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**Deportation Era Acadian Community Leaders:
An Arrested Continuity**

By

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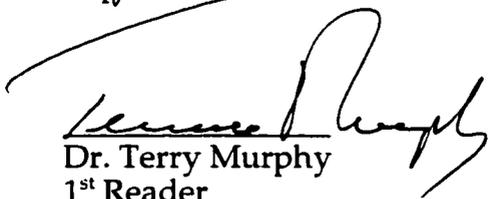
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ACADIAN COMMUNITY LEADERS

AN ARRESTED CONTINUITY

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Acadian community leadership over the span of the deportation era. While certain aspects of leadership have been discussed in previous studies, there has not been a serious review of leaders and their leadership of Acadian communities bridging the deportation era. The Acadian historiography has not effectively dealt with the diversity and continuity of leadership in this period. Participation in leadership activities by no more than six individuals will be reviewed in the years leading up to the Deportation. The adaptability of community leaders as demonstrated by their collective responses to the turmoil of the deportation period provides valuable insights into the Acadian community. The stabilization of Acadian political economy and the role of the post-deportation period Acadians leaders can be viewed as a contrast to the fragile stability of the pre-deportation era. The activities of the six notable leaders in the period of the deportation will be compared with those of the pre and post-deportation period. Activities during the deportation period of 1748 to 1762 by the leaders under review has not been given adequate attention in the Acadian historiography.

The resettlement of exiled and displaced Acadians will be assessed in the context of patterns of land ownership and economic activities. Leadership in this period required a flexibility and emphasis on the needs of the Acadian community as a whole not previously evident. The adaptability of the Acadian leaders to these unique challenges and the nuances of their leadership styles clearly demonstrated their effectiveness as leaders.

PREFACE

Did Acadian communities in the time period under review have a group of individuals who collaborated, consulted with each other and who acted in concert when dealing with their ever-changing political and economic realities? These individuals, by necessity, would have been of diverse backgrounds and even differing political biases. Affiliated through the bonds of the Acadian extended family these individuals would have been effective as political representatives. Some historians have considered the existence of an effective Acadian shadow government. The existence of active Acadian community leaders in the generation preceding the deportation, who were not deputies, will be studied in conjunction with and in consideration of elected deputies. Nominated by Acadians from each community, the deputies' official role was to disseminate, to their home communities, the dictates of the Nova Scotia Council. In the generations before and after the deportation, these individuals held the confidence of their extended families and assumed positions of authority in their community. They assumed responsibilities not intended by the Nova Scotia Council, responsibilities that some historians have considered an Acadian shadow government. This shadow government therefore consisted of officials who were elected, effectively representing their respective communities to the British civil authority. The Nova Scotia Council had not intended to create an Acadian leadership structure but had in fact developed a system of community deputies who would give effective representation for the geographically isolated Acadians.

extended family. Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard and Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc also fall into this category. Joseph “ Le Maigre” LeBlanc was the individual whose activities demonstrated a strong economic bias, as his merchant activities were often indistinguishable from his political support of France. The leadership activities of Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard as a merchant and a leader of the resistance, meanwhile need to be considered from the perspective of whether in different circumstances, he would have been a leader at all. Pierre Doucet is an excellent counterpoint to Joseph Goeguen as he was only five years old at the Deportation. Unlike Goeguen, Pierre was descended from a line of formal and informal leaders in Acadia from its early days.

The second category of leader is represented by Joseph Goeguen who was in his teens at the time of the deportation. Lack of family connections plus his youth combined to produce a set of circumstances unique to Goeguen. How his associations with clergy and the political leaders of the day was to facilitate his leadership activities in the post-deportation era will be reviewed.

The third category of leader is represented by Abbé Manach who as a priest would have authority at this time regardless of individual leadership

qualities. At a time when church and state were closely aligned, the leadership role of priests provides a sharp contrast to that of secular leaders.

The six key individuals, along with family members who were closely aligned with our subjects, will be tracked to show the effect that each had. Family members could include a son, as was the case with Prudent Robichaud, or a brother, as with Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard. Thus, principally considered will be Prudent Robichaud sr., Joseph “Le Maigre” Leblanc, Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard, Captain Pierre Doucet, Joseph Goeguen and Abbé Manach.

This thesis will seek to demonstrate that these key individuals and their immediate families were working at many levels of involvement before the “Grand Dérangement.” They also utilized political, economic and religious influences in different combinations while developing and maintaining their individual leadership activities. Keeping in contact afterward, with regard to their ever-changing political and economic situation would enable them to act in the Acadian communities’ best interests. Other members of the extended families of these key individuals will also be tracked to demonstrate that the leaders did not operate in social or economic isolation. As the research of Maurice Basque has shown, the extraordinary family relationships of the

leaders gave them a broad base of support. That these efforts were effective will be demonstrated, for example, by considering how the Acadians from different communities surrendered at the same time in 1762. Later, their moving to resettle at specific locations took place after communication among these groups of individuals had demonstrated that they could attain title to their own land.

The case of Joseph “Le Maigre” Leblanc, when he met with the Nova Scotia Council as a representative of the Acadians at Les Mines, is an example. Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc was a merchant and not a deputy and even though there were deputies present, he functioned as the spokesperson for that Acadian community. His activities as a merchant gave him political weight and authority thereby demonstrating that he was an effective leader even though not an elected official. Leadership activity is demonstrated within Acadian communities by “Le Maigre” as he supplied the French expedition led by M. Duvuvier in 1744, with eighty beef cattle and one hundred and fifty sheep.¹ His ability to purchase such a large number of animals shows his economic strength as this large quantity could have come

¹ Charles Bruce Fergusson, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, IV: Minutes of His Majesty’s Council at Annapolis Royal, 1736-1749 (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1967), p. 50 52, 55, 56-60, 62-64, 76, 78.

only from a number of different Acadian farms.

This thesis will demonstrate that the efforts of the effective Acadian leaders during the period under review contributed substantially to laying the groundwork for the survival and rebirth of the Acadians as a people after the deportation.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ACADIAN SCHOLARSHIP

RELATING TO LEADERSHIP ISSUES

Historians have debated the issues that surround the question of the Acadians, their communities and their leaders during the deportation era. Questions still exist, such as how land ownership evolved over the years of successive French and British rule and the impact this had on settlement patterns. There have also been discussions about how the seigneurial system of land ownership functioned throughout the deportation period. The seigneurs could have emerged as Acadian leaders and represented the resident population of Acadia to the British civil authority. However, seigneurs were few in Acadian communities, the principal exception being the d'Entremont family who were both seigneurs and deputies. How did the tradition of Acadian deputies representing their respective communities evolve as a mechanism for the British civil authority to deal with such a dispersed Acadian population? This chapter will review contemporary trends

in Acadian historiography and will identify the lack of historical research on Acadian leaders. How have successive generations of scholars dealt with the activities of Acadian leaders and their communities, before, during and after the deportation? The gaps in this historiography as it relates to events in Acadian history from the deportation to the early nineteenth century will be defined.

Many historians have dealt with the Acadian deportation as a pivotal event in the early history of Nova Scotia. However, historical scholarship regarding the Acadian community as a whole falls short of addressing the complexity of leadership roles in the development of Acadian communities.

Thomas B. Akins published, in 1857, his "Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia,"¹ which contained Council Minutes with letters and orders chosen to demonstrate that a military crisis in 1755 had forced the Nova Scotia Council to order the Deportation.²

Geoffrey Plank states in his doctoral dissertation, "The Culture of Conquest: The British Colonists and Nova Scotia, 1690-1759," that he believes that it was the fear of the public perception of the deportation that prompted the

¹ Thomas B. Akins, ed., Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S.: Charles Annand, 1869).

² Geoffrey Plank, "The Culture of Conquest: The British Colonists and Nova Scotia, 1690-1759" (New

assemblymen of the province to appoint Akins to produce this document.³

Francis Parkman, in his book Montcalm and Wolfe, published in 1884, relied on the work of Akins to counter any romanticized perception and support the British contention that the fate of the Acadians was deserved. Parkman believed that the Acadians acted as mindless agents of the Catholic clergy, providing food and logistical support for invading French, Mi'kmaq or Canadian forces.⁴

Authors such as John Bartlet Brebner and Thomas Gordon Barnes are cited by Geoffrey Plank as historians who have studied the colonial administration, assuming in their work that the British authorities in the colony acted alone in designing the structure of their administration.⁵

John Bartlet Brebner published New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada, in 1927 to review the British experience with the Acadians and assess what impact this would have on their administration of Quebec.⁶ Brebner describes how, in 1710, the Acadians began sending their chosen delegates to speak on their behalf, a policy the

Jersey: Princeton University, 1994), 21.

3 Ibid.

4 Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, (New York: Collier, 1966), 323.

5 Plank, "The Culture of Conquest," 21.

6 John Bartlet Brebner, New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada (New York:

British formalized.⁷ He goes on to document the British debate regarding Acadian neutrality and the impact of the Catholic clergy on deportation plans for the Acadians as early as 1743.⁸ Historians such as Thomas C. Haliburton, and poets such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow⁹ were captivating the imaginations of millions of Americans in the first half of the nineteenth century and generating sentiments of sympathy for the plight of the displaced Acadian families.¹⁰

In, The Acadians: Creation of a People, published in 1973, Griffiths expresses her belief that the Acadian family and household formed the chief economic unit. Griffiths also argues that by 1730 the system of delegates had provided political representation for the Acadian communities.¹¹ Even though the Acadians were predominantly French speaking and Catholic, they had assimilated English-speaking immigrants such as the Scottish Melansons and the Irish Caisseys¹² within their midst from their earliest days.¹³ As they possessed a considerable knowledge of the Protestant religion, Griffiths

Columbia V.P., 1927), 7.

7 Ibid., 149.

8 Ibid., 126-129.

9 Naomi Griffiths, "Longfellows' Evangeline: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend," in P. A. Buckner and David Frank, eds., The Acadiensis Reader (2 Vols.; Fredericton: Acadensis Press, 1985), II, 64

10 Plank, "The Culture of Conquest," 21.

11 Naomi Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973), 15.

12 Ibid.

comments that some of the families that had joined them from Loudun in the 1630's may well have been of the reformed church.¹ These settlers broadened the cultural diversity of the Acadian community. Griffiths comments further that the scholarship of professors John Reid and Jean Daigle indicates that "the Acadians were almost as accustomed to dealing with the officials of England as those of France,"¹⁴ and that this induced a willingness to accept the probability of alternate French and British control of the colony. She argues that this became the cornerstone of Acadian politics during the years 1713 to 1748. Griffiths contended that this acted as the basis for the Acadian action over requests made by British officials that they swear an oath of allegiance to the King of England. The Acadians, therefore, adopted a policy of delay and compromise as seen in their response to the British request that they swear allegiance to King George I. The Acadians at first rejected the oath outright. Among the reasons given was that, "Pendant que nos ancêtres ont été sous la domination anglaise on ne leur a jamais exigé de aprule sermente..."¹⁵

Naomi Griffiths believed therefore that the notion of neutrality was a

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., 163.

15 Henri-Raymond Casgrain, "Answer of several French inhabitants, 10 February 1717," Collection de

consistent policy, first enunciated in 1717 by the Acadians of Les Mines.

She believed that the Acadians were later to adhere to this policy especially in times of war.¹⁶

In response to the question of leadership in the community, for Griffiths, this policy was not merely a series of inconsistent, unconnected reactions to the demands made by both the English and the French. It was transmitted by delegates from the several Acadian communities to the British officials on a number of separate occasions and that was adhered to during a time of considerable pressure in the 1740's.¹⁷ This policy, she believed, provided the framework for the expansion and development of Acadian communities between 1713 and 1755.¹⁸

The work of Jean Daigle in his 1975, doctoral dissertation entitled, "Nos Amis les Ennemis: relations commerciales de l'Acadie avec le Massachusetts, 1670-1711", uses a behavioral approach to historical analysis.¹⁹ This work pre-dated Reid's publication in analysing the importance of economic ties and political affiliations between the Acadian

documents inédite sur le Canada et l'Amérique (3 vols.; Québec: L. J. Demers, 1888-90), II, 17.

16 Naomi Griffiths, "The Golden Age: Acadian Life, 1713-1748," (Histoire Sociale/Social History 17 (1984), 140.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 143.

community and the New England. Daigle states that the role of Acadian entrepreneurs was never understood by either the French authorities of Versailles or the Massachusetts government.²⁰ Daigle believed that both the French and New Englanders saw Acadian trading activities as a threat because the Acadians were indiscriminate with their trading and hoarded all the gold and silver for which they traded. Building on a system of goods essential to the Acadian agricultural society, Daigle states that the neutralist policy as adopted by the Acadian Bay of Fundy merchants had been successful for forty years. He also believed that after the conquest of Acadia in 1710, New England merchants effectively replaced the Acadian entrepreneurs as the intermediaries between the two colonies.

Recent research by author Paul Surette in Memramcook, Petitcodiac et La Reconstruction de L'Acadie²¹ published in 1981, and Regis Brun in Pionnier de la Nouvelle Acadie; Joseph Goeguen²² published in 1984, describe the activities of Acadian deputies on behalf of their communities.

More recent Canadian historians have continued to support the thesis

19 Jean Daigle, "Nos Amis les Ennemis: relations commerciales de l'Acadie avec le Massachusetts, 1670-1711" (Ph-D Thesis: University of Maine, 1975), 146.

20 Ibid, 147.

21 Paul Surette, Memramcook, Petcoudiac et La Reconstruction de l'Acadie (Memramcook: Société Historique de Memramcook, 1981), 33.

that the removal of the Acadians came as a result of military concerns, with the decisions to do so emanating from the Nova Scotia Council. George Rawlyk argued in 1973 that the preceding twenty years of research has demonstrated that there was “little direct or indirect New England influence on events in 1755.”²³

In her article, “The Golden Age: Acadian Life, 1713-1748,” published in 1984, prominent author Naomi Griffiths saw the Acadian community as a complex one.²⁴ This period, spanning the years between the treaty of Utrecht and the treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, she declared would be the one remembered during the exile years after 1755. This period saw the Acadian lands turned from being the disputed borderland between two empires to the frontier between enemies. Griffiths maintained that the deportation of the Acadians was inconsistent with their previous treatment by the British and that the Acadians had generally remained indifferent to issues of imperial politics. She maintained that competition between the empires affected them in such a way as to strengthen their resolve to stay independent, “neutral and

22 Régis Brun, Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie: Joseph Goeguen, 1741-1825 (Moncton: Les Éditions d'Acadie, 1984), 65.

23 George A. Rawlyk, Nova Scotia's Massachusetts; A Study of Massachusetts - Nova Scotia Relations, 1630 to 1784 (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1973), 212-16.

24 Griffiths, “The Golden Age: Acadian Life, 1713-1748,” 1.

uninvolved.”²⁵ Historian Geoffrey Plank has uncovered invaluable evidence regarding the customs of the Acadians, their material culture and their economic ties.²⁶ Griffiths saw the Acadians’ neutrality and their subsequent refusal to give their loyalty to the French or the British as a consistent policy. Begun in 1713 and supported until 1748, neutrality had produced peace and relative tranquillity for Acadian communities. She postulated a policy of neutrality which increased their knowledge of political action as well as fostering a sense of independence. This framework for Acadian evolution and expansion was supported by the community delegates. The lack of research by historians on the political activities of the Acadian population has allowed the perpetuation of the myth regarding a predominantly agrarian population established and nurtured in isolation and therefore uninvolved in trade and world affairs except as victims.²⁷

Carl A. Brasseaux published The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginning of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803 in 1987.²⁸ In his book Brasseaux dealt with Acadian life in Miramichi, Memramcook and

25 Ibid., 21-34.

26 Plank, “The Culture of Conquest,” 20.

27 Ibid., 7.

28 Carl A. Brasseaux, The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginning of Acadian Life In Louisiana, 1765-1803 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

Petitcodiac areas following 1755. His insights into the Acadian resistance movement and the series of events leading to the Acadian migration to Louisiana are clear and concise. Brasseaux clarified the reasons why so many Acadians exiled along the English seaboard opted to relocate to Louisiana. He described the conditions which they encountered there and explained their successes and failures. Brasseaux has filled a gap in the Acadian historiography with clarity and empathy.

Thomas Garden Barnes published an article in 1990, 'The Dayly Cry for Justice; The Juridical Failure of the Annapolis Royal Regime, 1713-1749', in Essays in the History of Canadian Law.²⁹ In this article Barnes extended the concept of Acadian leadership within what he describes as their nucleated communities. He argues the natural leadership that had evolved within the Acadian communities over the previous century and explains that it was strengthened, but not created, by the election of deputies. His further contention was that, having formalized the responsibilities of the deputies and notaries would have involved the Acadians in the process of acculturation through political and legal activity. Barnes mentions the

²⁹ Thomas Garden Barnes, 'The Dayly Cry For Justice': The Juridical Failure of the Annapolis Royal Regime, 1713-1749" in Philip Girard and Jim Phillips, eds., Essays in the History of Canadian Law, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), III, 10-42.

impenetrability of the Acadian communities which, together with their refusal to take oaths, was a major factor leading to the Acadian deportation. No other author has put forward the concept of increase in community based political authority in support of a naturally evolved Acadian leadership as a reason for the deportation. Justice taken out to the communities, Barnes believes, while perhaps not preventing the juridical failure of the Annapolis Royal Regime, would have given it a greater chance of success.

In The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784 (1992) Naomi Griffiths clarified her perceptions regarding the role of land-holding and religion in Acadia. Her building on her previously published contention that the most significant economic arbiters were the family and the household is important as a basic concept in her book.³⁰ Acknowledgement by Griffiths that the policy of neutrality was not strictly adhered to by the Acadians during the 1740's is presented as a determining factor leading to the deportation. The role of the delegate in community leadership Griffiths defines in this book as a system of local government with an important role in the formation of Acadian culture.³¹ That the delegates were established to disseminate

30 Naomi Griffiths, The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 73.

31 *Ibid.*, 45.

information for the British but were, in fact, not always the effective leaders is a point not raised by Griffiths. She contended that the delegates were tied to Acadian culture and thereby constituted a local government. Griffiths continues with discussions about the lack of research on the important role of women and the Mi'kmaq in the development and endurance of Acadian culture.³²

Naomi Griffiths does not however see the neutralist policy and the use of Acadian leaders as deputies to be a method of social control by the Nova Scotia Council at the instigation of the Massachusetts Council. This perception of Acadian neutrality as a strictly Acadian construction once established in the historiography becomes very difficult to dislodge. Griffiths does not deal with the issue of leadership beyond the role of the deputies in distributing information from their political masters to their respective communities. There is no indication in Griffiths' work that up to the mid 1740's, the Acadian leaders considered the British civil authority as a threat or even a major power to be feared.

More recent publications, such as those by historian John G. Reid envisage a broad range of political and commercial interactions between the

Acadian community and New England. His Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century,³³ and Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes,³⁴ are works which give a detailed understanding of the period. His recent publication, co-authored by Emerson W. Baker, of The New England Knight: Sir William Phips, 1651-1695, and published in 1998, brings additional new insights to this period. Reid and Baker depict the fluid nature of the late-seventeenth-century British Empire as demonstrated in the career of Sir William Phips with the acquisitiveness that pervaded his political career.³⁵

The article by Barry Moody, "Acadia and the Old Nova Scotia to 1784" in Canadian History: A Reader's Guide, with M. Brook Taylor as editor, brings an overview of the last two decades of scholarship.³⁶ Moody reviews those publications on Acadian topics over the past twenty years that have produced a more varied and broader perspective on the historiography of the region. He shows that much of the work had focused on the history of

32 Ibid., 72, 128.

33 John G. Reid, Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 48.

34 John G. Reid, Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1987).

35 Emerson W. Baker and John G. Reid, The New England Knight: Sir William Phips, 1651-1695 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 255.

36 Barry Moody, "Acadia and Old Nova Scotia," Canadian History: A Readers Guide, Beginnings to

the Acadians after the deportation, and that little had been written about the expulsion itself, about those who returned or about those who did not leave.³⁷

Historical research regarding leadership in these communities, when it has been dealt with at all, has been limited to the activities of specific individuals, as in Neil Boucher, The Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay: Community Leaders Amongst an Uprooted People.³⁸ The leadership activities of some individual Acadian community leaders have been considered in detail while other significant leaders have not yet been fully researched. In his chapter in Canadian History: A Reader's Guide, Barry Moody brings a contemporary perspective to the growing body of new works that take a more comprehensive and scholarly perspective on Acadian history.³⁹ The growing body of knowledge about Acadian history that has been created in recent years allows the activities of individuals to be viewed in the context of their communities.

More detailed statistical research on the political and economic realities of Acadian history is coming to the fore. Historians such as Geoffrey Plank, John Reid, Régis Brun, Naomi Griffiths and Maurice Basque have raised

Confederation, Volume I, M. Brook Taylor, ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 110-11.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

questions regarding Acadian leadership. There are however authors, such as Griffiths⁴⁰ and Plank, who could have addressed the broad question of Acadian leadership but chose not to do so. Plank identifies individual Acadian leaders and deals with some of their activities but this is not done with an overview of leadership in the Acadian communities.⁴¹

The extensive activities of the post-deportation era Acadian leader Joseph Goeguen are documented in the book by Regis Brun, Pionnier de la Nouvelle Acadie: Joseph Goeguen, 1741-1825, published in 1984. This work represents an in-depth analysis of community leaders in the 1780's. Brun believed that they formed a parallel government to the civil authority in New Brunswick's Acadian communities.⁴² Brun deals with a later period than this thesis but does show a more detailed understanding of the Acadian community as a whole.

The whole question of trade between the French and English occupation forces and the New England area is reviewed in the work of Maurice Basque. He treats in detail the subject of Acadian women and their intermarriage with social, political and merchant elites. In his book, Des Hommes de Pouvoir,

39 Ibid.

40 Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People, 94.

41 Plank, "An Unsettled Conquest," 239.

published in 1996, Basque uses the Robichaud family's intermarriage with the Boudrot, Bourgeois, Dugas, Doucet and Bourg families to show how family bonds were used for political and economic advantage.⁴³ These kinship bonds demonstrate the complex structure of the Acadian extended family with its linkages to the English military and Boston merchants as well as the elite of English colonial society. Basque shows, for example, how the children of the Acadian leader, Prudent Robichaud became prominent in the affairs of Port Royal as a result of their marriages with influential Acadian families.⁴⁴ The research by Maurice Basque demonstrates the importance of family ties in the complex matrix of political and economic alliances that constituted Acadian society. This new direction in Acadian scholarship opens doors into the extended family ties that fuelled the Acadian political economy.

Geoffrey Plank, in An Unsettled Conquest; The Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia, published in 2001, depicts neutrality as a method developed by the French Huguenot Governor Paul Mascarene.⁴⁵ Plank saw

42 Brun, Pionnier de la Nouvelle Acadie; Joseph Goeguen, 1741-1828, 70.

43 Maurice Basque, Des Hommes de Pouvoir: histoire d'Otho Robichaud et de sa famille, notables acadiens de Port Royal et de Néguaac (Néguaac: Société Historique de Néguaac Inc., 1996), 235.

44 Ibid., 75.

45 Geoffrey G. Plank, An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia

Acadian neutrality being used by Mascarene to control the militancy of the large resident population given the undermanned and outgunned position of the English military forces stationed in Nova Scotia. Plank does acknowledge the existence of individual Acadians who demonstrated leadership and the role of the deputies as the communication link with the British but he does not comment on community leadership beyond the deputies.

The romanticization of Acadian history has generated much literature, which however, has still not addressed the realities of the Acadian community, its leaders, nor their role in the political economy of the day. Scholarly research that uses more of a multi-disciplinary approach has replaced very biased and historically dated works. The research done by authors such as John Reid,⁴⁶ Paul Surette⁴⁷ and Sheila Andrew⁴⁸ has produced a comprehensive body of work. The advances made by these and others, leads the way for a new interpretation of Acadian topics.

New research papers by as yet unpublished Acadian authors such as

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 99.

46 Reid, *Six Crucial Decades*, 50.

47 Paul Surette, ed., *Histoire des Trois Rivières* (Dieppe: La Ville de Dieppe, 1985). 27.

48 Sheila M. Andrew, *The Development of Elites in Acadian New Brunswick, 1861-1881* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996), 141.

Josette Brun⁴⁹ and Chantal Noel Losier⁵⁰ and by Edith Tapié's⁵¹ thesis on Socio-Economic Structures of Grand Pré bode well for the future. Topics such as the role of women and the First Nations in Acadian society have until recently not been given adequate attention. Ongoing efforts to address these important areas continue to expand our knowledge and understanding of Acadian history and culture.

The gaps this thesis attempts to address in the Acadian historiography are the interrelationships and collaborations between Acadian community leaders. That these leaders were distributed geographically over all of Acadia as well as being of different ages makes these interactions more significant. How the leaders surveyed in this thesis responded to their diverse

49 Josette Brun, "Les femmes d'affaires dans la société coloniale nord-américaine: le cas de l'Île Royale, 1713-1758" (M.A. Thesis: Université de Moncton, 1994).

50 Chantal N. Loisier, "Stratégie matrimoniales en Acadie dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle: comportements matrimoniaux de deux familles aisées dans un contexte de marché limité" (Moncton, N.B.: Département d'histoire, Centre universitaire de Moncton, 1993).

51 Édith Tapié, "Les structures socio-économiques de Grand Pré, communauté acadienne"(Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 2000).

individual circumstances brings into focus the number of commonalities evident in their leadership in their respective communities.

CHAPTER 2

CIVIL AUTHORITY, THE CLERGY AND LAND OWNERSHIP ISSUES IN THE DEPORTATION ERA

This chapter will consider how the activities of the civil authority, the clergy and the issues surrounding trade and land ownership combined to create a set of circumstances that stimulated the development of Acadian community leaders. The British civil authority and the French Catholic clergy were to undergo a number of role changes in the years leading up to and following the deportation. Lack of military and economic resources combined to leave the Nova Scotia Council unable to impose its will on the Acadian leaders or the members of their communities. The Council was therefore forced to use alternative methods to preserve its authority. An overview of the socio-political situation in New England will demonstrate that the circumstances there afforded the political and merchant elite opportunities to act in ways very similar to those of the Acadian leaders.

During the early and later stages of settlement Acadians chose

locations according to the suitability of the land for farming, proximity to the fishery, and access to markets. How land ownership evolved over the years of successive French and British rule was to have a significant impact on settlement patterns. The decisions to locate away from the eyes of the British civil authority began in the early days of the settlement, as the Acadians did not want external controls placed on their trading activities.

Historians have debated how the seigneurial system of land ownership functioned throughout the period in question, as this system could have provided a group of seigneurs with the authority to represent the resident population of Acadie. As this was not to be the case, how did the tradition of Acadian delegates representing their respective communities evolve as a mechanism for the British civil authority to deal with such a dispersed Acadian population? Governor Frontenac of New France, as early as 1679, commented critically on the Acadians' slowness to obey orders without discussing them in an independent spirit or exhibiting, as Frontenac described, their "parliamentary tendencies."¹

The review and revision by the French Crown of the seigneurial land titles in Acadie between the years 1688 and 1703 culminated in a long and

comprehensive decree dated 20 March 1703.² The document was also mentioned in a petition from one of the Acadian landowners to Francis Nicholson during his time as Governor of Nova Scotia.³ That the British never did secure that document or learn of its contents perpetuated the uncertainty regarding Acadian rights to their lands under the British Crown. This document would have added some basis for clarification in the 1751 negotiation for setting the limits of Nova Scotia created under the Treaty of Utrecht by the British commissioners. Acadia was described in this document as extending westward to a boundary with New England at the Saint George River between the Penobscot and the Kennebec Rivers.⁴ Other references to the lack of written deeds date from the 1730's, as successive colonial Governors attempted to get proper evidence of title from the Acadians. The Acadians were ordered to produce these deeds again in 1730 and 1733 and as late as 1738 Governor Armstrong was still to write of "unregistered holders of land who will not show their deeds, etc."⁵

1 Reid, Six Crucial Decades, 30.

2 Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia (2 vols.; Halifax: James Barnes, Printer and Publisher, 1866), I, 261.

3 Archibald MacMechan, ed., Nova Scotia Archives III, Original Minutes of his Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1736 (Halifax: K. & W. Enterprises Ltd. 1908), 247.

4 Winthrop P. Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 27.

5 MacMechan, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, II Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis

Land ownership disputes in Acadia were normally arbitrated by an elder who knew the boundaries and were only referred to the Nova Scotia Council when these local mediation efforts had failed. Given the history of self-serving purchases and the patronage evident in New England land disputes, the contentiousness of Acadian land claims with New Englanders can be understood. To this deficiency of documents must be added attempts by the resident Acadians to demonstrate clear title without documentation in the 1740's, thus creating uncertainty on the part of the British civil authority as evidenced by the correspondence between Mascarene, the Acadian deputies and Bergeron, the collector at Chignecto.⁶ Governor Philipps wrote from the port of Canso September 2, 1730 that there were "three or four insignificant families who pretend to right of seigneuries, that extend over almost all the inhabited parts of the country."⁷ Governor Philipps alleged that the late Governor Nicholson had "carried off with him from hence the original papers by which they claim, and all they produce to me is a foul script of paper."⁸ Philipps went on to tell the Acadians that "all pretentions to seigneuries fall

Royal. 1720-1739, (Halifax: Public archives of Nova Scotia, 1908), 180, 192, 220.

6 Ibid., 159, 237-8.

7 Ibid., 97.

8 Ibid.

to the ground at the conquest of the country.”⁹

The Treaty of Utrecht had provided a time frame in which the Acadians were required to swear allegiance and Philipps claimed that the Acadians had forfeited their rights to property by refusing to swear allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain within the required time.¹⁰ That the oath included a clause which excluded the Acadians from taking up arms against the French, Mi’kmaq and British was sufficient to enable Acadians to conclude that their informal policy of neutrality would be honored by the British. All Acadian males from ages 16 to 60 and living on the Annapolis River did in fact take an oath of allegiance in 1730 during the time of Governor Philipps.¹¹ This oath and its ambiguous policy of neutrality for the Acadians was later discussed by lieutenant-governor Paul Mascarene, as the Acadians believed that they had received official sanction for their policy of neutrality. Although Governor Philipps believed a conditional oath was better than no oath at all, he had not reported the conditional oath to London, a decision which would cause many problems for Acadian leaders in the coming

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Clive Parry, ed., The Consolidated Treaty Series (231 vols.; Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., New York: Oceana Publications Inc., 1969), XXVII, 485-6.

¹¹ Thomas B. Akins, ed., Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia, (Halifax: Charles Annand, 1869), 158-160.

years.¹²

Governor Philipps discouraged the Acadians from leaving their settlements by forbidding them to take their cattle and effects with them. He stipulated that they had not acted, within the time required by the Treaty of Utrecht, to relocate to French-held territory and therefore could not take their goods with them.¹³ The French Governors in Quebec and Louisbourg showed a desire for the Acadians to be removed into French territory in order to use them as a check on the British. They hoped to prevent further colonisation and retain the use of Acadian resources for a re-conquest by French forces. The British Governors believed that if the Acadians were removed to Quebec or Louisbourg that they would strengthen the enemy's military power.¹⁴

In the view of the writer this indecision and lack of decisive action on either side again contributed to the climate of uncertainty. The Acadians were directly influenced by external forces even if not under their direct control. This climate of uncertainty in Acadian communities at this time contributed to their being almost self-governed. This politically independent

12 Ibid., 160.

13 MacMechan, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, II, 65-66.

14 Ibid., 344.

status was reinforced as their elected delegates continued to present their concerns to the British. In many instances the Acadian communities were oblivious to British policy, believing that the British could not enforce their political will on their communities.

The correspondence between Philipps and his superiors about the Acadian wife of a subaltern, continues the debate about the British difficulty in resolving Acadian land ownership issues. Mrs. Campbell was one of the heirs to the La Tour seigneurie.¹⁵ Born in 1690, Marie Agathe Saint Etienne de la Tour married two English subalterns. Her first husband, Lieutenant Edmond Broadstreet died in December 1718 and after this she married Lieutenant James Campbell.¹⁶ Mrs. Campbell, fraudulently acting as their agent, had members of her family sign over their share of the seigneurial rights to her, and having received her 2000 pound settlement, settled in Kilkenny, Ireland.¹⁷ She went to Britain to plead her case before the Board of Trade, raising questions about the difference between the opinions of the local Governor and the legality of seigneurial land titles. The fact that Governor Philipps discussed the purchase of Acadian seigneurial rights with

¹⁵ Ibid., 94.

¹⁶ William G. Godfrey, Pursuit of Profit and Preferment in Colonial North America: John Bradstreet's Quest (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1982), 3.

his superiors indicates that there was some question about the legitimacy of the Acadian claims and that his government was concerned.¹⁸ This debate further clouds the issue of land ownership between the British government and the resident Acadians. The previous lack of resolution of seigneurial claims to land title had provided justification to the British civil authority to use Acadian delegates rather than the seigneurs to represent the various communities.

The Treaty of Utrecht and Queen Anne's public letter of the 23 June 1713 meant that the British government would give careful consideration to the Acadian land claims.¹⁹ The Board of Trade's opinion regarding the La Tour claim was based on its judgement that Mrs. Campbell's documents effectively established that "partly by inheritance and partly by cession from her relatives she is justly entitled to all the possessions and rents belonging to her father and grandfather not disposed of by them during their respective lives."²⁰ The Board was convinced that the La Tour rights had been restored by the French Crown after the Treaty of Breda. Lacking documentary proof

17 Ibid., 5.

18 MacMechan, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, II, 95

19 Parry, ed., The Consolidated Treaty Series, XXVII, 486.

20 Winthrop P. Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia: the history of a piece of arrested British colonial policy in the eighteenth century, (Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1961), 81.

as to just what the original rights had covered –“whether the whole province or what part thereof was granted with the said De la Tour grant”- they presumed that only access to the French Royal records could offer proof. Mrs. Campbell attested that the documents had been destroyed in the Indian raids on Annapolis in 1724, thereby further clouding the issue of title and seigneurial rights. The Board of Trade was emphatic that the purchase should be made to cover also “the extinguishment of her claim to any other part of Nova Scotia.”²¹ The significance of extended family relationships as previously discussed is well illustrated here, as the claims of an Acadian woman would not have been heard had she not had an English officer as a husband. Given that the La Tour seigneurial rights were accepted as being legitimate, those same rights were discounted out of hand when the Council dealt with the Mathieu Martin seigneurie at Cobequid. Beyond the La Tour rights covered by the Campbell purchase, only one of the seigneuries acknowledged by the French Crown in the 1703 was still in dispute.²² This was the Martin seigneurie at Cobequid. A final resolution to this dispute, unlike that in the la Tour case did not result in a successful outcome for the

21 Ibid., 78.

22 Ibid., 82-3.

Acadians.²³

Acadian leaders were involved with their communities but only certain individuals had any association with hereditary land ownership. Mathieu Martin and the men to whom he left his seigneurie of Cobequid were among the leaders in their community while they controlled their seigneurie, or while it was in contention.

There was some movement of Acadians to Ile Saint-Jean and to the French territories in Cape Breton, by the Treaty of Utrecht France had ceded to Britain its claim to “all of Nova Scotia or Acadia according to its ancient boundaries.”²⁴ France retained for itself the Islands of Cape Breton and Saint-Jean but many of the Acadians who relocated to the French held Islands would become disillusioned and return to Nova Scotia.

Important for this thesis is the fact that almost all of the seigneurs who had been resident in Acadia before the treaty of Utrecht appear to have moved to French held territory after the Treaty was signed. Griffiths believes that the period of English control dating from 1654 to 1670 saw many Acadians acquiring farmland without registered title. This would not have

23 Archibald MacMechan, ed., N.S. Archives, III, 53.

24 Parry, ed., The Consolidated Treaty Series, XXVII, 486.

been possible under a strict seigneurial system.²⁵ French foreign policy between 1604 and 1713 had not made provision for any significant investment in Acadia, leaving the resident population adapting on their own to political and economic changes.²⁶ The scarcity of resident seigneurs resulted in the Acadian community developing effective community leadership and enabled those same deputies to continue to play an even more significant role in the years to come.

The provision by Queen Anne in the June 23, 1713 letter to the British Colonial officials reinforced the provision of the Treaty of Utrecht. It gave the Acadians specific rights with respect to the disposal of their property. "All who were willing to become her subjects in Newfoundland and in Nova Scotia were free to enjoy the privilege and hold their estates, while those who preferred to leave the country had liberty to sell their estates and depart."²⁷ The question of sworn allegiance to the Crown by the Acadians and their stated neutrality remained. Agents of the French interests in Acadia wanted the Acadians to relocate to French held territory.²⁸ Naomi Griffiths believes that as a consequence of having been ruled by the British and considering

25 Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People, 20.

26 Griffiths, The Contexts of Acadian History, 9.

27 Parry, ed., The Consolidated Treaty Series, XXVII, 485-6.

themselves the rightful inhabitants of Acadia, most Acadians did not move.²⁹

The Acadians seemed to think that they had done their duty to the British if they did not take an open and active part in war against the garrison at Annapolis. While many Acadians had pledged themselves to relocate, a smaller number eventually did in fact relocate to Cape Breton.³⁰

The precarious situation of the British authority on the mainland of Nova Scotia was not entirely due to government neglect of its needs. Except for the tiny group of traders and officials, all the settled European population remained entirely French. While the Acadian population continued to grow over the next forty years with extended settlements and its own type of agricultural prosperity, the British remained a distinct minority.

The French fort at Louisbourg, situated as it was on a bleak and barren coast, provided a constant market for the goods of the fertile lands on which the Acadians had installed themselves. The French complained, as did the British that the Acadians were “insatiable accumulators of the silver specie sent over from France for the ordinary needs of the colony.”³¹ The Acadians

28 Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 60.

29 Griffiths, *The Acadians: Creation of a People*, 36.

30 Edme Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique (L'Acadie, 1604-1710)* (Paris: Didier et Cie., 1877), 71.

31 Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, II, 80.

evidently did not use the gold or silver currency in their daily transactions, but rather they appear to have been saving it for use in trading with the New England merchants.³²

At a time in history when there were restrictive trade and navigation laws, most of the trade carried out by the Acadians with the French at Louisbourg was illicit. At this time the military forces at the disposal of the British Governors at Annapolis Royal were not strong enough to control the movements or the trade practices of the resident Acadians.³³

The whole question of trade between the French and British forces and those of the New England area is considered by Maurice Basque in his detailed treatment of Acadian women and their intermarriage with English merchants and military men. In his book Des Hommes de Pouvoir, Basque uses the Boudrot, Bourgeois, Dugas and Doucet, Bourg and Robichaud families as examples of the use of family bonds for economic advantage.³⁴ The extended family of Prudent Robichaud achieved prominence in the affairs of Port Royal by marriages with influential Acadian families. Of the eleven children of Prudent Robichaud and Henriette Pettipas who married,

32 MacMechan, ed., N.S. Archives, III, 174.

33 Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the settlement of Nova Scotia, 14.

34 Basque, Des Hommes de Pouvoir, 215.

three found partners within the Bourgeois extended family, which was active in commerce in Port Royal. A case in point was Prudent's second daughter, Marguerite, who in 1724 married Pierre Gourdeau who was not a member of the bourgeoisie but was the captain of a warship that was engaged in commerce with both Louisbourg and Boston.³⁵ Second generation marriages made by the children of Cadet Robichaud, François dit Niganne and Marie-Madeline Theriault, created further ties. Two Theriault sons married daughters of Alexander LeBorgne de Belleisle, a most seigneurial family of Port-Royal with blood ties with several other notable Acadian families.³⁶ Louise Cadet dit Lisette married the son of William Winniett, an influential Annapolis Royal merchant and a member of the Government Council of Nova Scotia and in so doing extended the family ties to the British regime.³⁷ William Winniett, a Protestant Huguenot whose original name was Guillaume Ouinet, had fled France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Agathe de Saint-Etienne de La Tour, daughter-in-law to William Winniett's brother Alexander, created a tie with the British military as she married

35 Ibid., 66.

36 Ibid., 67.

37 Ibid., 68.

Lieutenant Edmund Bradstreet.³⁸ After the death of her husband she continued her affiliation the British and married another British officer, Ensign Hugh Campbell in the fall of 1720.³⁹ When Madeline married Joseph Doucet in 1725 she joined her cousin Marie Robichaud, daughter of Prudent, who had married in 1714 Charles Doucet, brother to Joseph whose families' commercial links in Acadia are well documented.⁴⁰ Research by Maurice Basque demonstrates the importance of family ties in the complex matrix of political and economic alliances that constituted Acadian society. Certain families aligned themselves with other influential Acadian families to create kinship patterns that solidified economic and political influence.

An early example was that of the Cape Sable entrepreneur, Charles de La Tour. He was apprehended and his ship, the shallop Saint-Jacob with its cargo was seized on his return voyage from Boston on the 2 January 1697.⁴¹ Determined to obtain justice Charles placed an appeal before the Superior Court of the Boston Colony. Included among the letters seized with the shallop were documents that showed that he had a one-third interest in a

38 Godfrey, Pursuit of Profit and Preferment in Colonial North America, 6.

39 Ibid.

40 Basque, Des Hommes de Pouvoir, 66.

41 Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 153.

company with two Boston men, Jonathan Usher and Gabriel Bernon.⁴² This is an example of collaboration between a Catholic Acadian and two Protestant Boston merchants, and of an Acadian who believed that he would get justice from the Massachusetts court for a transaction, which was illegal but financially lucrative for both parties. Anne Melanson, widow of Charles de La Tour, was later to marry Alexander Robichaud of Port Royal, the brother of Prudent Sr., a prosperous merchant. Oral tradition places Alexander fighting on the French side at the fall of Louisbourg despite his previous commercial ties to the British.

Other prominent third generation marriages include Anne Robichaud, daughter of Alexander and Anne Melanson, who married Pierre Blanchard, son of merchant Guillaume Blanchard and Marguerite Goguen in 1718. This marriage created a political alliance with her brother-in-law Charles Blanchard, husband of Madeline Girouard, who was the daughter of Marie LeBorgne de Belleisle, inheritor of the seigneurie of Port Royal.⁴³ The connection between the Acadian leaders under review in this thesis and their intermarriages with the families of the hereditary seigneuries is an example

42 Ibid.

43 Basque, Des Hommes de Pouvoir, 48.

of another kin-ship alliance resulting in an increase of status and informal authority.

Louise, another daughter of Alexander Robichaud and Anne Melanson married Joseph Bourg, son of Abraham Bourg and Marie Brun in 1727. This marriage aligned the Robichauds with the family of Abraham Bourg, deputy of Port Royal. This marriage also aligned the family of Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc with the family of Acadian leader Prudent Robichaud, as Abraham Bourg was also the father-in-law of “Le Maigre.” Charles “Cadet” Robichaud, brother of Prudent sr. had contracted a second marriage with Marie Bourg thus creating another alliance with the powerful Bourg family. The Bourg family were among the first settlers of Cobequid. Along with the economic opportunities created, this may have been part of the reason why Charles “Cadet” and Marie Robichaud relocated there in 1720.⁴⁴

The issue of some Acadians remaining in Nova Scotia despite their refusal to take an unconditional oath of allegiance, although demanding recognition of the right to remain “neutral” in any case of armed conflict between the French and the British was still unresolved. The correspondence between Mr. Jean-Baptiste-Nicholas-Roch De Ramezay, Captain and

Commandant of the Canadian detachment, and Monsieur de Marquis, Charles de Beauharnois de la Boische, Governor General of New France, dates from 25 May 1747. In this letter Ramezay stated that there was no difficulty in forcing the resident Acadian population to present themselves with their arms to support the French cause. They had been threatened with death, the confiscation of their goods and the burning of their homes and farms.⁴⁵ Naomi Griffiths writes that it was not until the eighteenth century that the Acadians had to cope with Indian attacks.⁴⁶ The Mi'kmaq were easily moved to challenge the British Crown's title to the country, as they were Roman Catholic, at least in name, and easily aroused to support the French. Perhaps more significantly, they saw no reason to accept this British incursion into their territory. Missionary support of the Mi'kmaq community and the French cause was also provided by a number of Acadian leaders as is seen from the activities of the Broussard "Beausoleil" brothers and Joseph "le Maigre" LeBlanc. This makes it clear that not all of the Acadians advocated neutrality. The precariousness of British authority was another issue arising

44 Ibid.

45 James P. Baxter, ed., "The Baxter Manuscripts," in Documentary History of the State of Maine edited by William Willis et al. Maine Historical Society Collections, ser. 2, (24 vols.; Portland: Bailey and Noyes, 1869-1916), XI, 372.

46 Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People, 5.

with the Treaty of Utrecht and the “Ancient boundaries of Acadia.” That the home countries had been at peace for the years 1714 to 1743, did not obviate the frustration of the colonial British governors.⁴⁷ There was no financial or moral support for Nova Scotia Council decisions. Colonel Richard Philipps functioned as governor of the province and commander-in-chief from 1717 to 1749, when Colonel Edward Cornwallis assumed these offices. Philipps’s periods of residence in the province were 1720-2 and 1729-31. This indicates that for most of his time as Governor he was, in effect, absent. Subordinates would therefore not have had the authority to act and would have had to rely on the slow communications of the day to obtain responses and advice on appropriate courses of action. Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Armstrong acted as Lieutenant-Governor between 1729-35 and Major Paul Mascarene served as “president of council” between 1740 and 1749.

By 1731 Philipps was seventy years old and the administration of the colony went on without any direct input from him, as all correspondence went directly to the authorities in London.⁴⁸ The lack of a comprehensive settlement policy was further complicated by the needs of the seasonal,

47 Parry, ed., The Consolidated Treaty Series, XXVII, 485-6.

48 Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, 28.

summer fishery where access to shoreline drying racks and sheds was crucial.⁴⁹ To function on the coast, English settlers would have needed the use of these grounds used by the summer “dry fishery.” In November 1711, Colonel Vetch, left as Governor of Annapolis Royal, was the first in a long line of petitioners to the Lords of Trade and Plantations urging the settlement of Acadia.

Nicholson had realised that special inducements would be required to encourage immigrants to settle in such an exposed northern frontier colony rather than in the already thriving New England.⁵⁰ These difficulties in attracting Protestant settlers and conferring land grants were factors far beyond the control of the Nova Scotia Council. These factors combined to influence the circumstances that led to the Acadians being left in relative peace for their “Golden Years” under the leadership of their deputies.⁵¹

The ideological model for the governing of a colony was based by the English administrators on the perpetuation of the system of deputies. The Edward Coke decision in the Calvin Case, gave the Colonial administrators of conquered territories almost unlimited powers. As long as prior

49 Mark Power Robison, “Maritime Frontiers: The Evolution of Empire in Nova Scotia, 1713-1758” (Ph. D. Thesis: University of Colorado, 2000), 20.

50 Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, 18.

traditions to govern the resolution of civil disputes, the resident Nova Scotia Catholic clergy assumed this responsibility by default.⁵⁵ The French Catholic clergy, given the fact that the church and State were closely aligned at this time, had generally opposed the British, a policy which inevitably led to disputes. In January 1711, almost immediately after taking office, Samuel Vetch had sent 50 men to arrest the priests in Annapolis.⁵⁶ Many other priests, hearing of this, fled and went to live with the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians. By so doing Vetch had established, between the Catholic French priests and the British civil authority, a political division which would remain up to after the deportation. As a result, Vetch asked the British Board of Trade for more manpower and for a team of French-speaking Protestant missionaries. He believed that French Huguenot clergy would assist him in dealing with the Acadian population and with the equally unruly French Catholic priests. The existence of French Huguenot merchants who were based in Boston could also have influenced this decision. Vetch would have seen these merchants and their interactions with Acadia as a model for managing the Acadian population.

54 Ibid., 86.

55 Ibid., 85.

56 Thomas B. Akins, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, I: Selections from the public documents of the province

A religious division extended to the Mi'kmaq peoples who, in the minds of the New Englanders, were identified along with the Acadians as being Catholics and under the direction of the French at Ile Royale.⁵⁷ The Mi'kmaq belief that their bands held exclusive authority over most of peninsular Nova Scotia led to confrontations. This contest of land claims created a conflict at Canso in 1718. Cyprian Southack, an English-born captain had moved to Massachusetts in 1685 and become a privateer.⁵⁸ Governor William Phips of Massachusetts had been convinced by the New England fisherman that the fortification of Canso would encourage year-round settlement and bring security to the coastline.⁵⁹ The Mi'kmaq opposed this settlement and attacked the fort at Canso in 1720 while it was still under construction and were said to have shouted "Vive Le Roi!"⁶⁰ This reinforced the New England belief that the Mi'kmaq were aligned with French interests and were supported by the Acadians and aggravated a volatile situation into outright conflict. From 1720 to 1724 the New Englanders helped the soldiers defend the fort at Canso with a violence that escalated the level of conflict

of Nova Scotia (Halifax, N.S.: Charles Annand, 1869), 76-7.

57 Plank, "The Culture of Conquest," 76.

58 Mark Power Robison, "Maritime Frontiers," 47.

59 Geoffrey Plank, "The Culture of Conquest," 77.

60 Rawlyk, Nova Scotia's Massachusetts, 53-4.

between them and the Mi'kmaq.⁶¹

In the years just prior to the Deportation, the activities of the clergy and missionaries, particularly the Abbé Le Loutre, were directed primarily towards encouraging the Acadians to locate on the French-held islands and later on the Northern, French-claimed side of the Isthmus of Chignecto.⁶² The collaboration between the missionaries and Acadian community leaders has been alluded to in the case of the Broussard “Beausoleil” brothers. In 1754 they had been charged by Le Loutre to watch the activities of the English at Fort Cumberland. The use of the Mi'kmaq by Abbé Le Loutre to threaten and intimidate the Acadians to relocate was to have a significant impact on Acadian settlement patterns. An early example of Mi'kmaq intimidation occurred after May 1711 when the Acadians selling wood to the British at Port Royal were singled out and their farms looted. It is significant that while the Mi'kmaq remained in the area the Acadians would not sell any supplies to the British.⁶³ A later example of blackmail occurred in the spring of 1750, when the Mi'kmaq accompanied by Abbé Jean-Louis Le Loutre, the

61 Robison, “Maritime Frontiers,” 47.

62 Donald F. Chard, “Canso, 1710-1721: Focal Point of New England-Cape Breton Rivalry”, in Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, (Kentville: Kentville Publishing Company), 39 (1977), 49-77.

63 Great Britain, Public Record Office, “Canada Surveyed,” Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury (45 vols.; Vaduz: Kraus reprint, 1964), XXIII, 51.

French priest and missionary, visited the Acadians of Beaubassin. Le Loutre attempted to persuade the Acadians to move across the peninsula to French-held territory. The Acadians did move but probably as a result of threats and the use of force. In many cases their homes were burned, presumably by the Mi'kmaq.⁶⁴

In 1765 according to Paul Surette, the Nova Scotia Council laid out sixteen grants of 100000 acres each to be distributed to political friends. After that of 1755, this constituted the greatest loss by the Acadians of access to land title. This occurred one year after London had decreed that Acadians be permitted to pledge unconditional allegiance to the British crown. These Acadians could then settle far from any coast in groups not exceeding six persons.⁶⁵ The first land grant after the deportation was to the Acadian leader Joseph Goeguen and his group, which consisted not of six but of seven persons.

How the Acadian extended family played a significant role is demonstrated by the variety and diversity of economic interactions on a

64 Gérard Finn, ed., "Jean-Louis LeLoutre," in George W. Brown *et al.*, eds., Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada, (thereafter DBC), (14 vols. To date; Québec: Les Presses de l' Université Laval, 1966-), IV, 445.

65 Paul Surette, ed., Histoire des Trois Rivières: Memramcook, Petcoudiac et la reconstruction de l'Acadie (Memramcook: La Société historique de la vallée de Memramcook, 1981),I, 26.

number of occasions. The changes of political and economic alliances by Acadian leaders, their families and the Acadian merchants at large were of a fluid nature and adapted to changing circumstances.

Twenty-five years before the Deportation there were clear indications of the difficulties involved in controlling the Acadian economy and the resultant problems in governing the population. The penalty for trading with the French at Louisbourg at this time was a fine of fifty pounds, twelve months imprisonment and confiscation of vessel and cargo. That this fine was to be shared with the Acadian informant indicates the absolute necessity of Acadian cooperation if the English civil authority was to stop such illegal exports. Further comments in the minutes of the Nova Scotia Council confirm that excessive supplies of cattle and grain as well as other goods were being exported “clandestinely” to neighbouring colonies. This was happening in a time of shortages and could only hasten a further deterioration of the situation.⁶⁶ That the Acadian population were very reluctant to accept New England currency in payment for their goods shows the lack of any real power to enforce the Council’s will on these unruly subjects. That the Acadian reluctance might also be explained by the fact that by using gold

they could get what they considered better value in Boston or from the New England traders.⁶⁷ A proclamation stating that the value of French and foreign silver money was to be accepted as equivalent to that of bullion at Boston and that New England currency would be negotiable in the colony shows the lengths taken by the Council to alleviate shortages.⁶⁸

Uncooperative and unrepentant, Acadian farmers were adamant about keeping their options open with regard to trading partners and were well aware of the value of their goods. The extent of the trade with the New England merchants is difficult to determine but it can be presumed to have been much more extensive than is indicated by available documents.

Direct trading between the Acadian farmers and the many Boston traders who took their ships up the bays and inlets during the summer, although of obvious advantage to the farmers, deprived the Nova Scotia council of access to these goods. Individuals who were involved in the trade with Boston included Acadians such as Abraham Boudrot and Pierre Dubreuil. They had made five voyages to Boston in 1697 with cargoes of

66 MacMechan, ed., N.S.Archives, III, 172-75.

67 *Ibid.*, 181.

68 *Ibid.*, 172-175.

wheat.⁶⁹ The ethnic diversity of New England traders is demonstrated by the activities of the Boston-based, French Huguenot, Andrew Faneuil.⁷⁰ He had been admitted into Massachusetts in 1691, helping to build his family's fortunes by drawing on the resources of other Huguenots. That Faneuil, a French Huguenot and a merchant settled in New England with probable trade ties to the Nova Scotia Acadian community demonstrates the diversity of the economic reality of the day. The New England fleet of 1698 involved in trans-Atlantic trade shows Faneuil as part owner of six different ships. The ownership of one these vessels he shared with James Lebond of Boston. Another partner was Clement Lempriere, who was at this time a resident of Boston but was originally from the Isle of Jersey. There were men of identifiable Huguenot origins in all six vessels, holding about half of the total number of investments.⁷¹ As the trade with the Acadian settlements was lucrative, these French Huguenots were likely to have been heavily involved.

The Acadian merchant Abraham Boudrot conducted business with the Faneuil brothers as early as the 26 April 1691. The merchandise included

69 Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 102, 155.

70 Ibid., 155.

71 Bernard Bailyn and Lotte Bailyn, Massachusetts Shipping, 1697-1714 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1959), 36; Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 147-57.

men's socks, bolts of cloth, ribbon and nails. That he was to sell these goods for them and forward the proceeds indicates a long-term relationship.⁷²

These commercial activities involved the extended families of many Acadian leaders. Due to the nature of kinship relationships between the Acadian families involved in commerce, these bonds were both extensive and geographically dispersed.

Important factors in the final years leading up to the Deportation include, in addition to the activities of Abbé Le Loutre and the other French missionaries, the impact on Acadia of the influence of Colonel Lawrence in Nova Scotia and Colonel John Winslow in Massachusetts. These men believed that the French in New France exerted considerable influence over the native population all along the Eastern coast of New England at this time.

This is suggested in the Massachusetts Governor's speech to the Council and House of Representatives on 5 February 1755. Citing comments from Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia, Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts made statements as to his readiness to act in obedience to the King's orders. These orders were to collaborate with Colonel Lawrence for it was believed that there were very few Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia at this time

and that the attacks on French forts could therefore proceed without threat to the English settlements. Colonel Lawrence had informed Colonel Shirley on 5 November 1754 that he had good reason to believe that the French had planned to rebuild the fortifications at Louisbourg and attack the English forces at Fort Lawrence. Due to the efforts of the French forces against the British forces upon the Ohio River the Mi'kmaq "focus and their attention seemed to be entirely drawn off."⁷³ Furthermore, the French in Quebec were said to be so short of provisions that they dared not assemble the inhabitants in a body because the strain on their resources would cause a general famine. The apparent accuracy of the information collected by Nova Scotia Governor William Cornwallis on the status of the French forces, their native allies and lack of resources is interesting, as this information may have been provided by an Acadian or Mi'kmaq collaborator. Cornwallis expressed his concern that if the French forces were allowed to attack the English settlements, upwards of 4000 fighting men could be provided by the Acadians. There is also a reference to the Negro slaves in New England's colonies who numbered as many as the white fighting men capable of bearing arms. This

72 Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 217.

73 James Phinney Baxter, ed., "Baxter Manuscripts," in Documentary History of the State of Maine, XII, 356.

indicates that the forces available to the French could pose a significant threat. A military overview by Colonel Lawrence and Colonel Winslow of the forces available to the French included the 4000 Acadians, all the Indian tribes and the slaves in the New England settlements. Winslow also discussed the number of Catholics, Jacobites and transported convicts who, although living in English settlements, could not be depended upon for support; but might instigate the slaves to rebel and join them throughout the four Colonies.⁷⁴ That the English colonies were peopled by so large a percentage of tentatively unreliable settlers indicates the lack of English military superiority. Winslow's assumption was probably not correct but the perceived threat was enough to instil fear for both the English settlements in New England and those in Acadia, now Nova Scotia. This puts a more continental perspective on New England-British military strategy in the face of real or imagined dangers.

The inference in the comments by Winslow and Lawrence is that the British military leaders believed that there were leaders among the Acadian and Mi'kmaq who could pose a serious threat to the British colonies. This perceived threat to their settlements would not have been real if the ability to wield those

forces as a weapon had been unavailable due to a lack of Acadian leadership. We have seen the prowess of Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard and his brother together with Joseph’s four sons. Michel Broussard is said to have killed 28 English soldiers before he was killed at Petitcodiac.⁷⁵ Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc appears to have been dedicated to the French cause and Joseph Goeguen is believed to have had a close friendship with the young men in the Acadian resistance at Memramcook and Petitcodiac.⁷⁶

A sharp contrast to the fluid nature of trade in the generation before 1755 was evident in the decades after the deportation. In Nova Scotia the British civil authority over land ownership and trade exerted a measure of control that they were never able to achieve over the resident Acadian population. The difference between the control for which they strove in the pre deportation era and achieved in the early years after the deportation is important to issues of community leadership. Nova Scotia Council edicts were challenged by the English settlers particularly on Cape Breton Island. The 1766 correspondence of the Lieutenant Governor and other officials of Nova Scotia shows that they were not unsympathetic towards the desire of

74 James P. Baxter, ed., “Baxter Manuscripts,” in Documentary History of the State of Maine, XII, 358.

75 Thomas B. Akins, ed., “Papers Relating to the Acadian French,” Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society (Saint John: Sun Printing Company, 1899), IV, 173.

British settlers for absolute grants of land. D.C. Harvey comments that this was to be expected from men who had taken part in that orgy of land speculation which had appropriated so much of Nova Scotia between 1760 and 1765.⁷⁷

The denial of representation in the Provincial Assembly as well as a more rigorous administration, had led the British inhabitants of Louisbourg to petition the Lords of Trade. The settlers complained that they were over-taxed and charged exorbitant rents. They were neither consulted at home nor represented in the Assembly; and although taxed by the Assembly of Nova Scotia they were refused absolute grants of land and excluded from every benefit common to other settlers of the province. In support of their grievance they referred the Board of Trade to Colonels Tulliken and Pringle, commanders of the garrison, and Captain Holland, Surveyor-General, who “were well acquainted with the just grounds of their application.”⁷⁸ On 5 July 1766, the Attorney and Solicitor General of Nova Scotia were ordered to prosecute those persons at Louisbourg who owed taxes to the province and on August 26 the Provost Marshall was ordered to dismiss his deputy, John

76 Brun, *Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie; Joseph Goeguen, 1741-1825*, 24.

77 D. C. Harvey, ed., *Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and Other Documents* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1935), 14.

Bath and appoint one who would act with more vigour and dispatch. These measures contrasted sharply with those in force before the deportation when Acadians had been able to pursue economic activities, both legal and illegal without undue interference from the representatives of the Nova Scotia Council. Control over travel showed a level of authority the English had never been able to exercise over the Acadians at any time during their administration and no one could legally leave the Island without a pass from Provost Marshall George Cottan. The signs of this more rigorous administration had led to protests from the settlers. Lieutenant-Governor Francklin, in his dispatch of September 2, 1766 to the Board of Trade, outlined the difficulties stating the main problem that the lay in the dilatory practices of the Imperial Government in regard to a land policy for the Island.⁷⁹ The Assembly of Nova Scotia was therefore able to exercise total control over the economy of this part of the colony thanks to their total control of land grants and their ability to refuse the British settlers political representation. The fact that these were Protestant English settlers rather than Catholic Acadian settlers did not change the efforts of the Nova Scotia

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

Council to achieve both political and economic control save for the fact that their activities now met with less effective opposition. This new situation stood in sharp contrast to that of the English Governors who had sought to control the trading practices of the Acadian population with the French from Louisbourg and the English from New England throughout the previous decades.

The new settlers expressed the need for the road from Barronsfield to the Boar's Back. A petition was signed by 23 individuals and, by proxy for 40 families of Minudie.⁸⁰ The ethnicity of the families from Minudie is not made clear but we know that the Acadians who had settled there after the deportation were notified that they had to pay an annual rent.⁸¹ This is perhaps an indication that the families from Minudie were Acadians. Fifty years after the deportation they would not have been literate. It also shows that the British now wished to enjoy the benefits of Acadian labour. The Acadian settlers at Minudie had been notified that they were required to pay rent on the land that they were farming as it had been granted to Governor

80 D. C. Harvey, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, I , 7.

81 R.-Gilles LeBlanc, "Menoudie, 1766-1805: Quarante années de vie acadienne en Nouvelle-Écosse", La Société Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers, (1992), 168-185 , also Léon Theriault, "Acadia From 1763 to 1990: An Historical Synthesis", Acadia of the Maritimes, Jean Daigle ed., (Chair d'Études acadienne, Université de Moncton, 1995), 51.

DesBarres⁸² and they decided to relocate in South Eastern New Brunswick.

In the early 1800's the Nova Scotia assembly adopted a variety of bureaucratic approaches in order to delay, defuse and redirect enquiries from Catholic interests bent on improving the educational facilities for their youth. Comments by priests, such as those by Mgr. Cousineau who attempted to influence the Acadian population to increase its support for the Catholic church with statements "L'Acadie est née sous le signe de la Providence divine." "Si Dieu reigné sur tous les peuples et s'il faut tout rapporter, selon Bossuet, la providence, le peuple Acadienne, plus que tout autre, bénéficie de la protection toute speciale de Dieu".⁸³ The use of religious justifications by the clergy to validate a course of action or their version of history is evident in the reports from the decades after the deportation. There is an oral tradition passed down among elderly Acadians that the deportation would never have occurred without the intervention of the Catholic priests. This tradition is that the priests, by forbidding the Acadian men to shoot at the British soldiers, cleared the way for the deportation.

The interaction of the priests and civil authority with the resulting

82 Jean Daigle, ed., *La Société Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers*, 6 (1975), 188-94.

83 Jean-Paul Hauteceur, *L'Acadie du Discours* (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université de Laval, 1975), 167.

impact on settlement patterns presents a framework for the activities of the Acadian leaders in the Deportation era. Comparisons between Acadian and New England political and economic activities indicate that the Acadian leaders were not acting in isolation but were very politically aware. Their ability to interact with the merchants of New England and influence the policies of the Nova Scotia Council combined to create an economic climate which favoured them. The adaptability of the Acadian leaders is seen by the growth of their communities and the success of their independent economy. This was not to be explained simply by the political or military weakness of the British as has been suggested, but rather by the cohesion that good leaders are always able to create.

CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY LEADERS AND THEIR

ACTIVITIES IN THE GENERATION BEFORE

“LE GRAND DÉRANGEMENT”

All the Acadian community leaders surveyed in this chapter demonstrated a common set of leadership characteristics. Their consistent application of these skills was highlighted by an adaptability in their response to adversity. There was something very unusual happening in the period up to 1744. Communication and collaboration between the leaders surveyed in the pre-deportation era was essential to the survival of the Acadians in the coming years. Acadian leadership in the generation before the deportation saw this adaptability tested in response to a series of changes in the environment. Politically, economically and socially, the leaders under review were becoming prominent in their communities. This generation saw the development of relationships between different family groups which would become so important in the post-deportation period.

The first leader to be considered was Pierre Doucet. He was born at Annapolis Royal 23 April 1737, the second son and third child of Pierre Doucet and Marie-Joseph Robichaud.¹ Pierre was five years old in 1755 when he and other Acadians were deported from the area of Annapolis later known as Granville Ferry. Separated from his own family, he was settled with a Boston family named Seaman. It was from Captain Seaman that young Pierre received his early education and learned the navigational skills which would enable him to become the first sea captain of the Baie Sainte-Marie.²

The leadership qualities demonstrated by Captain Pierre Doucet in the Post-Deportation Era must be viewed in the context of the activities of the members of his extended family in the decades leading up to the Deportation.

Captain Pierre Doucet's ancestor, Germain Doucet, also called "Laverdure" had been prominent in the affairs of the Acadian colony in its early days. Of Charente-Maritime origin, he would have arrived at Port Royal as early as 1632 with the de Razilly expedition³ or with the one

1 Stephen A. White, Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Familles Acadiennes (Moncton: Centre d'Études Acadiennes, Université de Moncton, 1999), II, 542.

2 Archives du Centre Acadien de L'Université Sainte-Anne, Fonds Placide Gaudet, (Doucet), M63,1995.

3 Clarence d'Entremont, Fr., Histoire du Cap Sable de l'an Mil au Traite de Paris (5 vols.;Eunice, Louisiana: Hebert Publications, 1981), II, 269.

hundred colonists who arrived in 1633.⁴ Greater participation by France in colonization efforts in North America must begin in 1627 when Cardinal Richelieu created the Compagnie de Cent Associés. One of the goals of this company was to bring to North America a large contingent of settlers.⁵ However, this was in doubt until the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Germaine-en-Laye during the reign of Louis XIII in 1632 guaranteed the return of New France and Acadia, the two French colonies in North America, and saw the beginning of new life for the colony.⁶ The decision by the Court of France to set up a seigneurial regime in Acadia led to the appointment of Isaac de Razilly, cousin to Cardinal Richelieu and a commander of the Order of Malta, as Governor for this new colony which included Germain Doucet.⁷ Isaac de Razilly chose a relative, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay de Charnisay as his second in command.⁸

Thus we see that French family ties, so important in France were to remain so in North America. This may explain why the Queen Mother acting

4 F. J. Melanson, Genealogies of Certain Families in Plymouth, N.S. (Halifax: F. J. Melanson, 1983), 1.

5 Jean Daigle, "Acadia From 1604 to 1763: An Historical Synthesis," in Daigle, ed., Acadia of the Maritimes, (Moncton: Université de Moncton, 1995).5.

6 Ibid. 6.

7 Ibid. 7.

8 Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People, 12.

in the name of Louis XIV confirmed, d'Aulnay rights over Acadie in 1647.⁹ In 1640 Germain Doucet had brought with him recruits for D'Aulnay's private army, in which he held the rank of major. In the same year his name appears on a letter condemning Charles de LaTour for his actions against d'Aulnay.¹⁰ In addition to his military duties Doucet acted as tutor for d'Aulnay's children and as his "Homme de Confiance."¹¹ Germain Doucet was commander of the fort at Port Royal when Robert Sedgwick attacked in 1654. Sedgwick had been given the order to attack New Netherland, (New York) but between July and September 1654, after hearing of the end of the Anglo-Dutch war, he turned north and pillaged most of the Acadian settlements.¹²

Port Royal itself was seen as being geographically and strategically important. It had been described by Nicolas Denys as "a very fine place, and a very fine basin of more than a league wide and about two in length."¹³ A good depth of water at low tide was very important for the ships of the day as

9 Ibid., 14.

10 Archives du Centre Acadienne de l'Universite Saint-Anne, (hereafter AAC), Placide Gaudet, Genealogies . MG 3.

11 Neil J. Boucher, ed., "The Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay: Community Leaders Amongst an Uprooted People", in The Nova Scotia Historical Review, (1974), V, 45.

12 Daigle, "Acadia From 1604 to 1763," 8.

13 Nicolas Denys, "Description Géographique Et Historique Des Costes De L'Amérique Septentrionale," (Paris, 1672), (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908). in Beamish Murdock History of

noted in the report, that “there was 18 or 20 fathoms of water at the entrance, and not less than 4 or 6 fathoms between the land and Goat Island.”¹⁴ Denys stated further that “with a good bottom throughout, large ships could be anchored as safely as in a box,” while in the upper end, there was a point of land where d’Aulnay had built his fort. The sheltered anchorage for large ships was a very significant factor in Port Royal’s strategic importance. Denys believed that with little winter and good hunting all year around, this was an excellent refuge.¹⁵

Under the terms of the capitulation Germain Doucet, as an officer, had to leave Acadia and return to France. Pierre Doucet, son of Germain exiled himself to Quebec. He is found at Port Royal one year after the official transfer of Acadia back to France in 1670. The census of 1671 has him listed as a fifty-year-old mason, married to his second wife Henriette Poltret, with five children, seven head of cattle, six sheep and four acres of land.¹⁶

The capabilities of various members of the Doucet family were well known to the English and Acadian populations. Amongst the activities that

Nova Scotia or Acadie, (3 vols., Halifax : J.Barnes Printer, 1867), III, 535.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Public Archives Canada, “Archives des Colonies, Amerique du Nord., Acadie Recensements,” (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1966), (hereafter PAC), Series G1, vol. 466-1.

demonstrated leadership were the roles they played as pilots and guides. Numerous mentions of members of the Doucet family in the post-conquest Nova Scotia Council Minutes include “Claude Doucet, alias Merrimat and Frans Doucet along with Lewis Dugas, alias Plaisant and John Granger, alias Beck. They had all failed to serve as pilots and guides after having agreed to do so and their farms were seized for their non-appearance.”¹⁷ The Nova Scotia Council had great need for local knowledge about harbours and trails in order to conduct its business; the Acadians were the only source of such expertise. Concern for the loyalty of the Acadians as well as specifically the pilots and guides, upon whom the British obviously relied, is exemplified by the formal threat “That the Estates real and personal of all such his Majesties subjects as shall hold a Voluntary Correspondence with and Retire to the Enemy shall be confiscated for his majesty’s use.”¹⁸ Attempts were made by the Nova Scotia Council to control trading by Acadian communities, and to restrict their access to English traders, thereby prompting new settlements in the Minas and Chignecto areas by 1727. There can be little doubt that such movements represent an already well-established effort of the Acadians to

17 Charles Bruce Fergusson, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, IV, 95.

18 *Ibid.*, 94-95.

evade the control of the English.¹⁹ The statement “Due to their insolent behaviour and refusing the Oaths to his Majesty they should not have the benefit of the English traders visiting them up the Bay”²⁰ indicates the Nova Scotia Council’s frustration in curbing this trade. Just two years later, the minutes reflect again the Nova Scotia Council’s concern that the French inhabitants would not accept payment for their goods in New England currency. The inference here is that when New England traders did not give value equivalent to that which the Acadians would receive elsewhere, for goods and bullion, the Acadians kept their sheep, cattle and corn, selling them to the French instead. These practices resulted in fines for traders found guilty of shipping goods to any port other than Annapolis Royal and show the extent of the problem facing the Council.²¹ That one half of the fine, which consisted of fifty pounds in New England currency, was to be given to the informer shows clearly the government’s inability to police and enforce its edicts on trade without the cooperation of the resident Acadian population.²²

The Doucets in Nova Scotia, as demonstrated by their activities, were

19 Reid, Acadia, Maine and New Scotland, 141.

20 MacMechan, ed., N.S.Archives, III, 149.

21 Ibid., 175.

well established in Acadia by the time of the Deportation. The minutes of the Nova Scotia Council indicate the extent of their activities in trading with both the French and the British and by identifying them with both real names and pseudonyms make clear how unsuccessful they were in trying to hide their activities.

Amable Doucet was a cousin of Captain Pierre Doucet. Amable's entire family was deported to Massachusetts in 1755 and was settled in the community of Newbury. The family is shown in the lists of 1756, 1758 and 1760 where Amable was listed as 23 years old and sick.²³ Stephen White gives Amable's age as eighteen at the time of the deportation.²⁴ White describes Amable together with his father and eldest brother as being among the five Acadian men in Newbury capable of work.

It is possible, although there is no direct evidence, that it was during this period that Amable acquired the literary skills which would serve him in such good stead in later years. While in New England, Amable was betrothed to a relative, a Marie Doucet, daughter of François Doucet and Marguerite Petitot, dit Saint-Sceine (Sincennes), and sister of Pierre. Amable

22 Ibid.

23 Janet B. Jehn, Acadian Exiles in the Colonies (Covington, KY.: Janet Jehn, 1977), 81.

24 Stephen White, "Amable Doucet," DBC, V, 152.

is shown in the church records as back in Pointè-de-l'Eglise (Church Point) Nova Scotia by 21 September 1769.²⁵

We are told that Massachusetts was more hospitable than other colonies such as Virginia, which refused Acadian refugees altogether.²⁶ The old hostilities between the New Englanders and those who spoke French and professed Catholicism were no less alive in the eighteenth century than they had been in the seventeenth. Tensions between Puritanism and Catholicism, memories of French Catholic invasions from Quebec, and massacres such as the one at Deerfield, Connecticut, in 1704 had led to persisting animosities.

By the time of the deportation leadership in the Doucet family was already well established starting with Germain Doucet. Therefore Pierre Doucet assumed his leadership role would be supported by the tradition of Doucet family members demonstrating leadership as they acted as pilots and guides for both the French and British.

The next community leaders to be surveyed are Joseph Goeguen and l'Abbé Jean Manach. We know that on 27 July 1737, at the church of Sainte-Melaine (today Sainte-Melanie) de Moirlais in Bretagne, France,

25 AAC, Fonds Placide Gaudet, "Doucet," MG3.

26 Pierre Belliveau, French Neutrals in Massachusetts: The story of Acadians rounded up by soldiers from Massachusetts and their captivity in the Bay Province, 1755-1766 (Boston: K.S. Giffin, 1972), 25.

Jacques Goeguen, son of Pierre and Anne Lecornet de Sainte Melaine, married Anne Hamonez, daughter of Herve and Anne Robineau of the same parish.²⁷ Establishing themselves at Sainte-Melaine, this couple were to have five children, three of them girls. Another son, Jean-Pierre, was born in 1749 but appears to have died without marrying. Joseph was born on the 2 May 1741 and was baptised the next day at the church in Sainte-Melaine.²⁸ Little is known of his first twelve years before he was brought to Acadie as a domestic in 1753 by Abbé Manach, just prior to the Acadian deportation. Jean Manach was born in 1727 and died in 1766, and like Le Loutre and Joseph Goeguen he was from Morlaix in France. Le Loutre, however, unlike the other two, was from the “bourgeoisie de la ville.”²⁹

In the summer of 1752 Abbé Le Loutre assigned his Mi'kmaq missions to Manache who had learned the Mi'kmaq language under the tutelage of Abbé Maillard and became his right hand.

Before Le Loutre's trip to France in the summer of 1752, Manach had asked him to bring back two domestics, Joseph Goeguen and a young man named Daniel, who was of Swiss ancestry. After conducting his business in

27 Arcade Goguen, La Famille Goeguen (Cocagne, A Compte d'auteur, 1968), 6.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., 13.

Paris and at the Court in Versailles, Le Loutre arrived in Morlais in April 1753. Visiting the father of Joseph Goeguen, he received permission from the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu to take three domestics, one for himself and two for Manach. Travelling on the boat "Le Bizarre,"³⁰ Joseph Goeguen and the two domestics together with Le Loutre arrived in Louisbourg in May of that year. Joseph Goeguen and the two other two domestics left for Fort Beauséjour a few days later and from there accompanied Abbé Jean Manach to his mission at Shubenacadie.³¹ The ties of loyalty between community leaders Goeguen, Manach and LeLoutre, evident in later years, can be traced back to these early events.

Gérard Finn tells us that Le Loutre's trip to France was a huge success in that he received an annual pension of 1200 livres from the court at Versailles for the Mi'kmaq missions.³² Jean Manach would receive personally, as did other missionaries, 600 livres annually. In the year 1753, Joseph, as an employee of Manach was introduced to the various historical players, French and British as "missionnaire des Sauvages."³³ Jean Manach was working

30 Centre d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton, Fonds Placide Gaudet, "famille Goeguen, Joseph Goeguen.", (hereafter CEA), 1-55-3.

31 Brun, *Pionnier de la Nouvelle Acadie*, 17.

32 G. Finn, ed., "Jean-Louis LeLoutre," *DBC*, IV, 453-458.

33 Micheline Dumont-Johnston, ed., "Jean Manach," *DBC*, III. (Quebec : Presses de l'Université de

directly with the Mi'kmaq as well as with the commandant of Fort Cumberland (formerly Fort Beauséjour). An oral family tradition suggests that Manach was born of a previous marriage or an informal liaison between Joseph's father, Jacques Goeguen and an unknown woman.³⁴ It was in 1875 that one of Joseph's sons gave an account of this piece of family oral history regarding Abbé Manach. The only written evidence lies in the 1753 document that stated that one of the three domestics that boarded the boat from France for Acadia "was the brother of Abbé Manach."³⁵ More contemporary research indicates that it was to Abbé Le Loutre that Joseph Goeguen was related, but the belief would have given young Goeguen status within the Acadian community of the day.³⁶

Jean Manach along with Abbés Maillard, Germain and Le Loutre were to become politically involved in the French cause.³⁷ The Swiss domestic, named Daniel Johnson, after having travelled through Acadia denounced Abbé Manach to the British: "après avoir joué à l'agent double, il passa du côté anglais au debut de 1756; ce Daniel preta à son maitre des propos

Laval, 1974), 227.

34 Centre d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton, Fonds Placide Gaudet, "Famille Goguen; Joseph Goeguen," (CEA), 1-56-11.

35 Ibid., 1-55-3.

36 Paul Delaney, ed., "Les Ancêtres de Joseph Guéguen de Cocagne," La Société Historique Acadienne:

subversifs.”³⁸ The four missionaries were thus accused of actions that would support the belief of the British authorities that all Catholic clergy were agents of the French.³⁹

Joseph Goeguen was to serve the Acadian and Mi'kmaq people alternately as a Justice of the Peace, a Notary, a Scribe and an advocate. He remained neutral towards the American revolution. It was on his farm that Colonel John Allen, who had been named by the American Congress as “Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Eastern department,” and the Mi'kmaq chiefs from the Miramichi, Richibouctou, Shediac, Cocagne, Chignectou and Cape Sable met on 18 and 19 September 1776.⁴⁰ He was also effective in petitioning the British authorities on behalf of individuals who had problems. Believed to be the most literate Acadian of his period and to have the most extensive library, he authored and transcribed many documents and manuscripts in Mi'kmaq as well as in French and English. Joseph Goeguen was also one of the first to teach school in the new Acadia

Les Cahiers, (1975), XXXI, 11.

37 M. D. Johnson, ed., “Jean Manach,” *DBC*, III, 227.

38 Dumont-Johnson, ed., *DCB*, 458-9.

39 Gérard Finn, *Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada*, 490.

40 Frederick Kidder, *Military operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution* (Albany, N.Y.: J.Munsell, 1867), 14.; also National Archives of Canada (Hereafter NAC), Dartmouth Papers, MG23, AI(1) 14.

in the first generation after the deportation.⁴¹

With the fall of Fort Beauséjour on 18 June 1755 came the capitulation of the forces under Commandant Villeray at Fort Gaspereau on Baie Verte without a shot having been fired. The Acadian habitants had not supported the French garrison with labour to prepare for the siege nor fought in its defence. Commandant Villeray had accused the Acadians of the village where Abbé Manach and Joseph Goeguen lived, with the family of P'tit François Arsenault, of being lazy and being more interested in assisting the British at Fort Lawrence.⁴² This is where the leadership of Manach at Gaspereau differed from that of Le Loutre at Fort Beauséjour. Le Loutre had solicited 50000 francs from the Royal Court in France and used Acadian labour to build an aboiteau. These dykes not far from Fort Beauséjour itself would serve to encourage Acadians, pressured or threatened by Le Loutre, to move to French-held lands. Acadian labour was also used in fortifying the fort itself.⁴³ Le Loutre's use of Mi'kmaq warriors to threaten the Acadians with retribution if they did not resettle on the French side of the Peninsula was given by the Acadians as a major reason for not signing an unconditional

41 Brun, Pionnier de la Nouvelle Acadie: Joseph Goeguen, 1741-1825, 8.

42 John Clarence Webster, The Forts of Chignecto: a study of the eighteenth century conflict between France and Great Britain in Acadia (Shediac, N.B.: The Author, 1930), 63-4.

oath of allegiance to Great Britain.⁴⁴

Along with Maillard, Germain and Manach, Le Loutre was also a missionary engaged in the political cause of France. His mission with the Mi'kmaq is described by Régis Brun as concerned to “appuyer les vues du gouverneur de Louisbourg et engager les indigenes à faire, chez les Britanniques, toutes les incursions que les autorités militaires jugeraient nécessaires.”⁴⁵ Examples of this policy had been seen during attacks on the fort at Annapolis in 1744 as the French officers requisitioned supplies from the local farmers and threatened to burn the houses and kill the livestock of those who refused to comply.⁴⁶ The Mi'kmaq also looted many Acadian farms, killing cattle and poultry for food.⁴⁷

The close involvement of Joseph Goeguen at this time with both Manach and Le Loutre was formative for him and would have a large impact on his future community leadership. It can be speculated that the acceptance of Goeguen as a leader by the British, both during and after the deportation, while Manach and Le Loutre were deported may have been influenced by the

43 G. Finn, Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada, 493.

44 MacMechan, ed., N.S. Archives, II, 60.

45 Brun, Pionnier de la Nouvelle Acadie, 12

46 Fergusson, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, IV, 71

47 *Ibid.*, 212.

lack of Acadian support for the French at Gaspereau. Joseph Goeguen in addition to his involvement with the Catholic clergy, learned Mi'kmaq and built up political and commercial contacts which would be of great benefit to him both during and after the deportation.

The next leader surveyed is Prudent Robichaud, descendant of Louis Robichaud, who came from the estate of Charles d'Aulnay in Poitou around 1642. Prudent Robichaud comes to the fore in the years preceding the deportation and was the subject of numerous references in the province's Council minutes. He was born at Port Royal around 1669 and married in 1692 to Henriette Petitpas, daughter of the notary at Port Royal.⁴⁸ His affiliation by marriage to this influential Acadian family saw his political career begin at an early date. The information in the censuses of 1686, 1698, 1700, 1703 and 1714 shows that in 1714 he had 8 acres under cultivation, 12 head of cattle, 18 sheep and 11 pigs. At this time he was achieving prosperity as a merchant in Annapolis. As a result of his business success he was able to provide an education for his children, particularly Louis and Prudent, thereby permitting them in their turn to become leaders. Prudent

⁴⁸ Donat Robichaud, Robichaud-Les Robichaud. Histoire et Généalogie (Bathurst: Séminaire St.-Charles, 1967), 135.

supplied the garrison with firewood, and having signed the oath of allegiance in August 1695, was viewed by some Acadians as collaborating with the enemy.⁴⁹

The first mention of leadership among the Robichaud family before 1713 was in a religious context. Often, in the absence of a priest, a community would select some respected person to fulfil the function until the arrival of an ordained priest. Alexandre Robichaud served in this capacity on 3 April 1712, 1 May 1712 and again on 3 July 1712.⁵⁰ Alexandre had married a member of the well-connected Melanson family, the widow of Saint-Étienne de La Tour. Alexander, as well as being a prosperous merchant was sufficiently well respected to serve in the capacity of witness at religious ceremonies.⁵¹ The performance of the sacerdotal function by respected laymen was to become a pattern for the leaders in the Acadian community.

Prudent served as a witness at the marriage of François Villate, Sergeant of the Port Royal garrison and Marguerite de Saint-Étienne de La Tour. A year before, on the 10 August 1704, Louis, Prudent's son had a military

49 Rameau de Sainte-Père, *Une Colonie Féodale*, II, 353.

50 Centre d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton, "Fonds Placide Gaudet," (CEA), 1-56-11.

51 Basque, *Des Hommes de Pouvoir*, 54.

officer, Captain Louis de Charconacle, as godfather at the baptism.⁵² At a baptism on 26 October, 1705, of Marie-Madeleine Robichaud, daughter of François dit Niganne Robichaud and Madeline Thériot, the godfather was le Sieur de Clauneuf, lieutenant of the garrison of Port-Royal. Activities such as these demonstrate a closer bond than a strictly commercial relationship, increasing the status of the children who now had British mentors.

These examples demonstrate how the Robichaud family were aligning themselves with the emerging elite of society at Port-Royal.⁵³ This would assist them in attaining their future leadership roles in the community. Of the eleven children of Prudent Robichaud and Henriette Pettipas who married, three were partnered within the Bourgeois extended family which was active in commerce in Port Royal. Prudent's second daughter, Marguerite, married Pierre Gourdeau in 1724. Gourdeau was not a member of the bourgeoisie but was captain of a warship involved in commerce with both Louisbourg and Boston.⁵⁴

Second generation marriages of the children of Prudent Senior's brother Charles "Cadet" Robichaud served to broaden the connections of this

52 Ibid., 63-7.

53 Ibid., 54.

54 Ibid., 66.

already politically active family. François dit Niganne and Marie-Madeline Theriault's two sons married two daughters of Alexander LeBorgne de Belleisle. The LeBorgne family was senior seigneurial family of Port Royal, with blood ties to several other notable Acadian families.⁵⁵ François and Marie-Madeline's youngest daughter, Louise dit "Lisette" married the son of William Winnett 16 October 1742, an influential Annapolis Royal merchant and a member of the Government Council of Nova Scotia. In so doing she extended the family ties to the British regime.⁵⁶ Such an alliance with an important individual within the British Regime, Maurice Basque tells us, was not new to Prudent Robichaud as family ties with the British garrison had existed previously, as early as 1698.

In 1695, the inhabitants of Port Royal were required to swear allegiance to the British Crown. Prudent Robichaud was conspicuous as a rare leader who could read and write.⁵⁷ Prudent and his brother Charles had their names on the Oath of Allegiance. In place of a signature, Charles made a cross on the document while Prudent was one of only 18 out of 58 who could sign their own names. He later functioned as a deputy, interpreter to the

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

Mi'kmaq, tax collector and Justice of the Peace. The first official mention of Prudent in the Nova Scotia Council minutes is as one of six locally elected representatives who appeared before the Annapolis Royal garrison on Wednesday 4 May 1720. He and Nicolas Gautier were rejected as they had insufficient land holdings to warrant their being appointed as deputies. The community in a letter to the Council refused to chose alternatives.⁵⁸ After some debate and intimidation by the council of Governor William Philipps, the names of two alternate deputies were submitted by the Acadian community of Port Royal.⁵⁹

For the purposes of this thesis it is critical to note that as early as this date, 35 years before the deportation, Acadian community leaders were not chosen at random. This deliberate selection of deputies is very significant and illustrates the reluctance of the community to be represented by persons not of their choosing.

The activities of Prudent Jr., and Michel Richard, alias "Le Fund", received official attention when Prudent Jr. and Charles Boudrot of Cape Breton were summoned before the council on 24 August 1720 to report on a

58 MacMechan, ed., N.S. Archives, III, 8.

59 Ibid.

hostile episode at Canso involving the French and Mi'kmaq. This places Prudent Jr., in the area of Canso, since he was considered able to give a first-hand account of the attack and destruction of the settlement there. There are strong indications that Prudent Sr. and Jr. were much involved in the commerce of the day with the French in Louisbourg. There is also strong evidence that the family of Prudent Robichaud was in the confidence of the British Governors Armstrong and Mascarene at Annapolis. This further demonstrates how an Acadian leader could maintain economic and political ties with opposing factions. On 29 March 1718, for example, Prudent Sr. was charged with delivering a confidential letter from the British Lieutenant-Governor, John Doucet, to Father Felix Pain, priest at Mines.⁶⁰ At the time of the attack on Canso, the council was very much concerned about a road the Acadians were building from Annapolis Royal to Minas. They believed this road would be used to transport cattle to Louisbourg or to carry the Acadians and all their effects in a move en bloc to French-controlled territory. In either case it was evident that the Nova Scotia Council was powerless to deal effectively with the Acadians.⁶¹ The Acadian community

60 Robichaud, Robichaud-Les Robichaud, Histoire et Généalogie, 159.

61 *Ibid.*, 8.

and their leaders were apparently communicating with the Mi'kmaq as well as being actively involved in trading with the French at Louisbourg.⁶² On 29 June 1720 the Nova Scotia Council, after receiving news that the Mi'kmaq were in communication with the "disaffected French," had sent a ship to collect several Mi'kmaq chiefs at St. John's River.⁶³

Prudent's son Louis, who would also become active in commercial dealings on his father's behalf, was born on 9 August 1704 at Port Royal. Louis was married on 7 February 1730 to Jeanne Bourgeois at Annapolis Royal, and had ten children.⁶⁴ Louis had a reputation as a wealthy merchant at Port Royal.⁶⁵ The British troops at Annapolis Royal were Prudent's best customers and in addition to supplying provisions and firewood, he also executed various repair jobs for the garrison.⁶⁶ He was one of those Acadians who took an oath of loyalty to King George II in January 1730. A member of his family is believed to have warned the British garrison of the impending attack by French forces under François Du Pont Duvivier in 1744. It was as a result of these pro-British activities that his family were

62 Fergusson, ed., Nova Scotia Archives, IV, 57.

63 *Ibid.*, 49.

64 Placide Gaudet, Geneologie des familles acadiennes avec documents (Ottawa: Imp. du Roi, 1906), on CIHM/ICMH collection of microfiches ; no. 85706.

65 Maurice Basque, Des Hommes de Pouvoir, 84.

twice robbed of their household goods and cattle. He and his family were twice taken prisoner by the French but on each occasion were able to escape.

Prudent Sr.'s brother Charles, dit "Cadet," was important to the commercial pursuits of Prudent Senior. It is very likely that he was the agent for the family's interests at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and arranged all the transportation for the cattle and sheep being sold at Louisbourg. Prior to his settling at Cobequid, Charles and his family, according to the census of 1700, occupied sixteen acres, with twelve head of cattle, fourteen sheep and a modest barn at Annapolis.⁶⁷ This property was later expropriated for an extension to the fort at Annapolis Royal.⁶⁸ He then moved to Cap de Port Royal and although his farm was burnt in 1704 and again during the attack of 1707, he rebuilt and remained there until just before 1720 when he moved his family to a location where he could carry on commercial activities out of sight of the British. This new locality later came to be known as the "village des Cadets" in the community of Cobequid.⁶⁹ Cobequid at this time included all the Bassin des Mines, that is the area all around Cobequid Bay.

66 Robichaud, *Robichaud-Les Robichaud, Histoire et Généalogie*, 152.

67 Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia, The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 164.

68 Basque, *Des Hommes de Pouvoir*, 46.

69 *Ibid.*, 48.

This “Village des Cadets” offered the advantage of access by sea, as well as by an overland route to the French at both Louisbourg and at Ile St. Jean. Acadians settled this area in small groups of three or four families. Cobequid was the debarkation point for ships from Port Royal with cattle and sheep bound for Louisbourg over the trail.⁷⁰ Although it is difficult to determine the amount of goods that would have travelled over the trail, there can be little doubt that the trade was extensive or, even without direct evidence, that Charles “Cadet” was involved.

Charles was married to Marie Thibodeau. After her death, he married Marie Bourg, who was descended from another influential Acadian family. Their son Joseph would inherit a part of the contested seigneurie of Mathieu Martin at Cobequid.

In a letter dated June 1745, addressed to Lieutenant Governor Paul Mascarene, Charles “Cadet” Robichaud and six other deputies described the distress of their people. They said, “you know, Sirs, to what a state we are reduced by the French and Indian in all their incursions, the latter plunder pillage and kill us, the former overcome us with difficulties and labour, not giving us time to catch our breath, and from another quarter we hear that

people will come from Boston to subjugate us totally, which will not be very hard since we are already much downcast in every way.”⁷¹

The British found it difficult to accord these complaints due credence for they knew well enough that the Acadians were trading with the French. The Acadians pointed out that, “The French, treated them as Englishmen and the British suspected them although they had never taken up arms.”⁷² Thanks to the employment of informers, the British certainly knew more about Acadian activities than Acadian leaders would have suspected.

Other prominent third generation Acadian marriages include that of Anne Robichaud, daughter of Alexander and Anne Melanson, who married Pierre Blanchard, son of merchant Guillaume Blanchard and Marguerite Gouguen in 1718. This marriage established an alliance with Charles Blanchard, brother-in-law of Anne and husband of Madeline Girouard. This latter who was the daughter of Marie LeBorgne de Belleisle, heiress to the seigneurie of Port Royal, married Joseph Bourg, son of Abraham Bourg and Marie Brun in 1727. This marriage allied the Robichauds to the family of Abraham Bourg, deputy of Port Royal. A further daughter Cecile married

70 Fergusson, ed., *Nova Scotia Archives*, IV, 59.

71 Basque, *Des Hommes de Pouvoir*, 96.

Pierre Landry, son of Claude Landry and Marie Theriault, in 1726.

Marguerite, Cecile's younger sister, had married Joseph Dugas, son of Abraham Dugas and Marie-Madeline Landry in 1728. Alexander (Etienne) and Anne (Melanson) Robichaud's youngest daughter, Marie-Josephine had married Joseph Granger, son of Claude Granger and Jeanne Guilbeau in 1737. Agathe de Saint-Étienne de La Tour, daughter-in-law to Prudent Robichaud, had married a Lieutenant Edmund Bradstreet; after his death she married Ensign Hugh Campbell in the fall of 1720.⁷³ When Madeline, daughter of Prudent's brother François and Marie-Madeleine Theriault of Port Royal, married Joseph Doucet in 1725 she joined her cousin Marie Robichaud in that family. Marie was the daughter of Prudent and Henriette Petipas who had married in 1714 Jean-Baptiste Doucet, brother to Joseph, whose family's commercial links in Acadia are well documented.⁷⁴ Prudent Robichaud senior's close association with the British did not, however, save him from deportation. He was arrested and exiled in February 1756 at 86 years of age.

Prudent Robichaud demonstrated leadership in many aspects of Acadian

72 Ibid.

73 Godfrey, Pursuit of Profit and Preferment in Colonial North America, 3.

74 Basque, Des Hommes de Pouvoir, 66.

community life. His interactions with the Mi'kmaq and the British demonstrate great adaptability to constantly changing circumstances. Over a long career, he would serve as an interpreter to the Indians, Acadian spokesperson, Deputy, Justice of the Peace and Tax Collector. His economic and political exploits and their success served as a role model for the next generation of Acadian community leaders. The Robichaud family at this time was intermarried with virtually all of the important Acadian families. These extraordinary kinship ties were used, as Maurice Basque has shown, by specific Acadian families to consolidate their commercial and political power base. This in turn enabled the leadership activities begun by Prudent Robichaud senior to be carried on in successive generations.

The next Acadian leader to be reviewed in the pre-deportation era is Joseph LeBlanc, dit "Le Maigre." Joseph "le Maigre" was born on 12 March 1697 at Saint Charles-des-Mines, son of Antoine Leblanc and Marie Bourgeois. At age 22 he married Anne Bourg whose father was Alexander Bourg, dit Belle Humeur and mother Marguerite Melanson, dit La Verdure.⁷⁵

The Bourg family was prominent in Acadian leadership, and Joseph "Le Maigre" Le Blanc's alliance with them gave him a higher status in his trade

and leadership activities.

Alexander LeBlanc, Joseph's son who would be very active in future years as a ship's captain, was born at Grand Pré on 1 July 1732. He was married at Port Toulouse circa 1754 to Marguerite Boudrot, daughter of Joseph Boudrot and Marguerite Dugas.

It is obviously significant to show to what extent the activities of the community leaders we are following were aided by the family relationships which they had established in the community. An early example of the operation of such relationships is furnished by the case of 30 June 1726, when the widow Broussard petitioned the Nova Scotia Council on behalf of her son Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard for relief from the support for a bastard child. It is interesting to note here that Joseph "Le Maigre" LeBlanc who was 29 years old at this time, and Joseph Bourgeois undertook to reimburse the nurse, Jean Dupuis wife of Guillaume Blanchard to provide faithful care of the child.⁷⁶

Joseph "Le Maigre" LeBlanc and Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard were to have contact with each other over the space of many years. That this

75 C. d'Entremont, ed., "Alexandre Bourg," D.B.C., III, 466.

76 MacMechan, ed., N.S.Archives, III, 122.

relationship was based on kinship shows that any personal differences on political issues were of secondary importance when compared to the strength of these ties. The Nova Scotia Council minutes of 17 September 1727, speak of a clandestine trade in black cattle from Les Mines and Beaubassin to Cape Breton. Joseph (Le Maigre) and Joseph Dugas, residents of Les Mines were said to have conveyed by way of Beaubassin and Tatamagouche, 2 droves of black cattle and sheep from Minas to the French at Louisbourg. In the Minutes of the Nova Scotia Council there is mention of Joseph “Le Maigre” Le Blanc’s commercial dealings with the French, although such activity was opposed by some Acadians loyal to the British.

The French expedition led by Joseph Du Pont Duvivier against Annapolis Royal in the late summer of 1744 was provisioned by Joseph “Le Maigre.”⁷⁷ The deputies from Cobequid, Pierre Theriault and Claude Pectre, had appeared before the Council on 11 December 1744 with a letter stating that “the Acadians had not taken part in the conflict on behalf of the enemy unless forced to do so.”⁷⁸ In view of his previous activities, there could have been little doubt in the minds of the Nova Scotia Council, that coercion was

⁷⁷ Fergusson, ed., *Nova Scotia Archives*, IV, 50, 52, 5, 56-60, 62-64, 76, 78.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

not necessary to ensure Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc’s support of activities against the British. The frequency with which Le Blanc is mentioned in the Council minutes of January 25, 1744-1745 reflects the diversity of his activities. His support of the enemy while the fort at Annapolis Royal was besieged included his acting as a messenger, delivering courier packets to and from Louisbourg. For this he was fined the paltry sum of 100 pounds sterling and put on probation for a year and a day.⁷⁹ LeBlanc could claim that he had been forced to collaborate with the French as the leader of the expedition against Annapolis Royal; Joseph Du Pont Duvivier had indeed threatened to hand him over to the savages.⁸⁰ Joseph “Le Maigre’s” father-in-law Alexander “Belle Humeur” Bourg had previously been reinstated as notary and tax collector at Annapolis Royal in 1730 by his old friend Lieutenant-Governor Paul Mascerene. For many years he was very active as a deputy and appeared many times in the Nova Scotia Council minutes. The summons of 30 November 1744 brought Alexander “Belle Humeur” Bourg and Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc before the Nova Scotia Council to explain their participation in supplying cattle to the enemy at Louisbourg.⁸¹ Bourg’s

79 Fergusson, ed., Nova Scotia Archives IV, 59-60.

80 Bernard Pothier, ed., “Joseph Leblanc, dit. Le Maigre, DBC, III, 283-84.

81 MacMechan, ed., Nova Scotia Archives III, 58.

involvement with Joseph “Le Maigre” in this business led to his being dismissed from the office of Notary.⁸²

Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc was mentioned again in the minutes of 3 June 1745, when he appeared with the Deputy of Pisaquid, Pierre Landry, on behalf of the Acadians of Grand Pré. It is interesting to note that community leader, Joseph “Le Maigre” represented Grand Pré and spoke for all the assembled Deputies, although he was not a deputy at the time.⁸³ He defended the actions of the inhabitants who had supplied the enemy with intelligence which permitted them to surprise the company of Rangers, commanded by Captain Goreham, bivouacked on Goat Island.⁸⁴ In a letter 26 May 1720 governor Phipps wrote that the Acadians were unmanageable and that two hundred Mohawks should be brought in from New York to operate against them.⁸⁵

When an Acadian group was accused of having plundered two British ships, Joseph (Le Maigre) responded that the ships had been taken to Les Mines by the Acadians for safekeeping and would be returned to the

82 Ibid., 57.

83 Ibid., 73.

84 Ibid., 73-4.

85 MacMechan, ed., N.S.Archives, II, 60.

authorities.⁸⁶ The ease with which LeBlanc reinterpreted the facts under discussion and redirected the questions from the council, shows a political acuity surprising in an informal representative of a subject people. This can be explained only by the military weakness of the British forces and the inability of the Council to impose its political will. Le Maigre's explanations to the Council that he was unable to distinguish between a time of war and a time of troubled peace were described by Bernard Pothier as totally implausible.⁸⁷

The summer of 1745 saw Joseph "Le Maigre" assisting the French effort led by Paul Marin de La Malgue. This time he was captured, charged, convicted and imprisoned at Annapolis Royal for six months although he escaped in time to assist another French incursion.⁸⁸ The thread of commerce can be traced through all LeBlanc's activities. In 1746 he assisted the French fleet commanded by the Duc d'Anville which had been sent to recapture both Acadia and Ile Royale. LeBlanc had purchased and assembled 230 head of livestock at Minas to provision the fleet but by the time the herds arrived at Annapolis Royal the expedition had failed. Having lost 2000 livres,

86 Ibid., 73.

87 Bernard Pothier, ed., "Joseph Le Blanc, dit. Le Maigre," *DBC*, III, 366.

88 Ibid.

LeBlanc was financially ruined by this expedition. With his previous loss of 4500 livres during the Duvivier expedition against Annapolis Royal in the late summer of 1744, he was left destitute. His flight to Beaubassin and then to Port Toulouse (St. Peters) in 1749 when Ile Royale was returned to France, shows the affinity this Acadian leader had for the French cause. His vastly reduced financial circumstances are indicated by a mention by Jacques Pre'vost de La Croix, the financial commissary of the French colony, that Joseph "Le Maigre" had been receiving crown rations for three years.⁸⁹

In 1752 Joseph "Le Maigre" and his wife were at Port-Toulouse. In that year his total possessions amounted to one small boat, 25 cattle and 16 fowl. After the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, LeBlanc fled with his family to the French-held Island of Miquelon. In the years leading up to the deportation Joseph "Le Maigre" LeBlanc's activities were consistently on the side of the French and were combined with a determined effort to profit financially. The frequency with which he is mentioned in the Nova Scotia Council minutes is a clear indication of his stature in the community in the pre-deportation period. Joseph "Le Maigre" LeBlanc exemplified many of the characteristics of Acadian community leadership. His effective interactions

with the French and the British show him to have been virtually an unofficial deputy of Grand Pré.

Joseph Broussard dit “Beausoleil,” the charismatic leader of the Acadian resistance before and after the deportation is the next community leader to be considered. He was born in 1702 at Port Royal, son of Jean-François Broussard and Catherine Richard. Jean-François Broussard had been in Acadia since at least 1670 and had been involved in quarrels with the British after the conquest of Acadia in 1713. In reprisal for the capture of the British commissioner, by Acadian Abraham Gaudet, he was imprisoned together with four other principal habitants of the “banlieu” of Port Royal.⁹⁰ After his release, Jean-François was to live his life in opposition to the British regime, providing both of his sons with a role model which they would emulate and pass on to their children.⁹¹

Joseph Broussard was from an influential family on his mother’s side as well. Maurice Basque comments that Catherine Richard belonged to a network of families which was very visible around Port Royal.⁹² Catherine

89 Ibid.

90 Rameau de St.Père, Une Colonie Féodale op. Cit.,4 -6.

91 Ibid., 64-65.

92 Maurice Basque, “Conflits et Solidarités Familiales Dans L’Ancienne Acadie: L’affaire Broussard de 1724,” La Société Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers , 20, (1989), 64.

was related to Germain Bourgeois, an influential Acadian merchant whose son Guillaume was a deputy.⁹³ Catherine's half brother, Michel Richard, married Agnes Bourgeois, daughter of Germain Bourgeois and Madeline Dugas, thereby making Joseph the nephew of the sister of a deputy.

Reinforcing this social position was the marriage of Françoise Bourgeois, the sister of Joseph's aunt Agnes, to the influential Prudent Robichaud Junior.

Joseph's sister Catherine Broussard also created matrimonial bonds for Joseph with the influential families of the Acadian deputies of Port Royal.

These connections would stand him in good stead in future years. On 10

August 1724, when Lieutenant Governor John Doucet ordered Joseph

Broussard to appear before the Council to answer charges of assault on one

Louis Thériault, whereupon he promptly destroyed the order and refused to

appear.⁹⁴ The absolute certainty that his actions would be supported by the

deputies affirms his ties and those of his family with the most influential

Acadians at Port Royal.

Particularly interesting for this thesis is the reason given by the deputies for Joseph's non-appearance. He was, it seems, with the Recollet priest

93 Ibid.

94 MacMechan, ed., Nova Scotia Archives II , 68.

Charlemagne at Les Mines. This priest from Port Royal was accused of inciting the Mi'kmaq to attack Port Royal and Joseph "Beausoleil" and his associates were inadvertently implicated by the Deputies.⁹⁵ That Joseph "Beausoleil" at age 22 would ignore repeated summonses from Doucet and the Nova Scotia Council, and be associated with the possibility of an attack on the fort at Port Royal by the Mi'kmaq shows supreme self-assurance. Later, appearing before the Council and confessing not only to prior knowledge of the attacks on Port Royal, but also to deliberate suppression of information, Joseph "Beausoleil" demonstrates confidence in his connections as well as clear knowledge of the weakness of the British Council.⁹⁶ The comments by the Nova Scotia Council show clearly that the British had no illusions about the ineffectiveness of their military capability. Indeed, they are said to have observed, "we have not force enough to keep them under due subjection."⁹⁷ Joseph "Beausoleil," and his companions Alexander Girouard and Jacques Michel were all pardoned at the request of the Deputies. Even though his actions reflected poorly on the Acadian community, they

95 Robert Rumilly, *L'Acadie Anglaise, (1713-1755)* (Montreal: Fides, 1983), 70-1.

96 MacMechan, ed., *Nova Scotia Archives*, II, 71.

97 Ibid.

demonstrated the strength of the Acadian extended family ties.⁹⁸ Some two years later, Joseph “Beausoleil” was charged with fathering an illegitimate child, refusing to acknowledge the child as his or pay maintenance. An indication that the members of his extended family and the community were ashamed of this young man came from the community leaders. Deputy Abram Bourg and the merchant William Bourgeois each provided one hundred pounds security for his future payment of child-support.⁹⁹ Such support by a Deputy and a merchant of Port Royal shows us that Joseph “Beausoleil” enjoyed a well-established position within the community regardless of the activities in which he was involved or of which he was accused. The community responded to the needs of the child even if Joseph “Beausoleil” did not wish to do so. In a culture which saw so few illegitimate births, Joseph “Beausoleil” might otherwise have suffered serious consequences.

Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard married Agnes, daughter of Michel Thibodeau de la Préé-Ronde and Agnes Dugas at Annapolis Royal in September 1725. His brother Alexandre married her sister. Joseph’s

98 Ibid., 71-2.

99 Maurice Basque, “Genre et gestion du pouvoir communautaire à Annapolis Royal au 18e siècle,” *Dalhousie Law Journal*, 17 (1994): 499.

marriage further strengthened his affiliations, as his wife was the granddaughter of Pierre Thibodeau, a man of influence in the French regime and a pioneer of the Acadian community of Shepody. As the granddaughter of Acadian merchant Germain Bourgeois and a cousin of the Acadian deputy Guillaume Bourgeois, the mother of Agnes Thibodeau was well connected to the Acadian elite of Port Royal. That Joseph physically attacked Louis Thériault and defied the will of the Council served as a prelude to his collaboration with the Recollet Clergy and the Mi'kmaq. That he and his two companions accompanied the Priest Charlemagne, and participated in the preparations for the attack on Port Royal shows his early support of the French in the conflict. By his actions, Joseph "Beausoleil," demonstrated exceptional strength of character and leadership for a man of 22 years of age. In about 1740 the Broussards settled in Le Cran, on Shepody Bay. Alexandre and Marguerite Broussard later relocated to Petitcodiac, a village founded by Guillaume Blanchard.¹⁰⁰ Paul Surette comments that the two brothers were known to be courageous as well as militant, preferring to live in the woods among the Mi'kmaq.¹⁰¹

100 Rameau de Saint Pére, *Une Colonie Féodale*, 266-267.

101 Paul Surette, ed., *Petecoudiac, Colonization et Destruction, 1731-1755* (Moncton, N.B.: Les Éditions d'Acadie, 1963), 20.

British camp with no loss to themselves. A tribute to his adaptability was seen two days later when he appeared before the British commander, Colonel Robert Monckton and offered to act as mediator between the British and the natives on condition that he receive amnesty for his activities. Colonel Monckton agreed to this condition despite the advice of Lieutenant Governor Charles Lawrence.¹⁰⁵

Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard was deported in spite of Monckton's amnesty. His leadership skills covered the spectrum from being a fierce warrior to showing mercy to a captured foe, with strong indications that his active involvement in trade broadened his range of activities. The acknowledgement of his leadership role in Acadian affairs although not well documented in writing in the years leading up to the deportation was clear in oral tradition where he is acknowledged as a "chef de la resistance."¹⁰⁶ The leadership exhibited by Joseph would continue as he led the Acadian resistance in the decade following the deportation.

These Acadian leaders were all extraordinary individuals. Some achieved their status as a result of opportunities that presented themselves

104 Brun, "Papiers Amherst," La Société Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers, (1960), 315.

105 Dominick Graham, ed., "Charles Lawrence," DBC, III, 161.

106 d'Entremont, "Joseph Broussard dit Beausoleil," DBC, III, 222.

while others would have been exceptional in any period. Characteristics to be looked for in a deputy were detailed in a letter by Governor Paul Mascarene written in 1740. In this letter he defined qualities such as having the good of the community at heart and keeping under control any unduly restive spirits.¹⁰⁷ That the leaders under review performed the one function, which was to keep the community interest at heart, was a tribute to their leadership. That they placed little emphasis on keeping under control the restive spirits in the community indicates the progress they were to make beyond what had been envisioned for their role as deputies. Their individual leadership abilities were honed by their personal circumstances. This created a set of leaders who were respected and their behaviour emulated. How these Acadian leaders were supported in their endeavours by members of the community and by their immediate and extended families cannot be completely documented. There are, nevertheless, strong indications of the effectiveness of the extraordinary marriage alliances. From them we may deduce the importance of the role played by women in support of the leadership activities. The community leaders were faced with unique challenges but their individual leadership characteristics remained consistent

and, in times of turmoil, served as a beacon for all. Events and circumstances among the leaders in the last generation before the deportation set the stage for the events to follow and we see the patterns of behaviour developed among the leaders perpetuated and expanded in the post-deportation era.

CHAPTER 4

LEADERS IN THE POST DEPORTATION ERA, THE OLD AND THE NEW

That the Acadian leaders to be reviewed in this chapter had undergone the trials of deportation is our starting point. How far did the role played by these leaders in the pre-deportation period contribute to their effectiveness in the post-deportation community? What were the characteristics of leadership that these men exhibited in common throughout their lives.

This chapter will seek to demonstrate that the leaders showed an ability to harmonize the interests of business, family and community. They had a common set of personal qualities which led them to develop effectively certain identifiable skills. Given the broad range of diverse circumstances that these men experienced, what qualities of leadership did they exhibit in common? In this chapter these questions will be addressed by reviewing the common qualities which, according to the circumstances motivated their

activities.

Prudent Robichaud Sr., at 86 years of age was the eldest of the Acadian leaders at the time of his deportation. The lack of any records regarding Prudent Senior's activities after 1744 indicates that he was operating out of view of the authorities. His commercial activities in the years leading up to the deportation included owning ships which were involved in coastal trading. We know that his son Prudent Jr. was Captain of a twelve-ton ship, the *Hazardeuse*, which was involved in trade with Louisbourg in 1740.¹ It can therefore be surmised that, in the decade immediately preceding the deportation, Prudent Sr. and Prudent Jr. were both active in trade between the New England merchants and the scattered Acadian settlements as well as Louisbourg.² Several members of their family had moved to the isthmus of Chignecto and present day New Brunswick. These family members were in French held territory during the war and would have been able to provide a network of trade contacts.³ Prudent Robichaud Sr. was arrested and exiled in February 1756 from Annapolis Royal.⁴ The ship which was carrying him into exile, the *Pembroke*, was taken over by the 226 Acadians on board. These

1 Régis Brun, Histoire Des Acadiens Avant 1755 (A Paraitre).

2 Ibid.

3 Plank, An Unsettled Conquest, 194.

exiles ran the ship aground on the banks of the Saint John River and burned it. The Acadians are said to have been met by Mi'kmaq or Wulstukwiuk warriors who escorted them to Quebec. According to family oral tradition, Prudent Robichaud Sr. died during this journey.⁵

Prudent Senior's son Louis was born on 9 August 1704 and was married on the 7 February 1730 to Jeanne Bourgeois, daughter of Germain and Madeline (Dugas) Bourgeois. The tradition of trust and collaboration with the British established by his father ensured that Louis and his family did not suffer in exile to the same extent as many of his fellow Acadians.⁶ Arriving in Cambridge, Massachusetts on 10 September 1756, with his wife and eight children, Louis Robichaud lived there in exile.

In a letter written to Governor William Shirley from, Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 1775 when his daughter was married.⁷ His having lived with United Empire Loyalists during his stay in New England, and travelling to Quebec with them as well, indicated a close association. Louis died at the Hotel Dieu in Quebec on 19 December 1780, leaving behind the legacy of political adeptness which he had inherited from his father Prudent

4 Robichaud, Robichaud-Les Robichaud, Histoire et Généalogie, 153.

5 Ibid., 153-4.

6 Basque, Des Hommes De Pouvoir, 84.

Robichaud.

Even though, thanks to his good relations with the British, he was able to rebuild his fortune after the war, Prudent's son Louis along with his family had nevertheless been deported. Major John Hanfield, did, however, grant him the choice of locations. Louis had opted for New England, believing that the proximity to Acadia and his collaboration with the British would enable his family to return more easily. He was later transferred to Cambridge where his family was to spend the next 11 years and where he was very active as a leader of the exiled Acadian community. He did not, however, succeed in effecting his transfer back to Boston where he had been able to find work for the three months he spent there. The New England Council minutes and correspondence explain the reticence of the authorities as resulting from their fears of sabotage at the Port of Boston by Acadian exiles sympathetic to the French cause. Perhaps as Donat Robichaud comments, this could have been due to his influence among the Acadian population and the fact that the authorities did not trust him completely. During his exile, Louis emerged as the intermediary in New England between the British authorities and the Acadian refugees. Abbé Maillard,

7 Ibid.,110.

Vicar General of Quebec, authorized him, in a letter dated September 17 1761, to perform the marriage ceremony for exiled Acadians. He was to obtain necessary dispensations and to report on each union solemnized. The Abbé Bailly wrote to him ten years later, on 17 July 1771, and confirmed his authority as well the procedures to be followed. His leadership of the exiled Acadians in secular matters was certainly enhanced by his status as the ecclesiastical representative.⁸

The historian Donat Robichaud argues that exile was apparently less difficult for Louis and his family than it was for many of his compatriots.⁹ His good education, good relations with the Bostonians with whom he came into contact, and the prestige he enjoyed with both missionaries and his own people gave him a status which made his stay considerably more agreeable. Donat Robichaud surmised that this is the reason why his name does not appear on the lists of persons who applied to go to France, Canada or Saint-Dominique (Hispaniola). Most of the Acadian families who had wanted and were able to settle in Canada had done so by 1766, but Louis did not leave Massachusetts until 1775. It is believed that he left Cambridge with loyalist

8 Ibid., 105.

9 Robichaud, Robichaud-Les Robichaud, Histoire et Généalogie, 153-4.

friends, Colonels William Vassall and Edward Winslow. Louis settled in Quebec, where he died on 20 December 1780. His daughter Venerande carried on the tradition of leadership as she chose to stay in Quebec and act as agent for her brother Otho, who became a prominent merchant in New Brunswick.¹⁰ In addition to his mercantile activities, Otho also became a justice of the peace, and held the rank of Captain in the militia.¹¹

Louis's close association with these New Englanders did not seem to hinder his close affiliation with the Church or the Acadian community. His acting as surrogate priest and leader in the early years after the deportation indicates the status of his family despite his close association with the enemy.

The surrender of Quebec in September 1759 and Montreal in September 1760 paved the way for Canada to become a British possession. This was ratified by the Treaty of Paris of 1763.¹² At the capitulation, the Marquis de Vaudreuil attempted to secure preferential treatment for the Acadians but Major-General Amherst refused to be bound, replying that, "They become subjects of the King."¹³ In 1762 General Amherst had ordered

10 Placide Gaudet, Généologie des familles acadiennes avec documents (Ottawa: Imp. du Roi, 1906), CIHM/ICMH microfiches ; no. 85706, 258-71.

11 Basque, Des Hommes de Pouvoir, 159.

12 Brebner, New England's Outpost, 264.

13 *Ibid.*, 265.

that the Acadians be treated as British subjects but many Acadians still refused to swear allegiance to Britain and continued to sign the lists as wishing to be repatriated to France.¹⁴ Acadian discontent was due to lack of access to good land. The British discovery in 1763 of the French repatriation scheme led to France's abandoning the project.¹⁵ As late as 1764 there was a major exodus of Acadians while those remaining renewed their attempts to find suitable land. By 1765 with the granting of sixteen concessions of one hundred thousand acres each, all of the good land in Acadia has been allocated to British interests.¹⁶ Once again, the future of the Acadian people was caught up in the struggle between two super-powers. That the dispute was resolved and the Acadians were given permission to resettle ushered in a new phase of the activities of the Acadian community leaders in the post-deportation era.

By a warrant dated 1 July 1768, Lieutenant-Governor Michael Franklin of Nova Scotia allotted land at Saint Mary's Bay for the returning Acadians. The area was described by Franklin as "designed to be twelve miles as the

14 Paul Surette, ed., Le Grand Petitcodiac: Histoire des Trois Rivières, 1763 à 1832 (3 vols.; Moncton, N.B.: La Ville de Dieppe, 1985), III, 23.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., 27.

crow flies along the coast” and was “to be called Clare.”¹⁷

The first Acadian family took up residence there two months later at L’Anse-des-LeBlancs (Whites Cove) in the present parish of Saint Bernard. Joseph Dugas and his wife Marie-Joséphé (nee Robichaud) arrived with their two-year-old daughter Isabelle. Twenty days after their arrival they were delivered of the first Acadian baby in the community when Joseph Jr. was born.¹⁸ The following year more Acadian colonists were to join the original Dugas family, and the community grew to include Church Point, Little Brook, Saulnierville and Metegan. By 1800 the population “numbered 175 families or 1050 souls, and by 1828, had increased to 2038.”¹⁹ This increase in population suggests that the needs of the community were adequately provided by the Acadian leaders.

The leadership activities of Amable and Captain Pierre Doucet began with their voyage back to Nova Scotia after the end of Anglo-French hostilities. That Captain Pierre Doucet was able to develop an international business from a small village testifies to his ability as a leader. The fact that

17 AAC, “Anselm Doucet Collection,” Box 2.

18 Bona Arsenault, Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens, (6 vols.; Montreal: Éditions Leméac, 1978), II, 513.

19 Thomas Chandler Haliburton, History of Nova Scotia (2d. ed., 2 vols.; Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1973), II, 172.

the extended Doucet family would continue to prosper demonstrates their adaptability in the face of adversity in an isolated setting. As they had done in the pre-deportation era when acting as pilots and guides, members of the Doucet family continued to demonstrate leadership.

Integral to the Doucet family leadership structure was Pierre Doucet, who was five years old when deported from Granville Ferry in 1755 and would carry on in the Doucet tradition and become the leader of the post-deportation community. Pierre's skills acquired while in exile were formidable. Along with reading and writing, he had developed navigation and piloting skills that enabled him to become an outstanding community leader. Pierre's parents, François and Marguerite St. Scene, had left Massachusetts with a number of other settlers, including Joseph Grivois and had settled at Saint Mary's Bay in 1771.²⁰ Pierre Doucet arrived in 1775, four years after the arrival of his cousin Amable and bought the 360-acre lot previously owned by Joseph Grivois. Grivois had sold his 1771 allotment and moved to Bonaventure County, Quebec.²¹ Pierre settled permanently in the house built by Joseph Grivois at Pointe-à-Major, Belliveau's Cove. From

20 J. Alphonse Deveau, ed., "Peter Doucet," *DBC*, IV, 1435-8.

21 Boucher, "The Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay," 43-58.

this location he engaged in international trade for some 28 years. He opened a store which would serve the English as well as the French population of the region. Pierre is documented as having left Halifax on 21 December 1775 with a shipment of 15000 board feet of boards and 20000 shingles for Grenada in his schooner "Eunice,"²² believed to be the third ship he owned.²³ Captain Pierre Doucet operated his fleet of ships on a broad scale to support his mercantile activities.

In addition to his distinguished career as a sea captain and merchant he was active in the American Revolutionary War, saving escaped American prisoners of war and returning them to the Maine area. This activity began with an incident on 27 May 1777, when John Battson of Portsmouth, Maine made his escape with three other prisoners, after being taken by the King's vessel "Viper" and imprisoned for six months at Halifax. After they had made their way to Pierre Doucet on Saint Mary's Bay, he transported them on his ship to Machias, Maine. Another instance is that of Richard Harper and four other prisoners who, also having made their escape from Halifax and found their way to Pierre Doucet in Saint Mary's Bay, were delivered to

22 AAC, Anselm Doucet Collection, "Bills of Lading," Box 4.

23 AAC, Anselm Doucet Collection, Box 3.

Ipswich.²⁴ His actions on behalf of the revolutionary prisoners did not give him protection from the revolutionary privateers however. On the 1 June 1778, while he was en route from Shepody to Annapolis, his schooner “Polly” was captured by Captain Samuel Roger of the privateer “Resolution.” Pierre Doucet was put ashore with his crew, and his ship taken to Boston. Doucet went to Boston to plead his case and the court found in his favour, taking note that he had provided aid to American prisoners of war; he was awarded 400 pounds damages at the end of July 1778. The historian Clarence J. d’Entremont believed that the 30-ton “Polly” was probably sold by Doucet in Machias as it later departed for Rhode Island with Jesse Noble as master. Pierre Doucet’s business continued to expand, and we find him in Machias again with a 60-ton ship of the same name, “Polly.” In May 1786 he set sail for Saint-Eustice, in the Dutch West Indies.²⁵ Captain Doucet is believed to have had another ship, a brigantine called “Hannah” which was in Machias in August 1786. The “Hannah” had been there a year earlier when an entry in the ship’s journal noted a voyage from Grace à Dieu (Yarmouth)

24 James P. Baxter, ed., “Baxter Manuscripts,” in Documentary History of the State of Maine Documentary history of the State of Maine, vol.169, 50.

25 Ibid., vol. XXI, 212-213.

to Antigua with Captain Pierre Doucet as Captain.²⁶ He bought wood at the Baie Sainte Marie for 5 dollars a thousand board feet and sold it in the Antilles for between 40 and 50 dollars a thousand board feet. On his return he would purchase dry goods for his store in Pointe-à-Major, which was the only store on the coast of Clare.²⁷ The commerce with the Antilles was very lucrative for Captain Pierre Doucet and these examples demonstrate how he was able to pursue such a diversity of interests in a manner unheard of among Acadians of this time. His was an outstanding example of leadership.

In 1793 he was appointed Major in the Militia of the County of Annapolis following in the tradition of Germain Doucet in the early years of the colony.²⁸ During the Napoleonic Wars he was employed carrying wood and charcoal to the citadel at Halifax.²⁹ No less active on the political scene, in March 1797, together with other Clare residents, he petitioned the government for aid in building and repairing roads. Later in 1797 according to one account, on a voyage from St. Andrews, New Brunswick, the ship "Peggy" with Pierre Doucet as Captain ran aground and went down off Brier Island with the loss of all hands. The following year in September 1799,

26 Fonds Placide Gaudet. Moncton: University of Moncton.

27 Isaiah W. Wilson, *A Geography and History of County of Digby*, 84.

28 Boucher, "The Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay," 48.

however, Simeon Perkins mentions in his diary that Captain Pierre Doucet of Sissiboo was in Shelburne with his ship picking up cargo on his way to Halifax--a statement which calls into question the report just mentioned.³⁰

Captain Pierre Doucet and his wife Margarite Leblanc, had a son born on the 16 May 1781. This son, Anselm was taught to read and write by a Frenchman named Bunel who conducted a school in the house of Pierre Doucet for the children of the village. Anselm was to continue his education with the Abbé Jean-Mande Sigogne and married at the age of 20 years, as his father had, into the LeBlanc family. He and Marguerite Leblanc would have eleven children, of whom two died young. He received a commission in 1808 as Captain of the 25th Battalion, and in 1814 was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the militia, a post which he held for 30 years. In 1820, he was given command of the Battalion in both Clare and Digby as well as an entitlement to 1200 acres. His continuation of the tradition of military command is certainly recognition of leadership within the community.

We see the practice of military service, begun with Germain Doucet as commander at Port Royal, continue through the generations. Captain Pierre

29 AAC, Anselm Doucet Collection, "Stores Accounts," Box 3.

30 Fergusson, "Samuel Perkins Diary, 1797-1803," Nova Scotia Archives, III, 76, 169, 191

Doucet and his son Anselm were to achieve military ranks in their turn. Dedication to formal education was another distinguishing feature of their leadership. The Doucets from Germain to Anselm all received good educations compared with that of other Acadians of their period. Captain Pierre's support for education consisted of having a teacher operate a school in his house for all the children in the area. His activities on behalf of the Acadians of St. Mary's Bay included demonstrating to the people of Claire the opportunities offered by the type of commerce in which he was engaged. J. Alphonse Deveau states that many Acadians followed his example of triangular trading and there followed a century of prosperity for the district of Claire.³¹

A review of the career of Captain Pierre Doucet's young cousin Amable shows him to have been one member of the extended family who benefited from Pierre's leadership. With the signing of the Peace of Paris in 1763, Amable Doucet returned to Clare.³² His new place of residence, lot 22 at Belliveau's Cove, consisted of 280 acres purchased from Jean-Beloni LeBlanc, who had been one of the 1771 grantees.³³ It is known that Amable's

31 J. Alphonse Deveau, ed., "Pierre Doucet," *DBC*, IV, 1435-38.

32 Boucher, "The Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay," 43-58.

33 AAC, Anselm Doucet Collection, "The AAC holds the original of this 1771 grant," Box 4.

first wife Marie Broussard gave birth to a child, Marie Doucet, on 19 January 1774, but she is believed to have died in childbirth or as a result of complications. This child was baptised nine months later on the 14 October 1774, the date that Amable was married to Marie Gaudet, daughter of Joseph and Gertrude LeBlanc.³⁴ According to the traditions of the day, this nine-month interval would have been sufficient to allow him to marry again. The ceremony would have been conducted by a community elder and blessed when the priest made his visit. That there was no priest for this period of time is indicated by the fact that the dates of the baptism and his re-marriage coincide. His first marriage had allied Amable to the family of Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard.

With no resident priest in the community, Amable Doucet was appointed substitute, to act in that capacity until the arrival of the next missionary priest. The visits from these itinerant priests, first from Quebec and later from Halifax, could be as much as several years apart. Within the accepted conventions of Rome the Sunday services, known as “messe blanche” could be presided over by a so-called “elder.” The “messe

34 AAC, Fonds Placide Gaudet, “Régistre de Carleton ,1759-1795,” CIHM/ICMH Microfiche Series, no. 85706, 42, 48.

blanche” was not considered a “true mass” as the church taught that for transubstantiation to take place, an ordained priest must conduct the service. The designated “elder” would also conduct religious activities at feast-day celebrations, such as Christmas and Good Friday, as well as at marriages and baptisms. Amable solemnized at least twelve marriages between 1791 and 1798, according to the records of Saint Mary’s Bay parish. These unions were all confirmed by Abbé Jean-Mande Sigogne after his arrival in 1799.³⁵

Amable Doucet was chosen by Abbé Sigogne as one of six men of confidence to assist him in formulating the formal arrangements required for the good of the church and the parish.³⁶ Amable Doucet stands out in the group of Sigogne’s six lieutenants in 1799 as he was the only one who could sign his name on the documents. In his article “The Doucets of Saint Mary’s Bay,” Neil Boucher comments that Amable was one of only four or five who possessed literary abilities in the Saint Mary’s Bay region at this time.³⁷

The second of the community leaders surveyed, Joseph “le Maigre” went with his wife to the Island of Miquelon at the fall of Louisbourg in

35 Leonard H. Smith, Jr., ed., Saint Mary’s Bay 1774-1780: Early Parish Registers, (Clearwater: Owl Books, 1983), 13-16.

36 AAC, Anselm Doucet Collection, “1799 Régistre de la Fabrique de la Paroisse de la Baie Sainte-Marie.” 306.

37 Boucher, “The Doucetes of Saint Mary’s Bay,” 58.

1758. The son of Joseph “Le Maigre,” Alexandre and wife Marguerite along with their children took refuge in the Bay de Chaleur where Alexandre was a ship’s captain. Taken prisoner in 1761, Alexandre, Marguerite and their children were taken to Fort Cumberland where they are listed in the roll of prisoners of November 8, 1761 and they were then transferred to Halifax.³⁸ After the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Joseph “Le Maigre’s” son, Captain Alexandre and his wife Marguerite LeBlanc made their way to Miquelon and remained there until about 1774. The family then left Miquelon and settled on the north coast of Ile Madame.³⁹ Thus, all of the leaders surveyed had been involved in the coastal trade, either with their own ships or, as in the case of the leaders Joseph “Beausoleil” Brossard, Prudent Sr. Robichaud and Joseph “Le Maigre,” with ships either owned or operated by their sons.

The leadership activities of Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc continued in the years following the deportation. On 15 March 1760 Joseph “Le Maigre” delivered to Colonel Frye, Commanding officer at Fort Cumberland, a letter signed by more than sixty Acadians from Miramichi, Richibucto and

38 AAC, Anselm Doucet Collection, “1799 Régistre de la Fabrique de la Paroisse de la Baie Sainte-Marie, 308.

39 Stephen White, ed., “Les Fondateurs de la Paroisse d’Arachat, Cap-Breton, “ La Société Historique

Buctouche. This letter declared that they were not in agreement with the capitulation made on their behalf by Abbé Manach and others as Manach had no right to settle terms of submission for them.⁴⁰ The activities of Joseph “Le Maigre” after the deportation make it clear that he was still representing the Acadian community and, what is even more important, that the clergy were not making the decisions. The presentation of the letter to Colonel Frye at Fort Cumberland shows the Acadians involved in the resistance, led by Joseph “Beausoleil,” were not operating in isolation from their previous community leaders. It is significant that the collaboration between the leaders of the communities before the deportation was still providing effective leadership during the years of military resistance to the British forces. Joseph “Le Maigre” was in Halifax 18 March 1762 where he received letters by road from Philadelphia. D’Alexis Trahan, Tranquille Prince, Joseph LeBlanc and Alexis Boudret were corresponding with the representative of the French Court at Versailles, M. de La Rochette. The activities of M. de La Rochette had been authorized by the le duc de Nivernois who was on a mission to England. Joseph “Le Maigre” sent copies

Acadienne: Les Cahiers, (1992), 23.

40 Brun, ed., “Les Papiers Amherst,” 270.

of these letters to community leader Joseph “Beausoleil” who was at Piziquid (Windsor).⁴¹

In Halifax, Joseph “Le Maigre” was circulating a list for the signatures of those Acadians who wished to be repatriated to France. From Halifax, Joseph senior and Joseph junior were sent to France with their families. The letter of J. Deschamps of 19 March 1764 lists the groups of Acadians sent to France after 13 June 1763 and the assumption is that Joseph “Le Maigre” and his extended family were included.

In a letter of 15 August 1767 to Baron de Warren from Belle-isle, France, Abbé Le Loutre asked for assistance for an old Acadian named Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc. At this time Joseph “Le Maigre” was in his seventies and living in the village named Kervaux, in the parish of Palais. In the letter, Joseph “Le Maigre” is described as being a very honest man, whose family had been one of the most comfortable in Acadia, but it was said that he was now destitute. The letter requested compensation for the services Joseph “Le Maigre” had rendered and the considerable losses he had suffered in the service of the Crown. On 31 August 1767, in response to Le Loutre’s recommendation and his plea for compensation for one who had toiled in the

service of the crown and suffered considerable losses, Baron de Warren responded that it was no easy matter to secure a pension. Eventually, however, Joseph “Le Maigre” did receive a Royal pension.⁴² He lived comfortably on his pension and died after having received the last rites at the home of his son Joseph on 19 October 1772. Buried the next day in the cemetery at Palais, he was described by Edouard Richard as having openly opposed the British in the years leading up to the deportation.⁴³

Our next community leader to be surveyed, the charismatic Joseph “Beausoleil” Brossard, and his family, are believed to have hidden in the forest after the deportation and continued to harass the British forces. Joseph’s brother Alexandre Broussard, also known as “Beausoleil” is named among the Acadian exiles and prisoners arriving in South Carolina in 1755-1756.⁴⁴ There is an oral historical account from the Bastarache family, documented by Placide Gaudet, regarding the return of fourteen Acadians overland from South Carolina. This tradition lists Pierre and his brother Michel Bastarache and twelve other Acadians, together with one of the

41 Rameau de Saint Peré, *Une Colonie Féodale*, II, 377.

42 Joseph-Marie Lanco, *Les Acadiens à Belle-île-en-mer* (Josselin, France : Imprimerie Notre-Dame, 1924), 24-6.

43 Edouard Richard, *Acadie, reconstitution d'un chapitre perdu de l'histoire d'Amérique* (3 vols.; Québec: J.-A.K.-Laflamme, 1916-1921), I, 26, 366.

Beausoleils from Petitcodiac. Alexandre “Beausoleil” had procured a compass and acted as the guide for the group through North Carolina, Pennsylvania and New York. Having suffered the loss of three men on the journey, the remaining eleven met a group of Iroquois warriors and a French trapper when they arrived at the Quebec border. In September 1756, this trapper conveyed the eleven survivors down the Saint Lawrence River in his three canoes. They reached Quebec safely, and from there they travelled to the Petitcodiac area.⁴⁵

The name “Beausoleil” is also mentioned in the diary of John Witherspoon, an early settler, who was taken prisoner by the Mi’kmaq while gathering firewood near Annapolis in 1757. Witherspoon had been taken to Petitcodiac and from there to the Miramichi where “Beausoleil” is described as bringing in five more prisoners on 7 January having been captured on the 6 December at Annapolis Royal.⁴⁶ Of interest for the leadership activities of giving aid to those in need is the comment made in Witherspoon’s journal regarding the kindness extended by “Beausoleil”. On the night he arrived at Petitcodiac, Witherspoon was lodged with the man who was their leader and

44 Chapman J. Milling, *Exile Without an End* (Columbia, SC: Bostick & Thornley, Inc., 1943), 72.

45 AAC, Fonds Placide Gaudet, “Arbre Geneologique de La Famille Bastarache,” Box 3.

46 Thomas B. Akins, ed., “Journal of John Witherspoon”, Collections of The Nova Scotia Historical

his family, who could have been “Beausoleil”, sharing what food they had. In his diary Witherspoon mentions that upon arriving at Miramichi he encountered two English prisoners, Lieutenant Dickson of Gorham’s Rangers and Alexander Mill taken at Fort Cumberland the 20 July before. These are believed to be two of the five prisoners brought in by “Beausoleil” from Cumberland.⁴⁷ Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard came and gave him food and a bottle of rum, and then he brought enough goods to enable him to pay his Mi’kmaq guides the agreed amount. This shows Beausoleil as giving assistance to a traveller in need, even providing a boat and three men to take him to find a ship three leagues away. These were remarkable leadership qualities exhibited by Joseph “Beausoleil” given the situation that he found himself in after the Deportation.

We see Joseph “Beausoleil” again under the orders of Governor Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil arming a corsair and making strikes against British shipping in the Bay of Fundy. Supported by other Acadians and his four sons, he continued to harass the British forces until he was wounded in a conflict with British troops commanded by George Scott. On July 1, 1758, a

Society, 1878-1884, II, (1879-80), 32.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*,31.

Captain Danks, with two Lieutenants and seventy-five men landed at Petitcodiac. Captain Danks directed a sloop to be sailed up close to the North East shore to act as a decoy for the enemy. Thirty of the enemy went down to the shore and were firing on the sloop when Captain Danks with the main body of men surrounded the Acadians, took nine prisoners and killed and scalped three others. The British drove another fourteen into the Petitcodiac River, of which ten were drowned. Only four were able to swim across but the remainder escaping under cover of a large dyke.⁴⁸ Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard who received a heel injury is believed to have been one of the four who successfully crossed the river. Beausoleil, acting as a leader of the Acadian resistance, did survive to fight another day but this military reverse is believed to have broken the back of the Acadian resistance in Petitcodiac.⁴⁹

It was on 16 November 1759 that Alexander and Joseph Broussard, together with two other Acadians, Simon Martin and Jean Bass, surrendered under a flag of truce to Colonel Frye at Fort Cumberland. The contingent, which represented the 190 men, women, and children residing at Petitcodiac and Memramcook, were too short of supplies to survive the winter. How

48 Arthur G. Doughty ed., "The Journal of Captain John Knox," The Publications of the Champlain Society (3 vols.; New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), I, 197-8.

49 Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, "Joseph Broussard, dit Beausoleil," La Société Historique Acadienne: Les

sharp the contrast must have been between the militant Joseph “Beausoleil” fighting at Le Cran and the same leader who, for the good of the community at large, felt bound to capitulate to the British. Colonel Frye agreed to house and maintain 63 of the starving Acadians at the fort with Alexandre Broussard remaining as hostage for the good behaviour of the remainder.⁵⁰

The arrival of the two Broussard “Beausoleil” brothers in the first delegation of Acadians to surrender signifies again their leadership status. That Alexandre Broussard remained in custody gives further evidence of his personal status as a combatant. On November 17, three other deputies representing 700 Acadian residents at Miramichi, Richibucto and Buctouche also surrendered, 230 of whom Colonel Frye agreed to maintain for the winter. The final Acadian capitulation came in the fall of 1759 on the heels of a storm which had destroyed the dykes and flooded all the marsh lands of the Bay of Fundy, leaving the Acadians without sufficient stores for the approaching winter.⁵¹

Among the twenty-one allegedly especially dangerous and disaffected male prisoners later to be deported to South Carolina on a ship named Syren

Cahiers, 17, (1986), 54.

⁵⁰ Murdoch, History of Nova Scotia, 376.

⁵¹ Régis Brun, “Les Papiers Amherst,” La Société Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers, 27, (1986), 259.

were Alexandre “Beausoleil” Broussard, and his son Victor. They were also among five reported to have escaped with twenty other Acadians and to have made their way back home. Alexander is said to have had a compass and served as guide for the group.⁵² Alexandre “Beausoleil” Broussard has been described as the “General of the Indians.” This is a significant additional indication of his reputation as a leader and a warrior. That the entire frontier was alerted to recapture him, speaks volumes of the fear in which he was held by his adversaries.⁵³

Colonel William Forster, in a letter to General Jeffery Amherst, dated August, 1761, stated that the Acadians resisting the British forces in the Memramcook area were anchored in their resistance by an Acadian named “Beausoleil.”⁵⁴ The Acadian resistance movement led by Joseph “Beausoleil” was constrained in its efforts by its sense of responsibility for the women, children and elderly of the community in exile. This further compounded the problem of supplies.

The qualities of leadership of Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard are further demonstrated in his dealings with Gamaliel Smethurst. Smethurst appears to

52 Milling, *Exile Without an End*, 25.

53 Ibid.

54 Régis Brun, “Les Papiers Amherst,” *La Société Historique Acadienne: Les cahiers*, 27, (1986), 304,

have been an Englishman who had fitted out a vessel for trade from Marblehead, Massachusetts under license from the Governor of Quebec. He had been abandoned in Chaleur Bay October 1761 by his ship's captain. While making his way to Fort Cumberland with his Mi'kmaq guides Gamaliel Smethurst was provided with lodging in the hut of a poor Frenchman on 19 November 1761. "Beausoleil" Broussard sent one of his sons with a bottle of rum and some flour and the following morning he brought Smethurst some pork and other necessities. Of great interest to our review of his activities as a leader is his providing such sustenance to this New England trader. Broussard also informed him that a ship had taken refuge from the weather at Nipisiguit, only three leagues away, and was believed to be there still. Broussard's sources of information must be considered excellent since the storm had abated only on Wednesday the day before. By purchasing several items, he provided Smethurst with the money to pay the Mi'kmaq. Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard exhibited his authority by advising Smethurst that he was not required to pay the agreed amount to the Mi'kmaq, as this arrangement had been made under the duress of bad weather and the Mi'kmaq threat not to return him to Pokemouche. On the

following day, November 20, with three men in a large log canoe procured by “Beausoleil”, Smethurst went in search of the vessel. Here again we see “Beausoleil” acting as a leader, directing men and resources to assist the English trader, while the remainder of the Acadians of the village went to Miscou to hunt walrus.⁵⁵

An earlier account of a “Beausoleil” Broussard having gone to the aid of the British Captain William Pote, occurred before the deportation in 1745, on the Petitcodiac. This officer had been taken captive and stopped at the house of a man named Beausoleil, who gave him food, tobacco and liquor.⁵⁶ Even after the events of the deportation and his militancy in opposition to the British forces, Joseph “Beausoleil’s” compassion remained as an essential characteristic of his leadership qualities.

The spy, Thomas Pichon was born in Vire, Normandy, on March 30 1700 and had accompanied Count Raymond to Ile Royale, as secretary, when this latter was made governor. Pichon was dismissed from Louisbourg as he was suspected of sending a letter to Captain George Scott, Commandant of Fort Lawrence on 27 December 1754. In his letter, Thomas Pichon, had

⁵⁵ W.F. Ganong, ed., “Journal of Gamaliel Smethurst” Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, II, (1905), 375.

⁵⁶ Victor H. Paltsits, ed., Journal of Captain William Pote (New York: 1896), 52, cited in Ganong, ed.,

described the ease with which Fort Beauséjour might be taken. Pichon was sent to Fort Beauséjour without any official position, arriving there 3 November 1753.⁵⁷ Pichon described two “Beausoleil” families who were living with the Mi’kmaq at the head of the Petitcodiac River. The “Beausoleil” families were described as being charged by Abbé Le Loutre to maintain a watch on the British in the year leading up to the deportation.⁵⁸ Pichon had written that the “Beausoleils” had enriched themselves as a result of their recent activities against the British and bragged about having disrupted British endeavours. In his journal, Gamaliel Smethurst describes “Beausoleil” as a man of considerable status in these parts and noted that his actions and affluence made him a leader of considerable influence with the Mi’kmaq as well as with the Acadians.⁵⁹

Under orders from the French Governor, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, “Beausoleil” armed a privateer and, accompanied by his four sons, and other Acadian refugees from the Petitcodiac River, led successful

Journal of Gamaliel Smethurst, 376

57 John Clarence Webster, The Life of Thomas Pichon; the Spy of Beauséjour, (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Press, 1937), 6.

58 *Ibid.*, 77.

59 Paltsits, ed., Journal of Captain William Pote, 52, cited in Ganong, ed., “Journal of Gamaliel Smethurst,” 376

assaults on British shipping in the Bay of Fundy.⁶⁰ In accounts of these events, Vaudreil describes several submissions made by representatives of the Acadians that “Beausoleil” be permitted to arm a privateer for use against the British in the Bay of Fundy.⁶¹ These requests certainly give the impression that the Acadian representatives, sensing a profitable venture, wanted “Beausoleil” as their Captain. Joseph “Beausoleil” was still active in the resistance in 1758 and in an encounter with British forces at “le Crain” on the Petitcodiac River he was wounded in the foot.⁶² It was in this action that he lost a son; Petit Jean Broussard was drowned while attempting to save his mortally wounded valet.⁶³ Joseph “Beausoleil” was recovering from his injury at Miramichi when Colonel Monckton wrote in his journal on November 11 that he had sent Major Scott with the light infantry and Rangers to the Petitcodiac River. He had information that the privateer schooner captained by “Beausoleil” and one of her prizes were laid up there. Joseph “Beausoleil” was also identified by Colonel Robert Monckton in his letter to Major-General Amherst January 18, 1759 as the Captain of the

60 C. J. d’Entremont, “Joseph Broussard, dit Beausoleil,” *DBC*, III, 93.

61 Louis-Léonard Aumasson, sieur de Courville, *Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749-jusqu’à 1760: en trois parties, avec cartes et plans lithographiés* (Québec: Impr. de Middleton & Dawson, 1873), 83.

62 C. J. d’Entremont, ed., “Joseph Broussard, dit Beausoleil,” *DBC*, II, 93.

63 *Ibid.*

captured Privateer.⁶⁴

Central for this thesis is the coordination by the leaders of the activities of the remainder of all Acadians in the different communities as they surrendered at approximately the same time in all regions of Acadia. The Acadian leaders in their respective communities were, by necessity, in communication with each other and even during the lowest point in their resistance to superior forces, they acted in unison in the best interest of their charges.

The community leader Joseph Goeguen came into closer contact with Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc and Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard as early as 1760, the year which saw the end of the Acadian resistance. By January 1760, famine among the Acadians had taken its toll and, encouraged by Manach, the Acadian family chiefs from Miramichi along with P’tit François Arsenault and Joseph Goeguen had decided to capitulate. On 6 February they signed the agreement of submission and were promptly imprisoned by Colonel Joseph Frye.⁶⁵ The deputies went back to their communities promising to return in the spring. Colonel Frye, for his part, had promised to

64 Ibid.

65 Brun, Pionnier de la Nouvelle Acadie; Joseph Goeguen, 1741-1825 , 27.

house and feed those Acadians remaining at Fort Cumberland.

Important debates in the Acadian community surrounded this submission. At the end of February, Manach accompanied by Goeguen travelled to Baie des Ouines to persuade the Acadians living there that they should abide by the terms of the agreement. The two Acadian deputies at Richibucto declared that Manach had exceeded his authority as he was only a missionary for the Mi'kmaq. Manach had signed the submission in their name but the Acadians argued that they had never agreed that he was their representative or a deputy authorized to negotiate on their behalf with the British.⁶⁶

It is significant that the articles of submission were not honoured by the British and Acadians who surrendered were imprisoned at Halifax. Joseph Goeguen had been employed as a Mi'kmaq interpreter since 1759 by the Commandant of Fort Cumberland but does not seem to have been subjected to house arrest as was Manach. The marriage of Joseph Goeguen to Nanon Arsenault on 19 May 1761, and his subsequent fishing expeditions, indicate he was not restricted in his activities. Regis Brun comments that Joseph enjoyed considerable prestige thanks to his superior education, his

marriage into the family of François Arsenault and his association with Acadians involved in the resistance.⁶⁷ The deportation of Manach to London in April was followed by the British raid on the Petitcodiac in the spring of 1762. This ended Acadian resistance in that area. Captured in this raid were Acadian merchants Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc, the Gauthier brothers, Dugas, Bugeau and Guilbeau, father and son. All were arrested and imprisoned in Halifax.⁶⁸ In the fall and spring of 1762, Fort Cumberland, Halifax, Windsor (Piziquid) and the Saint John River, saw the arrival and detention of 2000 Acadian prisoners-of-war. Included in this number were several Acadian merchants and community leaders, such as leaders Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc and Joseph Goeguen. The leader of the Acadian resistance, Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard, was captured later. Despite his promise to return to Fort Cumberland in the spring Joseph “Beausoleil” and his son Joseph had chosen to remain in the woods.⁶⁹

While these events were unfolding, France had continued to influence the future of the Acadian nation. The French Ambassador to Great Britain,

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., 35.

68 Ibid., 33.

69 Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, “Joseph Broussard, dit Beausoleil,” La Société Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers, 17, (1986), 55.

the duc de Nivernois and his secretary, de la Rochette, were negotiating the repatriation of the Acadians imprisoned at Halifax, Pisiqid, Fort Edward and Fort Beauséjour. In the autumn of 1762, General Amherst had already ordered Governor Belcher that the Acadians be treated as British subjects.⁷⁰ That some Acadians were still seeking repatriation to France, indicates their rejection of Governors Belcher's offer. At Fort Beauséjour, Acadian leader Joseph Goeguen circulated a list for signature by those Acadians wishing to be repatriated. The letter forwarded from leader Joseph "Le Maigre" LeBlanc at Halifax to Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard at Pizaquid postulates a high degree of collaboration between the leaders of other Acadian groups. It is clear that these men not only knew each other but also were in communication through representatives of the community, thereby enabling decisions to be acted on in unison.

Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard and his family are included in the roll of the prisoners at Fort Edward (Windsor).⁷¹ From there they were taken to Halifax and detained until the ratification of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Later that year, Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard was apprehended at Pisiqid

70 Surette, ed., *Histoire des Trois Rivières*. III, 24.

71 Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto*, 5, 71, 87, 113.

(Windsor) with a letter written by the French Ambassador to London inviting the Acadians to resettle in France. This letter dated 30 July 1763, is very important for this thesis, as it also mentions Abbé Le Loutre and Joseph Goeguen, both outstanding leaders in their own right.⁷² In August 1763 all the Acadians who had signed the lists circulated by the community leaders were ready to leave.⁷³ The following year these Acadian were on their way to Saint-Dominique (Ile'de Haiti) but, discovering that the climate did not agree with them, many, including Broussard, elected to go to Louisiana in 1765.⁷⁴

The authority exercised by Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard in Acadia continued in Louisiana. Clarence-J. d’Entremont states that on 8 April 1765, Charles-Philippe Aubry, Commandant of Louisiana, named Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard, Captain of the Militia and Commandant of the Acadians in the region of Attackapas in Louisiana. This region included the parishes of Saint-Landry, Saint-Martin, and Lafayette. Joseph “Beausoleil” died several months later on 20 October 1765 and was buried at Camp Beausoleil, which is close to the site of the present-day town of Broussard.⁷⁵

We know that other members of Joseph “Beausoleil’s” extended family

72 Surette, *Memramcook, Petcoudiac et la reconstruction de l’Acadie*, 1981, 16-23.

73 Paul Surette, ed., *Histoire Des Trois-Rivieres*, I, 22.

74 C. J. d’Entremont, ed., “Joseph Broussard, dit Beausoleil, Joseph,” *DBC*, 94.

were also active in the military campaigns. These included Joseph's brother Alexandre, who was deported from Halifax and arrived in Carolina, whence he and others began the trek back to Acadia.⁷⁶ In his opposition to the British regime, Joseph was joined by several other members of his extended family. One of these, Jean-Baptiste Broussard, died at Cote Jolie, in the parish of Lafayette, Louisiana on 23 October 1825 at the age of one hundred and three. He, also a native of Acadia, was with the French at both sieges of Louisbourg and served under Montcalm at Quebec, where he was taken prisoner. He emigrated to Louisiana in the year 1763 and lived there for 60 years.⁷⁷

The best known of the six leaders surveyed, in the post-deportation era, was Joseph Goeguen, who was fourteen and a half at the time of the deportation in 1755. At this time Goeguen, accompanied by Manach fled to the Mi'kmaq mission on the Miramichi to replace Abbé LaCorne. During a voyage from Baie Verte (Green bay) to I'lle Saint Jean, a certain Pierre LeBlanc accidentally discharged Goeguen's gun, wounding him in the left hand.⁷⁸ Due to the injury he could not be accepted into the priesthood. At that time a young man, had to be physically perfect to be ordained as a priest.

75 LeBlanc, "Joseph Broussard, dit Beausoleil," *Les Cahiers*, 57.

76 Paul Surette, ed., *Histoire Des Trois-Rivières*, III, 14.

77 CEA, Fonds Placide Gaudet, "Famille Goguen, Joseph Goeguen," 1. 56-11.

After the incident Joseph was sent to Quebec to take advanced studies particularly mathematics and navigation.⁷⁹ As Goeguen was not able to enter the priesthood he was sent to be educated in areas which would be an asset him as a merchant. His growing relationship with Nanon Arsenault, indicates that young Joseph would not have been destined for the seminary even without his physical disability. His training in commerce and navigation would provide future benefits for both himself and for the Acadian community. In the summer of 1758 we find Joseph Goeguen back at the Mi'kmaq mission on the Miramichi, resuming his domestic duties and also becoming private secretary to Manach.⁸⁰

With the fall of the Fortress Louisbourg in mid July 1758, military pressure by British forces increased to find and deport any Acadians who remained in the colony of Ile Royale. It is estimated by Régis Brun that approximately 2000 Acadians escaped to the Miramichi region. It was in this context that in the fall of 1758 Joseph Goeguen and Abbé Manach, along with the family of p'tit François Arsenault made a report to the Commandant

78 CEA, Fonds Placide Gaudet, Chemise 1.

79 Désiré François-Xavier Léger, L'Histoire de la Paroisse de St.- Pierre de Cocagne: diocèse de Saint-Jean, N.B. (Moncton: L'Évangéline, 1920, c1967), 8.

80 CEA, Fonds Placide Gaudet, Chemise 1, 1-31-7.

at Fort Cumberland.⁸¹

In Quebec at this time approximately 3500 refugees had died of sickness and starvation. The severe cold of the 1757-1758 winter, with its heavy snow falls, had resulted in crop failures and left the Acadian refugee population without sustenance. The winter of 1759 brought an epidemic of smallpox as a result of which one quarter to one third of the 1300 Acadians at Quebec died.⁸²

These events formed the prelude to the arrival in June 1759 at Miramichi of Abbé Pierre Maillard as Grand Vicar. His message was that the missionaries should capitulate and he encouraged the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq to do the same.⁸³ An important part of his visit to l'Abbé Manach was that Joseph Goeguen was to further the progress of the Mi'kmaq language with a manuscript to be called "Liturgical and Cactechism Writing in the MicMac Language."⁸⁴ A part of this important work was written by Joseph Goeguen in his own hand after his arrival at Cocagne in 1767, thus demonstrating his facility in the Mi'kmaq language.⁸⁵

81 Ibid.

82 Brun, , Joseph Goeguen; Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie, 1741-1825, 26.

83 M. Dumont-Johnson, "Jean Manach," DBC, III, 459.

84 J.C. Pulling, Biography of the Algonkian Language (Washington: 1891), 333.

85 Brun, Joseph Goeguen; Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie, 1741-1825, 26.

From July to November of 1767, Goeguen and Manach travelled from Caraquet to Bouctouche and other Acadian villages under orders of the Sieur de Bois  hbert, the French military commander of what remained of Acadia.⁸⁶ Jean Manach, who had waged guerrilla war against the British, now preached in favour of capitulation.

The Swiss domestic named Daniel who had denounced the Abb   Manach in 1755, had reported Manach as having said, “Autant d’Anglois que vous tu  r  s, ce sera autant d’echelons pour monter au Paradis.”⁸⁷ By mid-November, a thousand Acadian refugees had decided to surrender to the British. The first of these came from the Memramcook and Petitcodiac areas. Three deputies, Pierre Surette, Jean “Jeanotte” and Michel “Michau” Bourque (a friend of Goeguen and Manach,) represented the 700 who surrendered at Fort Cumberland. They delivered themselves because, “Ils nous faut infallible p  rir de misere, nous sommes    bout de tout.”⁸⁸ Among these refugees was Joseph Goeguen, the family of P’tit Fran  ois Arsenault, and Manach. The terms of their surrender included “ la possession de tous leur biens, le libre exercice de leur religion, avec cette condition qu’ils ne

86 Ibid.

87 Dumont-Johnston, ed., “Jean Manach,” *DBC*, 459.

88 R.-J. Leblanc, ed., “Papiers Amherst,” *La Soci  t   Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers*, 17, (1986), 55.

devaient pas se mêler ni directement ni indirectement dans la guerre présente." ⁸⁹ The Acadian deputies and Abbé Manach reached an agreement with the Commandant of Fort Cumberland, Colonel Frye, on 30 January 1760 that the Acadians could remain in their homes for the winter but must return to the fort in the spring.⁹⁰

By 1763 the number of Acadian who had taken refuge in the French Islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon had grown very large. The British perceived this as a threat to Halifax and exerted pressure on France to repatriate these refugees. Two letters were written, one by the deputies of the Acadians in Great Britain and the other by la Rochette, the secretary to the French ambassador to England. These letters, addressed to the Acadians remaining in the now British colonies, required them to signify their desire to be repatriated to either Louisiana or to Illinois. These letters made their way first to New England then to Halifax. Joseph "Le Maigre" Le Blanc had forwarded one to Beausoleil at Fort Edward "Piziquid" and the other to Joseph Goeguen at Fort Cumberland "Beauséjour." Joseph Goeguen in his letter of 24 August 1763 responded to the Duc de Nivernois, Ambassador of

⁸⁹ Ibid..

⁹⁰ Edme Rameau de Sainte Peré, La France aux Colonies : études sur le développement de la race française hors de l'Europe (Paris: Jouby, 1859), 144.

France in England. His letter was in response to the promise of repatriation by France and included the signatures or marks by Goeguen and 374 other persons who were currently prisoners at the fort. That it was Joseph Goeguen who responded to the original request from Nivernois is significant, but perhaps even more so is the fact that more than fifty additional families on Ile Saint-Jean and along the coast responded to his request and signed the list. Since the members of these families might well have had an interest in repatriation, Goeguen ensured that they were made aware of the French offer as soon as possible.⁹¹

The responsibility Joseph Goeguen assumed for dissemination of information on behalf of the duc de Nivernois to all the Acadians in his area and beyond testifies to his stature as a leader and to the extent to which people relied upon him. Paul Surette states that the covert nature of the attempt at repatriation by France doomed it to failure. France abandoned this attempt after protests by the British authorities.

Joseph Goeguen was among those Acadians who were detained at Fort Cumberland until 1765. He continued to administer the distribution of rations at the fort while France, responding to complaints, agreed that the

British could dispose of the resident Acadian population as it saw fit, thereby ending any hope of their repatriation.⁹² At this point the Acadians held in Fort Cumberland still continued to hope for French repatriation and refused to pledge allegiance. They were surviving on military rations which would be distributed and administered by Goeguen until June 1765.⁹³

Very significant for Goeguen's leadership activities is the fact that, in the absence of a priest, he officiated at marriages, baptisms and "messes blanches." Abbé Manach continued to be considered a danger to the peace and security of the settlements by the British. The rejection by the authorities in Halifax of the request of Jacques Robin, a merchant from the Island of Jersey, for Manach's appointment as spiritual advisor to his proposed commercial settlement on the Miramichi demonstrates their continued distrust. While these events were unfolding Robin was also negotiating with Joseph Goeguen regarding the possibility of the Acadians imprisoned at Fort Cumberland going to work for him. Joseph Goeguen was not restricted in his activities because of his affiliation with Manach, even after having been

91 Brun, *Joseph Goeguen: Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie, 1741-1825*, 91.

92 *Ibid.*, 38.

93 *Ibid.*.

denounced by the French Huguenot William Allan as a priest in disguise.⁹⁴

While on their way to Halifax on a boat owned by William Allan, the family of Joseph Goeguen were blown off course by a fierce storm and joined 500 other Acadians on the island of Miquelon. The career of Joseph Goeguen took a new turn when he and François Arsenault bought a ship which they named *Les Deux Amis*. After receiving a passport from the Governor of the island of Miquelon, permitting them to travel to Nova Scotia, they departed in *Les Deux Amis* and arrived in Halifax in 1771.⁹⁵

Régis Brun declares that after fifteen years of persecution followed by their agreement to pledge allegiance, the Arsenault and Goeguen families wished to settle on the Cocagne River. Accompanied by deputies Michau Bourque and René Thériault, the twenty-two Acadians who had travelled with Joseph Goeguen established themselves on the banks of the Cocagne and Gedaique Rivers where they had often fished in previous years.⁹⁶ To this new era in the leadership of the Acadian community by Joseph Goeguen belongs the legend that he had fought at the side of Montcalm, at the fall of

94 Public Archives of Nova Scotia, "vol. 211, Minutes of His Majesty Council, Letter C," 9 Oct, (1972).

95 Brun, *Joseph Goeguen ; Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie, 1741-1825*, 46.

96 Régis Brun, "Histoire Socio-Demographique du Sud-est du Nouveau Brunswick, Migrations Acadiennes et Seigneuries Anglaises, 1760-1810," *La Société Historique Acadienne: Les Cahiers*, III, (1974), 58.

Quebec. He and several companions were believed to have taken a ship for France and fled with a cargo of precious gems and silver.

Shipwrecked on the coast of New Brunswick, Goeguen supposedly swam ashore with the Count d'Hauterive on his back. Upon the death of this nobleman whom Goeguen served as valet, he was left the contents of three chests containing as much as 250000 piastres of gold.⁹⁷ The story of gold has merit only to enhance the reputation of Joseph Goeguen as an adventurer. Unfortunately there is no documentation extant for any part of this account. The reputation of Goeguen as having friends in the Acadian resistance of Memramcook led by "Beausoleil" may have had a basis in fact.

Goeguen and six other Acadians were successful in obtaining the first concession of land in what was to become New Brunswick. This grant of 2740 acres was dated 21 October 1772. Opening the first trading post in this part of the country, Goeguen also had a ship and a warehouse and traded in pelts and other merchandise with the British, the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians.

In this first decade after the deportation Goeguen was the only Acadian merchant from Cocagne to sell goods to Fort Cumberland, and was also the most commercially successful and formally educated of the leaders. He and

Captain Pierre Doucet were very similar in their commercial pursuits, and in their support of members of their community in their dealings with the British civil authority. Their letters written in support of Acadian and Mik'maq requests, included development of educational opportunities for the young and permission for Amable Doucet and Goeguen to function as secular priests.

Of special interest in this post-deportation era are the mediation activities in which Goeguen was instrumental in preventing six hundred Mi'kmaq warriors from joining the war effort South of the border in the American War of Independence.⁹⁸ The retaliation he faced afterwards by American agents included his being robbed while on British government business. In a response similar to that of Captain Pierre Doucet, Goeguen also requested restitution for injustices he had received at the hands of the British civil authority.⁹⁹

Amongst the post-deportation activities of Goeguen, which were a continuation of his pre-deportation functions, were his serving as a secular priest in the absence of Manach. Like Captain Pierre Doucet and Joseph

97 Ibid., 45.

98 Régis Brun, Joseph Goeguen; Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie, 1741-1825, 58.

99 Ibid.

“Beausoleil” in Louisiana, Goeguen received a commission in the militia. He was given the rank of Major. Military, religious and civil authority were all part of the broad range of responsibilities assumed by individual members of the Acadian community.

The activities of Acadian leaders in the post-deportation era differed significantly from those of the previous period but the leadership qualities of the individual leaders of the community remained consistent throughout the deportation era. Qualities demonstrated in common by individual leaders ranged from performing religious duties in the absence of ordained clergy to leading raids on the British. The formalization of military rank did not occur until after the deportation when Joseph Goeguen, Captain Pierre Doucet and Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard all received commissions in their respective militias. That these leaders served their communities as representatives of the British, and in the case of Broussard the Spanish civil authority, appears to be inconsistent until their actual activities are reviewed and it becomes evident that they always represented the best interests of their communities. As a group, they were loyal to their extended families, as is shown by the fact that Joseph and Alexander Broussard surrendered while Alexandre remained as a hostage at Fort Cumberland. When we consider how Alexandre led the

group back from Virginia to Quebec, it becomes obvious that these men could survive in the forest as readily as the Mi'kmaq and could simply have left their families to the mercy of Colonel Frye. As a group they were literate and the letters written by Joseph Broussard on behalf of different petitioners were eloquent and successful. That letters written by Goeguen requesting land grants for the Mi'kmaq in Richibucto involving removal of an English settler, demonstrates his boldness as well as his eloquence.¹⁰⁰

There was also a common commercial link between all of the community leaders, for all were active in the coastal trade. All the Acadian leaders had ships of their own and access to others. They had a network of contacts and trading partners who were members of their extended families. These commercial kinship relationships gave these men economic and political leverage with the British civil authority as well as considerable status in their home communities. The range of settlement and trade options available to Acadian leaders and their communities in the first generation after the deportation had shrunk by the time leaders Joseph Goeguen, Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard, Joseph "Le Maigre" Leblanc and Captain Pierre Doucet were reaching the end of their careers. Restrictive economic control

of their commercial activities combined with a loss of political influence and mobility had all conspired to create an economic dependency and political marginalisation that the Acadians had previously never known. Their leaders, however, were instrumental in enabling Acadians to adapt and then rebuild.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The research for this thesis looks at the personalities and leadership characteristics of the six chosen leaders. Interactions by the leaders with their families, communities and with both the Church and the civil authority were reviewed. That these community leaders are spread over the time period of the deportation era and are geographically dispersed over the whole of Acadia was a prerequisite for their selection. Furthermore, they represented three distinct kinds of leaders. The first category includes Prudent Robichaud, Joseph “le Maigre” LeBlanc, Captain Pierre Doucet and Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard. They all belonged to prominent Acadian families. Prudent Robichaud is representative of this group as his family had been in Acadia for one hundred years prior to 1755. His long tenure enabled him to establish a political base with the British civil authority and he used this to create an economic empire. Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc while deriving his influence from his predominantly economic focus was politically active on the side of the French. Captain Pierre Doucet was primarily a merchant but

was also politically involved in his community. Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard, while a trader, is remembered as a rebel and leader of the Acadian resistance. These leaders all fall into the first category despite the differences in focus and the differing emphasis of their leadership styles.

The second category is represented by Abbé Manach, whose formal authority resulted from his being a cleric. Church and state were closely aligned and this close association provided a power base unequalled for any individual in an Acadian community. Without a family to support his activities, Manach relied on his religious brothers, the Catholic church and key parishioners. As his achievements demonstrate, his influence was exercised over a broad range of activities. Obviously he was a leader of major significance.

The third category of leadership is represented by Joseph Goeguen who had arrived in Acadia as a young man. Without an extended family to support him, he nevertheless went on to become an exceptional leader in the post-deportation era. The political contacts and the education he received from his early years and his close association with the clergy facilitated his later success as a trader. His economic success would not have been possible however, without the kinship bonds resulting from his marriage into the

family of an established Acadian trader.

Responses by the three categories of Acadian leaders to adversity varied with their individual circumstances but their concern for the members of their communities produced a broad set of common responses. The characteristics of leadership exhibited over the lives of the leaders show a high level of consistency in a time period of economic and political change. Leadership by the men reviewed was founded primarily in varying degrees of political and economic pursuits. Involvement of the leaders of the Acadian community with the first nations is reflected in the leaders reviewed having adopted Mi'kmaq characteristics of leadership. Characteristics such as mediation skills were combined with personal attributes such as physical strength and marksmanship. Prowess as a warrior was highly valued by the Mi'kmaq, thereby enabling Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard to attain a status he might otherwise not have achieved.

Leadership qualities of the leaders were demonstrated by their relationships with other people, by bonds of loyalty, and by a shared sense of humanity. The activities of the leaders demonstrate that they exercised their authority over extended time periods and in geographically dispersed areas. At times a leader would reach maturity gradually, as did Joseph Goeguen or

would have a burst of energy over a shorter number of years, as in the case of Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc. That the activities of the leadership group were exercised in their own communities is consistent in all the leaders reviewed. This was the case even with such leaders as Prudent Robichaud and Pierre Doucett, who were at times politically and economically aligned with British interests.

The support provided by the Acadian family structure was very important for the leaders and greatly enhanced the adaptability to adversity of the Acadian people as a whole. The ill-defined role of women is difficult to document but can be assumed to have been critical throughout the period. In the years of the settlement in which very few habitants or their wives were literate, oral dispersion of information was crucial to their survival. That this information would be shared within extended family units gave the leaders access to all the knowledge as it became known within this geographically dispersed community.

The character of the community leaders with whom we have dealt indicates a high level of individual autonomy. Their activities ranged over three generations but all displayed the ability to make the best of circumstances beyond their control. This thesis contends that in the political

and economic circumstances of the day, opportunities were created. Lacking traditional leadership expectations, these men were not constrained by tradition and could improvise as required. They enjoyed opportunities which enabled them to exercise their ingenuity and adaptability in ways that would not have been possible in any other place in the known world. Leadership as demonstrated by these men combined European qualities of leadership with the behavioural traits of aboriginal tribal leaders. Debating ability, combined with the skills of a warrior to create an individual who, commanded respect in both Acadian and Mi'kmaq communities. Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard was an excellent marksman as well as a warrior. His impetuous youth gave him a certain status among the young Mi'kmaq and Acadian men as a rebel. This, in other circumstances, would have marked him only as a disgrace to his community instead of giving him status as a leader. His leadership status has more in common with a tribal leader in Mi'kmaq culture than a traditional Acadian community leader using European models. The leaders reviewed, with the exceptions of Prudent Robichaud and Pierre Doucet, had all proven themselves as warriors.

There were striking similarities between New England entrepreneurial activities and those of Acadia. The New England civil authority did not give

British imperial directives any more consideration than did the Acadian leaders. The tenacity of the use of deputies as a model of community leadership continued to assist these displaced Acadians in dealing with adversity. These Acadian individuals were all effective leaders who had the respect and trust of their extended families if not of all the members of their communities. The individual responses of these men show a striking commonality regardless of the time differences and diversity of activities in which they were involved. It is even more remarkable given that at different times not all of the leaders were on the same side in their political struggle. An instance of a future powerful merchant and leader supporting a member of the community was to be seen as early as 30 of June 1726 when the widow Broussard had petitioned the Council on behalf of her son Joseph Broussard for support for a bastard child. The interesting point here is that Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc together with Joseph Bourgeois offered themselves as security for the cost of the child’s upbringing.¹ That the young Joseph Broussard had a powerful ally in Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc is indicative of the ties between these two Acadian families. Both men would go on to become leaders with family and personal ties predating the deportation by

thirty years. Joseph “Le Maigre” LeBlanc and Joseph “Beausoleil” Broussard and their families supported each other, as did all other community leaders.

It becomes apparent that the leaders were able to succeed as a result of their adaptability to socio-economic changes. Their collaboration with the British civil authority increased their power base as the civil authority was not able to enforce its edicts without Acadian cooperation. The Acadian leaders, of what some historians have called, a shadow government, made decisions and took action as information was disseminated through their contacts and extended family networks.² Leading in their respective domains by consultation or autocratic decisions, the leaders were able to bring their communities through a period of extreme travail. Perhaps the combination of European and Mi’kmaq qualities called into being a unique style of distinctly Acadian leadership which, although at times extremely informal, was frequently extremely effective.

1 MacMechan, ed., *Nova Scotia Archives*, III, 122.

2 Brun, *Joseph Goeguen ; Pionnier de la nouvelle Acadie, 1741-1825*, 26.

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