, 1877), 99.

Parkman's Half Century of Conflict and his Montcalm and Wolfe have been discussed only in a derogatory sense in the text of this paper and in this essay in connection with Casgrain's Un Pèlerinage, but justice demands a favorable evaluation, likewise. Doctor Antoine Bernard, C.S.V. pays tribute to Parkman as he was in his declining years, half paralyzed, almost blind, penning in his Pioneers of France in the New World an eloquent eulogy of Mother Church, a retreat from his earlier stand, consistent, explains Bernard, "with the loyalty of an historian of character."[10] Mason Wade summarizes:

10 Le Drame, 38.

> "Despite all the objections that a Catholic must make to Parkman's books, the Abbé [Casgrain] felt that Canadians owed Parkman a great debt, for no other writer has done so much to make their country's history known and admired abroad...With the passage of years, almost all French Canadian bitterness against Parkman has vanished."[11]

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11 Parkman, Heroic Historian, 406-7; 423.

Another classic two-volume work is Edouard Richard's Acadia; Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History, New York, 1895. The student found this a more virile, skillful and convincing exposé of Akins and Parkman than Casgrain achieved. Margaret Hayne in her review of the book in the Catholic World for March, 1919, says that Richard wrote at white heat, his life-long ambition was to defend the cause of his ancestors and to combat with historical facts the accusing documents piled high in the prejudiced work of Mr. Thomas Akins. But, says Hayne, Richard was sometimes lacking in both patience and accuracy, too fond of quoting from memory, and he lacked clearness. Hence Henri D'Arles set about revising, correcting, and annotating the original. The student took detailed notes but used Richard sparingly for reasons assigned in the preface.

For the details of English government, power of the governor, deputy system, collection of king's rent and similar regulations, no work was comparable to The Atlantic Provinces, 13

(Canada and Its Provinces, A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates, 23 vol. and Index), Toronto, 1914, edited by Shortt and Doughty. This work was vitally informative, and though it still has to be classified as pro-British, it is indispensable to an accurate picture of Acadians under English rule.

The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia, Shediac, 1933, by John Clarence Webster is a condemnation of the priest Le Loutre in his Acadian field. Webster claims he regrets the task, knowing he will be criticized, and asserts his great admiration for Catholic missionaries in general. He bases his conclusions in great part on De Courville's writings and on Pichon, a spy in the British service and a feigned friend to Le Loutre. Webster alludes to Casgrain's charge that De Courville was tainted with Voltairean philosophy but insists he has read Courville's Memoirs and failed to find them anti-clerical. Beamish Murdoch, on the other hand, admits Courville's disaffection for the priesthood. Thus Webster follows in Parkman's footsteps; for the latter used the same witnesses.[12] Richard's

12 See pages: 112, 117-18 of this thesis. Webster, Career of Abbé Le Loutre, 5-6. Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 2:271.

defense of Le Loutre is a convincing rebuttal of Webster's attack.

The books listed above constitute the most significant works in this controversial study. In the twentieth century

much material has become available that was inaccessible in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The pro-Acadian evidence tragically lost in 1755, a loss much lamented by that people in exile, has been collected from the four winds, as it were: from the archives of Paris, from the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London, from the attic in the Nova Scotian archives at Halifax, from Quebec, Montreal, and Louisiana. The sum deposit has been assembled in the great libraries and archives of the United States and Canada. The student is grateful that she was able to obtain and examine so many of the major works, but she regrets her inability to reach the valuable manuscripts and material in the archives and libraries of Canadian cities.

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Collection De Documents Inédits sur Le Canada et L'Amérique. 1. Publiés par Le Canada-Français. Quebec, 1888. Some of the documents in French; others, in English. Criticized by Brebner in his "Brown Mss. and Longfellow," 175, as following Brown without sufficient editorial caution.

Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. Volume 1 for the Year 1878; Volume 2 for the Year 1879-1880; Volume 3 for the Year 1882-1883; Volume 4 for the Year 1884. (Title of Volume 1 varies slightly: Report and Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for the Year 1878.) Volume 3 of major importance to this study because it contains valuable portion of "Journal of Colonel John Winslow." Volume 4 has earlier but less vital portion of same journal. See foregoing essay, 143-4.

Lanctot, Gustave, ed. Documents Relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia with Prefatory Documents, 1675-1758. Published under authority of Secretary of State. Ottawa, 1933. Contains valuable information regarding precarious situation of British in Nova Scotia after 1710, the pecuniary embarrassment of early English governors, and the crass indifference of British home government to their plight.

_____. The Oakes Collection, New Documents by Lahontan Concerning Canada and Newfoundland. Ottawa, 1940. Of background interest to subject matter of thesis. Used only corroboratively since Lahontan has been discredited for his spurious account of a trip into Indian country. See page 29 of this thesis.

MacMechan, Archibald, M., Ph.D., ed. Nova Scotia Archives 2. A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741. Printed by authority of the Legislative Assembly. Halifax, 1900. See foregoing essay, 144. This particular volume more useful than Minutes listed next.

_____. Nova Scotia Archives 3. Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739. Printed by Authority of the Legislative Assembly. Halifax, 1908. See foregoing essay, 144.

Memorials of the English and French Commissaries Concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia. London, 1755. Contemporary publication in very year that France aired to the world the Treaty of Utrecht boundary dispute with England. These Memorials deal with the 12 article of the Treaty. They were only of historic importance after 1763. English Memorials are translated into French. The French Memorials are untranslated.

Northcliffe Collection (Public Archives of Canada). Presented to the Government of Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth as a memorial to his brother the Right Honourable Alfred Charles William Harmsworth Viscount Northcliffe. Ottawa, 1926. These are the papers of General Robert Monckton and of Brigadier General Townshend, men connected with the expulsion of the Acadians and, therefore, of relative significance in that area of the study. But they pale in importance before the Journal of Colonel John Winslow.

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Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1923-1924.
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W.S., ed. [sic] A General Collection of Treatys of Peace and Commerce, Renunciations, Manifestoes, and Other Publick Papers, from the Year 1642, to the End of the Reign of Queen Anne, 3. London, 1732. 4 vols. It was very difficult to find a complete text of the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, between England and France. This was a book of the contemporary period. The paper was hand-made with a fleur de lys water mark. Most interesting and curious.

PRIMARY SOURCE

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Boston Weekly News Letter, July 4, 1745; June 24, 1755; July 17, 1755; March 4, 1756; March 11, 1756; March 18, 1756; August 5, 1756. Pertinent to fall of Louisbourg in 1745 and expulsion of Acadians in 1755. See foregoing essay, 145-6.

Champlain, Samuel De. Voyages of Samuel De Champlain 1604-1618 (W.L. Grant, ed. Original Narratives of Early American History). New York, 1907. First-hand account of founding of Port Royal in 1605. Douglas, New England and New France, 45, remarks that here is a man "whose eye nothing escaped." Only background source for my purpose, however.

Charlevoix, S.J., The Rev. P.F.X. History and General Description of New France, 5. Translated by John Gilmary Shea. New York, 1871. 6 vols. Useful to this paper in reference to border warfare of 1720's. Charlevoix is accused by Wrong of exaggeration, Conquest of New France, 45-6. Example cited is picayunish. However, student has used Charlevoix with restraint, adhering to principle of basing thesis on English or non-French sources.

Coxe, William, M.S., F.R.S., F.A.S., ed., Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford. With Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers Never Before Published. Volume the First Containing the Memoirs. London, 1798. 3 vols. Of mere incidental value to this study.

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Discussion Sommaire Sur Les Anciennes Limites De L'Acadia, et Sur Les Stipulations Du Traité D'Utrecht qui y font relatives. Altona, 1755. Contemporary. Summary in French and German. Helpful to some extent. Less technical than original.

Gaudet, Placide. "Acadian Genealogy and Notes," in Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905. Appendix A. Part III, 2. Ottawa, 1900. 3 vols. Gaudet is a recognized scholar. Lauvrière, La Tragédie, 1:x, considered this book one of his best sources. Brebner, "The Brown Mss. and Longfellow," 175, asserts that Gaudet used Andrew Brown's material without sufficient editorial caution. Hence student selected only what could be verified in archives of Massachusetts or was corroborated by English historians in accordance with principle stated in preface.

Hutchinson, Thomas, Esq. The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, From the Charter of King William and Queen Mary, in 1691, Until the Year 1750, 2. Boston, 1767. 3 vols. Interesting as from the pen of the contemporary historian. Hutchinson held successively high political offices, climaxing in that of Governor of Massachusetts in 1771. He severely maligned Rale in this second volume.

_____. The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, From 1749 to 1774, Comprising a Detailed Narrative of the Origin and Early Stages of the American Revolution, 3. London, 1828, 3. This third volume edited and published by the author's grandson. In regard to expelled Acadians the account is amazingly sympathetic.

Kip, Rev. William Ingraham, ed. and trans. The Early Jesuit Missions in North America, Compiled and Translated from the Letters of the French Jesuits with Notes, Part I. New York, 1846. Cited only twice in this paper.

Lahontan, Baron De. New Voyages to North-America by the Baron De Lahontan, 1. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. Reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index. Chicago, 1905. 2 vols. See text of this paper, 29, for criticism as to reliability.

Lescarbot, Marc. Nova Francia; A Description of Acadia, 1606. Translated by P. Erondelle (The Broadway Travelers, Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Powers). New York, 1928. This volume contains books one and two of original. Book one describes the three voyages of Lescarbot and the founding of Acadia. Important to any study of early Nova Scotia, but only of background utility here.

Lincoln, Charles Henry, Ph.D., ed. Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760, 1 and 2 (edited under auspices of National Society of Colonial Dames of America). New York, 1912. 2 vols. Letters found here that were not comprised in Akins' or MacMechan's compilations. Lincoln's edition aims to give clear view of Shirley as Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America.

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Rowland, Kate Mason. The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832, With His Correspondence and Public Papers, 1. New York, 1898. 2 vols. Useful for details about Acadian exiles in Maryland. Author had use of all family papers. Only 750 copies printed at family expense and type distributed.

Thwaites, Reuben G., ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. Cleveland, 1896. 73 vols. Only important to background history of this subject.

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_____. Histoire de la Survivance Acadienne, 1755-1935. See foregoing essay, 146. This particular volume an original and timely piece of research.

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_____. Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, A Marginal Colony During Revolutionary Years, New York, 1937. This work retracts many of the pro-Acadian statements in New England's Outpost. See page 16 of this thesis.

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Douglas, James, LL.D. New England and New France: Contrasts and Parallels in Colonial History. New York, 1913. Contains excellent critical material on early sources. Parallels good. Pro-Catholic in regard to missionaries.

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Ferland, J. B. A., Prêtre. Cours D'Histoire du Canada, Seconde Partie, 1663-1759, 2. Quebec, 1865. 2 vols. Avoids controversial points to a great extent.

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Hannay, James. The History of Acadia From Its First Discovery to Its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris. London, 1880. Pro-English. Absolutely justifies expulsion. Gives considerable material on domestic culture of Acadians which was valuable.

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Herbin, John Frederic. The History of Grand-Pré; The Home of Longfellow's "Evangeline." St. John, New Brunswick, n.d. [1913, according to Brebner.] Author, an Acadian by descent, gives moving picture of what his people suffered. Without footnotes, but research convinced student that sources were credible. Account of expulsion follows Journal of Colonel John Winslow closely.

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Nichol, Jean. "The Expulsion of the Canadians," 34-39. The Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1925. Article deals with fears of French Canadians in 1763 lest they would be deported as Acadians had been in 1755. Story of the English Governor Murray who won the loyalty of his French Canadian subjects. This account, by analogy, an indictment of British rule in Nova Scotia, 1713-1763.

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_____. "Letters of Francis Parkman to Pierre Margry with Introductory Notes by J. S. Bassett." The Smith College Studies in History, 8. Edited by John Spencer Bassett and Sidney Bradshaw Fay (Nos. 3 & 4, October 1922-July 1923). Northampton, 1923. Margry was archivist in Paris. In these letters Parkman has running comment on the Acadian authors of the day. He tells Margry that John Gilmary Shea, formerly a Jesuit, is displeased with him [Parkman] because he is so much under the influence of Margry whom Shea classifies with the scoffers of young France.

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Rameau de Saint Père. Une Colonie Féodale En Amérique, L'Acadie, 1604-1881, 1. Montreal, 1889. 2 vols. Rev. ed. In this edition the two volumes were bound together. Parkman severely criticizes Rameau. See page 84 of this thesis. The student, therefore, has merely recorded Rameau's personal experience in archives at Halifax. She did not even read Rameau's work.

Richard, Edouard. Acadia; Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History, 1. New York, 1895. 2 vols. Excellent pro-Acadian account. See foregoing essay, 150.

Riddell, Hon. William Renwick. "A Late Official Report on the French Posts in the Northern Part of North America." Michigan History Magazine, 16:68-81 (Winter Number, 1932). Very good on the subject matter.

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Wade, Mason. Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian. New York, 1942. Wade considers Parkman greatest of all American historians, and, if that is extravagant, then at least the greatest of the 19 century. However, Wade is a Catholic and admits frankly Parkman's shortcomings. See pages 137-8 of this thesis.

Webster, John Clarence. The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia with a Translation of His Autobiography. Privately printed. Shediac, 1933. A scathing condemnation of Le Loutre. See foregoing essay, 151.

Wilson, James G. "An Acadian Governor." The International Review, 11:462-502 (November, 1881). Good treatment of the subject. On the whole favorable to Vetch.

Winsor, Justin. The English and French in North America, 1689-1763, 5 (Narrative and Critical History of America, 6 vols.). Boston, 1887. Very helpful, especially the critical bibliographical essay. The pro-British viewpoint, although the expulsion is not justified.

Wrong, George M. The Conquest of New France; A Chronicle of the Colonial Wars, 10 (The Chronicle of America Series, Allen Johnson, ed. 56 vols.). New Haven, 1920. Pro-British but obviously, too, an attempt to be very fair.

APPENDIX

The correspondence connected with the thesis has been of considerable interest and most helpful. My bibliographies were actually compiled for me personally by the experts. It happened thus. With Mr. C. B. Fergusson, Assistant Archivist of the Public Archives of Halifax, Nova Scotia, I have exchanged letters a number of times in the course of two years. From him I purchased what was available, namely: Nova Scotia Archives II and III and Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, II and IV. And it was Mr. Fergusson who supplied me with my initial bibliography. This was fortunate, because I was so located in my professional field that I could not have access to bibliographical guides. Then from Mr. William Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist of the Public Archives of Canada, I received printed inventories of documents available at Ottawa and a second bibliography relative to my subject. The very essence of courtesy and kindliness were two replies to my inquiries from Mr. Jules Bazin, Head Librarian of the City of Montreal. In addition to filling out my form questionnaire, Mr. Bazin attached a valuable and unsolicited hand-written bibliography, which among other good leads directed me to the Reverend Antoine Bernard, C.S.V.'s works that I later purchased from Les Clercs De Saint-Viateur. The letter I addressed to the Public Library of Annapolis

Royal was redirected to Fort Anne National Historic Park, Annapolis Royal. Mr. A. L. Morfee, Honorary Superintendent of the Park, returned my small remuneration and painstakingly typed in on a very special detailed questionnaire the local information I solicited. The topography and relationship of Annapolis Royal to the rivers and the placement of the Upper and the Lower Towns which I had puzzled over for months were clarified by description and air-view pictures. A comprehensive analytical bibliography was appended.

In addition to the correspondence of the above purely informative type, there has been delightful exchange on a friendly, encouraging, and directive plane. Tired of meeting library dead lines and eager to have in my personal possession Émile Lauvrière's works, I sent a letter to him through his Parisian publishers. No books were available but several times across the Atlantic have come most friendly kindly letters from a great man, a distinguished author, and a university professor who can yet interest himself in the mere thesis of an American religious. With admirable simplicity and apology, Lauvrière tells me he is a nonogenarian and regrets that he cannot be as helpful as he would like. In further correspondence M. Lauvrière went over my outline point by point, had some suggestions to offer and much encouragement to give. A Mrs. William Larson, of immediate French extraction and a personal friend, visited Saint Martinsville, Louisiana, and put me

in communication there with Mr. Andrea Olivier, proprietor of the Evangeline Museum, who endeavored to be helpful, sending pictures and magazines. I am most indebted to Mr. Olivier, however, for suggesting that I write to Dr. Émile Le Blanc of West Pubnico, Nova Scotia. It is astonishing, but this gentleman, Doctor Émile Le Blanc, of a most famous Acadian line, has gone to no end of trouble to be serviceable to a poor United States nun struggling with her thesis. For example, in her interest he has motored one hundred twenty-five miles to Annapolis Royal, has sent books and newspapers, has enlisted the services of his personal friends, despite the fact that he is busy in his medical career and is himself serving on one of the Acadian Bicentennial Committees organized in Nova Scotia.

The experience of writing a thesis has forced me to reflect how gallant and courteous people in general and French Canadians in particular are to us American religious.