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Annotated Edition of

Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown's Manuscript:

**“Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia
by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty's Council
in October 1755.”**

by

Sara J. Beanlands

**A Thesis Submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in History**

September 2010

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Abstract

Annotated Edition of Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown's Manuscript:
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Abstract: This study concerns one of the earliest known historical accounts of the Acadian Deportation, written by the Reverend Doctor Andrew Brown in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Based on primary documents, eye-witness accounts and Acadian oral tradition, the manuscript entitled "Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty's Council in October 1755" offers a unique and valuable perspective on the events surrounding the removal of the Acadian population from Nova Scotia in 1755 and a vivid portrayal of Acadian life before and after the Deportation. Although the primary purpose of this thesis is to provide an annotated edition of the manuscript in an effort to determine the authenticity of the information therein, a broader look at Brown, as an individual, as a man of his times and as an historian, is presented for a more holistic interpretation of the document.

September 2, 2010

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Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Hope and Gordon Beanlands, for their constant and unwavering support, encouragement and comfort. It is to them that I dedicate this thesis.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
<i>Biographical Sketch</i>	5
<i>The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of History</i>	71
<i>The Acadian Manuscript</i>	91
Note on Annotation	94
“Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty's Council in October 1755.”	97
Supplementary Documents	261
Conclusion	272
References	276

Introduction¹

In 1852, a young theology student named Alexander Grosart stumbled across a tattered box of papers in the foyer of his Edinburgh boarding house. Having the curiosity to look inside, Grosart discovered a collection of manuscripts relating to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, including historical notes, original and transcribed documents, and other contemporary papers. This remarkable collection of documents had belonged to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown, a Scottish Presbyterian minister, University of Edinburgh professor and aspiring historian of formidable intellect, who lived and worked in Nova Scotia from 1787 to 1795. In attempting to write a history of North America, Brown collected a substantial amount of documentary evidence relating to Nova Scotia and subsequently dedicated much of his life to preparing a history of the young colony. Grosart immediately recognized their intrinsic value and later deposited the papers in the British Museum where they ultimately became known as the ‘Brown Manuscripts’. Although his work was not published during his lifetime, Brown’s collection has since provided scholars with a wealth of documentary material for historical analysis.

More recently, another cache of related manuscripts surfaced in the collections of the Edinburgh University Library. While this assortment of documents has not been subjected to the same degree of scrutiny as the initial collection, it is undeniably deserving of academic attention. Among the most important documents contained within the Edinburgh collection is an original Brown manuscript dated 1819, entitled “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty's

¹ The Introduction is built upon a previously published article, Sara Beanlands, “The Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown: Nova Scotia’s Elusive Historian,” *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. IX (2006), pp. 75-99.

Council in October 1755”.² This is one of the earliest known historical accounts of the Acadian Deportation and the focus of this thesis. While much of Brown’s original work is unfinished and incomplete - a vast collection of frenetic notes often written in such a fashion as to render them indecipherable - the Acadian Manuscript represents his most refined literary endeavour. He was able to collect and analyse enough information, most of which came from official British government records and sources, to develop a detailed description of early Acadian life and a comprehensive account of the subsequent Deportation. Brown described Acadian society prior to the events of 1755 as “the only instance of an unsullied purity of private character, a devoted loyalty to the parent state, a rooted local attachment & an unbroken friendship with the original proprietors of the Soil, that has occurred in the wide range of European Colonisation.”³ By contrasting this rather idealized notion with the upheaval of the Deportation, which he considered to be “among the more painful transactions which rose out of our Colonial struggles”,⁴ Brown offers a fascinating treatise on Acadian history under British rule while emphasizing the misguided nature of the colonial policy by which it was impacted. His erudite and sophisticated treatment of the subject not only sheds light on early Acadian society and culture, but also illuminates the darkest episode in Acadian history.

² This document was first used by Mary Alice Downie and George Rawlyk in the children’s book entitled *A Proper Acadian* (Toronto: Kids Can Press, 1980), more recently published under the title *A Song for Acadia* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2004). It was also the topic of Nancy McMahon’s excellent thesis entitled “Andrew Brown and the Writing of Acadian History” (M.A. thesis, Queen’s University, 1981), and has since been cited in George Rawlyk’s chapter, “1720-1744: Cod, Louisbourg, and the Acadians,” in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, Phillip A. Buckner and John Reid, eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 107-24 and John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005).

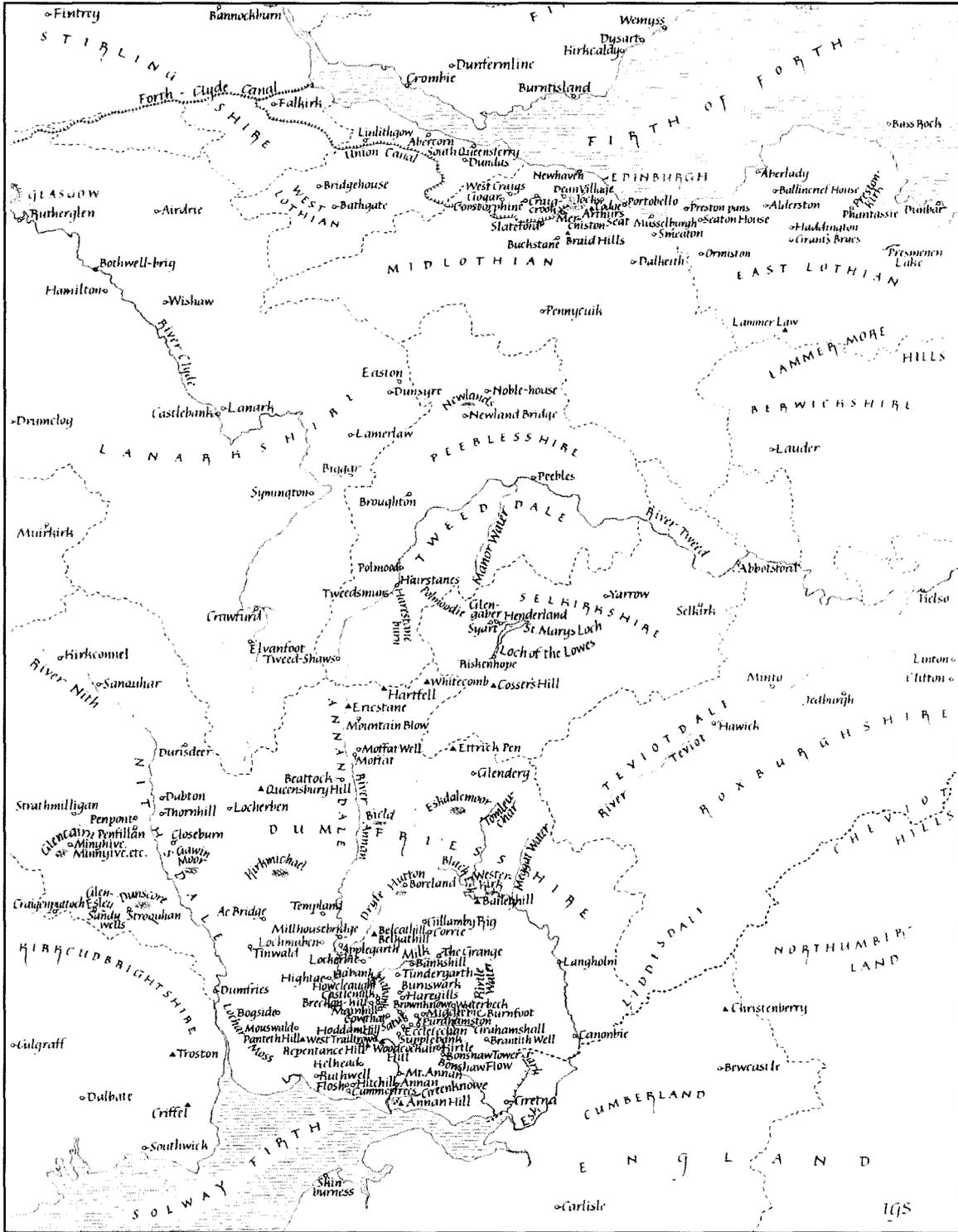
³ Andrew Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty’s Council in October 1755”, Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections and Archives (hereafter EUL), *Papers of Professor Andrew Brown* (hereafter *Brown Papers*), GB 0237 Gen. 157.

⁴ Brown to Belcher, 28 January 1820, University of British Columbia Archives, *Belcher Family Fonds*, Andrew Belcher Correspondence (Incoming Letters - 1815-1825; 1-34) (hereafter *Belcher Family Fonds*).



“Rev. Andrew Brown, D.D., Minister of St. Matthew’s Church, Halifax, 1787”

[Copy of a portrait owned by Robert Nobel, Esq.,
Halifax, who procured it in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1837.
Source of the original painting is unknown.
NSARM Library: F90 N85 Vol. 16, p. 154]



[The south of Scotland, highlighting locations of biographical interest]

Biographical Sketch

“Never, perhaps, did anyone lead such a laborious life as Dr. Brown, and pass through the world so completely unnoticed”⁵

Andrew Brown was destined to suffer obscurity, or so it seemed to his acquaintance, Robert Gillies, in 1851. Described by contemporaries as a man of eloquence, great learning and observation, Brown was a leader in intellectual as well as social and ecclesiastical affairs. By the time he returned to Scotland in 1795, he had earned a reputation as a brilliant and influential preacher and later occupied one of the most prestigious chairs of his academic profession, that of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres at the University of Edinburgh.

Nevertheless, Brown is remembered neither as a gifted orator nor as an enlightened scholar, and his influence in both Nova Scotia and Scotland has been often misunderstood and generally neglected. Indeed, later historians have frequently criticized Brown’s apparent predilection for ‘New World’ history as being the cause for which he “alone of all his predecessors and successors, made no contribution to the subject which he professed.”⁶ This curious dichotomy between the man described by one of his contemporaries in Halifax as the “rising sun of the New World”⁷ and the rather unfavourable repute allowed him by subsequent historians must be duly addressed. For, despite the importance of his collected manuscripts and significance of his original work, Andrew Brown has remained an elusive figure.

⁵ R. P. Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran; Including Sketches and Anecdotes of the Most Distinguished Literary Characters from 1794 to 1849* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), Vol. II, p. 261.

⁶ Henry W. Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in the University of Edinburgh,” *University of Edinburgh Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1945), p. 96.

⁷ Rev. John Sprott, *Memorials of the Rev. John Sprott* (Edinburgh: George A. Morton, 1906), p. 139.

And yet, he is an especially rich and compelling individual for biographical and historical study. While the portrait of the young man with all the formal decorum of an enlightened Scot is not an inaccurate image of the young minister who arrived in Nova Scotia in 1787, it is a partial one. Andrew Brown was a complex man of contradiction; a handsome and captivating minister, a beloved and yet tarnished professor, a reclusive and obsessive perfectionist. Ultimately, however, it was his unwavering commitment to preserving the history of Nova Scotia which distinguishes him as an individual of considerable historiographical importance.

In order to facilitate a better interpretation and appreciation of the manuscript in question, it is necessary to place Andrew Brown within an historical, social and intellectual context. The task is long overdue, and although his name has become more familiar as his manuscript collections are aggressively mined in the quest for historical truth, his story has remained relatively unexplored. In the brief biography that follows, an effort has been made not only to provide some degree of historical context, but to portray, so far as possible, “the personal figure & appearance, the striking external peculiarities, & the meanest details of the private life” - elements which Brown himself believed to be “the most attractive parts of a biography, such as gratify curiosity most, and give the truest idea of character.”⁸

⁸ Brown to Jeremy Belknap, 30 May 1794, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Ser. 6, Vol. IV, *Belknap Papers* (1871) (hereafter *Belknap Papers*), p. 571.

Andrew Brown was born in the small town of Biggar, located in South Lanarkshire, Scotland, on 22 August 1763. He grew up in the family home at Silverknows, where his grandparents, Andrew Brown and Margaret Tod, had lived during the first half of the eighteenth century, and was the first born son of Richard Brown and Isabella Forrest.⁹ Although relatively little is known of Brown's childhood, it can be assumed that it was shaped by the experience of growing up in Biggar and can therefore be reconstructed in general terms.¹⁰

Surrounded by rolling hills which subside southward into a valley known as the Strath of Biggar, the picturesque parish was situated in the vale of two of Scotland's greatest rivers, the Clyde and the Tweed. The town of Biggar, located approximately 27 miles from Edinburgh on the Great High Road to Leadhills, was described in the eighteenth century as being "about 6 miles long from east to west; and 3½ broad from south to north"¹¹, and consisted of one main street, two back streets and a suburb called the Westraw. Small thatch-roofed houses built of local whinstone and a scattering of malt

⁹ William Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming: an Account of the Biggar District, Archaeological, Historical and Biographical*, second edition (Biggar: David Lockhart, 1867), p. 21. Details of the Brown family are scarce. Almost nothing is known of his grandparents, Andrew (b. c.1707) and Margaret (b. c.1711), other than they were both from Biggar. Andrew appears to have been relatively successful, being considered a "principal" man of Biggar and a member of the Masonic Lodge. *Ibid.*, pp. 364-5. Richard (b. c.1729 or c.1736) and Isabella (b. c.1733), commonly called Tibbie, had four children: Janet (b. 1755), Jean (b. 1757), Andrew (b. 1763) and John (b. 1765). It is known that John was an officer of excise and Janet inherited the family home of Silverknows (or Sillerknows), in which she lived until her death in 1826.

¹⁰ For additional biographical information see: Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (Edinburgh, 1866), Vol. I, p. 72; Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, pp. 21-24; George Shepperson, "Andrew Brown," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter *DCB*) April 2006. Online. Available: <http://www.biographi.ca>; Nancy McMahon, "Andrew Brown and the Writing of Acadian History" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1981); George Shepperson, *Edinburgh and Canada: Two Brown Studies* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1985); and Sara Beanlands, "The Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown: Nova Scotia's Elusive Historian," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. IX (2006), pp. 75-99.

¹¹ William Watson, "Parish of Biggar," in *The Statistical Account of Scotland: Drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes by Sir John Sinclair* (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1791), Vol. I, p. 332.

kilns lined the High Street as it made its way to the parish church.¹² The arable land, distributed among several small farms, was almost equally divided between tillage and pasture, and the soil, which consisted primarily of clay, sand, loam and peat-moss, produced good crops of oats, barley, peas, turnips and potatoes.¹³

The ancient landscape of Biggar was steeped in history and folklore. In the eighteenth century, local tradition credited the Druids for the presence of standing stones on Shields Hill and the impressive mound at the western edge of town, known as Moat-



Biggar

[The town of Biggar, as it appeared in 1861, by H. Wilson, Glasgow.
William Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming: an Account of the Biggar District,*
Archaeological, Historical and Biographical, 1867]

¹² Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, pp. 18-19. The parish church of St. Mary, in which Andrew Brown was christened on 5 September 1763, was the last collegiate church to be established in Scotland before the Reformation. Built in 1545, it replaced a structure dating to 1164, itself having taken the place of an earlier wooden chapel.

¹³ Watson, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, p. 332 and Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 105.

Knowe.¹⁴ The remains of a Roman road, believed to have linked the Clyde Valley with Musselburgh, were yet visible and Boghall Castle, the stronghold of the Fleming family until the seventeenth century, was still imposing as it slowly fell to ruins.¹⁵ Stories of the legendary Battle of Biggar were especially plentiful, said to have been fought in 1297 between William Wallace and Edward I, and few households would have been without a copy of Hamilton's, *Life and Heroick Actions of the Renoun'd Sir William Wallace*.¹⁶

Yet, the romantic setting was not without a harsh reality. In 1451, James II established Biggar as a free burgh of barony "with all privileges, and particularly a weekly market on Thursday", and by the eighteenth century, Biggar was well established as a market town.¹⁷ As such, it was a dirty and unhealthy environment in which dunghills, peat stacks and stagnated gutters could be seen in every direction.¹⁸ In 1750, the local population consisted of approximately 1098 inhabitants.¹⁹

Each year, the Biggar High Street became the scene of three fairs: Candlemas, for hiring servants; Midsummer, for wool and shearers; and the old Biggar fair, held on the

¹⁴ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 10. The Biggar area has been occupied since at least the Neolithic period. Archaeological excavation at Biggar Common recovered the largest collection of Neolithic pottery ever unearthed in Scotland. See Daniel A. Johnston, "Biggar Common, 1987-93: an early prehistoric funerary and domestic landscape in Clydesdale, South Lanarkshire," *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 127 (1997), pp. 185-253. Recent research has determined that Mote-Knowe is in fact the remains of a twelfth century bailey wooden fort, built by the Flemish leader, Baldwin Le Fleming of Biggar, first Sheriff of Lanarkshire. The term "Knowe" refers to a piece of rising ground or knoll.

¹⁵ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, pp. 10-16, 128-39. The Fleming family obtained lands in Biggar in the twelfth century and became the ruling family of the district. Their bastion, the castle of Boghall, was so named because it was built in the midst of an impassable swamp.

¹⁶ Although it is now generally accepted that the Battle of Biggar never took place, it was widely held to be fact in the eighteenth century following the publication of William Hamilton of Gilbertfield's translation of Blind Harry's fifteenth century poem, "Ye Actis and Deidis of ye illuster and vailzeand Campioun, Shyr William Wallace, Knycht off Elrisle", in 1722. See Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, pp. 434-47.

¹⁷ John Christison, "Parish of Biggar," in *The New Statistical Account of Scotland: by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1845), Vol. VI, pp. 366.

¹⁸ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 18.

¹⁹ Watson, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, p. 334.

last Thursday of October, for horses and black cattle.²⁰ On market and fair days, a motley crowd from the surrounding countryside assembled to sell produce, purchase household commodities, transact business and discuss the topics of the day, transforming the small town of Biggar into a whirlwind of sight, sound and activity. Yet, on Sunday, the streets emptied and the stillness of the town was broken only by the sound of the church bell as parishioners emerged from the finely sculpted archway of the small Gothic church.

The High Street was wider and more spacious than most in order to accommodate the weekly market and large annual fairs.²¹ Approaching from the east, perhaps by the Four-Horse Coach from Dumfries, which passed through the town every day, one encountered the Tron-Knowe and public weighing beam, where butter, cheese, lint and other wares were displayed for sale. Beyond this lay Cross-Knowe, a most prominent feature in the centre of town, as essential to the collective identity of Biggar as was the castle in Edinburgh. There stood a stone monument crowned by the Market Cross, from which state documents, acts of the Bailies' Court, and other community matters were proclaimed by "tuck of drum", and where townspeople met and youth gathered for recreation. In winter months, a favourite pastime of the latter was a tradition known as the *hurley-hacket*, where an express train of delighted children would slide down the hill, "with arms crossed" and "feet close heel-and-toe", all coming to rest in a confusion of laughter and appendages at the bottom.²² And on the last night of each year, a bonfire was set atop Cross-Knowe, around which the town gathered in a tradition called burning the

²⁰ Christison, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, p. 371.

²¹ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 21.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 32-9.

old year out.²³ Although a devoutly Christian community, traditions and superstitions, such as the Hogmanay Bonfire, reflected the resolute manner to which old customs were adhered, and whether or not such a practice found its origins in Pagan ritual, maintaining tradition was an important facet of life in the small Scottish town of Biggar.



Biggar Auld Corse Knowe

[From a sketch by John Pairman, 1807.

William Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming: an Account of the Biggar District, Archaeological, Historical and Biographical*, 1867]

The Brown family lived at the eastern edge of town, commonly known as Silver-knows, near the area of the High Street appointed by the Baron's Court as the place for the show and sale of stallions on market days.²⁴ Based on the description of the property when it went for public auction in 1826, the family lived in relatively comfortable

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 40. The Hogmanay Bonfire tradition continues to this day. At times of war, the custom was kept alive by burning a candle at the site, so as not to attract enemy bombers. See Peter Rae, "Biggar Starts building the Hogmanay Bonfire" December 2005. Online. Available: <http://www.hogmanay.net/events/biggar>.

²⁴ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 24.

circumstances: “the little Property now offered to sale . . . has the benefit of a Double Front to the Street, and thereby forms a convenient Residence for a Family, or a fine Scite for any Public Building.”²⁵

Richard Brown was a successful handloom weaver, able to provide a comfortable existence for his family. Like many weavers in the mid-eighteenth century, he worked from home, or perhaps in an adjoining shed, enabling him a certain presence in the daily lives of his wife and children, to whom the clank of his loom at dawn each day must have been a familiar sound.²⁶ Textile production was a staple industry in the Scottish economy and an important occupational group in Biggar. Agents supplied the necessary materials from manufacturing houses in Glasgow and weavers were paid when webs were satisfactorily completed, craftsmanship being an important determinant of wages and status accordingly.²⁷ Richard Brown was apparently a proud craftsman, and although the household income may have been rather static, the Brown family appears to have enjoyed a consistent level of economic stability.

Weavers often had periods of respite from their looms, and were at times forced to seek alternative sources of employment. But irregular work also offered opportunity to engage in leisure activities such as learning, poetry and sport.²⁸ Handloom weavers traditionally demonstrated a deep commitment to learning, literacy and cultural expression, and were considered to be without peers in terms of general knowledge

²⁵ Public Advertisement, “Property at Biggar. To be sold by Public Roup . . . The Lands of Silverknows and Trinly-Moss” (1826). I am grateful to Mr. Brian Lambie for bringing this document to my attention.

²⁶ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 25.

²⁷ See Norman Murray’s classic study, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1978), pp. 3, 13 and J.H. Treble, “The Standard of Living of the Working Class,” in *People and Society in Scotland: Volume I 1760-1830*, eds., T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), pp. 188-226.

²⁸ Murray, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers*, pp. 172-3. See also T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People* (London: Fontana Press, 1969), pp. 393-402.

Property at Biggar.

TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC ROUP,

Within WILSON'S INN at BIGGAR, on Thursday the 26th day of January 1826, at Two o'Clock, unless previously disposed of by Private Bargain,

The Lands of SILVERKNOWS and TRINLY-MOSS, with the DWELLING-HOUSES and other BUILDINGS thereon, lying in the Village of Biggar, parish thereof, and Sheriffdom of Lanark.

The beautiful Village of Biggar lies about 27 miles from Edinburgh, on each side of the Great High-Road from that City to Leadhills, and a Four-Horse Coach to and from Dumfries passes through it every day. It is therefore a considerable advantage to the little Property now offered to sale, that it has the benefit of a Double Front to the Street, and thereby forms a convenient Residence for a Family, or a fine Scite for any Public Building.

The Premises will be sold either in Whole or in Two Lots. If in Lots, the first Lot will consist of the Houses and Garden of Silverknows, with the East Half of the Croft Lands; and the second Lot will embrace the Houses and Garden formerly belonging to Dalziel and Bertram, with the West Half of the Croft Land of Silverknows, and the whole of Trinly-Moss.

All the Dwelling Houses and other Buildings are in Excellent Condition. Access will be given to the Lands and Gardens immediately, and to the Houses at Whitsunday next.

Messrs. CRAWFORD and ANDERSON, W. S. 50, Castle Street, Edinburgh, will show the Title-Deeds and the Articles of Roup, and they have power to conclude a Private Bargain betwixt and the day of sale; and Mr. Murray Wilson, Carpenter in Biggar, will show the Premises, and explain every particular regarding them.

[Public Advertisement for the sale of Silverknows in 1826.
Biggar Museum Trust]

among the working class. It was argued that the scope and nature of their work stimulated the mind with “taste, invention, harmony, art and genius”. Moreover, weavers typically recognized the merits of a formal education for their children.²⁹ What values Richard Brown instilled in his children is a matter of speculation, but his son’s later commitment to education may reflect a devotion to learning within the household that nurtured Brown’s fondness for literature and culture. In any case, it afforded him the opportunity to attend school rather than the obligation to remain at home and contribute to the economic welfare of the family.

Isabella Brown managed the household economy by attending to an endless array of domestic chores and, of course, child-bearing and raising. Bartering with the other village women would help her fill the pantry shelves and like many rural housewives, she would have supplemented the household income by preparing and spinning flax. Not only would it have clothed and adorned her family, but with industry and economy, it may also have generated a surplus to be disposed of on market days.³⁰

Central to the lives of children was the parish school, where young minds were shaped to “uphold the character of the town and parish for intelligence and sagacity.”³¹ Perhaps unsatisfied with the level of instruction offered in Biggar, Brown transferred to a school in the nearby village of Quothquan,³² where in addition to the ordinary branches of learning - reading, writing, and arithmetic - he also acquired the rudiments of Latin, necessary if he hoped to attend university and eventually find employment in one of the

²⁹ Murray, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers*, p. 161.

³⁰ See Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, pp. 353-4, and Christopher A. Whatley, “The Experience of Work,” in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, p. 240.

³¹ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 291.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

learned professions.³³ Religious instruction was also an important part of every parish school and the Bible was often the first book given to children learning to read.³⁴ He received the best education time and place could afford and displayed characteristics as a child that he would maintain throughout his life. As one of his teachers remarked in the presence of his classmates, “You are a clever boy, you will one day be a minister of Edinburgh”³⁵, and such prophetic praise undoubtedly encouraged him to continue his studies at university.

It was common for boys as young as fourteen, thirteen, or even twelve years of age to attend one of Scotland’s universities, providing they had received a suitable Latin-based, college-preparatory curriculum.³⁶ There was a direct relationship between the universities and the parish schools, known as the ‘parochial tradition’, which combined elementary and rudimentary secondary education in the same school for a rural-based population.³⁷ Although it was more difficult for parish school boys to attain a suitable degree of preparation necessary to succeed at university, for those equipped with a willingness and capacity to learn, it was possible to overcome this obstacle, and for those with talent and no resources, bursaries for university study were available.³⁸ For many young men like Brown, a university education was a vehicle for social mobility and a means of acquiring the cultural refinements that ensured social differentiation from the

³³ Donald J. Withrington, “Schooling, Literacy and Society” in Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, p. 164. See also R.D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

³⁴ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 428.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁶ Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985), p. 28

³⁷ Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, pp. 3-5.

³⁸ Sher, *Church and University*, p. 28 and Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, p. 4.

classes below, promising to produce “well-rounded gentlemen, imbued with Christian humanist values and familiar with all branches of polite learning.”³⁹

Andrew Brown was only thirteen when, in the fall of 1776, he boarded a coach and watched as the rural countryside slowly transformed into the flourishing metropolis of Glasgow.⁴⁰ In the later eighteenth century, Glasgow was rapidly becoming one of the great mercantile cities of the British Empire, and although modern factory industry and commercial enterprise were developing, it was not yet the grimy industrial city of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was a rather clean, prosperous and handsome town, as much a hive of industrial and commercial enterprise as it was a principal center of intellectual pursuit and enlightened society, and must have been both exhilarating and overwhelming for a young boy who knew little of the world beyond Biggar.⁴¹

And it was an exciting time to be a student at Glasgow University. Its ancient halls were filled with eager young men from all over the world, from as near as England and Ireland, and as far as America and Russia.⁴² With fewer of the social barriers that made Oxford and Cambridge places of privilege, the student body at Glasgow was diverse, taking advantage of an educational program that offered a wide range of academic disciplines. During the eighteenth century, the subjects taught at Scottish universities expanded dramatically from the usual curriculum of theology, ancient languages, philosophy and mathematics, to include law, medicine, rhetoric and various branches of

³⁹ Sher, *Church and University*, p. 30. See also Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Brown matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1776. The following is recorded under the class of Mr. John Young: ‘Andreas Brown natus in Parochia de Biggar et Comitatu de Lanark filius natu maximus Richardi textoris in supradict.’ See W. Innes Addison, ed., *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p. 114. University classes generally ran from the first of October to the end of May.

⁴¹ See Irene Mavner, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2000).

⁴² Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, eds., *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1995), p. 1.

science.⁴³ It was a time too of profound intellectual awakening and cultural vitality, a time during which Scotland emerged as a cultural leader of Europe.⁴⁴

Glasgow was also a main urban centre of international commerce and industry. Indeed, its Western, Atlantic orientation, largely based on the trade of tobacco with the American colonies of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, forged inter-continental links that went well beyond commerce.⁴⁵ Glasgow imported not only American tobacco but news, letters, books, politics, religion and ideas as well, all of which made the fusion of Scottish and American culture quite inevitable.⁴⁶ Particularly in 1776, when the first shots of revolutionary war were exchanged on the other side of the Atlantic, American politics became a topic of intense interest and lively debate at the University and in the clubs and societies of enlightened Glasgow.⁴⁷ It was, perhaps, in this urban-academic environment that Andrew Brown first developed an interest in North American affairs.

He spent three years at Glasgow wading through a liberal arts curriculum of literary, philosophical and theological study at the university, demonstrating a particular interest in Classical studies.⁴⁸ Having decided, however, on an ecclesiastical career, he left Glasgow and enrolled at the University of Edinburgh, where in 1779 he is recorded as being a student of the renowned professor of natural philosophy, John Robison.⁴⁹

⁴³ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 447.

⁴⁴ The Scottish Enlightenment will be considered in more detail in the following section entitled 'The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of History'.

⁴⁵ T. M. Devine, "The Golden Age of Tobacco," in *Glasgow*, Vol. I, *Beginnings to 1830*, eds., T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995), pp. 139-40.

⁴⁶ Hook and Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁸ See copy of letter from Robertson, et al. to Selection Committee, 25 April 1787, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (hereafter NSARM), *St. Matthew's Congregational Records 1787-1824*, MG 4: No. 55, (hereafter *Congregational Records*) p. 34.

⁴⁹ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 17. See also *Matriculations Books of the University of Edinburgh*. John Robison (1739-1805) was professor of natural philosophy from 1774-1805 and may have further stimulated Brown's interest in North America, for Robison had accompanied Thomas Wolfe on an expedition to Quebec in 1758. For more biographical information on Robison, see Stephen Leslie and

Edinburgh was a bustling and congested city. Tenements, taverns, and churches lined the medieval High Street, from which dark and narrow wynds intersected like herring bones from its spine. The population was dense, the tenements towering ten to twelve stories into the sky, and the streets below were filled with the refuse and stench that accompanied an overcrowded population. The townscape, dominated by the great Edinburgh Castle, was drenched in the violence of its history, yet retained an elegant formality as it gradually transformed itself into the ‘Athens of the North’.⁵⁰

The college in Edinburgh first opened its doors to students in 1583 and continued to occupy the original buildings well into the eighteenth century. The University was at the centre of cultural life in Edinburgh and, like Glasgow, attracted students from all over the world. The faculty consisted of twenty-one professors, the student population some six to seven hundred.⁵¹ They did not live at the college, but boarded in private houses, and in the opinion of many students, the lack of discipline was of great advantage. But this also meant that unsupervised students could be easily led astray and the sophisticated club culture of the city’s taverns, coffee-houses and salons was a constant source of temptation.⁵² “A student, who prosecutes his Studies with attention and diligence at Edinburgh”, wrote a young scholar in 1784, “must possess the greatest degree of fortitude, self denial, and Resolution. Since that place abounds with many Amusements ... the greatest praise is due to that young man, who performs his college-Business without

Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*), (London: Oxford UP, 1953), Vol. XVII, pp. 57-9.

⁵⁰ See David Daiches, *Edinburgh* (London: Granada Publishing, 1980).

⁵¹ R.D. Anderson, Michael Lynch and Nicholas Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2003), pp. 3, 84-6 and Daiches, *Edinburgh*, pp. 150-1.

⁵² D.B. Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh: 1556-1889* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1967), p. 67.

stumbling.”⁵³ Evidently, Andrew Brown did not falter, able to focus his attention on his studies and resist the temptations of the city.

From the first of October to the end of May, students clad in scarlet gowns assembled in the cold and dimly-lit lecture rooms of the university.⁵⁴ It was here that Brown fell under the tutelage of several of Scotland’s most influential and gifted academics, including Dugald Stewart,⁵⁵ Hugh Blair⁵⁶ and William Robertson.⁵⁷ Robertson, in particular, seems to have taken a special interest in Brown and would become an influential force and advisor throughout his career. A leading figure of the eighteenth century Enlightenment in Scotland, Robertson was considered to be one of the foremost historians of his generation. In addition to writing four major historical works, he served as the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and Principal of the University, which acquired its international reputation during his administration.⁵⁸ What turned Brown’s thoughts to the historian’s trade is a matter of conjecture, but it was Robertson, perhaps more than any other, who fostered Brown’s interest in history and certainly influenced his later approach to historical study.⁵⁹

Brown completed “a regular course of Academical Education” at Edinburgh and, having “acquitted himself with approbation”, was licensed to preach the Gospel in the

⁵³ Samuel Rose to ?, 20 January 1784, as cited in Hook and Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, p. 12.

⁵⁴ Henry Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1950), pp. 459-60.

⁵⁵ Dugald Stewart (1753-1828) succeeded Adam Ferguson in the Chair of Moral Philosophy in 1785, filling the position for the next twenty-five years. See *DNB*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1169-73.

⁵⁶ Hugh Blair (1718-1800) was a minister, literary critic and distinguished professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres. See *DNB*, Vol. II, pp. 622-3.

⁵⁷ William Robertson (1721-1793) was a renowned theologian, celebrated historian and Principal of the University of Edinburgh. See *DNB*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1311-16.

⁵⁸ Robertson was appointed Moderator of the General Assembly and Historiographer Royal in 1763, and served as Principal of the University from 1762 until his death in 1793. The influence of Robertson will be considered in more detail in the following section.

⁵⁹ Shepperson, “Andrew Brown,” *DCB*. See also Jeffrey Smitten, “Moderatism and History: William Robertson’s Unfinished History of British America,” in *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment*, Richard Sher and Jeffrey Smitten, eds. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1990), pp. 163-79.

Presbytery of Biggar in 1786.⁶⁰ In the meantime, he found employment as a tutor for the wealthy Cranstoun family in Borthwick parish. George Cranstoun had acquired the Harvieston estate in 1750 and it was here that Brown grew fond of one of his young pupils, Cranstoun's daughter, Daniel.⁶¹ He was now 23, eager to embark on his career and perhaps contemplating marriage. In any case, he must have felt as though he would soon settle into a lifestyle of his own choosing and surely did not anticipate the dramatic change in his fortune that was about to test his courage and transform his life.

In the early spring of 1787, Principal Robertson received a letter from the Protestant Dissenting Congregation in Halifax, Nova Scotia. They, being "destitute of a Pastor", had requested the recommendation of a suitable candidate to serve as their minister.⁶² It was an unusual appeal, designed to forge a crucial liaison with the orthodox Presbyterian Church in Scotland and to ensure the spiritual independence of the Halifax congregation.⁶³ More specifically, the Dissenters worried that if proper spiritual guidance could not be secured, they would be forced to worship with an Anglican congregation.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See copy of letter from Selection Committee to Robertson, et al., 2 February 1787, *Congregational Records*, pp. 26-30 and copy of letter from Robertson, et al. to Selection Committee, 25 April 1787, *Congregational Records*, pp. 33-34.

⁶¹ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 22 and Hew Scott, *Fasti*, p. 72. George Cranstoun (or Cranston) (b. c.1735) and Ann Hay (b. c.1739) had eight children, including Daniel (b. c.1767). See also Francis H. Groome, ed., *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical, and Historical*, Vol. IV (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1883), p. 249. It was common for young men pursuing a career in the ministry to spend several years as a private tutor, school teacher or assistant minister before receiving a parish of their own. See Sher, *Church and University*, pp. 32-3.

⁶² The congregational minutes record that on 7 January 1787, there was a "Motion made that the Congregation, do by the first Opportunity send to Dr. Robertson Principal of the University of Edinburgh, Doctor Blair Professor of Rhetoric, and Doctor Hunter Professor of Divinity of the same University; For their Assistance in procuring us a Minister, to supply the place of Mr. Russell who is to resign on the Tenth of March next." Record of 10 January 1787, *Congregational Records*, p. 24. The previous pastor, Thomas Russell, had arrived in 1784. Although he came to Halifax from New York, he was originally from Scotland and trained as a Church of Scotland minister. Finding himself overwhelmed with the unruly congregation, Russell resigned his post within three years. See Elizabeth Townsend, et al., *A Sentinel on the Street: St. Matthew's United Church, Halifax, 1749-1999* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1999) p. 16.

⁶³ Prior to the American Revolution, the early Dissenting ministers, with but one or two exceptions, were supplied exclusively from New England. It is interesting to note that although a strong link with the Church

Such an appointment was one of great responsibility, to be sure. Appropriate and effective religious leaders were considered necessary to ensure the survival of those imperial outposts precariously situated not only at the vanguard of an expanding empire but also on the edge of what was considered to be the civilized world.⁶⁵ Given the urgency of the situation, the Elders were explicit in what constituted proper spiritual guidance and in the personal characteristics they required in a new minister:

*he must be a man of liberal sentiments. A good orator who speaks the English language in its purity of Orthodox principals; well acquainted with every part of Literature which is necessary for a Christian Minister and one who not only shows forth the excellency of Religion in publick but whose private conduct evinces real sincerity. Thus by appointing the doctrine he teaches he would have an opportunity of doing much good amongst us and render both himself and people as happy as the transitory state of things in this world will admit. And when such a character presents that you recommend and who accedes to our proposals we request that he may be ordained for fully exercising the Ministerial office and take passage for this place as soon as possible.*⁶⁶

Robertson and his colleagues had to consider the appointment judiciously. They knew that whomever they advanced as a candidate would be looked to for leadership in religious instruction, spiritual growth, moral safety and universal guidance on a vast array of community affairs in an alien environment. Clergymen were expected to establish the limits of acceptable behaviour by their own example and set the nature and tone of public discourse as well.⁶⁷ Their decision to recommend Brown displayed considerable confidence in his abilities, despite his youth and inexperience, suggesting that he had

of Scotland was considered essential, the letter was not sent to a Presbytery of the Church but rather to select professors at the University of Edinburgh, thereby ensuring that the Church of Scotland could not exercise any official jurisdiction over the Halifax congregation. See R.M. Hattie, *Looking Backward Over Two Centuries: An Historical Paper dealing with Certain Phases of the History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, N.S.* (Halifax: St. Matthew's Historical Society, 1944), p. 12.

⁶⁴ McMahon, "Andrew Brown", p. 18.

⁶⁵ See Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America*, updated edition (New York: Oxford UP, 2003), p. 14.

⁶⁶ Copy of letter from Selection Committee to Robertson, et al., 2 February 1787, *Congregational Records*, p. 28.

⁶⁷ Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, p. 162.

emerged into adulthood as a capable and mature young man.⁶⁸ Although Brown had never held a permanent charge and, in fact, had not yet received his divinity degree, the venerable principal was nevertheless resolute. “Mr. Andrew Brown,” Robertson replied, is “a person whose character of manners correspond very much with the description which you give in your letter”.⁶⁹ As he continued:

*Mr. Brown is a man of unexceptionable morals & of agreeable manners . . . that he is of such liberal sentiments as will render him acceptable to persons of every denomination among you. Mr. Brown is a good and useful preacher. The sermons are composed in proper language and delivered in a very decent manner. We have reason also to believe that besides his knowledge in Theology, Mr. Brown is well acquainted with other parts of Literature, and is particularly conversant in Classical learning . . . We entertain the most pleasing hopes that Mr. Brown’s future conduct will be such as to justify our recommendation.*⁷⁰

While Brown must have been flattered by the confidence so graciously imparted by Robertson, his correspondence reveals that the news of his extraordinary appointment to Nova Scotia was unexpected, leaving him surprised and bewildered. The appointment “has come upon me so suddenly”, he confessed, “that it looks like a dream. No previous . . . interests had led me to anticipate a settlement in America. A simple day . . . altered . . . the whole plan of life, given a new range to hope and fear and interwoven my destiny with that Destiny of Strangers and a foreign land.”⁷¹ Moreover, as he began to fully realize the implications of the matter now before him, he found his ability to refuse increasingly compromised. “Having once agreed to take the proposal into serious consideration,” he continued, “I soon perceived that I had lost the power of rejecting it

⁶⁸ See McMahan, “Andrew Brown”, p. 20.

⁶⁹ Copy of letter from Robertson, et al. to Selection Committee, 25 April 1787, *Congregational Records*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

⁷¹ Letter dated 6 April 1787, *EUL Brown Papers*, as quoted in McMahan, “Andrew Brown”, pp. 21-2. The letter transcriptions in the Edinburgh collection represent drafts of Brown’s correspondence to unknown recipients, including Brown’s own parenthetical corrections to style and grammar. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

abruptly. While hesitating and irresolute, one incident after another conspired to engage me more deeply . . . till there was no room left for retreat.”⁷²

Brown may have made few, if any, excursions beyond Scotland before 1787, and grew increasingly uncomfortable as he contemplated his imminent departure. “You will easily conceive”, he lamented, “that my present feelings must be both acute and painful. The near prospect of a long separation from all that is known and endeared, has produced a marked sensibility which mere trifles can disquiet”.⁷³ But as soon as the decision to go to North America was made, there was little time for further reflection. The presbytery of Biggar, at the desire of Robertson, immediately ordained Brown to be a minister of the Gospel and shortly thereafter he was ready to embark and begin his journey to Nova Scotia.⁷⁴ As he waited for his vessel in the Port of Glasgow, the arduous Atlantic crossing, and the uncertainty of what lay beyond, weighed heavily on his mind. “For a visit, indeed”, he wrote on the eve of his departure, “there is no part of the world I would prefer to North America, but as a residence for life, there lies (rests) the difficulty; (-the idea of transportation, so strongly connected with America immediately enters the mind-) and I will confess to you that it is with no small reluctance I have consented to quit my native land and seek a station, perhaps a grave, in another hemisphere.”⁷⁵

The Atlantic crossing passed without serious incident, despite Brown’s initial trepidation. Indeed, his fear and anxiety seemed to vanish in the delight of new experiences. “In a state of rest”, he later wrote, the ocean “is a magnificent and stupendous object When the atmosphere is clear, the immeasurable expanse of water

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷⁴ Copy of letter from Robertson, et al. to Selection Committee, 25 April 1787, *Congregational Records*, p. 34.

⁷⁵ Letter dated 6 April 1787, EUL *Brown Papers*, as quoted in McMahon, “Andrew Brown”, p. 21.

enlarges our faculties, and gives elevation to our conceptions of the universe.”⁷⁶ Even the daunting appearance of the rocky and storm-beaten coast, an uninviting scene that had discouraged many a settler, could not dampen his growing anticipation:

*. . . just as the ship was beginning to feel the power of the rudder to turn around . . . the skirt of the mast was lifted up and America was exhibited to our view. In gratifying curiosity with the prospect just opened, every other concern was absolved . . . I had none of the hopes or fears or pleasures of the discoverer, but I had an interest in the New World, and my whole soul was stirred as I contemplated the strange landskip [sic] (Recollecting the last views of our country I sought in vain for objects of resemblance but I contemplated a very different region.) The rocky bay . . . in which I first saw the Western continent, which was not unpleasant to the Eye. The forest was rich in verdires [sic]; the various foliage of the trees added to the interest of the Scene, and the even quality of the surface heightened its beauty, As far as the dark mist permitted us to see, the wilderness extended without interruption. Nature reigned in silence and seemed lovely without the aid of society of man. What a strong impression did not this short glance make on my imagination (I was never more alive, never more keenly engaged.) Were I a painter, I could at this moment delineate the minutest peculiarities of the American landskip.*⁷⁷

As Nancy McMahon has shown, Brown’s first impressions of Nova Scotia were profound and enduring, and would shape the way in which he approached his later historical study of North American society. His initial response and innate sensitivity to the Nova Scotia landscape ignited in him a lasting interest in the relationship between the land and the lives of those who occupied it.⁷⁸ Indeed, the way in which various cultures adapted to a particular environment became an important theme in his later writing. As Brown astutely observed:

Scarcely anything here resembles the corresponding objects in Europe. The very business of life is different. With you (in Scotland) it is their (young people’s) ambition to make their way among men, but here it is their ambition to make their way in the wood. Prudence and constraint are requisite in the former case; (whereas) while strength of arm is sufficient in the latter circumstance which may

⁷⁶ Andrew Brown, *A Sermon on the Dangers of the Seafaring Life; preached before the Protestant Dissenting Congregation at Halifax; and published at the desire of the Marine Society in that place* (Halifax: John Howe, 1793), p. 11. This sermon was also printed in Boston in the same year.

⁷⁷ Letter dated July 1787, *EUL Brown Papers*, as quoted in McMahon, “Andrew Brown”, pp. 23-4.

⁷⁸ See McMahon, “Andrew Brown”, p. 23.

*. . . enable us to explain why a sense of subordination is produced in Europe, while the spirit of independence is nurtured in America.*⁷⁹

Perhaps influenced by the rapid industrialization of his native country, he immediately recognized the inherent tensions created when society imposed itself upon nature. Nova Scotia presented itself as a natural canvas suspended on the threshold of vast development and Brown believed the environment would both shape and be shaped by the collective character of its inhabitants:⁸⁰

*The consideration that in the wilderness you see a virgin soil; a region yet undisturbed by the passions and miseries of man has sown power over the feelings. How much of the American territory is there still . . . in the seat of nature. It is a field . . . for unborn ages. It remains to be cultivated (reclaimed) by the labourers and illustrated by the virtues and vices of men. It is a portion of common inheritance, to be watered by the sweat or the tears of the human race, ceasing to be the grave of trees, the land is becoming the grave of men.*⁸¹

Although he clearly appreciated the natural beauty of the untamed wilderness, and the intellectual awareness that accompanied it, Brown would have to become accustomed to more than this strange and disorienting environment - and adjusting to the unique social milieu of life in Halifax would prove to be more difficult.

⁷⁹ Letter dated October 1787, *EUL Brown Papers*, as quoted in McMahon, "Andrew Brown", pp. 25-6. This passage is also discussed in George Shepperson's contribution to "Is America a Civilization," *Shenandoah, The Washington and Lee University Review*, Vol. X, No. 1 (1958), p. 42. Both note that this observation anticipated Frederick Jackson Turner's discussion of "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" by almost a century. Turner's famous article was published in 1893 and dominated two generations of American historiography. See F. J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (New York: Ungar, 1963).

⁸⁰ See McMahon, "Andrew Brown", pp. 24-7.

⁸¹ Letter dated October 1787, *EUL Brown Papers*, as quoted in McMahon, "Andrew Brown", p. 26.



*Governor's House and St. Mather's Meeting House on Hollis Street,
also looking up George Street, c. 1762*

[A view of mid-eighteenth century Halifax, showing Mather's Meeting House on left, painting by D. Serres from a sketch by R. Short. Collection of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia]

When Andrew Brown stepped onto the shore of Nova Scotia in the summer of 1787, he was “literally translated into a new world.”⁸² The natural beauty and serenity he observed from the bow of his vessel was replaced by the harsh reality of life in a small pioneer community. Edinburgh and Glasgow were dynamic and congested cities whereas Halifax, with less than 4000 inhabitants, was by comparison an outpost in the wilds; it was “little more than a hamlet; at best . . . a miserable village”, as one observer described.⁸³ In area, the town covered little more than a narrow rectangle almost half a mile wide and two miles long, situated on the steep eastern ascent of an imposing hill.

⁸² Letter dated October 1787, EUL *Brown Papers*.

⁸³ See T.C. Haliburton, *A Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1829), Vol. I, p. 256.

Modest buildings of wood and stone marked the climb, the highest point of which was commanded by a fortress, albeit in a somewhat defenceless state. Fields and pastures covered the remainder of the Peninsula; beyond that was wilderness. Boasting one of the finest harbours on the continent, the Halifax waterfront was the scene of greatest activity. The wharves were crowded with vessels of all kinds, constantly loading and discharging their cargos of lumber, fish, and imported goods. And while all of this created a spectacle of great commercial activity, to many a visitor the capital of Nova Scotia had the appearance of a crude frontier village.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Nova Scotia was enduring a period of social upheaval, adjustment and transition, as the political destiny and religious history of the young colony were being forged. In the aftermath of the American Revolution, Nova Scotia was suspended between a European past and a North American future: a dichotomy deeply rooted in the cultural differences of the colonial settlers, who were all, in a sense, displaced peoples. Whether they arrived as British immigrants fleeing the severe social and economic conditions of the Industrial Revolution or as political refugees driven into exile following the American Revolution, there was little to unite them as a community and even less to engender a sense of common purpose.⁸⁴

Accommodating such a large and diverse group of people had an immediate and overwhelming impact on Halifax, placing impossible strains on the economy and infrastructure of the small garrison town and influencing the balance of power and political structure of the established society as well.⁸⁵ Whatever Brown's expectations of

⁸⁴ S. F. Wise, "God's Peculiar Peoples," in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, ed., W.L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), pp. 37-8.

⁸⁵ See Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia 1783-1791* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1986).

the 'New World' may have been, he was clearly surprised by the conditions he encountered upon his arrival:

*In these log huts which surround Halifax, and form one of the prominent objects in all the pieces of cultivation, notwithstanding the unparalleled bounty of the British Government, life at present wears a very sombre aspect. The new settlements of the Loyalists (tho' between) three and four years old, exhibit the same spectacle in the autumn of 1787 which the observer might have contemplated . . . in the United States from 1606-1680. The operations, the hardships, the conditions of life are the same, and you know the climate is not more propitious to the wishes of the husbandmen. In the neighbourhood of this creation, struggling with all the difficulties of the new settlers; and in the remoter harbours we hear of whole clanships . . . being obliged, when accident prevents the regular arrival of supplies, to submit to many of the deprivations what [sic] shipwrecked seamen must encounter in a land that is not sewn. Severe indeed is the labour by which the country of beaver and trees is converted into the residence of man.*⁸⁶

Reading his correspondence, however, one realizes that Brown possessed the ability to adapt to circumstances, carefully improved both by observation and self-education, which allowed him to analyze critically and engage emotionally with his surroundings. He recognized, of course, that he would not face the same challenges as the average pioneer and his arrival in Halifax would have been treated as an event of importance. His position as minister to the Protestant Dissenting Congregation demanded and ensured immediate respect as a new member of the community, and Brown soon found life in Halifax provided him with some comfort:⁸⁷

Halifax opens various sources of intelligence to an inquisitive mind. The seat of Civil Departments, a military Garrison, and a naval Station, it is a place of considerable resort, and the Society is select and exclusive. In consequence of the American intercourse and the consequences of the new [Loyalist] Settlements which are mostly supplied by the Halifax merchants, our opportunities of communication with the United States are almost [limitless]. During the greatest part of the year the transactions of the Hudson, the Delaware and the Potomach [sic] are in three weeks reported with all their circumstances in the bay of

⁸⁶ Letter dated October 1787, EUL *Brown Papers* as quoted in McMahon, "Andrew Brown", p. 29.

⁸⁷ McMahon, "Andrew Brown", pp. 29, 33.

*Chebucto; and nearly in the same time vessels arrive from the West Indies, and bring us at once the pineapple and the public papers.*⁸⁸

This dramatic increase in population Brown describes, not to mention the array of ideas, customs, attitudes and rhetoric that accompanied it, brought religious turmoil as well. However, the ecclesiastical tensions of the late eighteenth century cannot be removed from the prevailing religious divisions entrenched in the resident populace; divisions that emerged from the deep current of New England influence which flowed through the colony and antagonized the inherent conflict between Old and New World attitudes. From the reduction of Louisburg in 1745 to the American Revolution, New England played a critical role in the development of Nova Scotia, taking great interest in the establishment of Halifax as a military presence on the North Atlantic. But the influence of New England reached far beyond the boundaries of military strategy. In the census of 1767, over half of the inhabitants were of American birth, and the power of the New England element permeated virtually every aspect of life in the colony.

Since the founding of Halifax in 1749, the Church of England served as a heavily-subsidized arm of imperial policy to promote British authority in Nova Scotia.⁸⁹ St. Paul's Anglican Church was the centre of religious authority and influence in the colony and attracted the distinctively English element of Halifax society, including senior representatives of the British government and many of the city's military and commercial elite. Yet Anglicans were a minority and St. Paul's failed to address the demands of the Nonconformist or Protestant Dissenting inhabitants, a loosely affiliated group of Congregationalists from New England and Presbyterian Dissenters from the American

⁸⁸ Letter dated October 1787, EUL *Brown Papers* as quoted in McMahon, "Andrew Brown", p. 30.

⁸⁹ See Judith Fingard, "Administrative Relationships in the Church of England in Nova Scotia, 1787-1816," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. XXXV (1966), pp. 53-78. See also R.V. Harris, *The Church of St. Paul in Halifax: 1749-1949* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1949).

colonies, Scotland or Ireland.⁹⁰ The greater influence of New England on the affairs of Nova Scotia explains much with respect to concessions made in accommodating the spiritual needs of the Dissenters, who wished to remain separate and worship independently from the established Church.

The foundation stone of the Protestant Dissenting Meeting House, later known as St. Matthew's Church, was laid on June 13, 1750.⁹¹ Constructed in a square, typically New England style, the little wooden church with a tower attached to its northern facade was a conspicuous landmark in the centre of town, close to the seat of colonial government and a little distance from St. Paul's.⁹² Although there did exist a certain degree of mutual respect between the two religious factions prior to 1776, this harmonious relationship began to erode soon after the outbreak of hostilities in the American colonies.⁹³ Little distinction was made between religious dissent and political

⁹⁰ Townsend, et al., *A Sentinel on the Street*, pp. 11-12. See also David Allison, *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: A.W. Bowen, 1916), p. 917 and R.M. Hattie, "Old-Time Halifax Churches," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 26 (1945). St. Paul's and St. Matthew's served the religious needs of the majority of the Halifax population. Although the Little Dutch Church was built in 1758, the people to whom it ministered were relatively few. Pierre Maillard ministered to the Acadians of Halifax in a chapel erected near what is now Tobin and Barrington streets in c. 1760. See Ephrem Boudreau, "L'abbé Maillard, l'apôtre des Micmacs," *Les Cahiers – Société historique acadienne*, Vol. 4 No 5 (Juin 1972), pp. 192-3 and NSARM RG1 Vol. 188, p. 309, Minutes of Council, 17 May 1762.

⁹¹ Townsend, et al., *A Sentinel on the Street*, p. 12. St. Matthew's was originally known as the Protestant Dissenting Church or Protestant Dissenters' Congregation and later as Mather's Meeting House, apparently in honour of the famous New England Puritan, Cotton Mather. In 1785, it was unofficially referred to as Saint Mather's Church. The term Presbyterian was first used in 1812 and by 1815 the name St. Matthew's was adopted. See Margaret L. Perry and J.W. Reid, "The Heritage of St. Matthew's United Church: A history of the highlights of the Church and Congregation covering 225 years beginning with the founding of Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1749," 225th Anniversary Celebration booklet (Halifax, 1974).

⁹² Townsend, et al., *A Sentinel on the Street*, p. 12. St. Matthew's Church was originally located on the south-western corner of Prince and Hollis streets. Although the congregation had been organized in 1749, the Meeting House was not completed until 1753 and the Dissenters were accorded the use of St. Paul's in the interim. The original church was destroyed by fire in January 1857 and was rebuilt on Barrington Street where it stands today.

⁹³ Townsend, et al., *A Sentinel on the Street*, pp. 13-14. Although, to a certain degree, Dissenting churches in Nova Scotia were initially supported by the authorities, religious freedom for Protestants was not preserved in local legislation until 1758. Even then, they were only entitled to limited rights and privileges. It is interesting to note that many Dissenters also paid pew rents at St. Paul's to display their loyalty and respect to Church and State.

radicalism, and the political loyalty of Congregationalists, indeed of all religious Dissenters in Nova Scotia, was increasingly suspect.⁹⁴ While the Elders of the Dissenting Congregation had been specific in their request for a Presbyterian minister, Brown's appointment was, in some ways, dictated less by religion than it was by colonial politics.⁹⁵ The selection of a new leader from the Church of Scotland, albeit indirectly through the University of Edinburgh, emphasized their allegiance to the Empire while making a distinction between dissent and disloyalty. In order to maintain their independence and prosper within this religious-political environment, they desperately needed a capable and resourceful spiritual guide. The situation was critical and their expectations of Brown were accordingly high.⁹⁶

Brown arrived in Halifax amid this background of social, political and religious discontent. He faced not only the external political pressures imposed upon his church, but was also immediately confronted with the difficult task of reconciling internal divisions within his congregation. He had been warned the congregation was "composed of persons of different Countries and Denominations, therefore . . . may not be strictly speaking all of one way of thinking".⁹⁷ In truth, the internal dissension threatened the fundamental unity of the church.

⁹⁴ John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1987), p. 41. The delicate situation at St. Matthew's was further strained when several prominent laymen, including John Fillis and Malachi Salter, were tried for treason. Although they were subsequently acquitted, tensions continued to run high. See Townsend, et al., *A Sentinel on the Street*, p. 15 and Barry Cahill, "The Treason of the Merchants: Dissent and Repression in Halifax in the Era of the American Revolution," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, 1996.

⁹⁵ W.C. Murray, "History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, N.S.," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. XVI (1912), p. 164.

⁹⁶ Brown would be paid £200 per annum in Halifax currency, providing he survived a trial period of six months, insisted upon by the selection committee, "that so an opportunity may be afforded us mutually to approve of each other." See copy of letter from Selection Committee to Robertson, et al., 2 February 1787, *Congregational Records*, p. 29.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Although there was limited dispute between Congregationalists and Presbyterians with respect to doctrine and modes of worship, for three years prior to Brown's arrival, the congregation had been torn apart by internal strife and controversy over practical details such as finances and church governance.⁹⁸ In many ways the Dissenting congregation represented a microcosm of the tensions between Old and New England and as the Presbyterian influence grew stronger, friction between the two denominations steadily increased. The only matter in which they were truly united was a desire to remain independent from the established Church and although the primary elements of the conflict had been resolved shortly before Brown arrived in 1787, residual tensions remained.⁹⁹

In addressing this milieu of religious and political strife, Brown proved to be a capable diplomat and his ability to ease the tension amongst his parishioners, despite their various persuasions, displayed outstanding leadership. The expression of gratitude extended by his congregation was sincere:

*It is but Justice in us to declare the high Sense we Entertain of your private as well as your public deportments, and with pleasure we record that friendly affection which we so unitedly bear towards you; The doctrines you have so judiciously and clearly taught . . . has raised you high in our esteem and justly endeared you to every individual, not only of your own Congregation, but of all persuasions of Christians in this place, who, tho differing in Religious Sentiments, unite with us in admiring and revering your character; But above all, that perfect union which you have invariably inculcated, and has so happily prevailed in the Congregation since your Arrival here.*¹⁰⁰

With patience and discretion, Brown guided the shift from New England Congregationalism to Scottish Presbyterianism and once united, the congregation rose to

⁹⁸ For more information on the divisions within the Church, see Murray, "History of St. Matthew's", pp. 142-4.

⁹⁹ The "Treaty of Peace", a constitution designed to reconcile the competing traditions of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism within the congregation, was drawn up in 1787. For more information, see Townsend, et al., *A Sentinel on the Street*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁰⁰ Copy of letter dated 20 September 1791, *Congregational Records*, p. 52

prominence and power. Indeed, the era of Brown's ministry was later considered the "golden age" of the church.¹⁰¹

Brown also attempted to deal with the "animosity and divisions" plaguing the greater Presbyterian movement in other parts of Nova Scotia, as his correspondence with James Drummond MacGregor,¹⁰² the uncompromising minister in Pictou, reveals. MacGregor's stringent anti-burgher doctrine had created tension with both his parishioners and Presbyterian colleagues, and Brown warned that "Nothing is more injurious to the interests of the Gospel than the Controversies of its Ministers. They weaken their hands; diminish their authority and influence over their people; and counteract the instructions which they deliver from the chair of peace and charity."¹⁰³ His advice to MacGregor reflects the insight gained from his recent success within his own congregation in achieving agreement on general principles and avoiding tedious conflict over relatively trivial matters. Brown's diplomatic influences would spread beyond his Halifax congregation and helped to shape and sustain Presbyterianism across Nova Scotia.

Sermons played a prominent role in Sunday Church services and Brown was an elegant and inspired preacher whose "devotional sentiments were delivered with a fervour and an aptness of expression that led captive the thoughts and feelings of his fellow-

¹⁰¹ See Murray, "History of St. Matthew's", p. 138. St. Matthew's did not become Presbyterian in the strictest sense until 1840.

¹⁰² James Drummond MacGregor (1759-1830) was born in Perthshire, Scotland and matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1779. He accepted a call to minister in Pictou, Nova Scotia in 1786. MacGregor was sympathetic to the anti-slavery sentiments developing in Britain and was the author of the first and only anti-slavery publication in eighteenth-century Canadian literature. See Susan Buggey, "James Drummond MacGregor," *DCB* and Barry Cahill, "The Antislavery Polemic of the Reverend James MacGregor: Canada's Proto-Abolitionist as "Radical Evangelical"," in eds., Charles H.H. Scobie and G.A. Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1997), pp. 131-43. I am grateful to George Shepperson for directing me to the correspondence between Brown and MacGregor. See also Shepperson, "Andrew Brown," *DCB*.

¹⁰³ Brown to MacGregor, 31 January 1793, NSARM, *George Patterson Fonds 1820-1894*, MG 1, Vol. 742-744.

worshippers”.¹⁰⁴ In short, he could interest an audience in what he had to say. From his high pulpit, Brown could survey his congregation amidst the high-sided square pews that were sold at auction to the highest bidder; an individual’s credit in the town was thus rated by his seating in the church.¹⁰⁵ He was as persuasive among the poorer inhabitants who occupied the long rigid benches in the centre, as before the more literate and cynical audience of the town’s elite, sitting comfortably in box pews along the church walls.¹⁰⁶ He was perhaps less convincing among those in the rear gallery, known as the ‘Devil’s playhouse’, the customary gathering place for restless and somewhat unruly boys. In winter months, Brown might deliver his sermons adorned with a heavy cloak, skullcap and fur mittens, while his congregation warmed their feet with heated stones, boxes of live coals or even dogs.¹⁰⁷ But if Brown’s discourses were elegant, they were also of considerable length, perhaps explaining the conspicuous appearance of a clock in 1795, mounted in silent protest on the gallery, in direct and unavoidable view of the minister.¹⁰⁸

Brown’s sermons, three of which were written and published in Halifax, furnish abundant evidence of his ability to manoeuvre amid the mottled strata of the population and he considered it his “duty to select all sorts of subjects, and to address all classes of men.”¹⁰⁹ Indeed, he consciously shaped his sermons to appeal to the particular audience to which he addressed without compromising his message:

¹⁰⁴ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, pp. 22-3. See also William Klempa “Scottish Presbyterianism Transplanted to the Canadian Wilderness,” in Scobie and Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Murray, “History of St. Matthew’s”, pp. 157-8.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-9. See also Moir, *Enduring Witness*, p. 44. The Meeting House did not purchase a stove until 1795.

¹⁰⁸ Murray, “History of St. Matthew’s”, p. 160. See also Moir, *Enduring Witness*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ Brown, *A Sermon on the Dangers of the Seafaring Life*, p. 5. In addition to the above sermon, Brown also published, *A Discourse delivered before the North-British Society, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, at their Anniversary Meeting on the 30th November, 1790*, (Halifax: John Howe, 1791) and *The Perils of the Time, and the Purposes for which they are Appointed. A Sermon, preached at the last Sabbath of the Year, 1794*,

*In the pastoral care of the Christian Church, it is incumbent on ministers to consider the particular situations in which their congregations are placed, the character of the different ranks which compose them, and the dangers and temptations to which they are subjected; that they may be enabled to accommodate their discourses to their capacity, and to recommend, with energy and effect, the sentiments and conduct which are suited to their circumstances in life.*¹¹⁰

Thousands of sermons were printed in the course of the eighteenth century and while most reflect the common attitudes and temperament of the times, Brown's sermons are conspicuous, not only for a remarkable eloquence of style, but also for their expressions of humanitarianism and tolerance.¹¹¹ His sermons spoke "of common human experience and simple Christian ideals", giving them value "beyond their time and occasion".¹¹² This also gave them value beyond his own congregation, serving as a unifying force in an otherwise disorganized and divided community.

The dominant theme which emerges from Brown's published sermons is the notion that divine providence determined the fate and fortunes of nations. For Brown, this providential theology could be applied most effectively to the global apprehensions generated by the French Revolution. His most detailed sermon on the subject, delivered in Halifax in 1794, was entitled *The perils of the time, and the purposes for which they are*

and published at the request of the hearers, (Halifax: Howe and M'Kinstry, 1795). Technically, only two of his Halifax publications can be considered sermons, the first publication may be more appropriately labelled as a lecture. In Scotland, he published two more sermons and a brief biography: *Love of Country Explained and Illustrated. A Sermon preached at Musselburgh, May 3, 1801, before the Corp of Royal Mid-Lothian Volunteer Cavalry and published by request*, (Edinburgh, 1801); *The Standard of Excellence established in the Gospel: a Sermon preached in the Old Church, Edinburgh, February 18, 1810, the first Sabbath after the Funeral of the Reverend Henry Grieve*, (Edinburgh, 1810); and *Notice of the Life and Character of Alexander Christison, A.M., late Professor of Humanity*, (Edinburgh, 1820). For more information, see Peter B. Freshwater, "The Elusive Andrew Brown," *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, Vol. V, No. 4 (1983/1984 - 1984/1985), pp. 36-8.

¹¹⁰ Brown, *A Sermon on the Dangers of the Seafaring Life*, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Marie Tremaine, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751-1800* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 328.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

appointed.¹¹³ As S.F. Wise has noted, the sermon is significant because of the “representative character of the argument employed, and because it provides a standard of orthodoxy against which other sermons of the time can be measured.”¹¹⁴

Although Brown generally disapproved of the practice of political preaching and rarely “allowed public transactions to give a colouring to religious instruction”, he nevertheless concluded that “an occasional and dispassionate consideration of the affairs of the world, as ordered by God for the correction and instruction of the nations, can scarcely be represented as incompatible with the spirit of Christian worship”.¹¹⁵ The intention of the sermon was “to expose the evils of anarchy and to concur with divine Providence in maintaining the great cause of religion, government and order.”¹¹⁶ For example, Brown sought to demonstrate that the hand of God was behind the political disorder and downfall of the monarchical ideal in France, and that such misfortune was intended to purify the hearts of the faithful and restore the moral vigour of the nations.¹¹⁷ Divine judgements were to be interpreted in part as penal, and in part as monitory and corrective:

*Such, my brethren, in my humble opinion, are some of the purposes of correction and instruction for which the late disastrous revolutions have been ordained by God: And I am strongly inclined to believe that until these lessons be effectually inculcated, there will not be an end to the troubles of the earth. Should therefore the admonitions already given prove insufficient to subdue a licentious and intractable generation, justly may we fear that more grievous admonitions will be added to the number, until awakened by the divine judgements, and chastened by their own disorders, the reissue of the nations shall listen to the voice of Providence, and learn submission to its appointments.*¹¹⁸

¹¹³ This sermon is dedicated to Brown’s close friend, Sir Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange (1756-1841), Chief Justice of Nova Scotia from 1789-1797.

¹¹⁴ Wise, “God’s Peculiar Peoples”, p. 45.

¹¹⁵ Brown, *The Perils of the Time*, p. 9.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. i.

¹¹⁷ See Wise, “God’s Peculiar Peoples”, p. 46 and Tremaine, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints*, p. 443.

¹¹⁸ Brown, *The Perils of the Time*, p. 36.

More importantly, the people of Nova Scotia had cause to rejoice and unite, for they had been “preserved from the peculiar misery of the times” and thus had the opportunity to heed the divine warnings and avert severe punishment:¹¹⁹

To crown the singular felicity of our colonial state, while sophistry and sedition have been busily, and but too successfully at work, in other parts of the empire, we have lived to this day in all concord and loyalty. No factions have divided our people, or distracted our government. Clubs and cabals are unknown in our settlements. No one has dared to accuse another of disaffection. There has not been an information, far less an imprisonment, in consequence of seditious practices in any part of the country. Peace and unity have shed their happiest influences over the province, and our King and our Constitution continue to be the objects of our dearest regard.

In such a fortunate, may it not be said in such an enviable condition, are we not bound by all the ties of gratitude and duty to love and praise the Lord, and to walk uprightly in his commandments? No people were ever more highly favoured, or blessed with a better opportunity of becoming wise, and good and happy. Let not the kindness of Providence plead with us in vain. Enjoying safety in the midst of danger, let us observe the dispensations of judgements to other lands, and apply the instructions which they deliver to our own improvement. In a particular manner let us beware of the prevailing vices which have produced the perils of the time – infidelity, licentiousness, and a spirit of innovation.¹²⁰

It was this intellectual framework under which they could unite as a community and achieve divinely ordained peace and prosperity. Brown was not unique in his approach, which reflected the orthodox Protestant theology of the time, but he had the ability to express such beliefs in a manner to which people could respond and be persuaded to take action. As Marie Tremaine states, “This sermon is probably the most eloquent if not the most logical defence of the *status quo* in state and church printed in the 18th century in Canada.”¹²¹

Having made a decided impression upon his congregation, Brown’s ministry grew, attracting many prominent commercial and political families.¹²² “I attended worship

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹²¹ Tremaine, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints*, p. 443.

¹²² Townsend, et. al., *A Sentinel on the Street*, p. 18.

at Doc. Browns meeting”, Simeon Perkins¹²³ wrote in his diary on 4 October 1789, “He is much Approved of by his Parishoners. His Language is Good, and his Discourse Very Pritty.”¹²⁴ Even Charles Inglis,¹²⁵ consecrated as the first colonial Bishop in 1787, approved of the young Presbyterian minister, describing him to the Archbishop of Canterbury as “an ingenious young man from Scotland with amiable manners and peaceable disposition”.¹²⁶ Moreover, in the spring of 1788, Brown was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Divinity by the University of Edinburgh, a distinction that would only enhance his stature in the colony.¹²⁷

Further evidence of Brown’s growing popularity can be found in a humorous poem discovered among the papers of Mather Byles Jr.:¹²⁸

Understand then that Mr. Weeks preaches at the Church in Halifax to bare Walls; Mr. Brown to a crowded congregation at the Meeting-House, being a handsome young man & of consequence much admired by the Ladies. Do you comprehend me? These circumstances, it is generally imagined occasioned the following new Song, tho' I will not pretend that the conjecture is well founded,

¹²³ Simeon Perkins (c.1734-1812), well known for the comprehensive and voluminous diary he kept from 29 May 1766 to 13 April 1812, was a leading citizen and government official in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. For more biographical information, see C. Bruce Fergusson, “Simeon Perkins,” *DCB*.

¹²⁴ D.C. Harvey, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins*, Vol. 2, 1780-1789 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958), p. 498. Another reference to Brown was made on 7 December 1788: “in the afternoon I heard Doc. Brown, at the Prsbaturian [Presbyterian] Meeting. He is a Flowery Preacher – Good delivery & Something of an Orator”, p. 454.

¹²⁵ Charles Inglis (1734-1816) was a Loyalist leader during the American Revolution and was later consecrated the first Church of England bishop of the Diocese of Nova Scotia in 1787. See Judith Fingard, “Charles Inglis,” *DCB*.

¹²⁶ Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, 3 October 1791, NSARM, *Memoirs of Bishop Inglis, Letters 1787-1791*(hereafter *Memoirs of Bishop Inglis*), MG 1: Vol. 479, p. 269.

¹²⁷ In the minutes of a meeting of the Senatus Academicus on 27 March 1788, it is recorded ‘The Principal reported from the Faculty of Theology that they recommend to the Senatus Academicus as a proper Candidate for receiving the Degree of Doctor of Divinity the Revd. Mr Andrew Brown Minister of the Gospel at Halifax in Nova Scotia, & formerly an Alumnus of this University. The Senatus Academicus having received the said Report, did unanimously consent to confer the said degree upon Mr Brown, and ordered his Diploma to be issued accordingly.’ Those present included Dr. William Robertson, Principal, Dr. Gregory, Mr. Finlayson, Dr. Hill, Mr. Playfair, Mr. Stewart and Mr. Dalzel, Professors. I am grateful to Peter Freshwater for providing this information.

¹²⁸ Mather Byles Jr. (1734-1814) was born in Boston but fled with the British troops to Halifax in 1776. He began his career as a Congregational minister but later converted to the Church of England and was ordained as an Anglican clergyman. Byles was chaplain to the Garrison at Halifax in 1776. Incidentally, Byles was a grandnephew of the colonial governor, Jonathan Belcher. For more information, see Wallace Brown, “Mather Byles,” *DCB*.

as the Public have not yet been able to discover either the Author or his Design. The Song is however, as I am told, universally circulated, & much sung. Here it is --

*I used to observe that the Girls did not spare
Time, Art or Expense, if they could but be fair
A young Preacher appears & charms the whole Town,
So that now the most fair would consent be Brown
Tol de rol --*

*I ne'er knew a Maid but was full apt to boast,
Whom all the gay Circles united to toast:
Then how inconsistent our fair-ones are grown!
They'll be toasted no more when once they are Brown.
Tol de rol --*

*I call them to church, but in vain do I speak.
For alas! to the Church the Attraction is Weak:
If the Flame is too fierce, we must pull the Toasts back,
Nor let our Brown Toasts be converted to Black.
Tol de rol -- ¹²⁹*

In personal appearance, Brown was handsome and slender, his manners those of a polished gentleman. His countenance “would alone have been a fortune to an actor”, admired an acquaintance. “His aquiline and handsome features, bushy eyebrows . . . a strange and somewhat awful method he had of elongating the under jaw, when engaged in deep thought, must have produced astounding effects at the front lights”.¹³⁰ In temper, so far as can be discerned from his writings and the surviving opinions of his contemporaries, he was warm, patient and gave generously of his time to those in need.

Shortly after his arrival in Halifax, Brown joined the North British Society, a charitable organization dedicated to assisting Scottish immigrants, and was elected its

¹²⁹ Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, Jr. Halifax, to Mary and Katherine Byles, Boston, 14 May 1788, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Byles Family Papers (1757-1837)*. Byles’ suggestion regarding the anonymity of the song’s author is likely exaggerated since he was known to be a jokester and wit, much like his father, Mather Byles Sr. From the rhythm of the verse, the poem may have been incorporated into the ballad tune ‘Derry Down’. I am indebted to Michael Eamon for bringing this document to my attention.

¹³⁰ See “Humours of the North. No. V. – John Philip Kemble,” *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, Vol. XV (1837) (hereafter *Fraser’s Magazine*), p. 595.

first Chaplain in 1788.¹³¹ The Society revolved around the annual St. Andrew's Day Ball, a grand festival and dinner held each November at the Golden Ball Tavern, to which the leading men of the Province were invited. In 1794, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent,¹³² was lavishly entertained at their annual celebration - so lavishly indeed that the New York Press remarked "it was the greatest public dinner ever given by a charitable institution in America", the whole affair costing over four hundred pounds.¹³³ Evidently, Brown's accomplishments as Chaplain were appreciated as well, being described in the *Annals* as "a most popular member, a splendid speaker . . . long remembered for his keen satire and quaint humour, and while in Nova Scotia outstripped all his contemporaries in genius and literary acquirements."¹³⁴

While his association with the North British Society enabled him to foster friendships and acquaintances with the Halifax society, specifically members of the British colonial governing class, the content of Brown's *Discourse*, delivered before the membership on the occasion of St. Andrew's Day in 1790, suggests the benevolent aspects of the Society were of great importance to him as well.¹³⁵ Charity work certainly

¹³¹ J.S. MacDonald, *Annals: North British Society, 1768-1903* (Halifax: McAlpine, 1905), pp. 2, 54-5. This was the first such appointment made in the Society's twenty-year history. Although Brown does not appear to have been inducted into the Masonic Lodge, the North British Society was closely associated with that organization. It was instituted on 26 March 1768, the same day as several members of the Society founded the Saint Andrew's Lodge.

¹³² Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent (1767-1820), fourth son of George III, was appointed commander of the forces in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1794. He resided in Halifax until 1798 and returned briefly in 1799. Evidently, Brown maintained a friendship with Edward after he returned to Britain, describing a visit to Kensington Palace shortly before the Prince passed away at the age of 52: "Truly man knoweth not his time. Little could I have supposed . . . that the Duke of Kent was so near his last day. Tho' his features seemed to be deeply touched with care, and tho' there was [a] . . . tone of melancholy in his mind as well as in his voice, his form was so athletic and his constitution so apparently entire[?], that he had all the appearances of reaching a lengthened age." Brown to Belcher, 28 January 1820, *Belcher Family Fonds*.

¹³³ MacDonald, *Annals*, p. 75. This particular celebration was held at the British Tavern.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹³⁵ As McMahon notes, seven members of St. Matthew's congregation appear as executive members of the North British Society between 1775 and 1805, including such prominent men as Alexander Brymer, Dr. John Halliburton, Admiral James Murray, Brigadier-General James Ogilvie, and Sir Thomas Andrew

took up an increasing share of Brown's time. He was "frequently called upon to perform all the Offices of Religion to Soldiers in Garrison, to seamen in the Hospital, and to persons occasionally employed in the public works, as well as to disbanded Soldiers, and Loyalist settlers . . . to none of which he ever refused his services, tho he neither expected nor received the smallest gratification for them."¹³⁶

Brown recognized his primary obligation was to his congregation and assumed his responsibilities with dedication and enthusiasm. Yet, when not engaged in ecclesiastical or social functions, and perhaps finding it provided some relief from his pastoral duties and "the loneliness of two winters in Nova Scotia", he turned his attention toward historical research.¹³⁷ It had been suggested to Brown, probably by Robertson, that he record his impressions of colonial society. The "Patron of my Youth", he wrote as he was preparing to leave Scotland in 1787, "has endeavoured to rouse my (ambition) Activity by representing the Grand and interesting objects that would claim my attention in the Western World", and these initial observations may represent the genesis of his history.¹³⁸

*He seriously advised me to keep a journal and to mark everything that might appear in any respect worthy of notice. He exhorted (encouraged) me to persevere in this practice, and not to _____ the labour fruitless however minute or inconsequential the facts collected might appear at the time. Hereafter, he said, the work would become a source of pleasure, as it would preserve original impressions . . . first judgements of the mind, which in the lapse of years are soon forgotten, and which when once lost can never be recovered.*¹³⁹

It began, therefore, simply enough. Yet, the romance and intrigue of the unwritten history of Nova Scotia, obliged Brown to embark on a more elaborate historical study:

Strange. See McMahon, "Andrew Brown", p. 34. See Brown, *A Discourse delivered before the North-British Society*. For a discussion of its contents, see McMahon, "Andrew Brown", pp. 35-7.

¹³⁶ Copy of Memorial dated 10 September 1791, *Congregational Records*, p. 48.

¹³⁷ See J.B. Brebner, "The Brown Mss. and Longfellow," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XVII (1936), p. 173.

¹³⁸ Letter dated 6 April, 1787, EUL *Brown Papers*. See also McMahon, "Andrew Brown", p. 24.

¹³⁹ Letter dated 6 April, 1787, EUL *Brown Papers*.

The idea was originally suggested by accident. In some fit or other I sat down with the intention of writing a State of the Province at the close of a Year – as a report to be delivered at St. James's. I had previously made some collection with respect to the Acadians, that, from every anecdote I heard concerning them, formed a very high opinion of the moral char^r and their pastoral and agricultural life.

From this date I read and noted the New Eng^td historians, and all the provincial histories of general extent; from them I procured a line of dates of general transactions, and of matters & facts of various kinds. Still my sources of information were distant, my facts inapplicable to a separate provincial history; and my notes, and extracts meagre and uninteresting.

By this time I had begun to intimate my design of writing the history of the province and made calls and applications to different officers for facts & materials; and found a general backwardness in all. The Gov^f. had no objections to shew me papers – But had rather see (as he frankly told me) two vol. of sermons than one of that nature. ¹⁴⁰

The events surrounding the Acadian Deportation quickly became a central point of interest. Almost immediately upon his arrival in Halifax in 1787, the story of the Acadian removal reached his ears. As the political and social repercussions lingered throughout the colony, the events of 1755 were a matter of intense debate and historical comment, and Brown found himself “living amidst the Scenes . . . which seemed still to breath the melancholy inspired by their fate”.¹⁴¹ As early as 1789, he was corresponding with individuals who had been actively engaged in the Acadian communities prior to, and at the time of, the Deportation.¹⁴² He interviewed and transcribed the recollections of men such as Isaac Deschamps, Brook Watson, Moses Delesdernier and Joseph Gray, inquiring about historical particulars and imploring his informants to search their books and papers for information. By means of this correspondence, he formed a network of well-informed acquaintances and ultimately obtained many personal accounts of those who were

¹⁴⁰ Brown, unpublished manuscript entitled, “Brief Sketch of the means by which I obtained, at different times, and in different manners, my materials for the history of Nova Scotia”, dated 2 August 1791, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen. 158.

¹⁴¹ Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia”, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen. 157.

¹⁴² See Deschamps to Brown, 12 February 1789, Acadia University Archives, *Herbin Collection*.

involved in, or witness to, the notable events of the time. Aware of the controversial nature of his research, Brown recognized that his contacts were possibly more interested in deflecting blame than in providing accurate accounts. Yet, despite questionable motivations, they did provide Brown with details not contained in the official records.¹⁴³

He immersed himself in the published discourse as well, but found the generic histories available to him rather unsatisfactory, and so he began to seek primary documents and access to Council records.¹⁴⁴ Although the government officials in Halifax resisted his attempts, he remained unrelenting in his efforts to secure this sensitive material:

A repulse only whetted me the more, and evasion and shuffling made me think of counterworking them by ingenuity of a similar kind. As the anxiety grew upon me to obtain a sight of the Council records, I bethought myself of procuring them by the mediation of Mr. Blowers, the Attorney Genl. . . . I stated to him the idea; requested the favour, and declared my dependence upon his application. He very kindly undertook the matter, and it was negotiated with Buckley in a . . . secretive manner. He made a great merit of it, as well he might, for Chief Justice Finnicane who had demanded a sight of them as a matter of right could never obtain it. The Books then, negotiated in this manner, were sent in the evening, in great secrecy . . . as Mr. Buckley pretended he had taken them himself, by stealth . . . In this disguise they came to me . . . some of them indeed are books of blood. From them I extracted whatever was curious, interesting, or applicable to my subject . . . carefully . . . abridged or wrote at full length.¹⁴⁵

Brown conducted his investigation of the Deportation with “a persevering zeal that abated only when every avenue of intelligence was closed”¹⁴⁶, and was further inclined to visit some of the resettled Acadian villages where he spoke with those who had since returned from exile to Nova Scotia, or indeed those who had never left. His time was apparently well spent, for following a visit to the village of Chezzetcook in

¹⁴³ See McMahon “Andrew Brown,” pp. 101-2.

¹⁴⁴ See Brown to Belknap, 31 December 1792, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, pp. 536-7.

¹⁴⁵ Brown, “Brief Sketch”, EUL *Brown Papers*.

¹⁴⁶ Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia”, EUL *Brown Papers*.

1790, Brown remarked: “Our inquiries and observations . . . revealed much which I might not otherwise have been able to discover (and taught me to understand and note what probably would have escaped my attention).”¹⁴⁷ By August of 1791, having read and noted everything available to him regarding American colonization in general and Nova Scotia in particular, he felt he had obtained enough information to begin writing, noting that “health, leisure, and perseverance are only necessary to range, compose & publish them.”¹⁴⁸

Yet, the demands on his time and the lack of financial resources available to him compelled Brown to request a leave of absence in the fall of 1791 to return to London and apply for additional funding from the Lords of the Treasury. He did not go directly to London, however, but first went to New England, where he met the historian Jeremy Belknap¹⁴⁹ in Boston through a mutual friend, Sampson S. Blowers.¹⁵⁰

If Robertson had encouraged Brown to begin writing, it was Belknap who inspired him to embark on a full scale historical study.¹⁵¹ Belknap was a cultural leader in late eighteenth-century New England.¹⁵² Born in Boston in 1744, he studied the classics at Boston’s South Grammar School and entered Harvard in 1758. Although he was ordained

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Brown, “Brief Sketch”, EUL *Brown Papers*.

¹⁴⁹ Jeremy Belknap (1744-1798) was a Congregational minister and cofounder of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Society was established in 1791 and Brown was elected as Corresponding Member in April 1793. See George B. Kirsch, *Jeremy Belknap: A Biography* (New York: Ayer Publishing, 1982).

¹⁵⁰ Sampson Salter Blowers (c.1741-1842) was born in Boston and graduated from Harvard in 1763. He then studied law in the office of Thomas Hutchinson. Blowers arrived in Halifax in 1783 and became Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in 1797. See Phyllis R. Blakeley, “Sampson Salter Blowers,” *DCB*. See also Blowers to Belknap, 24 September 1791, as quoted in *Belknap Papers*, p. 521: “I cannot permit my very particular friend, Doct^r Andrew Brown, minister of the Scotch church in this place, to visit Boston without giving him a letter of introduction to you. I am confident that I am contributing to the pleasure of you both by this step. He is a gentleman of the most amiable manners, and as much esteemed here for the goodness of his heart as the soundness of his understanding and extensive reading. He has turned his attention to an History of Nova Scotia, and must be much pleased with an opportunity of knowing and conversing with the historian of New Hampshire.”

¹⁵¹ McMahan, “Andrew Brown”, p. 41.

¹⁵² See George B. Kirsch, “Jeremy Belknap: Man of Letters in the Young Republic,” *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. LIV (1981), p. 33.

a Congregational clergyman in 1767 and considered the ministry to be his chosen profession, Belknap began writing early in his career. The *History of New Hampshire*, published in three volumes between 1784 and 1792, was his greatest literary achievement, often considered to be the first ‘modern’ American history.¹⁵³ The American Revolution had galvanized an earnest examination of colonial history and Belknap’s work embodied a new rigor in research, writing primarily from original sources and with an emphasis on accuracy. Dismissing the traditional notion of divine providence as the controlling principle of life, he sought to promote human reason, a fundamental theme that set his work apart from his Calvinist predecessors.¹⁵⁴

Despite the nearly twenty years that separated their ages, they appealed to each other immediately, and as Brown’s correspondence with Belknap reveals, the elder historian became a mentor, friend and confidant. The two men shared similar interests and Belknap was able to offer Brown practical guidance and a level of intellectual stimulation that he may have not otherwise found in late eighteenth-century Halifax.¹⁵⁵ The attachment was strong, as the affectionate, if somewhat infrequent, letters demonstrate. They are not only a testament to their enduring friendship, but convey a great deal of information on Brown’s life in Halifax, his interests and historical pursuits, and his assessment of contemporary historical writing as well.¹⁵⁶ He implored Belknap to send him recent works of the American historians, offering the latest European news in

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 34. It is interesting to note that while a freshman at Harvard Belknap published a poem on the taking of Cape Breton.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁵⁵ McMahon, “Andrew Brown”, p. 42.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43. Most of the letters Brown wrote to Belknap were printed in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Ser. 6, Vol. IV, *Belknap Papers* (1871). Their correspondence, comprising fifteen letters, spans six years commencing in February 1792 and continuing until Belknap’s death in 1798.

kind, and thus the two men established a virtual floating library, whereby books were borrowed and returned via the vessels sailing between Boston and Halifax.¹⁵⁷

In addition to meeting Belknap and other influential individuals, such as the Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, Samuel Adams,¹⁵⁸ in Boston, Brown visited Philadelphia, where he was introduced to Benjamin Rush,¹⁵⁹ the famous American physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence. “I waited upon a Scotch clergyman . . . of the name of Brown from Nova Scotia”, Rush wrote in his diary in October 1791, “a man of genius, learning, observation, and uncommonly eloquent in conversation.”¹⁶⁰ Thus, Brown’s reputation began to spread beyond the borders of Nova Scotia.

He then sailed to England on board the ship *Mary* out of Boston.¹⁶¹ It was during this long winter passage across the Atlantic that Brown made a fateful, if not unwise, decision. He left Halifax intending to gather additional information for his history of the province, but having “found the connection that the History of Nova Scotia naturally has with that of the neighbouring colonies of Great Britain; And having observed the general barrenness of the separate History of a single Province, and its awkward reference to the affairs of the rest, I determined to extend my work on Nova Scotia to the whole of the

¹⁵⁷ Brown to Belknap, 14 June 1793, *Belknap Papers*, pp. 550-1. For more information on the availability of books in eighteenth century Halifax, see Fiona A. Black, ““Advent’rous Merchants and Atlantic Waves”: A Preliminary Study of the Scottish Contribution to Book Availability in Halifax, 1752-1810,” in eds., Marjory Harper and Michael Vance, *Myth, Migration and the making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1999), pp. 157-88.

¹⁵⁸ Samuel Adams (1722-1803) was among those who signed the Declaration of Independence. He was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1789 and became Governor in 1794. He was the second cousin of John Adams, second President of the United States.

¹⁵⁹ Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), born in Pennsylvania, was an eminent Physician, writer and educator. He received his M.D. at the University of Edinburgh and was appointed Professor of Medical Theory and Clinical Practice at the University of Pennsylvania in 1791.

¹⁶⁰ See George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His “Travels Through Life” together with his Commonplace Book for 1798-1813* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1948), p. 212.

¹⁶¹ Brown to Belknap, 20 February 1792, *Belknap Papers*, p. 521.

North American Governments on the Continent of America.”¹⁶² This resolution to extend the scope of his historical study to include all of North America, a decision undoubtedly influenced by his recent visit to New England, is perhaps the reason Brown never completed any of his historical writings. Had he been less ambitious, or able to contain the focus of his labour, he might have published at least a portion of his work and become, perhaps, a celebrated historian.

He arrived in London on 10 January 1792. Although Bishop Inglis worried that his request for additional funding might create a troublesome precedent, he nevertheless offered Brown his support by writing a letter of introduction to the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁶³ In addition to the Bishop’s assistance, Brown noted that he was indebted to several other high-ranking individuals as well, including Chief Justice Strange¹⁶⁴ and the recently appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, John Wentworth,¹⁶⁵ both of whom happened to be in London at the time, and Principal Robertson and Hugh Blair.¹⁶⁶ Given the power and influence of his supporters, it is not surprising that Brown was successful

¹⁶² Brown, unpublished manuscript entitled, “Resolutions respecting the enlargement of my historical researches; and the objects to be prosecuted with particular care”, dated 20 December 1791, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen 158.

¹⁶³ Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, 3 October 1791, *Memoirs of Bishop Inglis*, p. 269.

¹⁶⁴ Sir Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange (1756-1841), was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia and President of the Council in 1789. He was succeeded by Sampson Salter Blowers in 1797, at which point Strange was charged with duties in India. In 1794, he was elected President of the North British Society. For additional biographical information, see Donald F. Chard, “Sir Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange,” *DCB*.

¹⁶⁵ John Wentworth (1737-1829) was the son of a prominent family from the colony of New Hampshire. He was educated at Harvard and arrived in Halifax in 1783. Wentworth was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia on 14 May 1792 but was peremptorily removed from office in 1808. See Judith Fingard, “Sir John Wentworth,” *DCB*.

¹⁶⁶ See copy of letter from Brown to the Gentlemen of the Committee and the Elders of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Halifax, 17 February 1792, *Congregational Records*, p. 58.

in his application and granted a supplementary salary of £75.¹⁶⁷ The government aid, however, was given to Brown as an individual and not to the Church of Scotland.¹⁶⁸

While waiting for the decision on his salary, Brown continued the research he had begun in Halifax. The presence of Chief Justice Strange and Governor Wentworth facilitated Brown's search for documents in the records of the Colonial Office in London.¹⁶⁹ In the cold, damp and dismal apartments of Whitehall, in which silence pervaded "as if public spirit were expired", Brown set about to satisfy "several blanks that no papers in the colony would enable me to fill".¹⁷⁰ He soon found, however, the British records rather tedious to unravel and was thwarted by the mass and disorganized nature of the material. He expressed his frustration to Belknap:

*By the care and recommendation of some of my friends from Nova Scotia, I have procured admission to the Plantations Office; but one can only see and admire the wisdom, the method, and the judiciousness of the old Board of Trade at a distance. To descend into particulars, to make separate and correct examinations of their reports, and to collect the colonial policy and views of Great Britain, would require Nestor's age and the patience of the greatest book-moth that ever eat paper.*¹⁷¹

Shortly thereafter, he proceeded to Scotland, where he would spend the next two months visiting with family and friends. His time, however, was marked by conflicting emotions. "Indeed the most difficult part of my journey is yet before me", he confessed while still in London, "the meeting with an Altered scene, and the parting from an aged and indulgent parent for the last time."¹⁷² Yet, despite the sadness he anticipated, and surely endured, his grief was offset by the reunion with his former pupil, Daniel

¹⁶⁷ MacDonald notes that Brown was appointed Garrison Chaplain to the Scottish Dissenting Troops in Halifax in Garrison at this time. See MacDonald, *Annals*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁸ See Moir, *Enduring Witness*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁹ Brown to Belknap, 20 February 1792, *Belknap Papers*, p. 521.

¹⁷⁰ Brown, unpublished manuscript entitled, "Plantation Office", dated 27 January 1792, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen 158.

¹⁷¹ Brown to Belknap, 20 February 1792, *Belknap Papers*, p. 522.

¹⁷² Copy of letter from Brown to the Gentlemen of the Committee and the Elders of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Halifax, 17 February 1792, *Congregational Records*, p. 59.

Cranstoun, whom he married in the early fall of 1792.¹⁷³ Brown would later recall his experience in Scotland with a certain nostalgia, “Few people who have not felt it can easily conceive the pleasure that springs up in the bosom on revisiting a native spot, on taking a friend by the hand after a long separation, and on viewing the sacred ground where the ashes of a father and of kinsmen repose.”¹⁷⁴

Brown did not share, however, the romantic sentiments of many Scots who immigrated to Nova Scotia during this period; sentiments that invoked powerful victim imagery and the cultivation of a mythological understanding of Scottish emigration as a reluctant or forced exodus.¹⁷⁵ He had adjusted quickly to the peculiarities of a “new world” existence and, as he observed, life in colonial Halifax had altered his impressions of his native land. “I traversed Scotland with a new interest, and perhaps a different eye,” he wrote upon his return to Halifax, “from what I should have done if I had never been in America.”¹⁷⁶ Brown was convinced of the negative social consequences of the Industrial Revolution:

Many changes have taken place there during the short absence of 5 years. Population and riches are increasing with rapid and equal pace. But the industry of the individual is directed to new objects. A different plan of rural oeconomy and managing estates has diminished the number of farmers and of the dependents on farmers. The small leaseholders, with their cottages and kail-yards have disappeared, and a new species, known by the name of gentlemen farmers, have occupied their room. To accommodate these opulent tenants, house has been added to house & field to field. Goldsmith's Deserted Village occurs to the traveller's mind, and many a lovely Auburn is sought, but none is to be found. The inhabitants who embellished them by their industry, and dignified them by their innocence, have been driven to the workshop or to the wilderness of a new world.

The usual consequences have followed the introduction of arts and manufactures. Knowledge is no longer the prominent feature in the character of Scotsmen. Formerly the parents had no other way of disposing of their

¹⁷³ Scott, *Fasti*, p. 72. They married in Scotland on 10 September 1792.

¹⁷⁴ Brown to Belknap, 31 December 1792, *Belknap Papers*, pp. 534-5.

¹⁷⁵ See Harper and Vance, eds., *Myth, Migration and the making of Memory*, pp. 16, 29.

¹⁷⁶ Brown to Belknap, 31 December 1792, *Belknap Papers*, p. 535.

*children than by sending them to the village school, where they make considerable proficiency in reading and writing before they were ready for country labour or entering to an apprenticeship. But now parents can get wages for their children as soon as they are capable of picking cotton, or indeed of speaking the language. They are trained on the floor of the manufactory, instead of that of the school, and are early corrupted by bad example. The eye of the master is far distant, and if the daily task is performed, the overseer has no business to interfere. All the vices of trade are beginning to appear, and, as great wages are earned by the ingenious workman, he has it in his power to be a profligate on a great scale. Unhappily, too, it will still be worse in the next generation than in the present.*¹⁷⁷

The industrial wasteland he described was set against the vast and now-familiar landscape of Nova Scotia, and Halifax had become “the standard against which the towns of Scotland were judged.”¹⁷⁸ As McMahon has observed, this impression was made more vivid as Brown immersed himself in the history of colonial society, and came to admire, and indeed romanticize, the agrarian lifestyle, particularly that of the Acadians.¹⁷⁹ These combined factors undoubtedly heightened his awareness of the social repercussions associated with the Industrial Revolution and reinforced his appreciation for North America. More importantly, they began to impact his interpretation of Acadian history and lay beneath his notion of a “Paradise Lost”.¹⁸⁰

Brown returned to Nova Scotia with his young wife, intending to settle down and start a family, and with the birth of their first child in the summer of 1793, it seemed that life in Halifax was secure.¹⁸¹ But the transition proved difficult for Daniel, and her isolation from family and friends was compounded by the emotional distress of the loss of their child. “After some weeks of sickness, our little daughter was called away, and left us both in sorrow”, Brown confided to Belknap, “You can easily imagine what effect a first

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ McMahon, “Andrew Brown”, p. 45.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7. Evidently, Brown had an interest in agriculture, particularly while in Halifax. He is recorded as a Director of the Society for Promoting Agriculture in the Province of Nova Scotia in 1789. See *Nova Scotia Magazine*, Vol. I, No.6 (1789), p. 479.

¹⁸¹ The child, named Ann Hay, was born 3 July 1793.

stroke of that kind must have had on the heart of a mother, and irony as man's nature is, it naturally melts at the sufferings of his own flesh."¹⁸² Another child was born in 1794, whom they named George Cranstoun, and although only scattered vignettes of Brown's relationship with his son survives, they reveal him to be an affectionate and nurturing father.¹⁸³

Brown began to write in earnest in the summer of 1793, committing himself with unlimited industry and perseverance to a study of available historical material. "Soon after my settlement here . . . I betook myself to study and to writing. From necessity and choice I applied first to professional labour, and have added to the number of my sermons. After a good deal of work on them, I am just beginning to set vigorously about my historical researches."¹⁸⁴ But time and opportunity proved scarce, "For so it happens, that what with one thing and another time passes away in America at a strange rate, and leaves, even to the industrious, few traces of its flight."¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, Brown's eyesight was deteriorating so severely that in the fall of 1793 he complained, "my eyes, which have been weakly all summer, caught a new inflammation, which confined me to *dark idleness* for three tedious weeks."¹⁸⁶ Still, Brown remained resolute, carefully studying and, in many cases, transcribing the documents available to him. Partly because of his social status and the rare opportunity it afforded him to collect material, and partly

¹⁸² Brown to Belknap, 28 October 1793, *Belknap Papers*, p. 559.

¹⁸³ See Brown to Belknap, 20 August 1794, *Belknap Papers*, p. 578 and Scott, *Fasti*, p. 72. George Cranstoun (or Cranston) Brown was born in Halifax 18 July 1894. See also George C. Brown to Andrew Brown, 19 March 1808, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen 154: "My Dear Father, The house has been very dull since you went away, I told Mr. Bell when he called that I was almost quite well but he said he would not let me out for a day or two . . . I have a journal ready to shew you when you come home, No more at present, but remain Dear Father your affec^t son."

¹⁸⁴ Brown to Belknap, 14 June 1793, *Belknap Papers*, pp. 546-7.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

¹⁸⁶ Brown to Belknap, 28 October 1793, *Belknap Papers*, pp. 559-60.

because of a passionate - at times an unrelenting - obsession, Brown had, for eight years, unrivalled access to original documents relating to the history of Nova Scotia.

To his dismay, Brown was called back to Scotland in the spring of 1795. “We knew that our relations would not fail to interest themselves to get us established nearer them”, he wrote to Belknap, suggesting that the news, although sudden, was not altogether unexpected.¹⁸⁷ Governor Wentworth granted his request for a leave of absence, stating only that Brown had “received a Summons requiring his going from home to Scotland upon Business of great importance to himself & family”.¹⁸⁸ While Brown was undoubtedly aware that he would eventually leave Nova Scotia, he was neither personally nor professionally prepared to do so. He now considered Halifax to be his home and had already buried one of his two children there. As a popular and respected minister for nearly eight years, he enjoyed a level of influence in the colony that he could not have hoped to achieve in a large metropolis such as Edinburgh. He had been gratified by the degree of intellectual stimulation he had found both within and beyond the borders of colonial Nova Scotia and, perhaps, more importantly, he was still gathering material for his history.¹⁸⁹ It would be far more difficult, he knew, to finish his work once he returned to Scotland. His heartfelt reluctance to leave Halifax is most evident as he shared the news of his departure with Belknap, his trusted friend:

To dissolve a connection which had subsisted with uninterrupted harmony during the space of eight years, to bid adieu to a place where I had enjoyed many comforts and spent an important period of my life, but above all to bid farewell to a kind, affectionate congregation, and leave them without a minister of their own profession, were painful circumstances, which in my situation created a variety of feelings. In the midst of these reflections, however, I had to settle my affairs,

¹⁸⁷ Brown to Belknap, 25 May 1795, *Belknap Papers*, p. 590.

¹⁸⁸ See NSARM, RG1 Vol. 171, p. 126.

¹⁸⁹ See McMahon, “Andrew Brown”, p. 50.

*dispose of my effects, and get everything ready for the use of my wife and child during a hazardous voyage at a very critical period.*¹⁹⁰

His congregation was also surprised and saddened, remarking that “his name and Virtues . . . will long remain deeply fixed on the memory of his congregation, indeed no people ever parted with a Pastor more sincerely beloved by them all.”¹⁹¹ Whatever the reason for his removal, there was little time to dwell on the matter. The request for his presence was immediate and, indeed, the same packet that brought the news of his transfer was also to convey Brown and his family back to Scotland.¹⁹² “There were few dry cheeks in St. Matthew’s Church the day on which he preached his farewell sermon. The people followed him to the wharf, and took their long last gaze of the ship with sorrow and regret.”¹⁹³

Brown left Halifax with his family and a trunk full of documents and drafts of his history in the spring of 1795. The passage of the April packet was swift and uneventful. “Twenty-one days changed the scene from America to Europe” and according to Hunter, it was during this interlude that Brown was introduced to Prince William Henry (later William IV), returning to England by the same vessel.¹⁹⁴ The Prince is said to have been “delighted with his fine taste and literary acquirements” and to have taken “much pleasure in his conversation.”¹⁹⁵ Although repeated in the historiography numerous times, the authenticity of this claim is suspect. Prince William Henry had indeed visited Halifax four times between 1786 and 1788 while on active service with the Royal Navy, but no

¹⁹⁰ Brown to Belknap, 25 May 1795, *Belknap Papers*, pp. 590-1.

¹⁹¹ Copy of letter from the Committee of St. Matthew’s to George Baird, et al., 13 April 1795, *Congregational Records*, p. 70.

¹⁹² Brown to Belknap, 25 May 1795, *Belknap Papers*, p. 590.

¹⁹³ Sprott, *Memorials*, p. 140.

¹⁹⁴ See Brown to Belknap, 25 May 1795, *Belknap Papers*, p. 591. See also Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 22.

evidence has surfaced to suggest he was in Halifax in 1795. It is certainly possible that he and Brown were introduced at some point, but the alleged meeting is unlikely to have taken place as some historians have suggested.

Back in Scotland, Brown was posted to the parish of Lochmaben in Dumfriesshire. As he described it, Lochmaben was “a very desirable part of Scotland, where there is a genteel society, and a ready access to the seats of learning.”¹⁹⁶ The more leisurely existence of the small rural village would serve as a relatively undemanding transition as he readjusted to life back in Scotland. Shortly thereafter another child, Daniel Isabella Elizabeth, was born.¹⁹⁷ Nova Scotia, however, was not forgotten and although Brown was now far removed, his association with friends in the colony continued. Richard John Uniacke,¹⁹⁸ for instance, was adamant that his son Norman spend time with Brown during a visit to Scotland in 1798:

*I would have you inform yourself whether Dr. Brown be at his parish in [Lochmaben]. This you will hear . . . by writing to him a line and receiving his answer as it is my wish that you spend the principal part of the time you stay in Scotland in his company . . . I should be glad that Dr. Brown would introduce you to some of his acquaintance in London who I have no doubt are good people.*¹⁹⁹

Brown did not stay long in Lochmaben. In 1799, the Town Council of Edinburgh appointed him to New Greyfriars Church and the following year he was transferred to Old St. Giles Cathedral, the High Kirk of Edinburgh, a position he occupied until his death.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Brown to Belknap, 25 May 1795, *Belknap Papers*, p. 591.

¹⁹⁷ Scott, *Fasti*, p. 72. Daniel Isabella Elizabeth Brown was born on 2 November 1795.

¹⁹⁸ Richard John Uniacke (1753-1830), an influential lawyer and politician, was born in Ireland. He arrived in Halifax in 1774 and was appointed Attorney General of Nova Scotia in 1797, a position he held until his death. See B.C. Cuthbertson, “Richard John Uniacke,” *DCB* and Cuthbertson, *The Old Attorney General: A Biography of Richard John Uniacke* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1980).

¹⁹⁹ R.J. Uniacke to N. Uniacke, 1 November 1798, reprinted in Cuthbertson, “Fatherly Advice in Post-Loyalist Nova Scotia: Richard John Uniacke to his son Norman,” *Acadiensis*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (1980), pp. 78-91. It is interesting to note that Uniacke, who had been a member of the congregation during Brown’s ministry, left St. Matthew’s and joined St. Paul’s shortly after Brown returned to Scotland.

²⁰⁰ See Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 22 and Shepperson, “Andrew Brown”, *DCB*.

Brown's life and career would once again change dramatically. In 1800, Hugh Blair died at the age of 83, leaving the Professorship of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres at the University of Edinburgh vacant.²⁰¹ How Brown managed to secure the prestigious chair six months later is uncertain. According to Hunter, Prince William had been so impressed during their fortuitous meeting nearly six years before that he recommended Brown as a suitable candidate.²⁰² Henry Meikle, in his article on the history of the Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres, offers another possible scenario. According to Meikle, Brown had been for some time anxious to obtain additional income.²⁰³ Indeed, as early as 1795, he was writing, rather apologetically, to Henry Dundas²⁰⁴ concerning his financial situation. Evidently, Dundas had helped secure the earlier parliamentary grant awarded to Brown while in Nova Scotia:

*Had your time been less precious than it is, I should have requested permission to express, in person, the sense I entertain of the important obligations you have conferred on me. But in addition to this motive, the connection I have lately had with Government thro' the allowance in the Estimate of Nova Scotia, for which I have always held myself indebted to your favour, will require me, when I reach London, to beg a few moments of your leisure, that I may submit to your consideration some circumstances with regard to it of essential importance to me in my present situation.*²⁰⁵

By 1799, Brown found himself almost the only minister in Edinburgh without some kind of provision independent of his salary.²⁰⁶ His increasing apprehension compelled him to

²⁰¹ Hugh Blair retired from active university duties in 1784 and was issued a joint professor, William Greenfield (1755-1827). By 1798, however, Greenfield was deposed from the Ministry and excommunicated by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, leaving Blair, once again, sole professor of Rhetoric. See Meikle, "The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres", pp. 94-5.

²⁰² Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 22.

²⁰³ Meikle, "The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres", p. 96.

²⁰⁴ Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811), was a Scottish lawyer and politician. He was treasurer of the Navy from 1782-1800, but was impeached in 1806 for the misappropriation of public funds.

²⁰⁵ Brown to Dundas, 12 May 1795, National Archives of Scotland, GD51-6-1079.

²⁰⁶ Meikle, "The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres", p. 96.

write to his friend, George Chalmers,²⁰⁷ who was then employed in the Trade and Plantations office in London. He informed Chalmers of his interest in a position as Royal Chaplain, noting that he had the strong support of Blair in this regard. Perhaps, as Meikle suggests, the government offered the Rhetoric Chair to Brown instead, finding it a suitable compensation for the grant he had received while in Nova Scotia.²⁰⁸

In the contemporary opinion of Dugald Stewart, however, Brown's selection represented nothing less than the patronage and preferential treatment facilitated through his friendship with Dundas. Stewart later complained, "That our College offices should in future be given to clergymen (if clergymen could be found competent to fill them), was a system publicly avowed by some of his nearest relation and most confidential friends, at the time when the professorship of Rhetoric was last vacant."²⁰⁹ Whatever the case may have been, Brown was appointed Blair's successor in June of 1801, becoming the third and last cleric to hold the Chair.²¹⁰

Given Brown's reputation for the eloquent composition of his sermons and his intellectual prowess in general, he should have been eminently qualified for such a position. Based on the following description of Brown's Rhetoric class as it appeared in

²⁰⁷ George Chalmers (1742-1825) was a Scottish antiquarian and political writer, then employed as chief clerk to the committee of Privy Council on matters relating to trade. Brown was introduced to Chalmers by Chief Justice Strange when in London in 1792. See Brown, "Plantation Office", 27 January 1792, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen 158. In the same document, Brown records the advice Chalmers offered him on how to render his history "more interesting and attractive".

²⁰⁸ Meikle, "The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres", p. 96.

²⁰⁹ Dugald Stewart to Francis Horner, 8 June 1805, as reprinted in Sir William Hamilton, ed. *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co, 1858) Vol. X, p. cxxxviii. Stewart believed a more qualified and eligible candidate had been overlooked, namely Dr. Thomas Brown, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University.

²¹⁰ Brown was, in fact, the second choice for the Chair. A young Edinburgh advocate and subsequent popular novelist, Walter Scott (1771-1832), had previously turned it down. See D. Talbot Rice and Peter McIntyre, *The University Portraits* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1957), p. 24 and Meikle, "The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres", p. 95. Following Brown's death, the Chair of Rhetoric became the domain of lawyers for the next 30 years.

The Edinburgh Student's Guide for the year 1822, it seemed that his performance had been thus far satisfying:

The present excellent Professor is Dr Andrew Brown, one of the ministers of the city. The course which he delivers is admirably adapted to initiate the youth into a knowledge of the principles of criticism, and to form their taste in regard to polite literature.

Dr Brown discusses with uncommon ability that part of the course which relates to the different theories that have been formed respecting the principles of taste. The examination of those theories does not extend to an undue length, but they have excited such a sensation among those who have had the benefit of attending the Professor, that a very general desire has been expressed that he would communicate them to the public. . . .

The general principles regarding taste, style, &c. which the Professor had so clearly laid down, and so amply illustrated, are applied to the works of the most eminent historians, both ancient and modern. The object which every good historian proposes to himself is accurately defined, and the duties which he has to discharge are described. An estimate of his talent is made – the kind of style most appropriate to historical composition is explained. – And the historians both ancient and modern who have succeeded best in this province, are mentioned, their peculiar excellencies pointed out, and their works candidly criticised. . . .

All the different kinds of poetical composition come under review, whether epic, dramatic, didactic poetry, the satire, the ode, &c.; and ample criticisms made upon each species in detail. In conclusion, it may be added, that Dr Brown's lectures will well reward the attendance of every student who is desirous of cultivating elegant literature.

No one can obtain the degree of Master of Arts without attending the Rhetoric class.²¹¹

Edinburgh was the first university to establish Rhetoric, traditionally a component of the course in Logic, as a separate university chair. Hugh Blair was appointed the first Regius Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres by George III in 1762 and the popularity of his course attracted large numbers of students, not only to Blair's class, but to the university in general. Blair had been enormously popular and his *Lectures on Rhetoric*

²¹¹ Alexander Bower, *The Edinburgh Student's Guide: or an Account of the Classes of the University, Arranged under the Four Faculties; with a Detail of what is Taught in Each* (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1822), pp. 24-7. The guide was intended to be as much a handbook for current and prospective students as an advert for the Professors themselves, for it was, at the time, the responsibility of the professor to actively recruit students for his course. The fee for the course in Rhetoric and Belles Lettres is listed as L.4, 4s.

and *Belles Lettres*, published in 1783, had been used extensively throughout the British Empire and printed in numerous translations.²¹² Yet, despite, the extraordinary success of his *Lectures*, they were apparently better in print than when delivered by him. It is said that he had no graces of address and “independently of a very strong provincial accent, his elocution was but indifferent from a defect in the organs of pronunciation.”²¹³ This, perhaps, may explain why Blair chose to emphasize Rhetoric as a study of aesthetics and the reading of English literature rather than the more traditional study of writing and oratory, thereby setting the example of identifying rhetoric with literary criticism.²¹⁴

By comparison, Brown’s career can only be described as inauspicious. Of those historians who have found his academic career worthy of comment, the nature of their scrutiny is always condescending and critical. Yet, despite the general agreement among scholars that Brown failed dismally as a professor, this conclusion merits re-examination. The damage to his reputation seems to stem from a university reform commission established in 1826 to examine the need for change in Scottish universities. The Royal Commission criticized Brown severely, ultimately recommending that “the separate Rhetoric class ought not be continued but should be again united with the class of Logic”.²¹⁵

According to the Commission, the function of the Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres course for Brown was to “convert the art of criticism, which has hitherto rested on the

²¹² Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, p. 94.

²¹³ Alexander Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh; Chiefly Compiled from Original Papers and Records, Never before Published* (Edinburgh: Waugh & Innes, 1830), Vol. III, p. 17. See also Alexander Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh During its First Three Hundred Years* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884), Vol. II, pp. 357-8.

²¹⁴ Henry A. Hubert, *Harmonious Perfection: The Development of English Studies in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Canadian Colleges*, MSU Press Canadian Series #5 (East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1994), p. 12. Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, p. 94.

²¹⁵ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831, Vol. XII, No. 44 (hereafter *Parliamentary Papers*), pp. 129-30 as cited in Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, p. 97.

authority of illustrious names and classical works, into a Science, by referring the productions of genius, in all the departments of elegant design, to those operations and laws of our sensitive and intellectual nature, to which everything that aspires to please must be accommodated.”²¹⁶ Such an ideal, however, proved difficult to achieve owing to “the low state of grammatical instruction in this part of the island, and the local and provincial idioms prevalent in the works even of the learned”.²¹⁷ As a result, the content of the Rhetoric class had to be adjusted to the ability of the students, who ranged in age from 16 to 25.²¹⁸ Much of Brown’s time was therefore “employed in minute remarks on the choice of words, the structure of sentences, and the errors or inadvertences which obstructed the perspicuity of composition.”²¹⁹ The level of academic heterogeneity within his classroom caused him distress, and his caution was doubtless deliberate, as he noted, “There are different ages: they have had different opportunities of improvement, and the work must be very unequal”.²²⁰

The Rhetoric class met one hour a day, five days a week, during a session of four months. Instruction consisted almost entirely of lectures and Brown did not oblige his students to write essays nor did he administer examinations.²²¹ Such practice was by no means uncommon at the time and Blair himself restricted his professional duties to lecturing, prescribing neither essays nor other practical exercises.²²² Unlike Blair, however, who rarely changed his notes,²²³ Brown’s “lectures in the Rhetoric class were

²¹⁶ *Parliamentary Papers*, as cited in Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, pp. 96-7.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* See also *Royal Commission on the Universities of Scotland: Evidence oral and documentary* (hereafter *Royal Commission*) (Edinburgh, 1837), p. 103

²¹⁹ *Parliamentary Papers*, as cited in Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, p. 97.

²²⁰ *Royal Commission*, p. 103.

²²¹ Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, p. 97. See also *Royal Commission*, pp. 102-6.

²²² Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, p. 94.

²²³ *Ibid.*

elegant and instructive, and from time to time were subject to careful revision, in order to render them still more correct and complete.”²²⁴ When asked by the Commission if he ever instituted private examinations in his own class, Brown replied: “I have never dared to introduce anything of the kind. There was no example of such a thing before me; and from the general failure of efforts to introduce that in other departments, I was certainly not encouraged to propose it.”²²⁵ Had this been the extent of the grievances against him, Brown’s reputation might have remained intact.

Of greater concern to the Commission was Brown’s lack of discipline, particularly his inability, assuming he indeed made a concerted attempt, to attract and secure an acceptable level of attendance. The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres had been founded on the grounds it would bring “additional numbers of Schollars to the Collage”, yet, Brown’s classes only averaged in size from 27 to 37 students, despite the fact that the course was, by 1822, compulsory to obtain the degree of Master of Arts.²²⁶ “The system of discipline is extremely lax,” stated the report, “or rather there is no discipline enforced . . . The reason assigned for not enforcing attendance was that in none of the departments of life is the certificate of the professor of Rhetoric necessary; but as it is now rendered necessary for obtaining a Degree in Arts the hands of the professor are greatly strengthened”. Nevertheless, “certificates of attendance are granted to those who require them . . . No notice is taken of irregularity or deficiency of attendance. Upon production of such certificates a degree in Arts might be conferred although no Essay had been given in . . . and although attendance had been most irregular.”²²⁷ The problem appears to have

²²⁴ Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 22.

²²⁵ *Royal Commission*, p. 103.

²²⁶ See R.D. Anderson, et al., *The University of Edinburgh*, p. 78 and *Royal Commission*, p. 103.

²²⁷ *Parliamentary Papers*, as cited in Meikle, “The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres”, p. 97.

been systemic. A decade earlier, Walter Scott had expressed his disapproval on the state of the Rhetoric class: “There are two classes in our University . . . which possessed by the present incumbents, are wretched sinecures, in which there are no lectures – or if any lectures, no students. – I mean the classes of Rhetoric and History.”²²⁸

When asked if there were any observations or suggestions he wished to make respecting his class, Brown’s response was pragmatic:

*None; my class is not one of absolute necessity to the College, and a great body of our students, from the circumstances in which they enter life, and the course of literature, are compelled to satisfy themselves with absolute necessities. The things requisite for different professions are those to which they apply themselves. I have no great impression that, excepting under the influence of strong popularity, or of the particular opinion of the day, a class like the Rhetoric class will be closely or frequently attended. I hold it however, and have acted invariably on that conviction, that to a great majority of our young men it is of very essential importance, and in the upper ranks of society, if not the doctrines, at least the delicacies of taste are a part of domestic education, and that those of who come forward under less favourable circumstances, much less need instruction on these subjects, for a few observations to acute minds serve as general laws.*²²⁹

Of the suggestion that the Rhetoric class be reintegrated with Logic, Brown himself agreed: “There would be no difficulty in that at all, for originally it was included as one of the departments of Logic, and they would go very well together, in my opinion”.²³⁰

Although Brown did not meet the prevailing academic criteria of the University, which expected him to maintain large numbers of students and certainly to publish, there is no suggestion in the report that either Brown’s intellect or the calibre of his instruction was considered wanting. To the contrary, evidence suggests that at least some of his students considered him an inspiring teacher: “I took readily, and with pleasure, to the somewhat kindred subject of rhetoric, though taught by a prosy professor, the Rev. Dr

²²⁸ H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott 1815-1817* (London: Constable & Co, 1933), p. 200.

²²⁹ *Royal Commission*, p. 102.

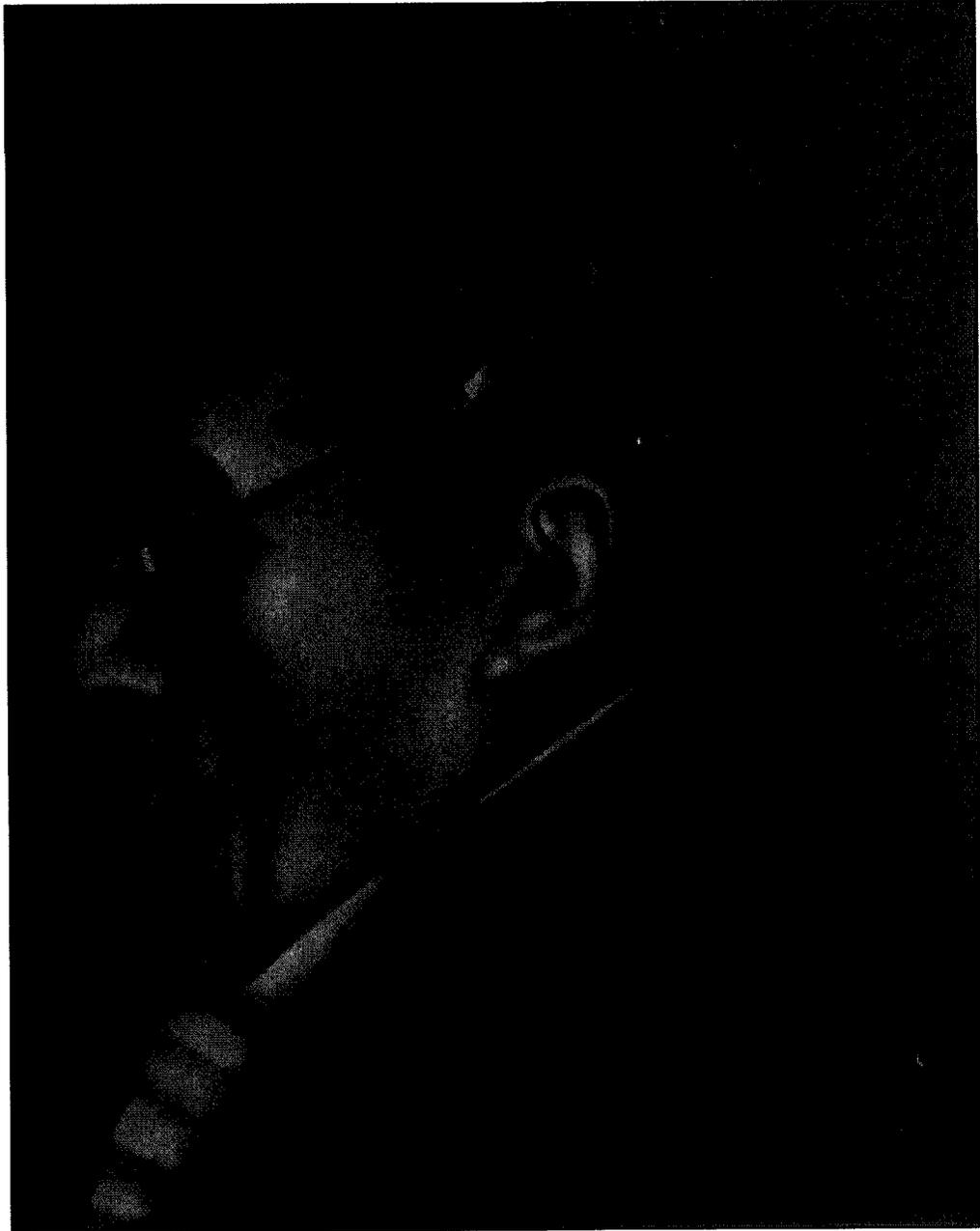
²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

Andrew Brown” wrote one of his students, Robert Christison,²³¹ later professor of Materia Medica and physician to the Queen in Scotland: “Brown took an active interest in his students, was very kindly in his manner to them, and somehow contrived to draw them out. He certainly got me to work hard; so that I not only carried off a principal prize in the class, but also took copious notes of his lectures, which I still possess”.²³²

The poor attendance in his classes may not be an accurate reflection of his teaching abilities, but rather an indication that he was simply too busy to recruit students actively, which was the responsibility of the professor at the time. In addition to his academic responsibilities and the increasing demands of his Edinburgh congregation, he was appointed Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1813. While he did not contribute to the literature in his field, he was obviously engaged in a far more elaborate enterprise and was determined eventually to publish a major historical work, one that would eclipse, perhaps, even the efforts of William Robertson. Basing their interpretations on the Commission’s recommendation that the Rhetoric class be reunited with Logic, earlier historians downplayed Brown’s standing as a capable academic, while later scholars perpetuated and exaggerated his reputation as a disastrous

²³¹ Robert Christison (1797-1882) was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he originally followed the Arts course. He chose a medical career, however, and graduated from Edinburgh in 1819. Christison was appointed to the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence at Edinburgh in 1822, resigning in 1832, and was subsequently selected for the Chair of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, which he held until 1877. This he had held along with the Chair of Clinical Medicine until 1855. He was appointed physician to Queen Victoria in 1848 and received a baronetcy in 1871.

²³² *The Life of Sir Robert Christison, Bart.*, Vol. I, *Autobiography* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885), p. 46.



Andrew Brown

[From an original sketch made by one of Brown's students
while he was lecturing at the University of Edinburgh in 1825.
School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures, University of Edinburgh]

professor. Of course, one must not be too cavalier about presuming to depose prevailing generalizations, for there were legitimate concerns with respect to the management of his class. However, it may be too simplistic to conclude, as one less charitably inclined scholar suggested, that his appointment “proved all but disastrous to the chair.”²³³ In any case, the recommendation was not carried out, and Brown remained Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres until his death.²³⁴

Although Brown held his Professorship for thirty-three years, this episode cast a dark and lasting shadow over his entire career. He was ultimately considered a failure as a professor and unlamented as an academic. Later historians have often suggested that Brown was more engaged in his study of Nova Scotia than in teaching.²³⁵ Certainly his historical research and writing consumed a great deal of his energy, especially during the later years of his life. Although much of the material for his history was compiled during his time in Halifax, he continued to gather information upon his return to Scotland.²³⁶ “Feeling anew all my capabilities of application”, he wrote to Andrew Belcher²³⁷ in 1820, “I begin to hope I may be able to put the finishing hand to the papers which have so long engaged my attention.”²³⁸

²³³ Rice and McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, p. 24.

²³⁴ A striking bust of Brown, sculpted by Thomas Campbell in 1815, can be found in the Playfair Library Hall, which honours the great professors of the University of Edinburgh.

²³⁵ Rice and McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, p. 24.

²³⁶ See Brown to Belcher, 28 January 1820, *Belcher Family Fonds*.

²³⁷ Andrew Belcher (1763-1841), born in Halifax, was son of Jonathan Belcher (1710-1776), former Chief Justice of Nova Scotia from 1754-1776. He was a successful merchant and politician, and the father of Admiral Sir Edward Belcher (1799-1877) of the British Royal Navy. See David A. Sutherland, “Andrew Belcher,” *DCB*.

²³⁸ Brown to Belcher, 28 January 1820, *Belcher Family Fonds*. The letter accompanied the return of a “duplicate Letter book of Nova Scotia” from the administration of Belcher’s father, which Brown had evidently borrowed for research.

He was still searching for new sources of information in 1826 when he met with John James Audubon,²³⁹ the American wildlife artist who was then visiting Edinburgh. Audubon recorded the meeting in his diary: “I went to the College University to see Dr. Andrew Brown, professor of Rhetoric, who had called [in] turn on me. What a bore it is to be obliged to return calls that are merely fashionable. He also wished that I would write him the manners of Indians, &c., but writing is very irksome and of no benefit to me whatever.”²⁴⁰ In view of Audubon’s dismissive reaction, it is unlikely that Brown ever received the information he requested.

While much attention has been paid to Brown’s perceived failures as an academic and historian, he did enjoy some success in other aspects of his career, including his induction into the prestigious Royal Society in 1803.²⁴¹ He would surely have taken pride when in 1817, Lord Dalhousie,²⁴² then Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, wrote to Brown, expressing his wish to establish a college in Halifax under the principles of the University of Edinburgh, which was open to all occupations and religious denominations.²⁴³ Brown and his colleague, George Baird,²⁴⁴ Principal of the University, responded with a detailed explanatory letter regarding the foundation and system of the

²³⁹ John James Audubon (1785-1851), American ornithologist, naturalist, hunter, and painter, went to Great Britain looking to publish his partly finished collection of avifaunal paintings in 1826. While in Edinburgh, Audubon found a printer for his enormously successful *Birds of America*.

²⁴⁰ Alice Ford, ed., *The 1826 Journal of John James Audubon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 288.

²⁴¹ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: William & Charles Tait, 1823), Vol. IX, p. 518.

²⁴² George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie (1770-1838) was born in Scotland and educated at the University of Edinburgh. In the spring of 1816, he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia and founded Dalhousie College, the first liberal, nonsectarian institution of higher learning in Nova Scotia, in 1818. See P.B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University*, Vol. I, 1818-1925: *Lord Dalhousie’s College* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1994).

²⁴³ See Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University*, Vol. I, pp. 16-18. See also D.C. Harvey, *An Introduction to the History of Dalhousie University* (Halifax: McCurdy Printing Co., 1938), pp. 9-18.

²⁴⁴ George Husband Baird (1761-1840) was a Church of Scotland minister, educational reformer and the Principal of the University of Edinburgh from 1793-1840.

University at Edinburgh, and based on these recommendations, Dalhousie College was founded in 1818.²⁴⁵

His private life underwent profound changes as well. Daniel died shortly after their return to Scotland, leaving Brown with two young children and responsibilities with which he was ill equipped to cope. He remarried quickly in 1805. However, his daughter, Daniel, died four years later, at the age of fourteen.²⁴⁶ He had married Mary Grant, the eldest daughter of a distinguished physician in Edinburgh of whom little is known except that she was “much celebrated for her acquirements” and was an accomplished musician, performing with “science and taste on the piano and pedal harp.”²⁴⁷ Mary died in 1826, as did Brown’s sister, Janet, compounding the difficulties and emotional strain created by the untimely scrutiny of the Royal Commission.²⁴⁸ He married for a third time in 1830 to Mary Ogilvie,²⁴⁹ but within the year, his only and beloved son George died at the age of 37.²⁵⁰ Throughout his life, he also complained of physical ailments and suffered from poor eyesight, conditions which forced him to suspend his writing for extended periods.

Brown removed himself to a seaside villa in Leith, known as Primrose Bank Cottage, where his grandson, Andrew, joined him following the death of George.²⁵¹ It was

²⁴⁵ Baird and Brown to Dalhousie, 1 August 1818, Dalhousie University Archives, *Board of Governors Correspondence*, MS-I-I-BI.

²⁴⁶ Scott, *Fasti*, p. 72. Daniel Isabella Elizabeth Brown died 9 August 1809.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* They married 7 March 1805. Mary was the daughter of Dr. Gregory Grant. See John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, Carver and Gilder, 1838), Vol. II, Part I, pp. 109-111.

²⁴⁸ Scott, *Fasti*, p. 72. Mary died 27 January 1826. See also Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, p. 21.

²⁴⁹ Scott, *Fasti*, p. 72. They married 10 March 1830. Mary was the widow of Andrew Pearson, M.D., of Primrose Bank. She died 18 April 1852.

²⁵⁰ George C. Brown had become a successful physician in Sheffield. He married Anne Paterson. See *The Border Magazine*, November 1831-December 1832, (Berwick: John Rennison, 1833), Vol. I, p. 340.

²⁵¹ Primrose Bank House, the residence of Mary Ogilvie’s former husband, is situated on Primrose Bank Road in Leith. It was built c. 1750 and is now known as Shirley Lodge. See Joyce M. Wallace, *Further Traditions of Trinity and Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Edinburgh, 1990), p. 18. I must thank Dr. P.G and Mrs. M Fawcett, the current owners of Shirley Lodge, for inviting me into their home and giving me the honour of enjoying a cup of tea in what was formerly the drawing room of Andrew Brown.

here that he spent his final years attempting to finish his history. Unfortunately, he was never able to synthesize his documentary sources and correspondence into a version he felt worthy of publication.²⁵² It has been suggested that “Andrew Brown was so obsessed with his book that he never finished it”²⁵³ and there is no doubt that he was a perfectionist who was unwilling, or unable, to part with his work. In the judgement of a contemporary:

He was thoroughly a recluse, and for the sake of quiet, lived in a small sheltered villa out of town. My only remembrance of him is that of his fine impressive cast of features as he went across the college court to his lecture room. But I never happened to meet with any one who was numbered among his pupils, or who profited by his lectures.

It was said of him, I believe truly, that . . . Dr. Brown had been occupied for thirty years or more, upon one solitary work, namely, a history of America. It was said, also, that his manuscripts, which made together an enormous mass, were in double columns, of which one was at first left blank for emendations; that the Professor worked upon them incessantly; “multa tulit fectique, sudavit et alsit,” and yet all was in vain! The blank columns were indeed filled up; the whole narrative concluded, and written three times over; but the author was never satisfied; after all he seemed only to have accomplished his “memoires pour servir,” and, consequently, the work never made its appearance to eclipse the reputation of Dr. Robertson, as it might have done!”²⁵⁴

Andrew Brown died on 19 February 1834, at the age of 71. He was buried in the Greyfriars Churchyard and those who knew him mourned the loss of a man distinguished by decency, intelligence, knowledge and a strong sense of duty. The impress of the years in Nova Scotia was never lost. Among the provisions of his will, he established a bursary to be “placed under the charge & Patronage of the Minister & Elders of the Congregation of Saint Matthews Church in Halifax Nova Scotia where I commenced my professional labours, & for which I retain an affectionate regard”.²⁵⁵ In the end, he was not a successful writer and his efforts to bring the Acadian story to light remained unfulfilled. He died

See also the “Extract Trust Deed and Settlement” of Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown, recorded 28 August 1840, p. 677. I am indebted to Peter Freshwater for providing me with a copy of this document.

²⁵² McMahan, “Andrew Brown”, p. 152.

²⁵³ Shepperson, *Edinburgh and Canada*, p. 3.

²⁵⁴ Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran*, pp. 261-2.

²⁵⁵ “Extract Trust Deed and Settlement” of Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown, recorded 28 August 1840, p. 679.

without publishing a single word of the history that so long engaged his attention and intellectual energies.

In many ways, Brown's life encompassed an array of contradictory settings and experiences, straddling two continents, centuries and careers. As Peter Freshwater has observed, "he lived his life in two distinct parts, and historians have been concerned with only one or the other. Had he completed and published his planned history of North America, he would have provided his own bibliographical link between them."²⁵⁶

Brown was first and foremost a Presbyterian minister and would have considered this his primary occupation. He exemplified the fundamental principles of the Moderate wing of the Church of Scotland, which valued tolerance and humanitarianism, and consistently applied these principles to his ministerial duties, his historical research, and his private life. As a young minister in Nova Scotia, Brown demonstrated considerable leadership and diplomacy, uniting the disparate factions of Halifax's Protestant Dissenting congregation and facilitating the social acceptance and status they had hitherto lacked in Nova Scotia. Indeed, Brown played an integral role in shaping the history of Presbyterianism in the colony, and in this respect his accomplishments have been appreciated. A twentieth-century historian of St. Matthew's remarked that he was "one of the ablest men who ever came to Nova Scotia."²⁵⁷ In Scotland, Brown played a modest, but by no means insignificant, role as an Edinburgh clergyman, rising to the heights of his profession as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1813. Although his lack of success as a university professor led to his denigration as "a lecturer to empty benches", Brown

²⁵⁶ Freshwater, "The Elusive Andrew Brown," p. 37.

²⁵⁷ Murray, "History of St. Matthew's Church", p. 169.

was a man of “no inconsiderable literary talents but never could persuade himself that his work was sufficiently elaborate or ornate”.²⁵⁸

His legacy, however, was his integrity and his hard work. Influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment and the emergence of modern academic scholarship, the sheer volume of material found in his collections of documents and accumulated manuscripts is testimony to his meticulous research. The limits to his potential were apparently owing to his obsessive nature, perhaps the burden of a powerful mind. But it was also this remarkable intellect, improved with curiosity and persistence, which made him extraordinary. While his manuscripts often eclipse his own identity, it is hoped that Andrew Brown is beginning to emerge from the elusive shadows that have been cast over his life, career and legacy.

²⁵⁸ *Fraser's Magazine*, p. 595.



REV. ANDREW BROWN, D.D.,

*Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Andrew Brown, D.D. The earlier part of his life was spent in the duties of the holy ministry at Halifax, Nova Scotia; he was afterwards appointed one of the clergymen of the Old Church, St. Giles, and professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh. After a long course of usefulness in the exercise of his duties as a minister and a professor, he died at Primrose Bank, near Edinburgh, on the 19th day of February 1834, in the 71st year of age. This monument, in testimony of their respect for his distinguished abilities and amiable disposition, was erected by his grandson's testamentary trustees.*²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ See James Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: J. Moodie Miller, 1867), p. 206.

The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of History

Andrew Brown's treatment of the history of Nova Scotia, and of Acadian history in particular, was no mere compilation of historical facts or geographical information. His assessment of colonial history was moulded by the intellectual climate during which it was composed and reveals much with respect to the mental landscape in which Brown wrote.²⁶⁰ As an early historical account of the Acadian Deportation, Brown's manuscript is of considerable importance, but it is also significant as an example of the school of historical writing it represents. Brown was a product of the Age of Enlightenment, a period of intellectual awakening that transformed Europe during the eighteenth century.²⁶¹ The Enlightenment was not an event, but rather a movement, in which the traditional pessimistic and superstitious views of the universe were challenged by a more progressive approach to experience, experiment and reason. The proponents of enlightened thought sought to cast doubt on the dogmatism of the past, erode cynical certainties and ultimately shift the cultural horizon of history, the arts, science, philosophy and religion.

²⁶⁰ For general treatment of modern analytical historiography, see Michael Bentley, ed., *Companion to Historiography* (London & New York: Routledge, 1997) and Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1999).

²⁶¹ For a general introduction to the European Enlightenment see: Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951); Paul Hazard, *The European Mind: The Critical Years, 1690-1715* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964); Norman Hampson, *The Enlightenment: An Evaluation of its Assumptions, Attitudes and Values* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968); Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1969); Alfred Cobban, ed., *The Eighteenth Century: Europe in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969); Lester G. Crocker, ed., *The Age of Enlightenment* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1971); James Engell, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1981); Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1995); Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2001); Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (London: Palgrave, 2001).

During the second half of the eighteenth century, Scotland emerged, however briefly, as a cultural leader of Europe.²⁶² At the height of the Enlightenment, within an atmosphere of university reform and religious liberalization, Scottish intellectuals, concentrated in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, enjoyed international recognition for the range and originality of their teachings in disciplines such as philosophy, history, law, economics and science.²⁶³

The study of history, in particular, surfaced as an important preoccupation of the eighteenth-century Scottish literati.²⁶⁴ This fascination with the past was partially induced by, and inextricably bound to, the political and religious turmoil of Scotland's history. From the medieval period, through the Reformation and into the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the events of Scotland's past forced early modern scholars to reflect upon the nature of societal change, identify its causes and contemplate how such change might impact the future.²⁶⁵

Although there is now general consensus among scholars that the origins of the Enlightenment in Scotland can be traced back to a much earlier tradition of intellectual innovation and scholarship, the impact of the politico-economic union with England in the early eighteenth century cannot be ignored. The Union of 1707 was a dramatic turning point in the history of Scotland. The emergence of a newly-created British state brought about profound social, economic and constitutional change. Although a number of

²⁶² For specific treatment of the Scottish Enlightenment, see Jane Rendall, *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment: 1707-1776* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), David Daiches, Peter Jones and Jean Jones, *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1986), Paul B. Wood, ed., *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation* (Rochester UP, 2000) and Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2001).

²⁶³ Rendall, *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 1.

²⁶⁴ Daiches, et al., *A Hotbed of Genius*, p. 7.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9.

important Scottish institutions, such as the ancient universities, the church and the law, survived the Union intact, this political convergence was accompanied by a perceived loss of Scottish identity, and a plaguing uncertainty surrounding the fundamental nature of Scotland's character, culture and religion.²⁶⁶ A sense of national ambiguity would compel the literati to look to the past to stabilize a rather precarious historical and cultural identity within this new political framework. In order to transcend the infringement of independence, the literati sought inspiration and guidance both from past achievements and failures, and the study of history was pursued with increasing vigour as a result. Historians could provide Scotland with an internal expression of self-confidence while presenting an external sense of respectability and sophistication throughout the British Empire.²⁶⁷

It is important to recognize that the discipline of history did not emerge spontaneously during the Scottish Enlightenment, but that this was, in fact, the second of two great periods of Scottish historiography.²⁶⁸ There was a considerable tradition of historical scholarship in Scotland stemming particularly from the sixteenth century during the decades before and after the Reformation, and the Scottish literati were the immediate inheritors of a dynamic historical discourse shaped by humanist and Calvinist conceptions of history and heavily influenced by the moralistic function of scholarship.²⁶⁹ Although different intellectual movements, both humanist and Calvinist ideas played a crucial and

²⁶⁶ Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 58.

²⁶⁷ Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), pp. 13, 94. See also David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1993), pp. 9-10.

²⁶⁸ Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 43.

²⁶⁹ See Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*. p. 147.

formative role in the evolution of historical thought in Scotland and the emergence of history as an academic discipline.²⁷⁰

There were, of course, many reasons why the study of history was considered a valuable exercise beyond historical self-understanding and national self-awareness. The historical narrative could amuse and entertain, as well as inform, instruct and unite.²⁷¹ The eighteenth-century Scottish literati understood that historical knowledge was a precondition of intellectual development and that society could not advance without expanding the sphere of historical understanding.²⁷² The Enlightenment was, in this respect, a sustained pursuit of the relationship between causality and change, and the study of history emerged as a scientific investigation of human nature.²⁷³ As David Hume observed, “A man acquainted with history may, in some respect, be said to have lived from the beginning of the world, and to have been making continual additions to his stock of knowledge in every century.”²⁷⁴ By understanding and applying historical perspective and process, the Scottish literati pioneered a vast range of topics for analysis, from social evolution to the origins of property, and, as David Allan has suggested, the historical discourse of the eighteenth century provided the foundation on which the fundamental theories of political economy and social development would ultimately rest.²⁷⁵ For this reason alone, the study of history had a significant and practical role to play in every academic discipline.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* See also Robert D. Linder, “Calvinism and Humanism: The First Generation,” *Church History*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (June 1975), pp. 167-81.

²⁷¹ Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 43-54.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 63.

²⁷⁴ David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, eds., L. A. Selby-Bigge and P.H. Nidditch, second edition (Oxford, 1978), pp. 566-7.

²⁷⁵ Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 10.

For Hugh Blair, as for Andrew Brown, the instructive nature and educative function of historical study was of primary importance. “As it is the office of an Orator to persuade, it is that of an Historian to record truth for the instruction of mankind. This is the proper object and end of history, from which may be deduced many of the laws relating to it.”²⁷⁶ Adam Smith echoed Blair’s comments, noting that history “sets before us the more interesting and important events of human life, points out the causes by which these events were brought about and by this means points out to us by what manner and method we may produce similar good effects or avoid similar bad ones.”²⁷⁷ Authenticity and historical accuracy were thus seen as necessary and integral features of Scottish historical scholarship.

Brown was certainly aware that the consultation and presentation of evidence to support the more subjective interpretations of historical experience was imperative. The primary documents had to provide both legitimacy to the historical text and offer authenticity to the sentiments induced, and Brown stressed his commitment to historical accuracy, even at the expense of a smooth and continuous narrative. As he stated in the manuscript:

*However much a judicious selection and an impartial relation of them [the facts] may be valued in this age of refined taste and polished composition I am fully sensible to the original papers It is therefore my intention to insert such provincial papers as immediately lend to illustrate those subjects of investigation.*²⁷⁸

In a letter dated 1820, Brown went on to say:

²⁷⁶ Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, ed. H.F. Harding (London, 1783; rpt., Carbondale: U of Southern Illinois, 1965), pp. 259-60.

²⁷⁷ Adam Smith, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, ed. J. C. Bryce, Vol. IV, *Glasgow Edition of the Works of Adam Smith* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983), p. 90.

²⁷⁸ Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia”, *EUL Brown Papers*.

*I have been most solicitous to hold a steady hand and to be scrupulously just to all the parties. The interest that rises from what may well be called the patriarchal sympathy of the Akadians, the purity of their character, their devoted attachment to one another, and the melancholy of their fate, will create, I am aware, a strong sensation on their behalf.*²⁷⁹

Brown, then, was not willing to sacrifice or undermine the veracity of his history for more rhetorical or didactic qualities. As McMahon has noted, “The historical writings on Nova Scotia which immediately followed Brown’s do not as a general rule contain any such commitment to historical accuracy.”²⁸⁰

For most eighteenth-century Scottish historians, history was a profoundly instructive and educational medium, deploying the lessons of experience to improve the collective judgement of society.²⁸¹ Yet, historical scholarship during the Enlightenment was about more than the individual acquisition of knowledge. It ultimately and explicitly promised moral improvement. Fuelled by the need to elucidate the greater significance and meaning of their work, the high moral purpose of historical scholarship was a persistent ideological perspective and philosophical undercurrent of early modern Scottish writers.²⁸² Eighteenth-century scholars, such as Brown, believed, not unlike their humanist and Calvinist predecessors, that the writing of history had the power to cultivate moral and civic virtue within the greater population, and in doing so, could change the very nature of Scottish society.

The study of history, operating as a pursuit of virtue, could not only engage the imagination and the intellect, but also, more importantly, the faculty of will.²⁸³ For Hume and William Robertson, it was the pursuit of virtue that provided the theoretical

²⁷⁹ Brown to Belcher, 28 January 1820, *Belcher Family Fonds*.

²⁸⁰ McMahon, “Andrew Brown”, p. 66.

²⁸¹ Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 58.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁸³ Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 51.

underpinnings for historical scholarship.²⁸⁴ By engaging the emotions and sympathies of the reader, who would then reflect upon, approve or disapprove of the actions of previous generations, the historian could instruct the reader in making sound moral judgments and guide their will in the direction of civic virtue.²⁸⁵ This idea was strongly promoted in Robertson's histories and facilitated their popularity in both Europe and America.²⁸⁶ It was also a device that Brown embraced in his study of the Acadian Deportation.

It is important to understand that Brown's Acadian manuscript was in fact an appendix to a larger work, presumably his planned history of North America. The addition of appendices to the historical text made it possible for the historian to emphasize aspects of society that the elaboration of which did not necessarily fit within the greater stream of the political narrative.²⁸⁷ The intended effect was to ensure that the reader recognized the multidimensional nature of the narrative: that being to inform as well as to instruct.²⁸⁸ As Brown wrote in his conclusion to the Acadian Appendix:

*It is in the bye corners of history, that instruction and experience may sometimes be gathered with greater success than in its most splendid details: and I certainly consider this little episode in the general action of the Seven years war, as possessing an inherent power, to lift the public functionary, in a distant land, above the undue influence of the fears and the hopes of a trying situation.*²⁸⁹

Thus, the Acadian manuscript represents a profoundly instructive medium, employing the lessons of experience, particularly those of misguided colonial policy, to improve the collective judgement of society.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9, 53-4. See also Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000), pp. 103-28 and O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment*, pp. 114-22.

²⁸⁷ Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. 52.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ Brown, "Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia", EUL *Brown Papers*.

While the purpose of historical scholarship was evolving, so too was the practice of writing history, for as George Chalmers advised Brown during their meeting in the Plantation Office in 1792, “It is of no manner of Use . . . to write books if no one will read them.”²⁹⁰ In order to engage and affect the reader, Brown employed the literary style of sentimental narrative, a technique mastered by Robertson when telling the story of Mary Queen of Scots in his *History of Scotland*.²⁹¹ Brown knew that a sentimental treatment of Acadian life before their exile would unite the reader’s sympathies and sensibilities when the narrative turned to an appraisal of more politically sensitive issues. His audience, whether they were European or North American, initially may have found little in common with an immigrant community of French-speaking Roman Catholics, and little reason to be interested or concerned with their plight. In an effort to overcome this emotional detachment, Brown emphasized the virtues of Acadian society, stressing their egalitarian tendencies, their peaceful and generous, yet frugal nature, their work ethic, self-reliant spirit and innovative farming techniques, and, above all, their sense of family, community and civic virtue.

Brown also stressed the “pure morals” and “virtuous modesty” he believed the Acadian people to possess, noting that their “colloquial talents excited the greater surprize among the English, when it was recollected that no conventional institutions had ever found their way into the districts, to take charge of the education of the females and cultivate their taste.”²⁹² Ultimately, he concluded that the manner in which the Acadians lived had been “too presumptuously confined to the higher stages of an artificial

²⁹⁰ Brown, “Plantation Office, Friday Jan. 27th, 1792”, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen 158.

²⁹¹ See O’Brien, *Narratives of History*, pp. 114-22.

²⁹² Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia”, EUL *Brown Papers*.

civilization.”²⁹³ Brown clearly detected a level of sophistication in Acadian culture that his contemporaries may have assumed was absent in such an agrarian-based society.

Brown’s emphasis on the collective virtue of Acadian society was particularly effective when contrasted with the deplorable nature of their treatment by the British during and after the Deportation. He was able to engender an emotional immediacy that not only invokes compassion and sympathy for the exiled Acadians but underscores the cruel nature of the policy by which they were deported. While Brown’s portrayal of the Acadians may seem to the modern reader to be overly romantic and excessively dramatic, it was a deliberate attempt on the part of the author to fuse the inner moral and aesthetic sensitivities of his literary audience by appealing to their feelings of sympathy.

One means by which historians could effectively instruct their audience in the pursuit of virtue was to carefully consider the nature of social leadership. Aristocratic corruption and misconduct had produced an ever increasing sceptical and disillusioned public and a new social theory of leadership, steeped in humanist tradition, surfaced in the complex historical discourse of early modern Scotland.²⁹⁴ Eighteenth-century historians shifted the focus of their attention and adulation away from men of aristocratic birth and hereditary leadership toward a more common moral activity, thereby reconstructing the necessary qualities of social leadership. In the words of David Allan, “History itself would become the means to defining and identifying the characteristics of the model social leader.”²⁹⁵ Virtue, rather than noble or royal birth, now implied good leadership and moral superiority, and virtue could be attained by any erudite student of history.²⁹⁶ In this

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 79-109.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-109.

respect, the study of history enabled a young minister like Andrew Brown to emerge as a social leader by ensuring that he possessed the required qualities of ‘virtue and learning’.

Central to Brown’s manuscript was the role played by Nova Scotia Governor Charles Lawrence in the development of the colony in general and the institution of the colonial policy that led directly to the removal of the Acadians in particular. He contrasted the work of the earlier acting governor Paul Mascarene, who was, in the opinion of Brown, the exemplification of active and responsible social leadership, with Governor Lawrence, whom he considered to possess “some radical defects”. As Neil Hargraves has observed, “Traditionally, character had served an exemplary function, providing readers with a gallery of virtues and vices to imitate or eschew.”²⁹⁷ Social leadership demanded virtue, discipline and intelligence and for Brown, Lawrence presented a striking example of qualities that were to be deplored. Lawrence was not, in the opinion of Brown, motivated by collective virtue, but by personal and extravagant ambition:

*A morbid pride, yet more perverse in its nature, made him impatient of the remotest allusion to the point from which he had started, or the steps that led him to overtop his equals; and the person who on other subjects might not be rashly encountered, was liable, on this ground, to be disconcerted by a changeling. In the possession of power, therefore, he manifested dispositions different from those which had smoothed his way to promotion; and the generous Superintendent of the German Emigrants settled in Lunenburg, became the Scourge of a people that made a far stronger claim on the sympathy & admiration of a discerning mind.*²⁹⁸

Brown’s characterization of Lawrence, which appears within the first pages of his narrative, and for which all subsequent events are to be set against, has a multidimensional purpose. It not only focussed on the relationship between individual

²⁹⁷ Neil Hargraves, “The “Progress of Ambition”: Character, Narrative, and Philosophy in the Works of William Robertson,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (2002), p. 264.

²⁹⁸ Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia”, *EUL Brown Papers*.

character and particular events, but emphasized the notion of human agency and personal responsibility as well.

By way of contrast, Brown accentuates the virtuous and admirable qualities he observed, despite a lack of formal education, in one of the leaders of the Acadian community. For Brown, Jacques Terriot was “a philosopher without books” and “a mechanic possessing the practical command of many of the principles of Mathematics which he knew not as a science”.²⁹⁹ That Brown had a comment to make on questions of leadership, virtue and historical causality is obvious. His faith in the value of individual and civic virtue is a dominant theme upon which his narrative rests and underscores the social and intellectual purpose of his historical pursuits. Furthermore, by stressing the perceived inadequacies and fundamental character flaws that Brown observed in Lawrence, he could alleviate, at least to some degree, the culpability of the British government, namely the Board of Trade.

Throughout this period, the early modern Scottish historians defended and propagated the high moral purpose of historical scholarship, the social significance of their discipline and their intellectual function as historians, thereby elevating themselves to positions of leadership and influence. Their writing was intended to confirm and strengthen virtue, instruct, educate and inform, discover patterns of change and define the causal explanation of social revolution. Brown’s work had not only an instructional but also a moral purpose, to explain the tragic circumstances endured by the Acadians, seen as a result of the struggle for supremacy over North America, and to compel respect for their humanity, which included appreciating their culture and preserving their heritage. For Brown, there was within the Acadian story a valuable moral lesson that no political

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

agenda, military conquest or colonial policy could excuse such acts of unnecessary carelessness or criminality. The cruel nature of the acts committed against the Acadians were not only “unfaithful to the paramount and everlasting interests of humanity”,³⁰⁰ but were bound to incur decisive retribution upon those responsible as well. In the final pages of his narrative, Brown was candid about his intentions:

*I may not deny that the desire of enforcing, this moral, in the whole intent of its applications, thro' the foreign connections and dependencies of Europe, has supported my patience in collecting and piecing the materials of a narrative that has cost me as much trouble as any other part of my work.*³⁰¹

Above all, the study of history could ultimately provide an opportunity to gain insight into God’s divine intellect. The role of providential intervention in history, derived from an earlier Calvinist doctrine, was of great importance to historical scholarship of eighteenth-century Scotland.³⁰² With few exceptions - Hume, the self-proclaimed agnostic being one - Scottish historians believed that human history represented the unfolding of a divinely ordained plan. In other words, an investigation of human nature was also an investigation into the will of God.³⁰³ By placing the theoretical relationship between historical causality and change, and peace and prosperity, within a broader framework of providential determinism, historians could, in effect, steer the course of Scottish society according to God’s plan. It is not surprising then that so many eighteenth-century theologians were preoccupied by the study of history, regarding providential causality as an essential element in any meaningful historical text.³⁰⁴ There was, however, an inherent tension between divine causality and the notion of human agency and intention.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 57.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

³⁰⁴ Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 64.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Robertson, being one of the first narrative historians to incorporate new theories of sociological inquiry, struggled to reconcile his Calvinist understanding of providential determinism with his Enlightenment view of history.³⁰⁶ His response to this dilemma was as moderate as it was innovative, explaining that God generally worked through secondary or natural causes, and only occasionally through supernatural intervention.³⁰⁷ Thus, secular history could be incorporated into a greater plan of providence, allowing for the idea that human agents had a demonstrable and constructive role to play in the shaping of events and civil society. In the words of Colin Kidd, “Robertson derived a sceptical epistemology and a ‘synergetic’ conception of the relationship between the divine providence and human will.”³⁰⁸

Robertson’s ability to overcome such dichotomies within the historical discourse was congruent with the emergence of Moderatism as a religious position, of which Robertson was the leading figure. The Moderate party was a group of progressive Scots ministers who held sway in the Church of Scotland during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Many of them, Principal Robertson for one, also occupied influential positions within the University of Edinburgh. Through persuasive oratory and astute political management, the Moderates effectively gained control of both the ecclesiastical and academic establishments, and used their institutional authority to disseminate Moderate ideals and values.³⁰⁹ At its core, Moderatism sought to offset the extremism and intolerance that had long existed within the Church of Scotland, replacing it with a tempered but traditional Calvinist doctrine that could coexist in a world of reason and

³⁰⁶ O’Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment*, pp. 125, 131.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁰⁸ Colin Kidd, “Subscription, the Scottish Enlightenment and the Moderate Interpretation of History,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (July 2004), p. 506.

³⁰⁹ Sher, *Church and University*, p. 14.

improvement. As Richard Sher has commented, “Without explicitly rejecting Calvinist doctrine, they sought to shift the emphasis of Scottish Presbyterianism from predestination and election to individual and social morality.”³¹⁰

The Moderate literati were a learned elite, many of whom - such as Robertson, Adam Ferguson and Hugh Blair - were renowned for their accomplishments in the disciplines of history, moral philosophy and rhetoric. They were not, however, as prolific with regard to Calvinist doctrine and theological matters. This is not to suggest their work was not grounded in Christian tradition, but rather that it lacked the religious fervour of their Scottish contemporaries. The apparent preference for history over theology within the Moderate movement was linked not only to the need to examine the past in order to understand the workings of providence, but also to those theories of historical sociology and social development that appeared during the Scottish Enlightenment.³¹¹

In particular, the emergence of conjectural history, arising out of the distinctly Scottish ‘science of man’, was one of the most ambitious and provocative developments in historical writing during the eighteenth century.³¹² Conjectural history was seen not as a political narrative but as a moral science, a naturalistic or organic narrative of the development of human societies, driven by the desire to examine and understand the basic principles of human nature.³¹³ As a framework for historical understanding, conjectural history allowed early modern Scottish theorists to move beyond the limits of documented

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³¹¹ Colin Kidd, “Subscription,” pp. 502-3.

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 507. See also Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. 171.

³¹³ Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. 171.

historical evidence to identify and classify the progress of social forms from the earliest times.³¹⁴

Conjectural history, a term coined by Dugald Stewart, was based on, among other features, a stadial view of history. In its most fundamental form, stadialism was the theory by which the history and development of human society naturally progressed through four more or less distinct and consecutive stages, each corresponding to a different mode of subsistence, proceeding from an initial hunter-gatherer phase, through pastoral and agrarian stages, to the modern age of commerce. Robertson, in his *History of America*, offers a contemporary definition of the stadial interpretation of social analysis: “In every inquiry concerning the operations of men when united together in society, the first object of attention should be their mode of subsistence. Accordingly at that varies, their laws and policy must be different.”³¹⁵

Conjectural history sought to establish an experimental or scientific method of reasoning into the study of human history, and the stadial theory provided a universalizing and progressive account of the development of civilization in which all societies pass through the same common trajectory, albeit at different times and at different rates.³¹⁶ The same pattern of progressive improvement, the stadial as opposed to the linear, could be carried forward to an examination of recorded history, providing historians with a comparative ethnography for both historic and prehistoric times.³¹⁷ Needless to say, the eighteenth-century Scottish literati believed the current state of

³¹⁴ Kidd, “Subscription,” p. 508.

³¹⁵ William Robertson, *History of America* (Paris: Baudry at Foreign Library, 1828), p. 171.

³¹⁶ Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 66. See also Kidd, “Subscription,” p. 508 and Frank Palmeri, “Conjectural History and the Origins of Sociology,” *Narrative*, Vol.14, No. 1 (January 2006), pp. 3-4.

³¹⁷ Palmeri, “Conjectural History,” p. 3.

European commercialization to represent the highest level of social development thus far attained.

During the eighteenth century, the stadial theory of socio-economic development was widely accepted and became the cornerstone of many of the emerging academic disciplines, such as political economy, anthropology and sociology. By the turn of the century, this theory had risen to the status of orthodoxy and most historians worked within its framework. William Robertson, though he may have considered himself a narrative historian, fully embraced the stadial conception of social evolution, albeit under the oblique superintendence of providence, in the *History of America*.³¹⁸ He was undoubtedly encouraged by the increasing accessibility of information on the Native Peoples of America, and examined in great detail variations of social life observed among different tribes across the Americas.³¹⁹ Indeed, in the words of Karen O'Brien, "Robertson supplies one of the most rigidly materialist expositions of the four stages theory to be found anywhere in Scottish writing."³²⁰ His perception of the Native Americans as an intact example of the hunter-gatherer stage was set within an historical narrative of conquest and discovery, allowing Robertson to integrate the descriptive and critical nature of stadialism and the more linear elements of the narrative.³²¹

For Robertson, the 'New World' represented a laboratory in which the "polished nations" could study the earliest form of social evolution, being "one of the most

³¹⁸ O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment*, p. 134.

³¹⁹ Rendall, *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 123-6.

³²⁰ O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment*, p. 153.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

important as well as instructive researches which can occupy the philosopher or historian.”³²² It was a noble pursuit, as Robertson maintained:

*In order to complete the history of the human mind, and attain a perfect knowledge of its nature and operations, we must contemplate man in all those various situations where in he has been placed. We must follow him in his progress through the different stages of society, as he gradually advances from the infant state of civil life towards its maturity and decline.*³²³

It was also a study that was to be embarked upon by “persons endowed with force of mind superior to vulgar prejudices”,³²⁴ as it would be tempting indeed for Europeans, in their self-proclaimed socially superior state, to view the aboriginal peoples with a “peculiar scorn”. This certainly helps to explain Brown’s own fascination with aboriginal peoples, in particular since Robertson had never set foot on North American soil and undoubtedly encouraged Brown to gather whatever information was available to him.

While Brown did not embark on a singular study of the indigenous peoples of North America, it was a subject to which he ascribed distinct value:

*These Indians, I fear, will plague me; following their history is like following their tracks. They are hid in a wilderness in both respects; and the field is so wide that there is great danger of missing the main body. It is my wish to give a succinct detail of the general influence of the Colonies on their nations from the first settlement, and to conclude with a correct view of their numbers & condition at the present time.*³²⁵

He exhibited great interest in studying both the “long series of rude tribes in different stages of their progress”³²⁶ and the apparent consequences of colonization on that progress. By the late eighteenth century, the inundation of immigrants had swamped Native space and destroyed traditional ways of life. Brown recognized the impacts of colonial settlement on the Native population and resolved “to give a general view of their

³²² Robertson, *History of America*, p. 149.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³²⁵ Brown to Belknap, 25 June 1793, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, pp. 555-6.

³²⁶ Brown, Notes on Indian Nations, EUL *Brown Papers*, Gen 155. See also John Reid, “Scots in Mi’kma’ki, 1760-1820,” *Nashwaak Review*, Vol. 22-23 (2010).

char[acter] and condition at the time of the conquest, tracing the successive effects which the progress of colonization has had on them to the present time.”³²⁷ Although Brown adopted a stadial approach to the study of Native North America, his thoughts on the condition and state of Native affairs in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia echoed his assessment of the colonial policy that led to the Acadian removal.

An understanding of the Moderate interpretation of history, set as it was against the wider theoretical ‘science of man’ advanced in the Scottish Enlightenment, sheds light on Brown’s historical text. Furthermore, that Brown was influenced by his mentor, William Robertson, may be taken for granted, and reveals much that is of interest with respect to Brown’s historical approach to the Acadian Deportation.

William Robertson, although not without his critics, enjoyed in his day and for much of the nineteenth century, a reputation as an imposing historian. As the indisputable leader of the educational-religious establishment in Scotland, the literati came to regard him as their “cultural spokesman”.³²⁸ That his ideas on history, religion and philosophy would filter through a young and impressionable student like Andrew Brown is undeniable, and yet, although they shared a number of important ideas, it would be wrong to assume that Brown was merely a carbon copy of his illustrious teacher. While many of the broader themes considered in Brown’s history closely follow the pattern developed by Robertson and other writers of the Scottish Enlightenment, Brown’s historical interpretations were clearly influenced by his time and experience in Nova Scotia.

As had Robertson, Brown sought to imbue his narrative with the cultural objectives of moderation, tolerance, virtue and social improvement. His approach to both

³²⁷ Brown to Belknap, 31 December 1792, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, p. 537.

³²⁸ O’Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment*, p. 93.

religion and history certainly fell within the parameters of Moderatism, as he apparently was able to move, with relative ease, between the notion of divine providence, which was clearly a driving force behind the sermons he preached to his Halifax congregation, and the more scientific or organic approach applied to historical scholarship. Brown's perception of history was grounded in Christian ethics, but simultaneously acknowledged the wider theoretical importance of reason and human intention.

Brown had to be careful in his assessment of the Board of Trade. He was never overtly critical of its actions and seized every opportunity to highlight the positive aspects of its Ministry. He suggested that Lawrence and his colonial Cabinet were deliberately deceptive when describing the threat posed by the Acadians to the greater welfare of the foreign interests of the British Government, and that the home authorities acted in good faith with respect to the information they received. At the same time, however, Brown implied that the Board was too far removed from the situation to make appropriate and responsible decisions and too reliant upon, and unquestioning of, its foreign representatives. Thus Brown used the unfortunate events that transpired in Nova Scotia to bring into focus the considerable challenges facing an expanding Empire. The Acadian manuscript had a practical value, to promote a more rational and benevolent colonial policy that would realize enlightenment principles.

At the same time, Brown challenged the principle of British supremacy in America. He too appears to have been working within the stadial construct of history, facilitated by his access to, and utilization of, document-based evidence and oral history. Yet, while he was working within this framework, he was, at the same time, testing the prevailing notion that stadial progress was synonymous with a movement towards perfectibility. For Brown, the Acadian communities represented the third stage of social

development, that is, an agriculturally based society, although he recognized the encroachment of commercialism through existing trade patterns. “From every anecdote I heard concerning them,” Brown wrote, “[I] formed a very high opinion of their moral char^r and their pastoral and agricultural life”³²⁹, later describing Acadia as “the only instance of improved humanity that occurred among the European planters of the New World.”³³⁰

Brown was wary of the apparent success of commercial societies and the notion that “the natural effect of commerce was to lead to peace.”³³¹ During the period he was forming his opinions of Acadian society, he was also witness to the social dilemmas arising from the industrialization of Europe. Having gone back to Scotland briefly in 1791, it seems clear that Brown’s perspective was shifting. As he observed the tensions evident between commercialism and moral advance, and the declining emphasis on education in rural areas, there was a growing appreciation for the agrarian based societies of North America.

Brown seems to have been questioning the notion that contemporary European society represented an advance over earlier forms. In exposing the immorality inherent in the colonial policy that led to the anguish, suffering and loss endured by the Acadian people, he was also exposing the vices of a commercially based society, and in doing so, challenging the eighteenth-century convention that commercialization signified a higher moral path to perfection. For Brown, the actions of the British in the Acadian Deportation signified a lower standard of virtue, not a higher stage of social development.

³²⁹ Brown to Belcher, 28 January 1820, *Belcher Family Fonds*.

³³⁰ Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia”, *EUL Brown Papers*.

³³¹ Murray G. H. Pittock, “Historiography,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed., Alexander Broadie (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), p. 261.

The Acadian Manuscript is perhaps Brown's most significant contribution to scholarship and it is unfortunate that we will never know the reaction of his contemporaries, for, of course, the manuscript never entered or impacted the historical discourse. Nevertheless, Brown must be considered a noteworthy example of what the Scottish Enlightenment was meant to exemplify and embody, as his history demonstrates a commitment to the pursuit of knowledge and a recognition of the moral importance of preserving the Acadian story.

The Acadian Manuscript

The Appendix covers a time period spanning from the initial settlements of the earliest French settlers through the Deportation, to the experiences of the Acadians in exile and their attempts to resettle in Nova Scotia after 1765. Due to his unprecedented access to primary documents, eye-witness accounts and Acadian oral tradition, Brown's manuscript represents an important source of information regarding pre-Deportation Acadian society and offers a unique perspective on the political, legal and social implications of the Deportation itself. Because Brown, unlike any historian before or since, had the opportunity to engage openly and honestly with those who were involved, in a variety of capacities, with the Acadian communities, he was able to provide a level of detail and intimacy which would be otherwise impossible to recreate. The vivid and powerful descriptions of Acadian society contained in the manuscript testify not only to the remarkable nature of his sources, but to Brown as a careful and astute historian.

Brown ascertained Acadian society to be as distinct from the French as it was the British and he recognized the unique identity and collective personality of the Acadian people. As a result, he was compelled to record as much of the social life of Acadia as he

could from his unique vantage point. For example, the Appendix contains a detailed description of the landscape and spatial characteristics of the Acadian village, as well as a careful and precise depiction of the Acadian home, including the architecture, interior function and contents of the typical dwelling. He noted the family-based economy as well as the division of labour and traditional domestic activities within the household. He admired the egalitarian nature found in most of the villages and the lack of economic stratification therein, and highlighted the important work of women in the community and their influence in shaping the unique life style of the Acadians. He described farming techniques, orchard cultivation, diet and trade relations, and discussed at length their use of oral tradition, poetry and songs, and their religious practices and festivals, some long-established and some inspired by their close relationship with the Mi'kmaq. Above all, Brown's intention was to portray the unique sense of identity possessed by the Acadian people. Indeed, as Nancy McMahon has remarked, his collection of documents and manuscripts in general, and the Acadian Appendix in particular, "constitute one of the greatest sources existing today of written information on Acadian society."³³²

Brown clearly admired Acadian society and presented a sympathetic portrayal of the Acadian people. Although aware of Raynal, the ex-Jesuit priest who published his account of the Deportation in 1770, albeit without ever having set foot in Nova Scotia, Brown did not rely heavily on his interpretation, as many subsequent historians would do. "Raynal," he wrote "neither knew nor suspected the tenth part of the distress of the Acadians."³³³ Yet, in romantic fashion reminiscent of Raynal, Brown's narrative emphasised the peaceful, idyllic Acadian life, which he described as "the purest happiness

³³² McMahon, "Andrew Brown," p. 95.

³³³ See "Vindication by Secretary Bulkeley and Judge Deschamps of the Acadian Removal", printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 149-53.

ever known in the New World.”³³⁴ His passionate and meandering prose is typical of nineteenth-century historical literature, and the romantic image of Acadia as a “paradise lost” was a common theme later epitomized by Longfellow in his epic poem *Evangeline*.

Brown certainly would not have found this idealistic view of pre-Deportation Acadia reflected in the Council records, but he may have been influenced by his conversations with Acadians who had returned to Nova Scotia, only to find their former lands reoccupied and government restrictions imposed upon their new settlements. In contrast to their existing circumstances, pre-Deportation Acadia must have seemed like a “paradise unjustly lost” and Brown’s tendency to romanticize early Acadian society was a deliberate attempt to emphasize what he considered to be the cruel and unnecessary nature of the Deportation.

He may also have found, as John Johnston has pointed out, that the idea of Acadia as a pastoral paradise held some appeal for his informants, who, thirty years later, were reassessing their own involvement in the events of 1755.³³⁵ And the testimony of his informants as a reflection of the prevailing impressions and opinions of the participants is, in and of itself, an interesting and valuable aspect of the Acadian manuscript. While Brown’s assessment of the Deportation itself is not radically different from the orthodox view held by many historians today, it serves to reinforce the validity of our current interpretation and offers a unique perspective based on an intimate knowledge of primary source material, the recollections and impressions of those who participated in the events and his own experiences in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia.

³³⁴ Brown, “Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia”, EUL *Brown Papers*.

³³⁵ A.J.B. Johnston, “The Call of the Archetype and the Challenge of Acadian History,” *French Colonial History*, Vol. 5 (2004), p. 75.

Note on Annotation

The manuscript entitled, "Removal of the French Inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty's Council in October 1755", is dated 1819 and is held at Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Papers of Professor Andrew Brown (1763-1834) GB 0237 Gen. 157. Intended to be an appendix to a larger history of North America, and perhaps incomplete, the manuscript is in draft form, as is almost the entire collection of Brown's original documents. Nevertheless, it is able to stand alone as a valid and relatively complete historical document.

It seems that Brown intended to include a number of appendices to his North American history, although there is some discrepancy as to whether they would supplement the entire history or chapters within the greater work. Another appendix, entitled, "Causes of the Indian War rising out of the peace of 1763" was intended to complement the Acadian appendix, being an account of "the ferocious Indian War provoked, on the borders of Virginia, before the fall of Quebec, and extended, after the Capitulation of Montreal, thro' the whole frontier of English Settlements." Portions of this document are found within the Edinburgh Collection (EUL Gen. 155). According to Brown, these events connected themselves "closely with posterior occurrences of a different character" and "while the facts to be recorded possess an interest of their own", they served "to illustrate, in other respects, the general accuracy" of his narrative.

The cover page to the Acadian appendix, which is little more than a notation at the top of an unrelated letter dated 1 April 1819, indicates that the manuscript was to be the first appendix to a chapter regarding the War of 1756. It reads as follows: "Appendix to War 1756. No.1. Removal of the French Neutrals from the Province of Nova Scotia in

1755.” Yet, the title of the manuscript, which appears at the top of the first page, is: “2 Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor Lawrence & His Majesty’s Council in October 1755. Peace of 1763. Appendix 2. Akadian Removal.” To make matters still more confusing, the title and first paragraph of the manuscript appear to have been crossed out and at least two alternate introductions have been found among Brown’s notes in Edinburgh. Therefore, it is uncertain as to where the appendix was to be placed and what the final title was intended to be. In this edition, it was decided to maintain the title as it appears on the first page of the original manuscript and to include the first paragraph, despite the possibility that it may have been discarded in a final version of the document. Another version of the introduction is transcribed and provided at the end of the annotated text.

In an attempt to maintain the integrity of the primary document through the process of transcription, the original spelling and punctuation have been preserved, which will explain the presence of apparent errors within the text. In certain instances, Brown was undecided on the specific phrasing that would appear in the final document and phrases contained in square brackets [] represent alternative versions of the preceding sentence or word. (?) indicates the previous word was not entirely clear in transcription and _____ represents a word that could not be deciphered as a result of illegible handwriting or physical damage suffered by the document. One of the challenges in the transcription process was in deciphering Brown’s handwriting, which on rare occasions proved to be an impossible task. The original manuscript is approximately 99 handwritten pages in length and a bracketed number (1) indicates the beginning of each page in reference to the original text. Every effort has been made to ensure that the original text has been accurately reproduced and presented.

The primary objective of the annotation is to identify, where possible, the sources of Brown's information, whether taken from official government documents to which Brown had access, or some other independent source. Because much of Brown's material, particularly the collection deposited into the British Library, was not discovered intact, some sources have been impossible to identify. Further intensive study of the entirety of Brown's collected documents, both in London and in Edinburgh, will undoubtedly uncover additional sources of information that could not be identified at this time.

Annotation is also provided in an effort to determine the accuracy of specific information contained within the text, particularly in those cases where the original source is unknown, and to highlight points of interest to the reader. A brief biographical sketch of individuals identified during the course of the narrative has been included, where possible, and additional sources of information listed. Several notes of interest relating to the Acadian appendix, found among the collection of Brown's papers in Edinburgh, have been appended to the end of the annotated document. Of particular interest is a list of principal informants, compiled by Brown, who provided him with information relating to the contents of the Acadian appendix.

**Removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia by Lieut. Governor
Lawrence & His Majesty's Council in October 1755.**

Peace of 1763.
Appendix 2. Akadian Removal.

In the text, I have spoken of the removal of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, (at the commencement of hostilities in Seventeen hundred and fifty five) as a discretionary act of the provincial Government; at once severe in its nature, & productive of bitter & long continued distress.¹

Living amidst the Scenes which the ingenuity of that people had embellished, & which seemed still to breathe the melancholy inspired by their fate, I investigated the circumstances of their story, deficient neither in interest nor instruction & strangely complicated with [bearing on] posterior events, with a persevering zeal that abated only when every avenue of intelligence closed. It was once my intention to have devoted a separate work to the only instance of an unsullied purity of private character, a devoted loyalty to the parent state, a rooted local attachment & an unbroken friendship with the original proprietors of the Soil, that has occurred in the wide range of European Colonisation. In attempting, at the distance of thirty years, to execute this purpose, on a smaller Scale, I have been anxious to dismiss everything from my thoughts but the matter of the record, and the impartiality that belongs to the Historian.²

¹ The text to which Brown refers is a draft manuscript entitled, "History of North America" (EUL Gen. 154-159). Although Brown never completed this ambitious task, it appears that he intended to include the appendix, "Akadian Removal", as a supplementary document to this larger work, specifically as an "Appendix to the Account of the War of 1756".

² Brown began his study of the Acadian Deportation almost immediately upon his arrival in Nova Scotia in 1787. This manuscript was dated 1819, although he continued his research and was actively gathering information up until his death in 1834. The above two paragraphs are crossed out in the original text, and at least two alternate, albeit similar, versions of Brown's introductory remarks can be found among his notes. The primary difference between that presented above and the alternate version(s) is the inclusion of Brown's assessment of culpability relating to the Acadian removal, particularly that of the Board of Trade

In managing the Akadian affairs Governor Cornwallis³ exercised all the patience & benignity of the good President Mascarene;⁴ and, without thinking of imitation or of praise, Colonel Hopson⁵ practised the same virtues from the native impulse of an upright heart. The best intelligence which that judicious officer had been able to collect, convinced him that the Akadians were not to blame for the Expense incurred in the settlement of the Province, or the obstructions which had retarded its commercial prosperity; and that if the disadvantages of a disputed possession were once surmounted,

and the course of policy it pursued. For the purposes of comparison, a variant version is transcribed at the end of the annotated document.

³ Edward Cornwallis (c.1712-1776). As the newly appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, Cornwallis founded the town of Halifax on the shores of Chebucto Bay (see note 100) in June of 1749, accompanied by over 2500 British soldiers and settlers. This marked a turning point in Britain's attempts to colonize and control the region, and secured a military presence on the North Atlantic seaboard, strategically placed between the French fortress of Louisbourg and the New England colonies. Although he demanded that the established Acadian population take an unconditional oath of allegiance to the British Crown, to which they refused, Cornwallis did nothing over the course of his administration to force the Acadians to leave Nova Scotia. See J. Murray Beck, "Edward Cornwallis," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter *DCB*) April 2006: <http://www.biographi.ca>; J.S. MacDonald, "Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Founder of Halifax," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* (hereafter *NSHS Coll.*), Vol. XII (1905), pp. 1-17 and W.S. MacNutt, "Why Halifax was Founded," *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. XII (1932-1933), pp. 524-32.

⁴ Paul Mascarene (c.1684-1760). Born of Huguenot parents in France and educated in Switzerland, Mascarene's career in Nova Scotia spanned a period from 1710 to 1752, although he spent much of his time in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1742, Mascarene was appointed President of the Governor's Council and senior officer of Annapolis Royal (see note 40), the British military headquarters of Nova Scotia prior to the founding of Halifax. Serving as the Commander in Chief of Nova Scotia until the arrival of Cornwallis, Mascarene was pragmatic in his dealings with the Acadians and, although he did much to ensure their neutrality, was unable, or perhaps unwilling, to achieve their absolute loyalty. See Maxwell Sutherland, "Paul Mascarene," *DCB*; J.B. Brebner, "Paul Mascarene of Annapolis Royal," *The Dalhousie Review*, Vol. VIII (1929), pp. 501-16 and Barry M. Moody, "A Just and Disinterested Man: The Nova Scotia Career of Paul Mascarene, 1710-1752" (Ph.D. Dissertation: Queen's University, 1976). That Brown admired Mascarene was evident in the pages of his draft manuscript entitled, "The History of the Province of Nova Scotia", where he interjected the phrase, "*I love Mascarene*". See British Library, Additional Manuscripts (hereafter BL Add. Mss.) 19075, 170. Some of Mascarene's papers, including his letter books and journals, are preserved in the British Library Collection. See BL Add. Mss. 19069-19071.

⁵ Peregrine Thomas Hopson (c.1685-1759). Former Governor of Île Royale (Cape Breton Island) during the British occupation of Louisbourg (1747-1749), Hopson succeeded Cornwallis as Governor of Nova Scotia in 1752. He believed the Acadian presence to be essential in the maintenance of the colony and considered the Acadians as subjects of the crown, with according rights and obligations. He avoided the issue of allegiance by convincing the Board of Trade that he would determine the time and manner in which the oath would be most effectively administered. Hopson did not, over the course of his administration, find that circumstances demanded such action. He returned to England in 1753 and resigned the governorship in 1755. See Wendy Cameron, "Peregrine Thomas Hopson," *DCB*.

& the garrison of Beausejour⁶ removed, the Indians would sue for peace, & the Akadians take an unconditional oath of allegiance.⁷ Believing that indulgence would materially promote so (2) desirable an event, and create a numerous body of productive settlers without Expense to Government, he warmly recommended the liberal measure of securing the property of their lands by specific grants, & making provision for the regular administration of justice, within their departments, according to the forms of English law. He even ventured to intercede for the spontaneous relinquishment of the arrears of quit rent⁸ that had accumulated during the late [preceding] confusions; and closed his administration by labouring to produce an impression on the Board of trade⁹ favourable to the character & rights of a meritorious people, alike exposed to the unjust suspicions of

⁶ Situated at the Isthmus of Chignecto (see note 14), on the western ridge overlooking the Missaguash River (see note 16), Fort Beauséjour guarded the effective border between French Acadia and British Nova Scotia. The French, having secured the Beauséjour ridge by 1749, erected Fort Beauséjour in 1751 to defend their interests in the region, limit British settlement, and in particular response to the construction of Fort Lawrence, in 1750 (see note 83). See J.C. Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto: A Study of the Eighteenth Century Conflict between France and Great Britain in Acadia* (Shediac, 1930); Régis Brun, *Fort de Beauséjour* (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1993) and Chris M. Hand, *The Siege of Fort Beauséjour, 1755* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2004).

⁷ See Hopson's appeal to the Board of Trade, dated 23 July 1753, in which Hopson stated: "I am now fully convinced that very little progress can be made in the service I have the honor to be employed in, until the French Flag is removed out of this Province by some means or another; when that happens I have hopes that the Indians when their allies are withdrawn will no more be able to disturb us, and that they will then make proper submission to His Majesty's Government, and live under it in Peace and quietness; that the French inhabitants will take the Oaths, and giving over all hopes of any change, enjoy the benefit of English laws and Liberty". Partially printed in Akins, *Acadia and Nova Scotia: Documents relating to the Acadian French and the First British Colonization of the Province 1714-1758* Reprint (Cottonport: Ployanthos, 1972), pp. 198-201.

⁸ Quit Rent was a form of taxation in which the Acadians paid a nominal fee, usually collected in agricultural produce, in recognition of their tenure under either the French seigneurial lord or British Crown. A number of records for the payment of quit-rents by the Acadians between 1752 and 1755, drawn up by Isaac Deschamps (see note 62), are found among the Brown papers in the British Library. See BL Add. Mss. 19071, 138-149. Some of these documents have been printed in Henri-Raymond Casgrain, *Collection de Documents Inédits sur le Canada et L'Amérique* (Quebec: Le Canada-Français, 1888-1890), Vol. II, pp. 88-9, 102-7. See also Adam Shortt, V.K. Johnston and Gustave Lanctot, eds., *Documents relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia with Prefatory Documents 1675-1758* (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1933).

⁹ The Board of Trade was officially known as "Commissioners for promoting the Trade of this Kingdom and for inspecting and improving his Majesty's plantations in America and elsewhere", as referred to in the Royal Commission of 5 November 1748. It was, however, known generally as the Board of Trade or the Lords of Trade.

the British Government, & to the most unprincipled machinations on the part of Canada & Cape Breton.¹⁰

On the advancement of Colonel Charles Lawrence¹¹ to the rank of Lieutenant Governor, a less conciliatory system was adopted. The character of that officer, prominent for strength of intellect & a fine taste in literature, was imposing at a distance, but discovered on a nearer approach [inspection] some radical defects. Formed for the studies of the closet or the active duties of the garrison & the field of Battle, he was better qualified to obey than to command, to Execute than to plan. With an unmeasured desire for public consideration, he sought also to Engross the Chief attention of the private circles where he appeared. No one ever fed more greedily on the gossamer of Vanity, & seldom did that shadowy aliment produce a more exhilarating Effect. When the Company looked up to him with deference, the treasury of his knowledge & the resources of his Wit were brought into full display; but among persons little disposed to overrate his

¹⁰ While Brown is quite right in his assessment of Hopson as a patient and sympathetic Governor, it should be remembered that Hopson's rather short administration coincided with a relatively tranquil period of international relations and colonial politics. See N.E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People 1604-1755* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2005), pp. 414-15.

¹¹ Charles Lawrence (c.1709-1760). Lawrence was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia in 1755, although he had acted as administrator since Hopson's departure in 1753. Having fought with the 54th Regiment at Fontenoy in 1745, his first service in Nova Scotia was in 1747, with the 45th Regiment at Louisbourg, under Hopson. Following the restoration of Louisbourg to the French, he went to Halifax, where he was appointed Member of Council by Cornwallis. Lawrence also oversaw the establishment of Fort Lawrence in 1750. As Governor, Lawrence was determined to obtain an unconditional oath of allegiance from the Acadians, and upon his failure to do so, he issued orders to expel the French inhabitants as early as 31 July 1755. See Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 267-8. The following detailed description of Lawrence is interesting for many of Brown's informants would have been personally acquainted with the Governor. See Dominick Graham, "Charles Lawrence," *DCB* and J.S. MacDonald, "Life and Administration of Governor Charles Lawrence. 1749-1760.," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. XII (1905), pp. 19-58. An interesting undated document regarding the character of Lawrence, described as "Letter by the colonists concerning the state of the Provinces, intended to raise the people of England", is to be found among Brown's papers in the British Library Collection. It states: "We are obliged to confess that he has a good address, a great deal of low cunning, is a most consummate flatterer, Has Words full of the Warmest Expressions of an Upright Intention to perform much Good tho' never Intended and with much art most Solicitously Courts all Strangers whom he thinks can be of any Service to him. by these and such Arts has he risen to be what he is and Elated with his success is outrageously bent upon the destruction of every One that does not concur in his measures." See BL Add. Mss. 19072, 33; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 142-7.

pretensions or to forget their own, he fell at once into the shade and became taciturn or sullen, as if his genius had been rebuked, or as if he scorned to put forth talents where their full merit was not to be allowed. A morbid pride, yet more perverse in its nature, made him impatient of the remotest allusion to the point from which he had started, or the steps that led him to overtop his Equals; and the person who on other subjects might not be rashly Encountered, was liable, on this ground, to be disconcerted by a changeling. In the (3) possession of power, therefore, he manifested dispositions different from those which had smoothed his way to promotion; and the generous Superintendent of the German Emigrants settled in Lunenburg,¹² became the Scourge of a people that made a far stronger claim on the sympathy & admiration of a discerning mind.¹³ Participating in the opinions of the naval & military officers of the age with respect to the insidious & cruel principles that [which] guided the colonial policy of the French Cabinet, Lawrence extended them to the nation at large & to all that spoke the national language. Such was the origin of the jealousy, not unmixed with aversion, with which he regarded the Neutral inhabitants spread over the interior of the Province. His acquaintance with them had commenced, on the Isthmus of Chignecto,¹⁴ in autumn forty nine,¹⁵ when a detachment of

¹² Lawrence directed the settlement of Foreign Protestants, who had been recruited to enhance the colonization of Nova Scotia, and supervised the establishment of Lunenburg in 1753. By all accounts, he was reasonable in his dealings with the Protestant settlers. Brown transcribed Lawrence's journal and letters relating to the founding of Lunenburg, which were eventually published in 1953. See D.C. Harvey, ed., *Journal and Letters of Colonel Charles Lawrence: Being a day by day account of the Founding of Lunenburg, by the Officer in command of the project, transcribed from the Brown manuscripts in the British Museum*, Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, No. 10 (Halifax: PANS, 1953). See also W.P. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).

¹³ The Acadians.

¹⁴ The Isthmus of Chignecto is a stretch of low, fertile marshland, bounded by parallel ridges, that joins the peninsula of Nova Scotia to mainland North America and separates the Bay of Fundy to the south from the Northumberland Strait to the north. It was a strategic location for transportation and communications with the North American interior. This was the site of the Acadian village of Beaubassin, first settled in 1672, which became one of the largest and most successful of Acadian settlements, and it was here that the two imperial powers of Britain and France met in a critical standoff for control over Acadia. See Hand, *Siege of*

the Marine Royale burned their Villages on the British side of the Mesagouish,¹⁶ and compelled their families, at the point of the bayonet, to retire under the protection of the guns of Beausejour. This execrable proceeding, the work of La Corne,¹⁷ a remorseless partizan, he¹⁸ affected to consider as a voluntary act of the Elders of the people;¹⁹ & insisted that their Brethren, within the peninsula, would have followed the same course, if they had not been withheld by their attachment to valuable possessions, & by the hope of contributing more effectually to the disgrace of their Countrymen, by remaining on the territories of England than by crossing the boundary.²⁰ Acting on these misconceptions he

Fort Beauséjour, p. 13; also Webster, *Forts of Chignecto* and Margaret Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto," National Historic Sites Service, Manuscript Report Number 29 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National and Historic Parks Branch, 1968).

¹⁵ 1749. Lawrence actually arrived in the Chignecto region in the beginning of May 1750, according to the Gregorian calendar, with a small force intending to reinforce British claims over this strategic area. Having found French forces already entrenched on the Beauséjour ridge, he withdrew. Meanwhile, at the approach of Lawrence's expeditionary force, the senior French officer in the region, Louis de La Corne (see note 17) and the French priest, Abbé Le Loutre (see note 48), forced the local Acadian population to relocate to French territory, on the western bank of the Missaguash River, by burning the village of Beaubassin. Although Brown suggests it was a detachment of the Marine Royale who actually set fire to the village, La Corne informed Lawrence that it was "the Indians" who had burnt Beaubassin. Lawrence returned in August with a stronger force and in the fall of 1750 directed the construction of Fort Lawrence, on the site of the former Acadian village. See Webster, ed., *The Building of Fort Lawrence in Chignecto: A Journal Recently Found in the Gates Collection*, New York Historical Society (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1941).

¹⁶ Missaguash River. Situated between the parallel ridges occupied by Fort Lawrence and Fort Beausejour, the Missaguash was the temporary boundary between Acadia and Nova Scotia. The first French settlers named it *Riviere du Portage* and later, the *Ste. Marguerite*, but was commonly referred to as *Meragoueche*, a corruption of the original Mi'kmaq (see note 197) *Mesagoueche*. See Webster, *Forts of Chignecto*, pp. 10-11. It is interesting to note that Brown's spelling resembles that found in many French documents. English sources, such as Morris (1750), use Musaguash.

¹⁷ Louis (Pierre) La Corne (1703-1761). Chevalier de La Corne's first combat experience in Acadia came in 1747, at the Battle of Grand-Pré. He arrived at Beauséjour in 1749 and immediately began strengthening the French military presence in the area. La Corne held the Beauséjour ridge with a garrison of approximately 2500 troops, likely including Native and Acadian allies, until he was recalled to Canada in October of 1750. See C.J. Russ, "Louis La Corne," *DCB*.

¹⁸ Charles Lawrence.

¹⁹ Brown is likely referring to the Acadian deputies, who were the chosen representatives of the Acadian people, responsible for facilitating communication between the colonial government and general population. This system of delegates was initiated in 1710, during Mascarene's administration, and became a more formal arrangement by 1714. See Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1992), pp. 40-4. In a document entitled "A Journal of the Proceedings of the Detachment under My Command after Entering the Basin of Chignecto", dated 1750, Lawrence does suggest that he believed the Acadians were compliant in their removal to Beauséjour, stating "that the Inhabitants to a man had rebelliously joined" La Corne. See Webster, *Forts of Chignecto*, pp. 105-8.

²⁰ The issue of the Acadian out-migration from peninsular Nova Scotia following the founding of Halifax is interesting. Certainly, pressures were applied to Acadians living within the British-controlled areas to move,

had shown little reluctance to resort to harsh measures on very slender provocation. A disposition so contrary to all that the Akadians had experienced of the British character, excited contempt as well as resentment; and in the promptitude of their satire they indignantly marked the contrast between the Grenadier of Louisbourg,²¹ the Mushroom of yesterday, & the good Cornwallis, the man formed to command by illustrious birth & historical fame.

Their intemperate sallies were industriously conveyed to the Capital; &, thro' the intervention of foreign wit, the pasquinades²² of the market place acquired additional powers of biting. A very slight cause considerably heightened the irritation which they occasioned. The (4) regiment in which Lawrence first served was now quartered in the Province,²³ & several of his old messmates came to his table in their primitive subaltern rank. Tho' he received them with an unostentatious kindness, & often stretched a point to improve their Condition, they could not forgive their former Comrade his splendid array of plate, his Well stocked cellar, his feasts, determined by the red letters of the Calendar, and the dignity with which he sustained the honour of his Vice Regal office. This envious

notably by clergymen like Le Loutre. However, it should be noted that a two and a half month delay had been given the Acadians before Cornwallis would force them to leave if they refused to swear a new and unconditional oath, in August 1749. It was this threat, along with the French solicitations that compelled many Acadians to emigrate to French territory beginning in 1750. See Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, "Pigiguit: l'impact du Grand Dérangement sur une communauté de l'ancienne Acadie," and A.J.B. Johnston, "French Attitudes Toward the Acadians, ca. 1680-1756," in *Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation: Nouvelles perspectives historiques* (Moncton: Université de Moncton, 2005)

²¹ In reference to Lawrence, who served with the 45th (Warburton's) Regiment of Foot at Louisbourg (see note 23) in 1747 and 1748, and later commanded a brigade under General Jeffery Amherst (see note 375) at the final siege of Louisbourg in 1758. Originally the term *grenadier* referred to a soldier who threw grenades, however, during the eighteenth century, it was retained for a company of the tallest and finest men in the regiment (*Oxford English Dictionary*, hereafter *OED*: <http://oed.com>). Brown's reference to Lawrence as the 'Mushroom of yesterday' refers to Lawrence's earlier rise as a soldier through the ranks of the British army.

²² A *pasquinade* is a satire or sarcastic lampoon posted in a public place (*OED*).

²³ Lawrence was commissioned in Colonel Montague's Regiment of Foot (11th Regiment) in 1727, however, Brown is likely referring to the 45th Regiment, which was then stationed in Nova Scotia. Raised in 1741 for service during the War of the Austrian Succession, the 45th, to which Lawrence had been transferred, was posted to Nova Scotia for garrison duty in 1747 and remained in the province until 1766.

spirit was directed to the only vulnerable part of his character; and, to use a technical expression of the satirical vocabulary of Halifax, boltropes,²⁴ served after the manner of the Akadians, gave the hardest blows.

The intercourse of the humour which had taken place between the French inhabitants & the Lieutenant Governor, was exasperated by these petulant levities in which they had no share; and the growing perplexity of American affairs too soon enabled the latter to apply his choler to a very mischievous purpose.²⁵

Under the apprehensions raised by the irritable & vindictive spirit of the new administration, the kindly admonitions delivered by preceding Governours when they urged [exhorted] the French deputies to prevail with their Constituents to take the oath of allegiance, & terminate all difficulties with respect to the tenure of their lands & the extent of their duties as Subjects, recurred with an overpowering force.²⁶ They accordingly became the subject of serious deliberation in the general conventions of the districts; & the Elders suggested an expedient code fitted, in their opinion, either to obviate the evils which they dreaded from the violent temper of the Lieutenant Governor, or else to ascertain the whole amount of his hostile intentions. Hence they renewed the petitions which had formerly been presented to the Governor & Council, praying that all grounds of uneasiness & dissention might be removed, by a public adjudication of the limits of their respective possessions. As this was conceived to be a point of vital

²⁴ The term *bolt-rope* refers to a rope sown into the edge seam of a sail to prevent tearing (*OED*). In this case, it would appear to be in reference to insults levied at Lawrence.

²⁵ Brown introduces here an important theme of the document, that aside from the external forces of politics and war, Lawrence had internal and personal issues with the Acadian population.

²⁶ From 1710 on, successive colonial administrators made repeated attempts to compel the Acadian population of Nova Scotia to sign an unqualified oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Although some were persuaded to sign various oaths, the majority of Acadians refused to swear allegiance unless they were bound not to take up arms against either British or French. The Acadians were repeatedly threatened with deportation; however, no attempt was made to remove them until 1755. See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*.

importance, it was pressed with a corresponding earnestness of importunity; the Petitioners presuming that the (5) inquest and judgment which recognized the validity of their tenures, would operate to strengthen their rights and secure them from any summary exercise of power. A report of this growing solicitude on the part of the neutrals was made to the Board of Trade, & ascribed, without hesitation, to the strong desire of working out an indirect title to the benefits of property & the protection of law, without pledging themselves to the performance of their duties as subjects.²⁷

The dispatch containing this piece of intelligence reached Whitehall at a moment when the Lords of Trade were not a little embarrassed by other difficulties resulting from the state of the Province; & it unfortunately occupied the greater attention as it suggested the means of relieving some of them which had become peculiarly vexatious.

Of the wisdom & fidelity with which this Board, so often discontinued & so often renewed, discharged one part of its functions, that, namely, of the general Superintendent of Commerce & colonial policy, I have always spoken in terms of praise. Such a tribute is due to the long series of well digested & admirably reasoned reports which it produced on all the leading questions relative to the manufactures, trade & foreign possessions of the State; & is wholly independent of the judgment that may be pronounced on the party purposes for which it [the Board] was originally instituted, or subsequently modified by the ministers of the day. From what I have seen of these papers, arranged & preserved

²⁷ The petitions to which Brown is referring were presented to the Council just before Hopson left Halifax in 1753. The first is dated 4 October 1753, and concerns the matter of French priests taking the oath of allegiance. See Council Minutes, 12 September 1753, National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC) CO 220, NS (B), 6, 225-232. The second, dated 17 September 1753, was written on behalf of those who had fled Beaubassin and included the following oath (translated): "I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George the Second and to his successors. So help me God." See Council Minutes, 27 September 1753, NAC CO 220 NS (B), 6, 235. This was a minimal affirmation of allegiance, but the Acadians stated that it was impossible to sign any other on account of the "savage nations" in which they lived. For a discussion of the petitions, see Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, pp. 410-13. For partial transcriptions, see Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 201-5.

with commendable care, I am disposed to consider them as a rich mine of commercial & political information:²⁸ well calculated, if submitted to the public in a judiciary abridgement, to reflect new light on the domestic & foreign interests of the Kingdom; to demonstrate the liberal views on which the measures of Government have generally provided; and to serve at once as a basis & an illustration of many of the fundamental doctrines of Political Oeconomy. Designed for the direction of the Cabinet, they had (6) their use at the time when they were prepared. In relation to Parliament, no doubt which contains within itself all the instruments and all the materials both of inquiring and judging, the Ministry of this Board was always superfluous; but many trials have proved that such a ministry was indispensable to guide his Majesty's Servants to a consistent and vigorous administration of the foreign possessions of the State.²⁹ Amidst the revolutions of Office, rising out of the nature of the Government, and the advancement to the highest trusts of persons either imperfectly acquainted with the history & condition of the Colonies, or too much distracted by the intrigues of domestic faction to attend to their affairs, the sound representations of this Board saved much irksome labour, & suggested, in a narrow compass, the arrangements necessary at the moment to give satisfaction. In fact, the Board of Trade was equally useful in shaping the general course of measures and

²⁸ Brown went to London in January of 1792 to study documents relating to Nova Scotia in the Plantations Office. There is a detailed account of his visit contained in the Edinburgh Collection, dated 27 January 1792, in which Brown described a meeting with George Chalmers, official clerk to Lord Hawkesbury: "I mentioned to him that in the course of collecting materials for my little work, in which I had engaged, I had met with several blanks that no papers in the Colony could enable me to fill, and that I would be greatly indebted to him, if he could gratify me with a sight of the originals in the plantation office. He asked me what the periods were. I told him from 1640 to 1692; from 1704-1720; and from 1749 to 1764. With respect to the former he assured me it was a period of darkness; that Nothing was to be got from papers, as in the Confusion of the times foreign affairs had been entirely overlooked; but that I might see the latter – at a convenient Season." EUL Gen. 158. See also Brown to Belknap, 20 February 1792, *Belknap Papers*, p. 522.

²⁹ It is interesting that Brown emphasizes the advisory nature of the Board of Trade. For a discussion on the changing political role of the Board of Trade in the larger scheme of British colonial administration, see Ian K. Steele, *Politics of Colonial Policy: The Board of Trade in Colonial Administration, 1696–1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

in pointing out the principles on which it might be supported in the Legislature. And if we forgive its predisposition to take part with the prerogative of the Crown and the projects of the treasury, it is but fair to acknowledge that the few appearances of a systematic policy exhibited in the progress of the British plantations, were wholly owing to its Experience or its foresight. But the legitimate province of this Department was purely deliberative. Formed for investigation only, it had no capacity either to originate measures or to take charge of their Execution. Of this fact the members were speedily convinced by the mortifications of all sorts to which they were subjected in prosecuting the settlement of Nova Scotia. In going down to Parliament, session after session, to solicit grants for exceedings incurred, & supplies for incidental services not included in the Estimates, they were equally at a loss to make out a case that might justify the firm support of the Cabinet, or repel the specious attacks of the opposition. Unhappily too while the enormous charge occasioned by the nursing of a sickly Colony increased their solicitude for its ultimate success [health], apprehensions of complaint arose in a different quarter against which they were anxious [thought it prudent] to guard. (7) By their precipitate engagements with the recruiting Sergeants of Emigration, the black spirits & gray, who in their name spread delusion and discontent thro' the Protestant circles of Germany and the Swiss Cantons, a multitude of adventurers of superior rank was collected in London as well as in Halifax.³⁰ The repeated delays which prevented these adventurers from proceeding to the place of their destination had reduced them to extreme indigence. Worn

³⁰ Brown is likely referring to the immigration of Foreign Protestants to Nova Scotia beginning in 1750, many of whom came from parts of Germany, France and Switzerland. Indeed, the Foreign Protestants were considered superior settlers or "adventurers" to the first wave of immigrants who arrived with Cornwallis in 1749. See Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants"*, p. 9. Brown dealt with the Protestant settlement of Nova Scotia in more detail in his proposed "History of the Province of Nova Scotia" and mentions having received information from participants in the events. See BL Add. Mss. 19075-19076. Bell, however, noted that "Dr. Brown was quite evidently ill-informed on many points for which we have unquestionable contemporary records." Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants"*, p. 173.

down by disappointment, they were now importunate for redress. Memorials descriptive of their miserable condition found their way to all the great officers of State.³¹ Several persons of high Political interest had pledged themselves to solicit in their favour; and the desire to meet this emergence with something like an Effectual provision, induced the board of trade to press the government of Nova Scotia to bring the Akadians to the test on the subject of the oath of allegiance, to circumscribe within definite bounds the extent of their possessions, & to secure the disposal of the fertile tracts lying in their immediate vicinity for the accomodation of the foreign Protestants. Governor Hopson seems to have understood the origin of the perplexities that fretted the board; but in exceeding the powers with which the Royal commission invested him, considerations of this sort had no influence on his mind.³² A less scrupulous substitute was ready to volunteer the service which no inducement could have tempted him to approach.

The first intimation of these Wishes was conveyed in the Spring dispatch of the year fifty four,³³ which the board intended for meeting both the representations of Hopson on leaving the Province,³⁴ & the renewed petitions of the Akadian districts as reported by

³¹ One of these memorials, signed by "The Whole Body of Germans and Swiss", was forwarded to London by Hopson in 1751. The memorial is printed in Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants"*, pp. 364-5. In a letter to London dated 16 October 1752, Hopson wrote: "these foreign settlers are now become so very uneasy and discontented, that many of them have gone off from this place to the Island of St. John's, as we have reason to believe and expect some method can be fallen upon to prevent a further desertion, which will be very difficult to do, I apprehend that many more will follow." Hopson to the Board of Trade, 16 October 1752, NAC CO 217, 13.

³² In a letter to the Board of Trade regarding instructions to administer the oath, dated 10 December 1752, Hopson wrote: "As they appear to be much better disposed than they have been, and I hope will still amend and in a long course of time become less scrupulous, I beg to know from your Lordships in the Spring how far His Majesty would approve my silence on this head till a more convenient opportunity. Mr. Cornwallis can inform your Lordships how useful and necessary these people are to us, how impossible it is to do without them, or to replace them even if we had settlers to put in their places and at the same time will acquaint you how obstinate they have always been when the Oaths have been offered." Hopson to the Secretary of State, 18 October 1752, NAC CO 217, 40.

³³ 1754.

³⁴ Hopson left Nova Scotia on 1 November 1753, effectively handing over the administration of the province to Lawrence. He did not, however, resign the governorship until 1755. See Cameron, "Peregrine Thomas Hopson," *DCB*.

Lawrence. In relation to the whole their Lordships very truly say, 'that by the laws of Great Britain, the treaty of Utrecht and his Majesty's instructions to the Government of Nova Scotia, the French inhabitants could have no right to their lands, the protection of government, or the benefit of courts of justice but upon the condition of taking an absolute and unqualified oath of Allegiance.'³⁵

(8) This summary judgment which virtually stripped a whole people of all the defences of property & life, might have been less open to reprehension, if, in overlooking those unwritten statutes of equity and mercy which are rather somewhat older than the laws of Great Britain & the treaty of Utrecht,³⁶ the Lords Commissioners of trade had not likewise forgotten a long series of positive compacts, which, in spite of the dead letter of his Majesty's instructions, had been solemnly ratified between the Akadians & those exercising the powers of government in Nova Scotia. The avowed Exemption from the duty, or rather the Absolute denial of the privilege of bearing arms, which on taking possession of the province, Colonel Richard Phillipps,³⁷ had applied to the French

³⁵ See Board of Trade to Lawrence, 4 March 1754; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 207-8.

³⁶ The Treaty of Utrecht was signed in April 1713, ending near-continuous war between Great Britain and France since 1689. In settling the terms of peace, France officially ceded Acadia (although the boundaries were to be disputed) to Great Britain, but retained control of Île Royale and Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island). Following the signing of the treaty, the French immediately began the fortification of Louisbourg. The treaty granted the Acadians an unconditional right to remain in Nova Scotia for one year. After that time, those who chose to stay would become subjects of the British crown and would be allowed "the free exercise of their Religion, according to the Usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the Laws of Great Britain do allow the same." See Fred L. Israel, ed., *Major Peace Treaties of Modern History, 1648-1967*, 5 vols. (New York: Chelsea House, 1967-1980), Vol. I, p. 210. Nevertheless the resulting situation appears to have been more complex than readily apparent and has been a topic of debate in many histories of Acadia. See Corinne Laplante's thesis, "Le traité d'Utrecht et l'Acadie, une étude de la correspondance secrète et officielle qui a entouré la signature du traité d'Utrecht" (M.A. Thesis, université de Moncton, 1974).

³⁷ Richard Phillipps (1661-1750). Phillipps was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1717 to 1749, although he did not arrive in Nova Scotia until 1720 and was absent from 1722 to 1729. While he appears to have been an active governor in the early part of his career, he returned to England in 1731 and subsequently took little interest in the affairs of the Province. See Maxwell Sutherland, "Richard Phillipps," *DCB*. The oath to which Brown refers was administered to the Acadians at Annapolis Royal by Phillipps in the winter of 1730 and is generally translated as "I promise and Swear on the faith of a Christian that I will be truly faithful and will submit myself to His Majesty King George the Second, whom I acknowledge as the Lord and Sovereign of

inhabitants, as necessarily resulting from the laws of Great Britain concerning Roman Catholics, & especially the Roman Catholics of Ireland, might have been remembered on this occasion; because it was considered as a strictly parallel case, & gave rise to an oath of allegiance so framed as to amount to a direct admission of a State of Neutrality in time of War.³⁸ Nor could it well have been unknown that in the subsequent difficulties of the Northern Colonies,³⁹ this original settlement had repeatedly been confirmed by the

Nova Scotia or Acadia". See Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 84-5 and "Petition of the Neutrals to the King of Great Britain," in Philip H. Smith, *Acadia: A Lost Chapter in American History* (Pawling, New York, 1883), pp. 369-77. It is generally conceded that, at that time, Philipps gave the Acadians a verbal promise exempting them from duty to bear arms. In a dispatch to the Duke of Newcastle dated 2 September 1730, Philipps stated that he had personally obtained "the entire submission of all those so long obstinate people". See NAC CO 217, 39; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 86-7. This oath was often cited by the Acadians as evidence of their compliance to British demands, however as Lawrence would later remark, it did not accompany "an assurance in writing that they should not be called upon to bear arms in defence of the province", and although Philipps had agreed to the oath, "his Majesty disapproved". See Lawrence, "Circular letter to the governors of certain colonies," 11 August 1755, NAC CO 217, 15; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 277-8. See also Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, pp. 268, 279-81, 301-5. Brown acquired a copy of the oath administered by Philipps from Deschamps in 1790. Another copy of this document appears in John Winslow's journal (see note 179) and is a translation from the original French made by Deschamps, who apparently still had it in his possession when Brown accessed and copied it. See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 52 and "Journal of Colonel John Winslow, of the Provincial Troops, While Engaged in Removing the Acadian French Inhabitants from Grand Pre, and the Neighbouring Settlements, in the Autumn of the Year 1755," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), pp. 111-12.

³⁸ Brown is likely referring to the Treaty of Limerick (1691), which stated: "The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion . . . provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required." By the end of the seventeenth century a series of "penal laws" were introduced restricting the religious, political and economic rights of Catholics, particularly in Ireland. Catholics were barred from voting, holding office, holding firearms or serving in the military. For a discussion of the Irish "penal laws", see S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992), pp. 263-313. It is interesting to note that, in 1726, Lawrence Armstrong (1664-1739), who served as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia from 1724-1739, stated, in response to the Acadian demand to insert a clause "Whereby they might not be Obligated to Carry Arms", that "they had no Reason to fear Any Such thing as yt it being Contrary to the Laws of Great Britain yt a Roman Catholick Should Serve in the Army." See Council Minutes, 25 September 1726; printed in Archibald M. MacMechan, ed., *Nova Scotia Archives III: Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739* (Halifax: McAlpine, 1908), pp. 128-30.

³⁹ The Northern Colonies included Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island.

Council of Annapolis Royal,⁴⁰ formally guaranteed by the intervention [accession] of the Governor of Massachusetts bay,⁴¹ & tacitly allowed by an unbroken acquiescence on the part of the Crown.

It would be a serious omission, however, were I to neglect to add, that the hasty conclusion deduced by the Board of trade from a too transient view of the Subject, was fostered by restrictions which, in the judgment of a prudent man, would have disarmed it of all its malignity. 'The more we consider this point,' said their Lordships in closing the dispatch, 'the more nice & difficult it appears to us: for as, on the one hand, great caution ought to be used to avoid giving alarm to the inhabitants & exciting such a diffidence in their minds as may induce them to quit the Province, & by their numbers add strength to the French settlements; so, on the other hand, we should be equally cautious of exciting in them an improper & false confidence that by perseverance in refusing to take the Oath of

⁴⁰ Formerly known as Port Royal (see note 161), Annapolis Royal was the British military headquarters and capital of Nova Scotia from 1713 until the founding of Halifax in 1749. See Brenda Dunn, *A History of Port Royal-Annapolis Royal 1605-1800* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2004).

⁴¹ William Shirley (1694-1771). Born in England, Shirley arrived in Boston in 1731, where he began his career as a lawyer. He was Governor of Massachusetts from 1741 to 1749 and from 1753 to 1756. Shirley was influential in the decision to attack Louisbourg in 1745 and was briefly Commander in Chief of the British forces in America. In 1755, he was instrumental in the siege of Fort Beauséjour and played an important role in the Acadian Deportation. He became Governor of the Bahamas in 1761. See Webster, *Forts of Chignecto*, p. 101. In a declaration dated 21 October 1747, Shirley wrote: "Whereas, upon being informed that a report had been propagated among the French inhabitants of his Province of Nova Scotia, that there was an intention to remove them from their settlements in that Province, I did, by my declaration, dated 16th September, 1746, signify to them that the same was groundless, and that I was, on the contrary, persuaded that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to extend his royal protection, to all such of them as should continue in their fidelity and allegiance to him, and in no wise abet or hold correspondence with the enemies of his crown; and therein assured them, that I would make a favorable representation of their state and circumstances to His Majesty, and did accordingly transmit a representation thereof to be laid before him, and have thereupon received his royal pleasure, touching his aforesaid subjects in Nova Scotia, with his express commands to signify the same to them in his name: Now by virtue thereof, and in obedience to said orders, I do hereby declare, in his Majesty's name, that there is not the least foundation for any apprehensions of his Majesty intending to remove them, the said inhabitants of Nova Scotia, from their said settlements and habitations within the said Province; but that, on the contrary, it is His Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of them as have adhered to and shall continue in their duty and allegiance to him, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their respective habitations and settlements, and in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as his subjects, &c. &c.". See "Petition of the Neutrals to the King of Great Britain," in Smith, *Acadia*, pp. 370-1.

Allegiance, they may gradually work out, in their own way, a right to their lands, & to the benefit of the protection of the law, which they are not entitled to but on that condition.¹⁴²

(9) But instead of checking, the appearance of difficulty served to stimulate the reckless activity of Lawrence. Nor were advisers wanting to fix the waverings of his resolution. According to general tradition, not unsupported by public charges, this was the time when the idea of forfeitures and confiscations took fast hold of the members of his Majesty's council; & united them in prompting the Lieutenant Governor, to represent, that, in the perturbed state of America, it was indispensably necessary to take some definitive measure in relation to the Akadians.

By reverting to a preceding part of the narrative, it will be found that this period nearly coincides with the ascendancy acquired by the New England party in the provincial cabinet;⁴³ & it furnished matter of triumph to their opponents to aggravate their Complaints to the national government, by proclaiming that the same rulers who had been the chief instrument of the oppressions under which they laboured, were likewise responsible for the cruelties of the Akadian removal; that the plan & execution were wholly American, & implicated little more than a single British born Subject in the person of a Lieutenant Governor.

⁴² See Board of Trade to Lawrence, 4 March 1754; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 207-8.

⁴³ In addition to Lawrence, the Councillors in 1754 included Benjamin Green (1713-1772), the son of a Harvard graduate who had commercial interests linking Boston and Halifax; John Collier (?-1769), a retired naval officer who had arrived in 1749 and was appointed a justice of the peace and a captain of militia; William Cotterell (dates unknown), a recently arrived settler from England; Robert Monckton (1726-1782), an officer of the British army, then in command of Fort Lawrence; John Rous (c.1700-1760), foremost among New England's privateer captains in the War of the Austrian Succession, Jonathan Belcher (1710-1776), son of the former Governor of Massachusetts; and, William Steele, about whom little is known. See J.B. Brebner, *New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1973) and p. 222 John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), pp. 326-7.

Without adopting this statement, I may not too confidently affirm that his Majesty's Council was composed of the purest materials. It contained some military officers rudely drilled to the forms of civil authority: one or two lawyers, whose roll of briefs, even in a litigious country, would not have been extensive; & three or four merchants depending wholly on government contracts. None of these Councillors possessed an independent fortune. They all looked up to Lawrence with equal reverence as the Arbiter of their prosperity; and were accused of flattering the worst of his propensities, when they could give them a direction favourable to their personal interests.

Emboldened by their [this] support, he [Lawrence] ostentatiously expressed, on the first of August,⁴⁴ the high satisfaction he had received [derived] from the past light in which the Board of trade viewed the case of the French inhabitants, & craved permission to submit a deliberate judgment upon the subject; 'together,' he continues, 'with such measures as appear to be most practicable & effectual for putting a Stop to the many inconveniences we have laboured under from their obstinacy, treachery, partiality to their countrymen, & their ingratitude for the favour, indulgence & protection which they have at all times so undeservedly received from **(10)** his Majesty's Government.'⁴⁵

Under the Shelter of so many harsh words, little creditable to the heart of the writer, & not authorized by any occurrences subsequent to the very different accounts transmitted by his predecessors, it was easy to make out a heavy indictment against an absent and unfriended people. The Secret Accuser⁴⁶ confidently asserted that the lenity hitherto exercised by the Provincial administration, in the hope of curing them of their foreign predilections, & fixing them gradually in the interest of Britain, had confirmed

⁴⁴ 1754.

⁴⁵ See Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 1 August 1754; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 212-13.

⁴⁶ Charles Lawrence.

them in the resolution of refusing the oath of allegiance; & slyly concluded that there could be no rational prospect of their amendment so long as they were indulged with incendiary Priests from the Colleges of the Jesuits. He therefore presumed to suggest a very summary mode of relief, that, namely, of a sudden & total expulsion of all their families from the Country. 'Tho' I would be very far,' he proceeds, 'from attempting such a step without your Lordships' approbation, yet I cannot help being of opinion that it would be much better, if they refuse the oaths, that they were away. The only ill consequence that can attend their going, would be their taking arms & joining with the Indians to destroy our settlements, as they are numerous & our troops so much divided; tho' indeed I believe that a very large part of the inhabitants would submit to any terms rather than take up arms on either side.'⁴⁷

Other incongruities, besides that obtruded(?) in the close of this sentence, masked the deliberate judgment of the Lieutenant Governor; and they were sufficiently broad to have shewn the rotten foundations on which it rested. Even with regard to the department of Chignecto, the most obnoxious of the whole, the beginning and end of the dispatch are utterly irreconcilable. 'The Chignecto inhabitants have repeated their application for readmission to their lands, but were again refused & acquainted that it was useless to think of it without an absolute compliance on their part. I was privately informed that at their return they were in very ill humour with their Missionary Le Loutre⁴⁸ & the French

⁴⁷ See Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 1 August 1754; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 212-13.

⁴⁸ Jean-Louis Le Loutre (1709-1772). Born in France and educated at the Séminaire du Saint-Esprit in Paris, Le Loutre arrived at Louisbourg in the autumn of 1737. He moved to Shubenacadie in 1738 to become a missionary to the Mi'kmaq and minister to the French posts at Cobequid and Tatamagouche. Although he pledged to maintain good order and keep the Acadians faithful to Great Britain, he gradually began using his influence to agitate the Mi'kmaq and persuade the Acadians to move to French territory. In the spring of 1749, he settled in Chignecto, taking charge of the Beaubassin church. During the siege of 1755, he escaped shortly before capitulation, but was taken prisoner when the ship on which he was sailing was captured by

commandant;⁴⁹ & that they represented to them the hardships they laboured under in not being suffered to accept the Proposals of the English, in a remonstrance very little short of a Mutiny.⁵⁰

In such untoward circumstances, the obvious impracticability of promoting the effectual (11) settlement of the Province, and his dread of new demands for unproductive services greatly cramped the deliberations of the Lords of trade; and on the twenty ninth of October⁵¹ a dispatch provided from their chamber which may be considered as the germ of all the subsequent calamities of an unfortunate [ill-fated] people. In that dispatch their Lordships surreptitiously abstain from offering any opinions concerning the measures which might become necessary for the ulterior disposal of the recusant inhabitants; but instead of arresting the forwardness of Lawrence, they too ingeniously gave it the run by suggesting some provisional steps that might be taken till his Majesty's pleasure could be known. Among these it is stated as a question well worth considering, how far the neutrals can be treated as subjects, without taking the oath of allegiance, & whether the refusal to comply with this necessary condition did not operate to invalidate their title to their lands. 'It is a question, however,' they say, 'which we will not take upon us to determine; but could wish that you would consult the Chief Justice⁵² upon this point,

the British. He was not released until 1763, after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. See Gérard Finn, "Jean-Louis Le Loutre," *DCB*.

⁴⁹ Louis du Pont Chambon, Sieur de Vergor (1713-1775). He was appointed commander of Fort Beauséjour in 1754. See Bernard Pothier, "Louis Du Pont Duchambon de Vergor," *DCB*.

⁵⁰ See Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 1 August 1754; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 212-13.

⁵¹ 1754.

⁵² Jonathan Belcher (1710-1776). Born in Boston, Belcher was installed as both Chief Justice of Nova Scotia and a member of the Executive Council in October 1754. He became administrator of the Province when Lawrence died in October 1760 and was commissioned Lieutenant Governor in November 1761, a position he held until September 1763. See S. Buggey, "Jonathan Belcher," *DCB*. Belcher wrote the legal justification of the decision to deport the Acadians en masse, which was read into the record at the Council meeting of 28 July 1755. See Council Minutes, 28 July 1755, NAC CO 220 NS (B), 8. Brown's detailed observations regarding Belcher's legal arguments are found within a manuscript entitled, "Copy of Mr

and take his opinion which may serve as a foundation of any future measure that may be thought advisable to pursue with regard to the inhabitants in general.⁵³

I have no desire to conceal, so far as I am qualified to judge, that this was not the mode of conducting business prescribed by the Commission & instructions of the Board of Trade. Their Lordships were provided with legal counsel to assist their judgment in doubtful matters. In more trying emergencies they had access to the opinions of the Attorney & Solicitor General; &, without adverting to the indecorum of committing extrajudicially the character & dignity of the chief justice of a distant Province in such a cause, it ought not to be forgotten, that, even under the present Enlargement of their powers, it was fully understood that they had discharged their duty, when, after instituting the necessary inquiry, they submitted a fair statement of facts with such conclusions as it seemed to warrant, to the decision of the King in Council. In committing, to third parties, of whose intelligence & fidelity they had no assurance, the disposal of questions which pertained exclusively to the Cabinet ministers, they stripped the government of its constitutional Securities, & exposed to hazard both the character & the fortunes [council of Commerce] of the Nation.⁵⁴

The preventive measures & hostile spirit which, under the impression of a partial & an exaggerated statement, this council of peaceful oeconomy (12) pointed against the offending Akadians, would have found their object if they had been applied to the Cabinet of Versailles. In prosecuting the plan of confining the British settlements to the Sea coast by a strong chain of Inland forts, of cutting off their mutual communications, &

Chief Justice Belcher's Opinion in Council as to the Removal of the French Inhabitants in Nova Scotia, dated Halifax 28th July 1755", EUL Gen. 157.

⁵³ See Board of Trade to Lawrence, 29 October 1754; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 235-7.

⁵⁴ This is Brown's indictment of the British government. Not that they undertook the Deportation but that, perhaps wilfully, they encouraged it. At the very least, he seems to imply that their handling of this matter was reckless to the degree of actual complicity, and circumvented constitutional safeguards.

of subjecting them separately to the attack of the whole disposable(?) force of Canada, adopted by that body on the ratification of the treaty of Aix La Chapelle,⁵⁵ the civil, military and ecclesiastical authorities of New France, were engaged with equal diligence [cooperated with equal zeal]. The old game of a general Indian War, which the British officers truly described as nothing else but a pretence for the French to commit all manner of outrage on his Majesty's peaceable subjects, was played off almost without a disguise. Even this nefarious expedient, which from the usage of the country might have admitted of some apology, was coupled in Nova Scotia with a device [expedient] still more nefarious. The Indian war,⁵⁶ which had been darkened in that province by many unheard of atrocities, was conducted by Hurons⁵⁷ intermixed with Canadian rangers dressed after the manner of the neutral inhabitants; and when the governor & council remonstrated against such a useless waste of human blood, the French commandants had the malignity to charge the whole guilt to the inveterate hostility of their own subjects. It humbles the dignity of history to relate, that while these public functionaries held the refugees on the Isthmus of Chignecto in a state of cruel restraint by the often renewed severities of military Execution, they turned loose on the equally tortured inhabitants of the Peninsula of Akadia the scalping knives of ruthless Hurons, & the no less terrifying denunciations of a venal Priest.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ 1748. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Among the terms of the agreement, Louisbourg was returned to the French.

⁵⁶ Generally known as the Seven Years' War (1754-1763). See Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000).

⁵⁷ The Huron originally inhabited an area of central Ontario, and although they participated in the war as allies with the French, there is no documented evidence to suggest they were active in Nova Scotia.

⁵⁸ It was recorded in the "Petition of the Neutrals to the King of Great Britain" that after the settlement of Halifax, the Acadians "suffered many abuses and insults from your Majesty's enemies, more especially from the Indians in the interest of the French, by whom our cattle were killed, our houses were pillaged, and many of us personally abused and put in fear of our lives, and some even carried away prisoners towards Canada, solely on account of our resolution steadily to maintain our oath of fidelity to the English

This Priest, the Abbe Dauden,⁵⁹ dropped at the time when he received the solemn warning of the too Prophetic Des Enclaves,⁶⁰ now [again] comes into view as the Curé of Piziquid.⁶¹ With talents equal to the highest station in the Church, he basely prostituted them in the odious service of embroiling the Akadian departments with an administration abundantly disposed to interpret their actions to their disadvantage. In a country, where, to use his own expression, the scholar had not the refuge of a library, his mind, perturbed & gloomy, could no longer relish the innocent gaieties of the Akadian hearth; and he

Government". Printed in Smith, *Acadia*, p. 373. See also a letter of François Du Pont Duvivier (1705-1776) to the Acadians of Minas, dated 1744, in which he stated: "those who would contravene the present order shall be punished as rebellious subjects, and delivered in the hands of savages as enemies of the State, as we cannot refuse the demand which the savages make for all those who will not submit themselves." Printed in Smith, *Acadia*, p. 124. Although referring to French authorities, Brown may also have been thinking of the following anecdote told him by Rev. Hugh Graham in a letter dated 1791: "a branch of this river called "Napana" was the scene of one of those barbarous outrages which created a likeness between "Scotia junior and Scotia senior." A party of rangers of a regiment chiefly employed in scouring the country of the deluded French who had unfortunately fallen under the bann of British policy, came upon 4 Frenchmen who had all possible caution, ventured out from their skulking retreats to pick some of the straggling cattle or hidden treasure. The solitary few, the pitiable four, had just sat down weary and faint on the banks of the desert stream in order to refresh themselves with some food and rest, when the party of Rangers surprised and apprehended them, and as there was a bounty on Indian scalps, a blot, too, on England's escutcheon, the soldiers soon made the supplicating signal, the officer's turned their backs, and the French were instantly shot and scalped. A party of the Rangers brought in one day 25 scalps, pretending that they were Indian's, and the commanding officer at the fort, then Col. Wilmot, afterwards Governor Wilmot (a poor tool) gave orders that the bounty should be paid them. Capt. Huston who had at that time the charge of the military chest, objected such proceedings both in the letter and spirit of them. The Colonel told him, that according to law the French were all out of the French; that the bounty on Indian scalps was according to "Law, and that tho' the Law might be in some instances be strained a little, yet there was a necessity for winking at such things." Upon account Huston, in obedience to orders, paid down £250, telling them that the "curse of God should ever "attend such guilty deeds." See Graham to Brown, March 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), p. 141.

⁵⁹ Henri Daudin (1709-1756). Daudin, a colleague of Le Loutre, arrived in Nova Scotia in October 1753. He was parish priest at Piziquid (see note 61) and, after April 1754, Annapolis Royal. See Micheline D. Johnson, "Henri Daudin," *DCB*.

⁶⁰ Jean-Baptiste de Gay Desenclaves (1702-post1769). Desenclaves came to Nova Scotia in June of 1739. He was parish priest at St. Joseph (Canard) from 1739 and Annapolis Royal from 1742 to 1754. In the spring of 1754, having been recalled for being too favourable to British policy, he took up a post at Pubnico (see note 368) and thus avoided the events of 1755. Following the attack on Pubnico in 1756, however, Desenclaves was captured and deported to France. Desenclaves was apparently a reasonable man who sought to smooth relations between the Acadians and the British government. See Johnson, "Jean-Baptiste de Gay Desenclaves," *DCB*.

⁶¹ Originally a large Mi'kmaq encampment, the Acadian district of Piziquid was located on the south-western coast of the Minas Basin, at the confluence of the Piziquid (Avon) and Saint Croix rivers, and along the tributaries that flow inland from the Minas Basin, today the region surrounding the town of Windsor. Settled around 1684, Piziquid became a principal centre of Acadian settlement and agriculture and was one of the largest Acadian communities in 1755. LeBlanc, "Piguit: l'impact du Grand Dérangement sur une communauté de l'ancienne Acadie," in *Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation*.

sought relief from his own dark thoughts in the boisterous evening parties of the English traders.⁶² When heated with Wine the (13) vainglorious ecclesiastic boasted to these rude hearers of a grand expedition fitting out on the Ports of France for reducing, on the return of Spring, the Capital of Nova Scotia,⁶³ & fixing the future course of American empire. His insinuations left no room to doubt that the Akadians were apprized of the design, & pledged to act [embark] on it with all their force. Intelligence of these Escapes was regularly communicated to the Lieutenant Governor. By his directions, the Priest was insensibly drawn on to give a colour to his boastings by condescending [an appeal] upon some special facts; and when his broken statements took the shape of consistency a strong guard marched him down for examination before his Majesty's Council.⁶⁴

When brought into the circle of Cultivated life, the Jesuit⁶⁵ resumed all the self-possession & dignified composure of his order. On every side he was completely fortified; and, with great apparent candour ascribed the idle talk with which he had been charged to the effect of a severe contusion of the head which he had sustained from the hand of a Maniac, & which a medical adviser had thought necessary still to keep open. This fact being publicly known & highly creditable to the missionary's humanity operated

⁶² Daudin certainly would have known the traders at Pisiquid, in particular, Isaac Deschamps (1722-1801), who ran a trading post outside Fort Edward for Joshua Mauger (see note 109) from 1754. See Grace M. Tratt, "Isaac Deschamps," *DCB*. Indeed, in a letter to Le Loutre, dated 26 September 1754, Daudin stated that he was "betrayed by a store-keeper of Mr. Mauger." See John Clarence Webster, "*The Life of Thomas Pichon: 'The Spy of Beausejour'*" (The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Special Publication, 1937), p. 68.

⁶³ Halifax.

⁶⁴ Daudin was arrested and taken to Halifax in early October 1754, along with four of his Acadian parishioners. According to a letter by Captain Alexander Murray (see note 71), then commander at Fort Edward (see note 69), Daudin had related to him that "three hundred Indians were come to the Country with no good Intention" and that "the Inhabitants to the number of three thousand had assembled together to consult Mischief against the English and that tho' they had not all arms yet they had hatchetts". He added that Deschamps had informed him that upon hearing what Daudin had said, the Acadians were "astonished and declared they had no Intention ever to take up Arms". See Council Minutes, 2 October 1754, NAC CO 220, NS (B), 7, 106; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 223-4. Unfortunately, we have only Murray's testimony to rely upon.

⁶⁵ Brown is using the term *Jesuit*, not in its technical sense, for Daudin was not a Jesuit Priest, but as a derogatory comment on Daudin, suggesting he was a prevaricator (*OED*).

powerfully in his favour.⁶⁶ After a very close interrogation, nothing transpired that had any tendency to alarm the government, or to subject the priest to deeper blame than that of neglecting the care due to his health, & the decorum that suited his functions. Nevertheless, it was thought necessary to sequester him for a time from an agitated people, & to recommend additional vigilance in all the outposts.⁶⁷ A discovery, rising out of this natural precaution, soon gave a different colouring [character] to Daudin's declarations. 'It chanced,' says the informant whom I now follow & who was himself an actor on the occasion,⁶⁸ 'that four Akadian peasants who had accompanied their missionary with relays of horses, carried back with them the wife of a Serjeant of the forty fifth Regiment then on duty at Fort Edward,⁶⁹ the garrison of Pizaquid. The showers of the morning announced a day of rain, and as the peasants were wholly unprovided for (14) bad weather, one of them begged the Englishwoman to take care of a letter which he had engaged to deliver in safety.⁷⁰ On approaching the fort after sunset, the Akadian asked her to return the deposit; 'but some thing,' as she said to my author, 'seemed to whisper to her at the moment that it contained matter interesting to the government; & affecting to be benumbed by the cold, she requested her benefactor to set her down at the Commissary's

⁶⁶ Apparently Murray was not convinced that Daudin's injury was serious, as he wrote "I found Daudin's sickness was nothing but a Sham as he was able to say Mass". See Council Minutes, 2 October 1754, NAC CO 220, NS (B), 7, 106; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 223-224.

⁶⁷ Daudin and the Acadians were questioned at the Council in Halifax on 3 October 1754. The Acadians were "severely reprimanded" and subsequently released. Daudin was detained, but having promised to change his mode of conduct, was released shortly thereafter.

⁶⁸ Brown's source was most likely Isaac Deschamps, whom he lists as one of his principal informants.

⁶⁹ The 45th Regiment was known as Warburton's Regiment of foot (see note 23). Fort Edward, located at the confluence of the Pisiquid (Avon) and St. Croix rivers, was built in 1750 under the direction of Charles Lawrence and served to protect the route from Halifax to Annapolis. Fort Edward was a main assembly point during the Deportation of 1755.

⁷⁰ Independent confirmation of this incident is found in a letter from British spy, Thomas Pichon (see note 156). Pichon recorded: "It is said that he had also given a sealed packet to Jean or Joseph Abraham which this Joseph entrusted to the wife of a seargeant who was returning with him from Halifax, and that she had delivered it to M. Murray." See Pichon to Scott, 28 October 1754 in Webster, *Life of Thomas Pichon*, p. 49. Brown was familiar with Pichon's journal, as it is listed among his notes in the Edinburgh Collection. Brown's version of the incident, presumably told to him by Deschamps, or perhaps Joseph Grey, is considerably more detailed.

contiguous to the main guard, where, by stepping into the kitchen, she would be able to reach it without inconvenience to him. On alighting, she rushed into the parlour, & having put the letter into the hand of the master of the family with a significant shake of the head and a finger applied to the mouth, rushed into the kitchen to warm her stiffened limbs. When the heat of the fire had restored the power of motion she searched her bosom for the packet, & no acting ever surpassed the significant expression of surprize & concern which her features & manner assumed on discovering that it had shifted its place. She turned over the foldings of her dress with a fearful scrutiny: she repeated the operation a second time; and when disappointed she raised a bitter lamentation. 'I value little,' she exclaimed, 'the handkerchief in which the paper was wrapped, tho' now the only token in my possession of a most affectionate mother; but I do value the playthings which it contained, of the dear boy whom I have just buried in Halifax; and I am sure my husband will give a large recompense for recovering the precious memorials.' The peasant entrusted with the letter was the Dupe of this deceit, and shewed no other regret than what naturally arose from such an accident.'

Meanwhile, the packet thus intercepted was instantly carried to the Commandant.⁷¹ It came from Dauden; and contained, under cover to one of the choristers of the chapel of Pizaquid,⁷² an enclosure addressed to Chauvreulx the (15) Curé Of Vieux

⁷¹ Alexander Murray (1715-1762). Murray was posted in command of Fort Edward in September 1751. As the officer in charge at Pisiqid, he supervised the Deportation of the Acadians thereabout and was promoted to Major in October, 1755. See John Humphreys, "Alexander Murray," *DCB*.

⁷² There were at least two Acadian churches located in Pisiqid: the parish church of l'Assomption, to the east of the Pisiqid (Avon) River, established in 1698 and demolished when Fort Edward was erected in 1750, and the parish church of La Sainte-Famille, to the west, founded in 1722. John V. Duncanson suggests there were at least three churches located in the parish of Sainte-Famille. See Duncanson, *Falmouth: A New England Township in Nova Scotia* (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1983), p. 5.

Logis⁷³ which, as a specimen of the Epistolary correspondence of the Jesuits, may be admitted [allowed a place in] into the text. "I steal a few moments, from the vigilance of a surly keeper, to let you know that I am a close prisoner; having been convicted, on the testimony of two persons wholly ignorant of French, of interfering in high matters of government - So be it in the name of God.

"Tell our good Akadians, that I am their friend; and that I will be their friend in France. Tell them that I am going to a country where I shall enjoy the pleasures of life, in a far greater proportion than it is possible for a faithful ecclesiastic to enjoy them here: but tell them also, that the sweet consolation of sharing the sufferings which I cannot soften, would have more than compensated all the pains that calumny & malice can inflict. Tell them that it is the settled purpose of this government to destroy their Church, which has been held so long in the furnace of affliction; to circumscribe the extent of the possessions, which their fathers and they have so nobly wrung from the forest & the Sea; & to reduce them and their children to the condition of bondmen, when all their protectors are rooted from the soil. But tell them to unite & to pray, since, in days of trial, that is the best preparation for becoming steadfast, immovable & victorious in the cause of duty. So be it in the name of God."⁷⁴

A closing paragraph revealed a different feeling; & commanded Chauvreulx to repair, without delay, to the Church of Pizaquid,⁷⁵ where, in the well contrived

⁷³ *Vieux Logis* is the Acadian name for the landing at Grand-Pré, now known as Horton Landing. The parish of Vieux Logis was otherwise known as the parish of St. Charles-des-Mines (Grand-Pré). The parish priest was Claude-Jean-Baptiste Chauvreulx (c.1706-c.1760).

⁷⁴ Brown must have obtained the original document, perhaps from Deschamps, who likely translated it from the original French. There is no evidence to suggest this document is still extant.

⁷⁵ It is interesting to speculate which church this would have been. It may refer to Sainte-Famille, as the church of l'Assomption, which was likely in the vicinity of the Fort Edward, seems to have been destroyed by this time.

concealment in the Sacristie,⁷⁶ he would find a bundle of papers of equal importance to the interest of France & the safety of the Akadians. If, under the suspicion likely to be excited by his sudden appearance, he entertained the least apprehension of being able to carry off this deposit in safety, he was strictly enjoined to burn the whole without reservation.

At midnight, the Commandant of the fort⁷⁷ & my author⁷⁸ invaded the repose of the Masshouse with a strong party of picked men; & after a painful search, & some havoc among the pannelling of the Sacristie, succeeded in getting possession of the concealed treasure.⁷⁹ (16) On examining its contents, they found a regular census of the Akadian families within the peninsula, a roll of the males capable of bearing arms, & a return of the muskets, ammunition & provisions that each parish could supply: _the whole calculated more to impose on the minister of Marine,⁸⁰ than to represent the actual state of the Districts. The latest communication from Le Loutre acquainted Dauden, that, by the Express orders of the Court, the Governor of Louisbourg⁸¹ was making provision for the extended operations of four ships of the line, with four veteran Regiments on board; which after touching at his harbour, so soon as it was clear of ice, were to proceed to

⁷⁶ A *Sacristy* is a room or small apartment in or attached to a church, where the sacred vessels and vestments are kept (*OED*).

⁷⁷ Alexander Murray.

⁷⁸ Presumably Isaac Deschamps. It might seem odd that a civilian would be tapped for such a task, but it should be remembered that Deschamps was bilingual and literate. In fact, it was he who translated various exchanges between Murray and the Acadians, as well as the Deportation order of 1755. If Murray had anticipated French papers that he could not read himself, Deschamps would have been an obvious companion. See Tratt, "Isaac Deschamps," *DCB*.

⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that Daudin stated in a letter to Le Loutre, dated 30 October 1754, that "despite the search made in his house, in the church, and in the sacristy, nothing was found". See Webster, *Life of Thomas Pichon*, p. 67.

⁸⁰ By *impose*, Brown meant "impress upon" the French minister, Jean-Baptiste de Machault d'Arnouville (1701-1794) (*OED*).

⁸¹ Augustin de Boschenry de Drucour (1703-1762). Drucour was appointed Governor of Louisbourg in 1754 and actively encouraged the settlement of Acadians in Île Royale. Drucour was the last Governor of Louisbourg, in command at the time of the second and final British siege in 1758. See John Fortier, "Augustin de Boschenry de Drucour," *DCB*; also J. S. McLennan, *Louisbourg: From its Foundation to its Fall 1713-1758* (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1918).

Baye Verte⁸², & having there landed the Regiments to destroy Fort Lawrence⁸³ & master Fort Edward, were to change the scene and block up Halifax by Sea, till the triumphant Regulars accompanied by the Indians & Akadians should set down in the rear of the Town, and drive on the capitulation.⁸⁴ He might thus perceive, subjoined the writer, the nature of the service that called for all his eloquence & all his address.

This providential discovery, says the record, was of too grave a cast to admit of delay; & long before dawn, a captain & forty men bore the documents to the Lieutenant Governor. The reader may remember that many weeks before this the fate of Beausejour had been sealed in the preconcerted Counsels of the Governments of Massachusetts bay & Nova Scotia.⁸⁵ Already the military force adequate to the service had been levied in New England, & the transports hired for the voyage were thickly dropping into the port of Boston. On the solicitude which Lawrence felt for this fleet, a fast sailing snow⁸⁶ was got under way for England, and by the favour of a short passage arrived in time to support the account of the armaments fitting out in France [in the Port of Brest] transmitted by the

⁸² Baie Verte was the site of the second French satellite fort built in 1751 on the northern side of the Isthmus of Chignecto, near the mouth of the Gaspereau River. Fort Gaspereau was essentially a protected warehouse and shipping station for supplies from Louisbourg and Quebec. See Hand, *Siege of Fort Beauséjour*, pp. 25-7.

⁸³ Fort Lawrence was built on the site of the former Acadian village of Beaubassin in September of 1750, under the direction of Lawrence. From there, the British launched their successful attack on Fort Beausejour in 1755. Fort Lawrence was abandoned and destroyed in 1756 when the British relocated to Fort Beauséjour and renamed it Fort Cumberland. See Webster, *Forts of Chignecto*.

⁸⁴ Deschamps mentions a similar episode in a letter to a Halifax newspaper, dated 18 August 1791, in which he stated: "At this time Cape Breton, St. John's Island, Canada, and the St. John's River were in possession of the French; and it was discovered and ascertained by undeniable proof, that detachments were to be made of French troops from the places above mentioned against this Province; and they were in conjunction with the French Acadians, amounting to 8000 men, together with the Indians, to make an attack on Halifax and burn it". See "Vindication by Secretary Bulkeley and Judge Deschamps of the Acadian Removal," BL Add. Mss. 19073, 52; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 149-53.

⁸⁵ Lawrence, with the help of Massachusetts Governor William Shirley, sent Lieutenant Colonel Robert Monckton (see note 101) to Boston in the winter of 1754/55 to recruit and organize a New England force to counter French encroachments, and specifically to plan and prepare for an attack on Fort Beauséjour. See I.K. Steele, "Robert Monckton," *DCB*.

⁸⁶ A *Snow* is a small sailing vessel (*OED*).

ambassador Lord Albemarle.⁸⁷ Among the little incidents which gave a decisive turn to the weightiest affairs, the adventure of the sergeant's wife in Pizaquid deserves a place. The Politicians of the day were not aware of the humble instruments that fixed the purpose of a wavering cabinet, & led on events destined not only to subvert all the established relations between the Old World & the New, but to change, for a while, the Whole aspect of civilized society.⁸⁸

(17) Meanwhile, the Seasons revolved. Softening showers & a milder temperature once more cheered the lonely skirts of the bay of Fundy; and, after the scarcity of a tedious winter borne with exemplary patience, the Akadian refugees⁸⁹ gladly hailed them [hailed them with an enlivening emotion(?) of gladness]. On the eleventh of May,⁹⁰ they assembled in the Abenakis chapel⁹¹ to offer thanks, when Le Loutre described the harsh confinement of the holy missionary of Pizaquid⁹² as a judgment of heaven on their

⁸⁷ General George Keppel, 3rd Earl of Albemarle (1724-1772). In an undated letter to Brown, one of his informants, Moses Delesdernier (c.1713-1811) wrote: "the Acadians flattered themselves with an Expectation that this Country would be conquered by the French, which would probably have taken place, had it not been prevented by the Vigilance of Lord Albemarle who was then the English Plenipotentiary at Paris – and gave seasonable Advise of a French Fleet consisting of sixteen sail of the Line with 6000 Regular Troops on board destined to invade this country". See "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia containing "Observations on the Situation . . . Customs and Manners of the Ancient Acadians – with Remarks on their Removal from Nova Scotia and the Causes thereof : Also their numbers and the character and disposition of their posterity who remain . . . and some Remarks on the Indians," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58.

⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that Brown states that the politicians, presumably those in Britain, were unaware of this event. Certainly, there is no mention of it in the official documents, and thus it has not become part of the general historiography of the period. If indeed Brown's information was correct, and given that it presumably came from Deschamps, it likely was, it is an interesting incident leading up to the decision to deport the Acadians.

⁸⁹ These were the Acadians who removed to French territory beyond and in the Isthmus of Chignecto, particularly after the forced evacuation of Beaubassin in 1750 when the village was burned in anticipation of the arrival of British military forces.

⁹⁰ 1755.

⁹¹ This is an interesting detail regarding the gathering in an Abenaki Chapel. It is not known where this chapel was located, although it was presumably somewhere in the vicinity of Fort Beauséjour. The maritime Abenaki, one of five Algonquian tribes that belonged to the Wabanaki Confederacy, generally occupied the St. Croix and the St. John's River Valleys near the border between Maine and New Brunswick (see note 199).

⁹² Henri Daudin.

mutinous proceedings.⁹³ In a [second] drone⁹⁴ [analogous to that which has been noticed in another place & which was] delivered from the altar on announcing the feast of Pentecost & the descent of the divine Spirit, that fierce Evangelist roughly told them that they bore no resemblance to the first Congregation of Christians, who, respecting the Authority of their Master, waited for the fulfillment of his promise in the silence of retreat & the meekness of submission. These men, he cried, set forth as an Example to the world, did not meet in secret to scrutinize the views of their superiors, or openly cabal to make their peace with the adversary. Such apostasy & treason were reserved for the miserable country which he had vainly laboured to sustain, and for the degenerate Frenchmen who fainted at the appearance of adversity. Another opportunity was now afforded them, & it might be the last, of arming their minds with the constancy of the Primitive Confessors. The assertors of their freedom were already on the Ocean; & unless their inequities turned them back, they would ere long reinstate them in all their privileges. Three fasts and a supplication were ordained for the deliverance of Daudin from his bonds, and for the safe arrival of the squadron that was to settle the controversy for the American dominion.⁹⁵

⁹³ The preaching of this sermon in the month of May is not accurate as Daudin was imprisoned in early October and released shortly thereafter. It appears that Brown has incorporated, perhaps deliberately for literary effect, two separate sermons here. It was in a sermon in early October that Le Loutre preached to the Acadians about Daudin's imprisonment. Pichon records in a letter, dated 14 October 1754: "The following day, Sunday, Moses preached a most vehement sermon, singularly adapted to the British nation, and concluded with harsh words to the refugees, whose transgressions are, according to him, the sole cause of a saintly man's detention." Printed in Webster, *Life of Thomas Pichon*, p. 44. Brown is correct that a sermon was preached on 11 May 1755, but it did not include reference to Daudin's detention.

⁹⁴ The term *drone* can be interpreted as meaning "to utter or emit in a dull, monotonous tone" (*OED*).

⁹⁵ It is certain that Brown's source for this passage was Pichon. This sermon is detailed in a letter dated 13 May 1755, in which Pichon writes: "On Sunday, May 11, Moses preached a sermon on the Pentecost, or the coming of the Holy Spirit, and after some curious attempts to explain this mystery, he told the settlers in the roughest manner that they bore no resemblance to the Apostles, who had gone into retirement, and maintained silence in order to receive the Holy Spirit; they did not intrigue; they did not question the motives of their superior; that they, the settlers, have no other superiors except Jesus Christ, whose priest and minister he was, and who alone could counsel them." Printed in Webster, *Life of Thomas Pichon*, pp. 96-7. At the end of this passage, Brown again reverts back to Daudin's imprisonment and it must be assumed that he intentionally inserted Le Loutre's May sermon, although out of temporal sequence, so as not to disrupt the flow of the narrative.

It is certain that soon after these solemnities Dauden was discharged from prison,⁹⁶ & that Le Loutre laid claim to the whole merit of his enlargement. Perhaps he was entitled to some share of it [that merit], for tho' the District of Pizaquid refused to petition in his [Dauden's] behalf, under a well grounded apprehension of the dangers to which his intriguing spirit must expose them, the remoter departments were induced to pledge their credit for his peaceable behaviour; & Lawrence thought that, as he was now unmasked, he might not only be sent back to his Cure without hazard, but so watched as to furnish the means of further discovery.⁹⁷ This political fanatic had not long resumed his function when a laureated Courier informed him of the arrival of the Expected squadrons on the banks of Newfoundland, & of **(18)** the high state of health of every part of the force which it carried. Entertaining no doubt of the complete ascendancy of the French arms, he exerted his whole powers of persuasion in working up the minds of the Akadians to a general insurrection. He succeeded, however, only to the extent of disturbing their tranquillity. Instead of shewing a disposition to join the ranks of the French veterans, the elders of all the districts declared their firm determination to leave to their combatants the decision of the quarrel, & so take the fortune which the return of peace might award them. In the full tide of national prosperity, the false hearted Priest thought he might safely constrain them to join the prevailing Standard; & to ruin them irretrievably in the estimation of the Provincial government, he walked deliberately to Fort Edward, demanded an audience of the Commandant, and, with many protestations of personal

⁹⁶ Daudin was released and returned to his post on 21 October 1754. See Johnson, "Daudin," *DCB*.

⁹⁷ See Cotterell to Murray, 21 October 1754 and Lawrence to Hussey, 8 November 1754; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 234-8. In a letter dated 23 September 1754, Murray was informed that Lawrence wished him to "keep an Eye on Daudin, and if you have any Certainty of his meddling in affairs that are not purely Ecclesiastical you are desired to send us information of it." See Cotterell to Murray, 23 September 1754; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 221. These instructions, however, were sent before Daudin's imprisonment, although Pichon continued to supply the British with copies of Daudin's letters and information relating to his activities.

regard, entreated him to look well to his defences, as the inhabitants to the amount of three thousand completely armed & provisioned, were assembled in the neighbouring woods to pour their long meditated fury on the English.⁹⁸

A few days changed the Whole face of affairs. The fearless Boscawen⁹⁹ broke the Strength of the French Squadron, & led two of the largest ships into the Port of Chebucto.¹⁰⁰ A fleet of New England transports conveyed Colonel Monkton¹⁰¹ to the mouth of the Mesgouesch,¹⁰² & Beausejour surrendered before he had completed the first of his batteries.¹⁰³ On every side the hopes of French ascendancy were Extinguished; & by the inhuman accusation of a miserable Ecclesiastic,¹⁰⁴ whom deceitful signs had precipitated into the gulph of perdition, too strong a colour of justice [probability] was given to the representations of the men who were already plotting the means of dividing the Akadian possessions.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ Brown's information here, although generally accurate, is out of sequence, for Daudin had informed Murray of the alleged plan before he was imprisoned in Halifax in October 1754 (see note 64).

⁹⁹ Edward Boscawen (1711-1761). Boscawen was Vice Admiral of the Royal Navy and in command of a British squadron ordered to intercept the French reinforcements in America, which had embarked for Louisbourg and Quebec on 15 April 1755. See W.A.B. Douglas, "Edward Boscawen," *DCB* and McLennan, *Louisbourg*, p. 196.

¹⁰⁰ Port of Halifax. *Chebookt* was the original Mi'kmaq name for Halifax Harbour. To the French, it became known as *Chibouquetou*. Boscawen captured two French ships, the *Alcide* and *Lys*, off the coast of Louisbourg and arrived in Halifax on 9 July 1755. The remainder of the French fleet slipped past Boscawen's squadron, which was incapacitated by inexperienced sailors and disease, and arrived safely at Louisbourg on 14 June. See Douglas, "Edward Boscawen," *DCB* and McLennan, *Louisbourg*, pp. 196-7.

¹⁰¹ Robert Monckton (1726-1782). Monckton was posted to Nova Scotia in 1752 and appointed commander of Fort Lawrence. He was called to Halifax, where he joined the Executive Council in 1753, and led the British attack of Fort Beauséjour in 1755. On the orders of Lawrence, Monckton supervised the deportation of 1100 Acadians from the Chignecto region and was made Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia in December 1755. See Steele, "Robert Monckton," *DCB*.

¹⁰² Missaguash River.

¹⁰³ A convoy of 31 transports and three warships carrying nearly 2000 New England troops and 270 British regulars (Warburton's Regiment) arrived at the mouth of the Missaguash on 2 June 1755. The terms of the Beauséjour capitulation were accepted on 17 June, less than two weeks after Monckton began his campaign. See Webster, *Life of Thomas Pichon*, pp. 100-1; and *Forts of Chignecto*, pp. 49-53; also Hand, *Siege of Beauséjour*.

¹⁰⁴ Henri Daudin.

¹⁰⁵ Thus, Brown is suggesting that the rash acts of Daudin were, in fact, supporting the arguments of the Council in favour of the Deportation.

The early success which crowned the service at the head of the bay of Fundy, obviated all the difficulties that threatened to impede the Execution [progress] of this design. The Lieutenant Governor obtained the unlimited disposal, for the rest of the Campaign, of the two thousand Provincials, who were allowed to be ripe for work under which the heart of the British regulars might have failed.¹⁰⁶ When the Akadians saw the mottled detachments of these troops relieving the old soldiers who had grown familiar with their children, they concluded **(19)** that the days of forbearance were come to an end.¹⁰⁷ These fears were but too well founded. Into all the departments severe edicts were sent, which were still more severely executed. Under pretence that the inhabitants carried on a clandestine trade with the French settlements in corn and cattle, their sloops, schooners & even canoes were confiscated;¹⁰⁸ tho' the Isthmus of Chignecto, the only channel of communication, was closely barred; & tho' it was publicly known that the Provision contract for Louisbourg was executed by a Mercantile House in Halifax acting as factors for the Principals in Boston and Philadelphia.¹⁰⁹ Another cause of alarm was

¹⁰⁶ Following the defeat of the French at Beauséjour, Lawrence had over 2000 New England soldiers under his command, most of who had volunteered for the entire year, and were being paid by the British Government. See Steele, "Robert Monckton," *DCB*.

¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note Brown's suggestion that the former British regulars at Fort Lawrence were on familiar, even friendly, terms with the Acadian population in the area. Indeed, Webster noted that the Acadians "had got into the habit of trading at Fort Lawrence where they obtained better terms than were granted by their own people. They were given credit and treated to drinks." See Webster, *Forts of Chignecto*, pp. 35-6.

¹⁰⁸ See Council Minutes, 3 July 1755, NAC CO 220 NS (A), 8, 159-165; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 247-9. In a memorial dated 10 June 1755, in response to Lawrence's proclamation of 4 June (see note 112), the Acadians of Minas, Pisiquid and the river Canard, wrote: "Under pretext that we are transporting our corn or other provisions to Beausejour, and the River St. John, we are no longer permitted to carry the least quantity of corn by water from one place to another. We beg your Excellency to be assured that we have never transported provisions to Beausejour, or to the River St. John. If some refugee inhabitants at the point have been seized, with cattle, we are not on that account, by any means guilty, in as much as the cattle belonged to them as private individuals, and they were driving them home to their respective habitations we hope that your Excellency will be pleased to restore to us the use of our canoes, either to transport our provisions from one river to another, or for the purpose of fishing; thereby providing for our livelihood."

¹⁰⁹ Brown seems to imply that there was no Acadian trade with Louisbourg. However, as Griffiths has noted, Acadian trade with Louisbourg was a reality and evidently on the rise during the summer of 1754. See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, p. 437 and Stephen E. Patterson, "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and

deduced from the intelligence of Dauden, & gave rise to a still more rigorous Edict. Affecting to believe¹¹⁰ his report of an intended general insurrection, a very singular device was contrived for disarming the districts. A grand fishing party was decreed for the gratification of the New England garrisons, whose alacrity & courage so well merited the favour of Government. Much preparation was made for this festival; & a suite of carriages allowed as if it were to have some endurance. The routes of the parties were accurately planned; & each was ordered so to time the Amusement as to reach the scene of action before sun set. The fords of the rivers were appointed as the places of halting; and at these fords a strong guard was to be planted to prevent the French inhabitants from passing, & to make all persons prisoners who approached within gunshot. The rest of the

Aboriginal Peoples,” in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, Phillip A. Buckner and John Reid, eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 125-55. It is true, however, that New England merchants, such as Apthorp and Hancock, carried on a profitable trade with Louisbourg. The Mercantile House to which Brown refers may be that of Joshua Mauger (1725-1788), a wealthy and influential trader who came into conflict with colonial authorities over his dealings with Louisbourg and his attempts to avoid trade restrictions imposed by Cornwallis. See Donald F. Chard, “Joshua Mauger,” *DCB* and Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie* (Halifax: James Barnes, 1866), Vol. II, p. 194. Joseph Grey informed Brown that: “The French Fortress of Louisbourg is wholly supplied from New York or Philadelphia by contractors although directly contrary to the Kings instructions and the Acts of all our governments M^r F _____ of Marblehead was contractor in the year 1751 & 52 & 53 & in the year 1754 M^r Wheel _____t when he was on his embassy from Boston to the Governor of Canada went into Louisbourg & offered the governor to supply him with three thousand barrels flour at fifteen Livres & Cent (Louisbourg Currency) the Governor kept M^r Wheel _____t in suspense while he informed his old acquaintance M^r M _____ of Halifax of the Proposal and tended him the preference of y^e same price which was accepted of by M^r M _____ who did invite to New York for the quantity which did arrive at Louisbourg in the month of July 1754. Part of which with other Supplies in Provisions was immediately reshiped for the French Garrison in the River S^t Johns where it did arrive safe in the month of August. Another vessel was dispatched from Louisbourg for the Bay Vert with the quantity of Provisions that was thought necessary - for the French Troops - at Chignecto not only for the French Troops but also for the Acadians and Indians. Canada does not raise Sufficient grain for its own consumption & the supply of Quebec therefore the French Garrison at Louisbourg and other French Forts in Acadia cannot depend on Supplys from Canada but wholly from our own Colonies. The French Garrison in the River S^t Johns is supplied monthly from Annapolis Royal with all kinds of Provisions in Exchange for Furs which the Annapolis traders send to Boston as payment for English goods - Corn Rum Sugar Molasses &c - and yet the Supplying any of those places with Provisions was Contrary to the Acts of this Province and deemed an illicit Trade - while the Indians & Acadians of that River commit hostilities against us which they have never failed of doing from the first settling of Halifax to the present day.” See “Notes of Mr Gray on the Acadians with Notices of the Country &c.” BL Add. Mss. 19073, 53. It should be noted that the above names are left blank in the original manuscript, although a Mr. Wheelwright is later identified. For a general discussion regarding trade in British America, see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

¹¹⁰ Brown here implies that all of this was a pretext.

body was then broken into knots of three or four sufficient to occupy the principal houses in the adjoining village. On reaching these, they demanded lodging & provisions, and were kindly accomodated by a courteous people. At the dead of night, they started from a pretended slumber, lighted candles, & commenced a narrow search for arms & ammunition. When their astonished hosts ventured to remonstrate, they shewed them their orders, & commanded them to assist in the execution. But few of these parties confined themselves to their orders. According to their own confession, they took freely not what was lightest, but what contained the greatest value in the least bulk. This austere operation was performed at the same instant over a wide Extent of country; & the New Englandmen gave it the significant name of the Akadian toothdrawing.¹¹¹

After the success which attended this (20) domiciliary visit, discretion & management were dismissed as superfluous; & a proclamation went forth requiring the French inhabitants to deliver up within ten free days, all the arms & ammunition that

¹¹¹ This 'tooth drawing' operation, "effected with great secrecy and expedition", apparently took place in June of 1755, "by a Detachment of 100 men from His Majestys Out-Garrison of Fort Edward – Pissiquid joined by another from Halifax consisting of 50 men - marched from Fort Edward under the command of Captain Alex^r Murray (the Commanding officer of Fort Edward) - reporting among the soldiers & men that they were going to Annapolis Royal and as going thither marched about twenty five miles to a Bridge over w^{ch} they were to cross and take another course to Cornwallis . . . dividing into several Parties the Remainder of the Detachment so as to proceed into Cornwallis by the several Roads that Led to Each Village even to the Remotest Part of those several Rivers where there was any settlement and as had been customary before lodged the men in the French House but with this difference instead of the whole Party lodging in a Barn . . . and by this method every house in all those settlements not only had two or three soldiers in it but also every place where they forded the River Centinels were placed to Stop & Seize all whom might attempt to pass . . . in like manner - was done at every House in all other districts - and the next morning the whole Detachment met together at the Landing Place where Fort Vieux Logis was Erected." These detailed notes, entitled "Mode of Desarming the Acadians" were likely compiled in the 1760s by Joseph Grey, one of Brown's informants and a Scottish merchant from Halifax who supplied Fort Edward. See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 53. Brown noted on the manuscript, "I have the date of this from a Petition. It occurred about the middle of June. - Mode of desarming the Acadians - Judge Deschamps present. One of the partys pretends a fishing frolic on the river." Brown added "I have th^e Advertisem^t a new outrage." Printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42 and Griffiths, *The Acadian Deportation: Deliberate Perfidy or Cruel Necessity* (Toronto: The Copp Clarke Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 141-4. Independent confirmation of the event is found in a *Pennsylvania Gazette* report of 3 July 1755, stating: "We have letters informing that a Party of our Rangers had been at Pisuquit, . . . and disarmed 3 or 400 of the French Neutrals, as they are very improperly called." According to Gray, the incident occurred on 2 June 1755 with 200 regular troops and New England rangers seizing some 400 muskets and other arms. See Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, pp. 313-14.

might still remain in their possession, under the penalty of being treated as rebels & outlaws.¹¹²

During these sharp visitations, when indignation resentment & fear alternately prevailed, the general convention of the department of Les Mines¹¹³ was summoned; _and it was for the last time. This convention, which naturally grew out of the Conquest and imperfect settlement of the Colony, was conducted, according to the usages of the New England town meetings, or more strictly speaking of Boston the model of them all.¹¹⁴ A moderator was chosen for the sederunt [session], to whom it belonged to preserve order, to obtain attention for the different speakers, to collect the votes on the motions proposed, and to declare the sense of the Majority which bound the department. In opposition to the general testimony of history, it must be recorded of these little Democratical Assemblies, that while they exercised the understanding of the neutrals, & produced much of the spirit that so well accords with the principles [privileges] of the British Constitution, they were never deformed by the tumults of passion or the arts of intrigue. The Speakers discussed the interests of their Constituents with good temper, fairly expounded their duties, & at times enforced them with strong powers of reasoning & eloquence. These talents had

¹¹² This proclamation was dated 4 June 1755. See Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, p. 213.

¹¹³ Les Mines refers to the Acadian settlements located on the Minas Basin, the largest of which was St-Charles-des-Mines, otherwise known as Grand-Pré.

¹¹⁴ Brown's reference, not only to the 'deputy system' but to a sort of 'congress' that operated within the Acadian communities is interesting. Although the deputy system was initiated by Mascarene in 1710, Brown's reference to the New England, and specifically Bostonian, town meeting gives some indication as to where he believed the inspiration for such meetings had arisen. Griffiths points out that François-Marie Perrot (1644-1691), Governor of Acadia from 1684 to 1687, remarked in 1686 that the Acadians had been "infected with the political beliefs of the people of Massachusetts". See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, p. 455. Brown's description of the deputy system provides an interesting contrast to the account offered by Charles Morris (1711-1781), appointed Chief Surveyor of Nova Scotia in 1749, in which he suggests that the colonial government used the deputies to further their own agenda, and through them, warnings, orders and proclamations were transmitted. See Charles Morris, "A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia," NAC R2227-0-6-E (MG18-F10) (My thanks to Jeffrey Turner for providing me with a copy of this document); Andrew Hill Clarke, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 189; Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, pp. 149-50 and John Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

never appeared with greater lustre than at the present crisis. That watchful providence which seldom denies a Counsellor to such as are weak, or a guide to those who are in danger, had raised up, in the hamlets of Vieux Logis, a man well qualified to be the Stay of his Brethren. This man, Jacques Terriot,¹¹⁵ a philosopher without books, a Politician who needed not the Experience of courts, & a mechanic possessing the practical command of many of the [doctrines, conclusions] principles of Mathematics which he knew not as a science, had appropriated by wisdom and by virtue, the undisputed honour of being revered as the oracle of his own district, & selected as the common umpire in all the differences that arose between [occurred among] the rest. A sweetness of temper, which he inherited from nature, & a collected mind which religion (21) had fortified for grappling with every trial, shed a settled serenity over gray hair & expressive features that would have given dignity to the bust of Phocion.¹¹⁶ Probity and benevolence appeared to be not merely the leading attributes of his character, but the natural functions which he lived to perform. For upwards of twenty years he had officiated as the Register of the department, & held [kept] the Terre book and the journal of public proceedings.

If the Government of Nova Scotia had followed out the idea of a legal ejectment, as originally suggested by the Board of Trade, they would have met with more difficulties than that body was aware of. The rights of the Neutrals to the lands under cultivation, & to the pasturage of the contiguous woods were ascertained by no unambiguous proofs. Thro' the foresight of the Deputies, every honest expedient had been employed on behalf

¹¹⁵ Jacques Terriot (c.1691- ?) is referred to as Jock Terreo in the Journal of Colonel John Winslow and appears to have been an important and influential community leader in the village of Grand-Pré. See Stephen A. White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Acadiennes: Première Partie 1636 à 1714* (Moncton, Université de Moncton, Centre d'études acadiennes, 1999), pp. 1504-5 and "Journal of Colonel John Winslow, of the Provincial Troops, While Engaged in Removing the Acadian French Inhabitants from Grand Pre, and the Neighbouring Settlements, in the Autumn of the Year 1755," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), p. 76.

¹¹⁶ Phocion (402-318 BCE) was an Athenian statesman and general.

of the people to establish an Equitable title to the soil which they occupied. In this view they had faithfully reported to the President of Annapolis Royal the number of acres under tillage, & paid the ancient quit rent of a penny for each.¹¹⁷ They returned at the same time the average amount of their livestock, & made the customary allowance for their grazing, which was the stipulated symbol of the right of property in the forest. The receipts and acknowledgements were duly entered in the district register, which was conformed to that of Pizaquid, contrived by an ingenious missionary and adopted as a general standard.¹¹⁸ From the year sixteen hundred and seventy,¹¹⁹ four attentive men successively kept this register in Vieux Logis, who had engrossed every order issued by the British authority, as well as every petition presented by the inhabitants.¹²⁰ To the mind of Teriot, therefore, the whole history of the Country was familiar; & under the new course pursued by Lawrence, & the movements that were taking place in Canada, he clearly perceived the danger that threatned its repose. His influence was vigorously exerted to calm an irritated community, to restrain the head strong passions of the Violent, & to inculcate on all the expediency of submitting, without a murmur, to hardship & even to outrage, all the strong ebullition of the ill humour of the English nation, too justly **(22)** provoked by the intrigues & aggressions of France, should give place to the habitual feelings of Justice [& moderation] & humanity. He well knew

¹¹⁷ In a letter of Governor Armstrong at Annapolis Royal, dated 10 May 1734, reference is made to quit rents being "one Penny Sterling P Annum". See Shortt et al., *Documents relating to Currency*, p. 199.

¹¹⁸ These registers are apparently no longer extant.

¹¹⁹ Sources generally suggest that Vieux Logis or Grand-Pré was settled in 1680 or 1682.

¹²⁰ Pierre Melanson *dit* La Verdure (c.1632-1714), an early settler and "seigneurial agent" of the area, was likely the first record keeper. See Clarke, *Acadia*, p. 149. His son-in-law, Alexandre Bourg *dit* Belle-Humeur (1671-1760) was appointed notary for Minas Basin in 1710. In 1730, Governor Philipps appointed Bourg king's attorney for Minas, Pisiquid, Cobequid and Chignecto, but he was accused of negligence and replaced by François Mangeant *dit* Saint-Germain in 1737, only to be reinstated as notary and tax-collector in 1740. In 1744, Bourg was again accused of negligence and suspended from office as notary at Minas. See C.J. d'Entremont, "Alexandre Bourg *dit* Belle-Humeur," *DCB*. René LeBlanc was appointed as notary for the Grand-Pré area in 1744. See White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, pp. 1009-12.

[understood], to use his own language, the noble spirit of that people,¹²¹ & the generous institutions which fostered it. In the first moments of irritation, their government, like themselves, might be intemperate; but mildness & equity formed their prevailing character. What the Akadians had chiefly to fear, in the painful circumstances to which they were reduced, was the result of precipitation & violence which peace or war was yet [still] in Suspence; and it was their paramount duty to give the Provincial officers no advantage over them, by reprehensible or even by equivocal acts. Their voluntary engagements to the British Crown bound them to a conscientious neutrality. This obligation extended further than the refusal of intelligence, guides & provisions to the troops of France actually invading the country; for it reached even to their desires and wishes, & ought to appear in a total abstinence from every species of forbidden enterprize. The English had a legitimate right to the whole surplus of their corn & cattle; & they would do well, by furnishing them at the usual price, to prove that they had no disposition to avail themselves of the rise in the market, occasioned by military operations which they utterly disclaimed.¹²² By thus securing the tranquillity of their districts all hostilities took a definite direction, and shape, they would infallibly [in all probability] escape the evils that [which] menaced them, & perpetuate a measure of domestic happiness granted to no other region in the Old World or the new.

If prudent counsels, & a boundless spirit of conciliation could have undone the effects of the arts & the misrepresentations of French partizans or shaken a purpose too pertinaciously adhered to by the Government [provincial administration] of Nova Scotia, the Efforts of Jacques Teriot would have availed to accomplish that object. An Eye

¹²¹ The English.

¹²² The Acadians of Minas, Pisiquid and the river Canard addressed the accusations levied against them in a Memorial dated 10 June 1755 (see note 108).

Witness,¹²³ who had never read Virgil's description of the Sage¹²⁴ composing the tumult of his fellow citizens, uses nearly the same language as the Poet in celebrating the success of his eloquence. 'When this man, now, far advanced in years, stands up to speak, all is silence & attention. As he proceeds every heart is gained; and his opinion decides the question.'

In this portrait, faithful, in the minutest touch, to my Authorities, the more aged of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia will probably recognize the leading (23) features of an exact counterpart to Jacques Teriot in their own times; and a counterpart too presented nearly in the same original rank of life; equal in genius & in virtue, but far happier in his career of usefulness & humanity [active humanity]. Of this excellent man, John Burbidge¹²⁵ of Cornwallis, who raised himself by talent & worth, from the halbert¹²⁶ of a marching regiment, to the Lieutenancy of a Country, & in what must be considered as a more unequivocal testimony of merit ... the Exclusive privilege of acting, to the end of a protracted old age, as the counsellor & arbiter of its mixed population, ... I may be permitted, at the distance of three and thirty years, to hail the [venerated] venerable image. His uncommon felicity in narrating facts & embodying sentiments in examples, gladdened three of the days which I passed on Minas bason. On the sound principles of

¹²³ This eye witness is perhaps John Burbidge (see note 125).

¹²⁴ Virgil (70 BCE-19 BCE), the classical Roman poet, is best known for three major works, the *Eclogues* (or *Bucolics*), the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*.

¹²⁵ John Burbidge (c.1718-1812). Burbidge was at Louisbourg in 1747, where he was one of the "Serjeants [acting] as Foremen" of artisans. He came to Halifax in 1749 and became a clerk to Richard Bulkeley (1717-1800) in 1753. In 1761, he was named a Justice of the Peace for Halifax County, and in 1762, a captain in the Halifax militia. Burbidge moved to Cornwallis Township in 1764 where he became major of the Kings County militia, Justice of the Peace, collector of customs, and the county's first registrar of deeds. In 1776, he was named a judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and in 1792, colonel commandant of the county militia. Burbidge also served as a member of the House of Assembly between 1759 and 1765 for Halifax Township and between 1765 and 1770 for Cornwallis Township. He was an active and devout member of the Church of England and a founder of the Church of St John in Cornwallis. See Allan C. Dunlop, "John Burbidge," *DCB*.

¹²⁶ *Halbert* refers to the rank of a sergeant (*OED*).

Christianity, this truly happy man was an optimist; & the prevalence of calamity in the world formed the main strength of his Argument, and made him more powerful than Boethius¹²⁷ in preaching consolation. From the light in which he contemplated the past, & the inspiration of his own placid feelings, he firmly believed in the progressive improvement of human nature, & in the slow but sure approach of a better moral state, & a growing sum of earthly enjoyment.¹²⁸ It was one of the settled maxims of his system, that every wrong includes its redress, & every evil its cure. He therefore desired that the history of the Indian nations might be fairly [faithfully] recorded, & the Akadian dispersion added to the lessons of experience, since the condition of the African race would in due time speak for itself. He thought that the evils of both worlds had begun the work of a general purgation; & that their complicated relations would henceforth leave very little respite to its progress. Much he admitted was to be done; but from the high ground that human nature had gained, what was once considered as impracticable, had already become easy, & would ere long be submitted to as unavoidable. The heavenly powers of healing, daily operating on a grander scale, were sufficient as he said to fulfil all the other expectations of the good. This work, perhaps, has [a tincture, early taken from the most winning of all Instructors.]¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Boethius (c.480-c.525) was a Christian philosopher of the early sixth century, best known for his work *Consolation of Philosophy*, in which he argues that all is secondary to divine Providence.

¹²⁸ Brown's description of Burbidge clearly implies that Burbidge was an "enlightened" thinker, a characteristic that Brown obviously appreciated. By comparing Terriot to Burbidge, Brown was suggesting also that Terriot espoused a similar philosophy, albeit without the formal education of Burbidge.

¹²⁹ The following page, nearly indecipherable, was found in the original manuscript, although it is written on an invitation dated 1821, and therefore seems to be a later addition to the document. *Akadian Chapter - To represent Jacques Terriot & John Burbidge as among the first men taught or untaught, who had hitherto [as yet] been produced [appeared] in America: the soundest intellect, the purest in principle, & the most benevolent in conduct. With a clear perception of the true the good & the lovely in sentiment & in action, they discovered a generous indulgence for the errors and infirmities of mankind. The high toned spirit of Christianity elevated their views. They proposed objects of pursuit & a tenor of life to their countrymen, we had a tendency to obviate __ evils __ they contended, or to mitigate their onpressing power. It would have excited their keenest indignation to hear men presented as beings to be cheated & bewildered by those*

Following the impulse given by the Wisdom of Teriot, the convention unanimously agreed (24) in a meek expression of their submission to the pleasure of Government; & petitioned only for such a portion of their fire arms as might be judged necessary for the protection of their persons and cattle against the bears which prowled in the neighbouring woods.¹³⁰

On this occasion, the district of Pizaquid was unfortunately left to the strong ebullition of too justifiable a resentment. As the inhabitants were nearest to the seat of government, & as the spoil of their houses could be easily disposed of, they had suffered a total pillage, & ventured on a sharp remonstrance. This paper gave a very artless representation of the invariable testimony that [which] had been born to the ready obedience they had paid to all the orders of government, since the year seventeen hundred & sixteen, & concluded with the following remarkable expressions. 'We were following our labours in the confidence of safety, when our dwellings were plundered by persons entering as friends & receiving the rights of hospitality, but secretly armed with your orders to outstrip us of our property. It is hard to suffer as delinquents, without failing, even in thought, in the least duty we owe to lawful authority. We therefore supplicate your Excellency to communicate your pleasure before you punish us for transgressing it. This is all the favour we expect from Your goodness.'¹³¹

who took the land in the field of Politics. In their system of duty men consulted their interest best when they kept in view their condition beyond the grave. They would have learned(?) from the selfish prudences of Franklin as from a mental poison(?).

¹³⁰ Memorial dated 10 June 1755 (see note 108), in which the Acadians stated: "Moreover, our guns, which we regard as our own personal property, have been taken from us, notwithstanding the fact that they are absolutely necessary to us, either to defend our cattle which are attacked by the wild beasts, or for the protection of our children, and of ourselves." See Council Minutes, 3 July 1755, NAC CO 220 NS (A), 8, 159-65; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 247-9.

¹³¹ This passage is undoubtedly in reference to the "tooth drawing" incident of June 1755 (see note 111).

So soon as the deputies of the district heard of the more prudent measures adopted by the convention of Les Mines, they again assembled the heads of families, & dispatched a courier with an additional memorial, which earnestly implored a plenary indulgence for any unwarrantable [unguarded] language which, in a sudden gust of passion, they might have applied to their superiors, together with an opportunity of explaining the circumstance and making a public concession for the offence.¹³²

At the first meeting of his Majesty's Council subsequent to these occurrences, it was gravely voted, 'that the paper from Pizaquid called a remonstrance, was highly arrogant & insidious; an insult on his Majesty's authority, & deserving of the highest resentment; & that if the inhabitants had not submitted themselves, by their subsequent memorial, they ought to have been severely punished for their presumption.'¹³³

On the third of July¹³⁴ this still indignant immaculate body¹³⁵ (25) granted the opportunity of explanation so humbly solicited by the department.¹³⁶ But instead of allowing the deputies to intercede for the people by relating the cruel acts which had provoked their resentment, the Clerk of Court produced the paper which they publicly

¹³² This second Memorial, dated 24 June 1755, stated: "All the inhabitants of Mines, Pisiqid and the river Canard, beg your Excellency to believe that if, in the petition which they have had the honor to present to your Excellency, there shall be found any error or any want of respect towards the government, it is entirely contrary to their intention; and that in this case, the inhabitants who have signed it, are not more guilty than the others. If, sometimes, the inhabitants become embarrassed in your Excellency's presence, they humbly beg you to excuse their timidity; and if contrary to our expectation, there is anything hard in the said petition, we beg your Excellency to do us the favour of allowing us to explain our intention." See Council Minutes, 3 July 1755, NAC CO 220 NS (A), 8, 159-65; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 249-50.

¹³³ *Ibid.* As Griffiths has noted, the first memorial was likely sent and received before the outcome of the siege of Beauséjour was made known to the Acadians. Murray reported that up until this time, they had been generally cooperative, but that he was treated with "great Indecency and Insolence" when the Memorial was brought to him, and he suspected the change in attitude was fuelled by rumors of the presence of a French Fleet in the area. By the time the Acadians wrote the second petition, the news of Beauséjour's capitulation had obviously reached them. See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, pp. 452-3.

¹³⁴ 1755.

¹³⁵ At this time, the Executive Council included Charles Lawrence, Benjamin Green, Jonathan Collier, William Cotterell and Jonathan Belcher.

¹³⁶ Fifteen Acadian deputies attended this Council meeting, held in Halifax, on 3 July 1755. See Council Minutes, 3 July 1755, NAC CO 220 NS (A), 8, 159-65; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 247-55.

retracted, and read it paragraph by paragraph, leaving an opportunity to the Lieutenant Governor, at the end of each paragraph, to make a laboured defence of the mild administration of his Majesty's Authority under which they lived & of which they were utterly unworthy.¹³⁷ At the conclusion of these furious harrangues [criticisms] the astonished deputies were sternly told that a fair occasion was now presented for manifesting the reality of their boasted submission by taking the oath of Allegiance in the common form. To this proposition, the deputies quietly answered that they were public persons appointed to a particular service, & might not exceed the limits of their commission. They were proceeding to express the contrition of their constituents for the intemperate language into which they had been betrayed - when the Lieutenant Governor roughly interrupted them by saying he had no doubt that they fully knew the intentions of the district on the subject, & must at any rate have taking their own resolution respecting it.¹³⁸

In this apparent disposition to drive matters to extremity, the deputies, foreseeing the evils of which they might be the occasion either by [thro'] precipitation or obstinacy, earnestly entreated that they might be permitted to return home & consult with their Brethren at large; as they had often heard them express a purpose of taking or declining the oath in a body; & as in their circumstances they could not endure the thought of separating themselves from the general interest. 'Upon this so extraordinary a reply,' says the journal, 'they were told that they would not be permitted to return home for any such

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

purpose; but that it was expected of them to declare upon the Spot, for their own particular, which they might well do, after having had so long a time to consider of it.¹³⁹

As a last indulgence they craved the liberty of retiring to consult among themselves. This boon was conceded, tho' rather ungraciously; & after the recess of half an hour, they came forward to declare **(26)** that they could not presume to take the oath prescribed till they had resigned their mission; but were ready, in their own behalf and on behalf of their community, to renew all their ancient engagements in the most ample form. The Lieutenant Governour tartly answered, that his Majesty highly disapproved of the terms in which the oath had formerly been administered; that it was incompatible with his honour to make conditions with his subjects; & that this was the time for complying with his Royal pleasure. A sharp struggle succeeded. For a moment the resolution of the Deputies seemed to waver. In such a state of mind it was thought hazardous to push them further. They were therefore allowed the ensuing night to recollect themselves, with an indefinite warning that much would depend on the answer which they might give in the morning.¹⁴⁰

Few persons were ever subjected to a more painful trial than the Deputies of Pizaquid. His Majesty's Council first received them in their representative capacity; next stripped them, by an arbitrary but incompetent declaration, of the privileges belonging to such a function; & finally charged them to decide with respect to the oath as private individuals, but at the same time with a special view to entangle or compromise their community. The hours of a sleepless night successively brought before them their Wives, their children, their pleasant homes, & the fate of hapless Akadia. After maturely

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

weighing the whole case, they unanimously agreed that, whatever might happen, it would be most honourable for themselves implicitly to obey the instructions of their Constituents. When brought before the Council, they calmly avowed this as their last resolution; & were 'informed,' says the minute, 'that as they had now, for their own particular, refused to take the oath as directed by law, & thereby sufficiently evinced the sincerity of their inclinations towards this government, the Council could no longer regard them as Subjects to his Britannic Majesty, but as subjects of the King of France, & as such they must hereafter be treated. And they were ordered to withdraw.'¹⁴¹

The plot having thus opened, according to the Secret Wishes of the Council, no time was lost in applying the means of accelerating its progress.¹⁴² It was therefore resolved, 'that directions should be (27) given to the Commandants of the different forts'¹⁴³ to order the French inhabitants forthwith to elect new deputies, & send them to Halifax with the general resolution of the districts concerning the oath of allegiance; & that none of them for the future should be admitted to take it [the oath] after having once refused; but that effectual measures should be adopted to remove all such recusants out of the Province.'¹⁴⁴ 'The Deputies of Pizaquid,' subjoins the journal, 'were then called in again; & having been informed of this resolution, & finding that they could no longer avail themselves of the disposition of the government to engage them to a dutiful behaviour by lenity and persuasion, offered to take the oath, but were informed that as there was no reason to hope their proposed compliance proceeded from an honest mind, & could be esteemed only the effect of compulsion & force, and is contrary to a clause in act of

¹⁴¹ See Council Minutes, 4 July 1755, NAC CO 220 NS (B), 8; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 255-6.

¹⁴² Brown is clearly implying that the scenario unfolding and the decision to remove the Acadians were premeditated by Lawrence and his Council.

¹⁴³ The minutes specifically state that the "directions should be given to Captain Murray".

¹⁴⁴ See Council Minutes, 4 July 1755, NAC CO 220 NS (B), 8; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 255-6.

Parliament, 1st George 2 chapter 13, whereby persons who have once refused to take the oaths, cannot be afterwards permitted, but are to be considered as Popish Recusants; therefore they would not now be indulged with such a permission, and were ordered into confinement.¹⁴⁵

This universal authority of the Act of George 1st was discovered at the time when the council fully resolved on removing the French inhabitants; & the order to the Commandants was merely an artifice to deprive a miserable people of their natural advisers.¹⁴⁶ For the same reason, the Missionaries were hurried down to the capital, & thus darkness descended on the Akadian districts.¹⁴⁷

With the same reach of forethought, the Lieutenant Governor called in new parties to fortify the measures of his administration with additional Authority. On the fourteenth of July¹⁴⁸ he acquainted the Council that, by his Majestys instructions, he was directed to consult the commander in chief of the fleet upon any emergency that might concern the security of the Province, & that with their approbation he was desirous of availing himself of the Assistance of Vice Admiral Boscawen & Rear Admiral Mostyn¹⁴⁹ at a meeting to be held on the following day.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* The deputies were subsequently detained and imprisoned on Georges Island (see note 172). See Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 18 July 1755, NAC CO 217, 15; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 259-60.

¹⁴⁶ The Act of George I that Belcher cited required all officials of church or state to take an anti-Catholic oath, however, as Farragher has noted, it did not require an oath from Catholics themselves, nor did it impose any penalty on those who refused. See Farragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, p. 321.

¹⁴⁷ The arrests of clergy apparently occurred at the beginning of August, 1755. See Bona Arsenault, *History of the Acadians* (Saint-Laurent: Fides, 1994), pp. 133-4 and Johnson, "Henri Daudin," *DCB*.

¹⁴⁸ 1755.

¹⁴⁹ Savage Mostyn (c.1713–1757). Mostyn was appointed Rear Admiral of the Royal Navy in February 1755 and had aided Boscawen in the capture of the French ships off Louisbourg in July 1755. Upon his arrival in Halifax on 11 July 1755, he attended several Council meetings at Halifax, including the session in which the fateful resolution of 28 July 1755 was passed. See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

¹⁵⁰ See Council Minutes, 14 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B), 8; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 256-7. The Council session, attended by Boscawen and Mostyn, took place on 15 July 1755. See Council Minutes, 15 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B), 8; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 258-9.

Every person who has read the naval Annals of Britain must feel the respect [that is] due to the memory of one at least of the extraordinary assessors invited to this grave deliberation (28) of the Council of Nova Scotia. There is not a reader who has heard of the noble minded Boscawen, that would not reject, with disdain, the injurious insinuation that he was capable of knowingly lending his name to an act of government that pressed heavily on the rights or the happiness of a defenceless community. This meritorious commander, the Nelson of his age, was not less revered for his unceasing humanity to the sailor, than for his judgment in the shock of battle, & his princely generosity to a fallen adversary.¹⁵¹ It was humourly said of him by his friends that he fought against rum & the French, the private & the public enemy to whom he stood opposed, with a straight forward hostility that scorned all manoeuvring. It was not unknown that in taking service on this occasion, he was far more determined than the Minister who consented at last to expedite the discretionary orders on which he insisted. He openly declared his opinion that the cabinet had trifled too long with the pestilent acts of a deceitful Enemy; & was bound no less by a regard for the national honour, than for the general repose of the World, to establish a substantial peace or to wage a decisive War. But the course of his

¹⁵¹ Brown clearly admired Boscawen, and believed that Boscawen, had he fully understood the implications of the Deportation, would not have supported such a decision. In fact, at the Council meeting of 15 July 1755, it was recorded: "The Lieutenant Governor laid before the Admirals the late Proceedings of the Council in regard to the French Inhabitants, and desired their Opinion and Advise thereon. Both the said Admirals approved of the said Proceedings, and gave it as their Opinion, That it was now the properest Time to oblige the said Inhabitants to Take the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty, or to quit the Country." See Council Minutes, 15 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B), 8; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 258-9. Brown later recorded: "Marked the discrepancies between the account transmitted by Governor Lawrence to Sir Thomas Robinson the Secretary of State of the Course of deliberation in His Majestys Council concerning the Akadians, & the Minutes of that body in the Secretarys office Halifax; from which my account is taken. In the dispatch the Admirals are marked as present in continuation whereas they sat only once as assessors to the Council. The report of the Chief Justice to which so much weight was given [attached] is not entered in the Council record but appears fully engrossed embodied in the dispatches of the Secretary of State. N.B. There was management; [In this instance, Management appears;] and that management had probably a double object. It was invidious in itself & might have been dangerous, amidst the uncertainty of a _____ conflict, to have allowed [allow] such a document to remain in the Secretarys office at Halifax. It had served its purpose and was deposited in Archives little exposed to violation." See document dated 9 June 1822, EUL Gen. 157.

life had not allowed him to study the history of a Province held in little public estimation. He was equally ignorant of the political state & personal character of the French neutrals, & had no reason to suspect either the justice or the urgency of the representations of the resident government. At the same time, he was under the influence of a man endowed with an extraordinary share of abilities, & not unjustly regarded as the Colonial officer¹⁵² best acquainted with the relative condition of the rival settlements, their military resources, & the cardinal points of their strength and their weakness. Since the conquest and surrender of Cape Breton¹⁵³ it had been his settled opinion [the settled opinion of Lawrence], & the Minister received it implicitly on his authority, that the French colonies were not capable of subsisting an Army strong enough to endanger the safety of those of Britain. But he maintained, at the same time, that by gaining Nova Scotia & the population & produce of the Akadians, it was in the power of France to introduce a body of troops sufficiently formidable to keep New England in check, to enable the Canadian militia to spread havoc & dismay to the frontiers of Georgia, & to reduce the national government to the utmost perplexity.¹⁵⁴ These views, (29) the ground of the political importance attached to the possession of the Province, & of the recent expedition to the head of the bay of Fundy, were paraded with no inconsiderable degree of art. The literal interpretation of the correspondence of the Board of trade, fully warranted the inference that it was the meaning of their Lordships to delegate to the local authority a discretionary power of acting towards the recusant inhabitants, as views of expediency might direct. Of

¹⁵² Charles Lawrence.

¹⁵³ 1745. An Anglo-American force under William Pepperrell (1696-1759) and Peter Warren (c.1703-1752) attacked and captured the French fortress of Louisbourg in an effort to ensure the security of the New England colonies. To their dismay, Louisbourg was restored to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. See McLennan, *Louisbourg*, pp. 128-76.

¹⁵⁴ See Lawrence, "Circular Letter to the governors of certain colonies," 11 August 1755, NAC CO 217, 15; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 277-8 and Lawrence to Board of Trade, 18 October 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 281-3.

the events that [which] had taken place since the commandants(?) had arrived on the Station, little was said. They could not reasonably doubt that the irritation of the refugees taken in the Act of rebellion, & involved in the penalties of forfeiture, must be Extreme; & that, under their vindictive spirit seconded by Emissaries from Louisbourg, there was too much room for apprehending a partial or a general insurrection on the departure of the fleet & the return of the New England irregulars.

No hint escaped of a truth to which, at the moment, the conscience of every member of his Majesty's council gave witness, that these apprehended insurrections rested wholly on the fears which their own procedures had excited, or on the interested projects of obscure partizans altogether unknown to the Akadians, & not countenanced by any secret concert or overt act on their part. While Lawrence kept this fact, & all the severe measures lately taken in the districts out of sight, he brought a different engine to bear on the dignified but impetuous nature of Boscawen. Once more Dauden appears in the distance, like a minister of evil sealing the doom of a despairing people, to whose ruin all the delinquencies of their country men were destined to contribute. The Captains of the French ships detained in the roadstead of Chebucto had been indulged with the liberties of the Capital & adjacent country. Concluding that war must be the consequence of the public outrage committed [insult offered] on [against] the national flag, these prisoners at large laboured, with a meanness of temper unworthy of their rank, to enhance their professional importance with the Minister, by ascertaining the Weakness of the military Works of the barrier colony. A plan of the harbour, town & fortifications of Halifax was made out.¹⁵⁵ Into the [accompanying] explanations, the materials supplied by

¹⁵⁵ This plan of Halifax is attributed to François-Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil (1703-1779). Onboard the *Alcide* when it strayed from the French convoy and was captured by the British squadron under Boscawen,

Dauden entered as a valuable element; & it was affirmed, on his authority, that the French inhabitants, soured by a long series of intolerable oppressions, would rise (30) as one man on the first appearance of the national standard. By the Treachery of a confederate to whom the deposit was entrusted,¹⁵⁶ Lawrence became master of the low device, & now produced his vouchers very ingeniously secreted in a pasteboard shell, thinly coated over with perfumed soap, & of the ordinary size of a wash ball.¹⁵⁷ The indignation of the Admiral¹⁵⁸ kindled into fury. He acknowledged that the odious Acts of French hostility set all the known laws of War at defiance, & that under a complex view of the difficulties of the Province, its political importance, & the inadequacy of its military force, it might be hazardous for the administration to meet the casualties of another winter & the too probable surprize of another spring, without compelling the French inhabitants either to take the oath of allegiance or to evacuate their possessions. In this conclusion, Admiral Mostyn acquiesced without a remark. A sumptuous entertainment crowned the business of the day. The sluices of gaiety were freely opened. And Lawrence displayed all the brilliancy of an imagination that was to expire with the exhibition.

Vaudreuil was arrested and taken to Halifax. Because he was a senior officer, Vaudreuil was granted considerable liberties as a prisoner and spent his time gathering intelligence for French authorities. He unknowingly handed over his documents to the unscrupulous Pichon. See Jean Hamelin and Jacqueline Roy, "François-Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil," *DCB*; Margaret Conrad and James Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A Region in the Making* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 2001), p. 83 and Joan Dawson, *The Mapmaker's Eye: Nova Scotia Through Early Maps* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1988), pp. 84-5.

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Pichon (1700-1781), alias Tyrell. Having served France in an official capacity for many years, Pichon secretly changed his allegiance shortly after being sent to Fort Beauséjour in 1753. As scribe and confidant to the French Commandant Vergor and LeLoutre, Pichon provided the British with details regarding the French stronghold and forwarded information received from Quebec, Louisbourg and Paris. Following the siege of Beauséjour in 1755, Pichon went to Halifax, ostensibly as a French prisoner, to befriend the detainees and gather information. He passed on much of the correspondence entrusted to him by Vaudreuil and others to Archibald Hinchelwood, acting secretary to Charles Lawrence, including the plan for seizing the town of Halifax. The Vaudreuil Papers are now held at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. See T.A. Crowley, "Thomas Pichon," *DCB*.

¹⁵⁷ The detailed plan, which identified British forts and Artillery Barracks in Halifax, was discovered in a cake of soap bound for Louisbourg in a French officer's chest. See Pichon to Hinchelwood, 9 October 1755, in Webster, *Life of Thomas Pichon*, pp. 114-16.

¹⁵⁸ Edward Boscowen. See Boscowen to Cleveland, 15 November 1755, NSARM Adm. 1/481, 47.

Such is the precise amount of the resolutions that were agreed to in this often quoted Council of War. They staked the judgment of the Naval commanders to nothing more than the propriety of compelling the recusants, who were not spoken of as likely to be numerous, to quit the country; but they involved no sanction of the untold asperities which had driven the neutrals to a state of distraction, & gave as little encouragement to the distribution that was eventually made of their whole population. On these points the responsibility of the provincial government remained entire. The commanders of the fleet [Admirals] had just returned from one cruise: They were fitting out for another; & never again took their seat in the Council chamber of Halifax [of Nova Scotia].

The members of this Council, meanwhile, presuming that they had now provided a shield, behind which they might safely prosecute a stern determination, boldly set their face to the rough work of rooting out a community which had struck more deeply into the soil than any other European emigrants planted in the New World. (31) The noble spirit that animated the people contributed not a little to forward the project. In the devoted patriotism of the deputies of Pizaquid an example was given, which all were zealous of imitating.¹⁵⁹ Accordingly, district after district obeyed the mandate that required them to send to the capital a respectable deputation of the older inhabitants to decide for themselves & their constituents, with respect to the oath of Allegiance.¹⁶⁰ The banlieu of Port Royal¹⁶¹ preserved to the last, the same deference to authority which it had

¹⁵⁹ In reference to the Acadians who had been detained on Georges Island (see note 145).

¹⁶⁰ See Lawrence to Board of Trade, 18 July 1755, printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 259-60. The orders from Lawrence were dated 12 July 1755, as referred to in the Acadian petition recorded in the Council minutes of 25 July 1755. On 25 July, 30 Acadians representing Annapolis Royal responded to the demand for their presence at Halifax, and another 70 from the Minas settlements on 28 July. See Council Minutes, 25 July 1755 and 28 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B), 8; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 260-7.

¹⁶¹ Port Royal, located on the northern shore of the Annapolis Basin, was the centre of early European settlement and the French capital of Acadia until 1710, at which time it was captured by the British and renamed Annapolis Royal. See Dunn, *History of Port Royal-Annapolis Royal*.

manifested from the beginning. In the memorial, delivered by the Deputation, they declared that they had honestly delivered up their Arms at the summons of the commandant;¹⁶² & had resolved, without a single dissentient, to persevere in that _____ fidelity to their engagements which now formed their Consolation; but could not think of changing the nature of their public relations, without an opportunity of consulting with their kinsmen in the other districts, that they might know how far the change was consistent with their safety.¹⁶³

On the twenty fifth of July,¹⁶⁴ this little group of Patriarchal commissioners¹⁶⁵ was conducted to the council chamber; & the procession excited the unaffected sympathy of the inhabitants of Halifax. The gray hairs of the venerable strangers, their calm demeanour, the softened expression of their countenance, & an eye that still sparkled with all the freshness of life [youth], called forth [engaged] an advocate in every heart. Their weight among their countrymen was known. They were the fathers, in some measure, of the tribes of Akadia, being closely connected both by blood & by alliances with all the Outsettlements; & as the door shut upon them all, the Wishes without arose for a favourable result of the deliberation.

When the purpose of the meeting was intimated, & the papers of the district read, the Lieutenant Governor began to address to the Deputies the same bitter invective which he had prepared for their Brethren of Pizaquid; but in proceeding he is said to have faltered, to the no small surprize of his Coadjutors; & following this new impulse, to

¹⁶² John Handfield (c.1700-c.1763). Handfield was Commandant of Annapolis Royal and responsible for the embarkation of the Acadian inhabitants of the Annapolis district. See William G. Godfrey, "John Handfield," *DCB*.

¹⁶³ This petition was recorded in the Council records of 25 July 1755. See Council Minutes, 25 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B); printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 261.

¹⁶⁴ 1755.

¹⁶⁵ The Acadian deputies of Annapolis Royal.

have concluded with warning them, in a tone of grave humanity, to consider well the serious consequences depending on their declaration. (32) That they might have an opportunity of revolving the Subject on all sides, the interval between Friday and Monday morning was granted for making up their minds.¹⁶⁶

But when Monday the twenty eighth¹⁶⁷ arrived a different spirit seems to have prevailed. The Deputies of Port Royal were not admitted by themselves. Those of Pizaquid, Minas & Canard likewise appeared at the Council door; the leader of each body holding in his hand the determination of his district. The Memorial of Pizaquid¹⁶⁸ bore that the inhabitants having conscientiously taken & conscientiously observed the oath of fidelity administered by Colonel Richard Phillips in the name of His Britannic Majesty, were clear of self-reproach, & not unprepared to meet the judgment that might be pronounced upon their Conduct. It even dared to anticipate the Exercise, in their favour, of an indulgent forbearance; and, after a well managed appeal to the generous temper of the English Government, concluded with a touching intercession for the liberation of the Deputies, who had committed no other offense but that of faithfully discharging their duty towards their Constituents. In the Memorial of Minas,¹⁶⁹ in which Jacques Teriot left for the first time in a minority had acquiesced with an aching heart, still higher ground was taken. Gathering magnanimity from despair, the people sharply reminded the Council that their fathers & they having repeatedly sworn & subscribed a special oath of allegiance to His Sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain; & having continued stedfast to their engagements, in circumstances of the most trying nature, had been repeatedly gratified

¹⁶⁶ See Council Minutes, 25 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B); printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 260-2.

¹⁶⁷ 28 July 1755.

¹⁶⁸ This memorial is dated 22 July 1755. See Council Minutes, 28 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B); printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 263-4.

¹⁶⁹ See Council Minutes, 28 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B); printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 264-6.

with the strongest assurances of His Majesty's Royal protection and grace,-particularly by letters under the Sign manual of His Excellency William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts bay, and by Proclamations under the great seal of that Province, dated the sixteenth of September forty six,¹⁷⁰ and the twenty first of October forty seven,¹⁷¹ which assured them of his Majesty's unalterable purpose to preserve to them the full possession of their property, & the public exercise of their religion; & that as they firmly believed that the King their Master protected and honoured sincere & consistent subjects, they were not afraid to cast themselves on his clemency, but might not dare to change condition of their families, **(33)** under the Tomahawk & the scalping knife of the unrelenting enemies to whose ferocity they were not exposed without defence. [to change the condition under which their children were born.] The declaration of Port Royal was nearly of the same tenor; & on being separately interrogated, the deputies separately avowed that their own determination coincided with that of their districts. The same one course was therefore followed with regard to them all; & before one o'clock the Chief men of the Akadian departments were locked up in the strong works erected on George's Island.¹⁷²

From the time that the first deputies of Pizaquid were subjected to a sentence of forfeiture, & treated as prisoners of war,- 'One and all, aye, one and all'- was the Cry that went thro' Akadia. Each individual resolved to share in the doom that might be

¹⁷⁰ 1746 (see note 41).

¹⁷¹ 1747 (see note 41).

¹⁷² Located in Halifax Harbour, the island was known as Île Raquette (Snowshoe Island), or Île Ronde, in the seventeenth century, but named Georges Island, in honour of George II, in 1749. Georges Island was fortified shortly after the founding of Halifax, to guard the entrance to the inner harbour and protect the settlement from attack by sea. Cornwallis ordered the Royal Engineers to convert two storage sheds into a prison and the island served as one of four principal detention centres for Acadians and prisoners of war. Lawrence had imprisoned the first Acadian deputies there in early July and following the Council meeting of 28 July, confined the additional deputies there for nearly two months. See Dianne Marshall, *Georges Island: The Keep of Halifax Harbour* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2003), pp. 91-107.

pronounced on a single delinquent. If the inhabitants of any village were removed, it was decided that not an Akadian should remain. Whatever of trial or of suffering might abide them, it depended on themselves at least to prove that in principle & in choice they were not to be divided.

Among the members of his Majesty's Council, the inflexible resolution adopted by a whole people on a nice point of personal honour, or an equally romantic principle of political attachment, excited far less interest or sympathy than in the private Circles of Halifax. In the opinion of such of the inhabitants as knew the Akadians best, & gave them credit for that tenderness & generosity of affection which bound them to one another, it was regarded as an act of devotion above their reach. 'They doubted,' says one of my guides, 'whether a people ever existed, that, to a man, possessed spirit enough to resign every thing dear to human nature, & involve themselves and their families in a state of irretrievable wretchedness [misery], rather than swear allegiance to a prince whose officers held them and their country completely in their power.'¹⁷³ It was therefore obstinately disputed in Nova Scotia whether the Akadians had been actually indulged with an opportunity of choosing between the oath of allegiance and the evils of confiscation. The better informed at last settled the controversy, by shewing that the Arrogance and **(34)** Austerity exercised by the Council, defeated the purpose of the option which they affected to offer [grant], & impelled the neutrals to rush upon their fate.

The last entry of a busy Sederunt,¹⁷⁴ records the final resolution of that body on the whole case. 'As it had been before determined to send all the French inhabitants out of the Province, if they refused to take the oaths, nothing now remained to be considered but

¹⁷³ See Watson to Brown, 12 August 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol II (1881), pp. 134-5. Brook Watson was one of Brown's informants (see note 273).

¹⁷⁴ *Sederunt* refers to an Executive Council session (*OED*).

what measures should be taken to send them away, & where they should be sent to. After mature deliberation it was unanimously agreed that to prevent, as much as possible, their attempting to return & molest the settlers that might be set down on the lands, it would be most proper to send them to be distributed among the Several Colonies of the Continent; & that a sufficient number of Vessels should be hired, with all possible expedition, for that purpose.¹⁷⁵

From the date of this resolution, an unceasing bustle prevailed in all the Executive departments. Every head and every hand was tasked to digest & amend the precautions & stratagems necessary to ensure the success of a design not exempted from hazard. Amidst the dark materials on which the parties worked with a zealous diligence, two leading objects seem to have occupied an equal share of attention; first the means of laying hold of the heads of families & full grown men, & next of blocking up all the avenues of escape to the River St. John¹⁷⁶ or the city of Louisbourg. A third interest was not overlooked; that, namely, of securing the crop of corn & the herds of cattle forfeited to the Crown by this Constructive act of rebellion.¹⁷⁷ Perhaps it will scarcely be believed, that when nothing less was in agitation than the utter ruin of a whole people, the amount of their live stock, of their Cultivated lands, of the proportions of the different species of grain sown, of the periods at which they successively ripened, & of the measures best calculated for saving the whole from injury or Embezzlement, was made up with as much cool geographical knowledge & logical precision, as if the ~~whole~~ measure had been dictated by a generous devotion to the public weal [service]. Nothing, however, is more

¹⁷⁵ See Council Minutes, 28 July 1755, NAC CO 220, NS (B); printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 266-7.

¹⁷⁶ The St. John River runs for over 400 miles from its headwaters in northern Maine to its end near Saint John, New Brunswick, on the Bay of Fundy.

¹⁷⁷ See Lawrence to Monckton, 31 July 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 267-9.

true. The first draught of these precautionary reports (35) was put into my hand, and furnished useful hints for other parts of this narrative.

Several weeks had passed over the Akadian Elders in their narrow prison house, when a new stroke of policy deprived the desolate districts of their hands as well as of their heads [reduced the districts which consoled their families to the same desolate condition]. Before the end of August,¹⁷⁸ all the New England detachments, that could safely be withdrawn from the Garrison of Beausejour, had reached the forts of the Peninsula where this stroke was to fall; and, by a general order, the fifth of September¹⁷⁹ was appointed for the appearance within their forts of every male inhabitant arrived at Mans Estate,¹⁸⁰ for the purpose' of having an opportunity of taking or refusing for his own particular, the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty.¹⁸¹ When that day arrived, a similar series of occurrences, in all the forts, led to the same result; & one succinct relation may well suffice for the whole.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ 1755.

¹⁷⁹ 1755. See entry dated 2 September 1755 in the "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), p. 90. John Winslow (1703-1774) was Lieutenant Colonel of a provincial regiment raised by Shirley in 1755 to facilitate the Deportation of the Acadians. Winslow was ordered to carry out the removal of the Acadian population at Grand-Pré. See Barry M. Moody, "John Winslow," *DCB*.

¹⁸⁰ The order called for "both old & young men as well as all the Lads of ten years of age" to appear on 5 September 1755.

¹⁸¹ Although there is no official record of any intention on the part of the British to elicit the oath from the Acadians on 5 September, it was stated subsequently by Acadians who had been expelled that "we had the greatest assurance given us, that there was no other design, but to make us renew our former oath of fidelity". See "Petition of the Neutrals to the King of Great Britain"; printed in Smith, *Acadia*, p. 375.

¹⁸² Brown's account of the Deportation is unique in that he focussed on the Pisiquid area, rather than the more typical setting of Grand-Pré. Obviously, this account was written before Longfellow published his epic poem *Evangeline* in 1847, thereby immortalizing Grand-Pré as the scene of this tragic event. But it was likely access to information which compelled Brown to set the scene in Pisiquid. The following detailed account of the events that took place at Fort Edward almost certainly came from the recollections of Deschamps and Gray.

By ten oclock in the morning, the imprisoned males of Pizaquid, somewhat exceeding two hundred and fifty persons,¹⁸³ assembled at a little distance from Fort Edward, & sent in a small deputation to testify to the Commandant their readiness to renew the ancient oath; & humbly to assign their reasons for declining a further engagement. So soon as these men had delivered the Message, the Officers mildly told them that such modes of Negotiation were now at an End; that each individual must appear in person to declare his own resolution; and that unless obedience were yielded within the hour, he must proceed to the painful Extremity of burning the houses & barns, & seizing the Women & children. This threat produced immediate Compliance. As the Peasants entered the gate, they were formed into a Compact Square, at the upper end of the Parade, in front of a table, at the head of which the Commandant was seated with a clerk & a notary on either hand; before each of them, a Folio Volume was lying open, ~~before each of the Clerks~~, that on the right for receiving the names or marks of such of the inhabitants as submitted to the will of the government; & that on the left for receiving the names or marks of recusants.¹⁸⁴ Silence being proclaimed, the Commandant read the order for the meeting, & briefly explained its object. He then recited the form of the oath to be taken; & singling out an aged man standing in the front row, called **(36)** on him by name to discharge the duty which he owed to his Sovereign & his compatriots. The old man shook his head, & said in a low & tremulous voice - 'it cannot be done.' This leading example was universally followed. When the last name was entered [enrolled], the books

¹⁸³ According to a letter preserved in Winslow's Journal, dated 5 September 1755, Murray reported that he had 183 Acadians in his custody that day. See Murray to Winslow, 5 September 1755, in the "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), pp. 96-7.

¹⁸⁴ There is no official record of Murray offering the Acadians of Pisiquid yet another opportunity to sign an unconditional oath of allegiance. According to Winslow's journal, no such attempt was made at Grand- Pré and it seems unusual given that the decision to deport the Acadians had already been made and Lawrence had clearly issued orders to that effect. Brown's information may have come from Joseph Gray, who noted that he "was present at Fort Edward when the Oath of Allegiance was finally tendered".

were certified by the notaries, & on raising a handkerchief, the rattling of wheels brought the Cannon to the bottom of the Parade, - while, at the same moment, the soldiers rushed out from the main guard, & lined the Palisade with fixed bayonets. The people were now told that they were prisoners of War, must go into confinement & abide the disposal of government. No burst of surprize or indignation arose. The same low & tremulous voice that had first been heard, softly said, 'the Will of God be done.' 'So be it,' replied his compatriots; & pulling on their hats they resigned themselves to their fate. Without another word, they were led in parties of ten or twelve to the strong rooms provided for their reception. The light of the day passed unheeded. No sleep refreshed the hours of darkness. And the following morning had dawned, before any one thought of interrupting the reflections of his neighbours.

The stillness prevailing [there] within the enclosures, was strongly contrasted by the tumultuous agitation that raged without. From the moment that the men Entered the picketting, the groups of women & children which had followed them, remained rooted to the ground where they had halted, watching the result with a breathless solicitude. They were satisfied that no tumult or violence had taken place. They perceived, however, that the Garrison was under arms; and when the gates were barred and centinels planted on the roof of the blockhouses, a sudden scream arose which was propagated from hamlet to hamlet till it pervaded the district. The true conclusion was drawn by the Sufferers, that their fathers brothers & youthful companions were reduced to the same condition as the deputies crowded together in Georges Island. Yet the remainder of uncertainty was sufficient to work up their feelings of tenderness [contending affections] into the deepest agony.

It did not escape the rude observation of the English traders residing in the Akadian villages, that, on this memorable evening, the softness & beauty of the (37) External world were strangely at variance with the State of the inhabitants. A fine autumnal day continued to brighten to the last. Every breeze was laid; & the tides of the bay of Fundy filled the basons by insensible undulations rather than successive surges. As the sun went down, a flood of glory spread over all the Western sky, which ultimately took the appearance of a Sea of Azure & gold. The thin vapours, condensed by the Chill of evening, arranged themselves into distinct masses, & looked like so many islands resting on the bosom of an unruffled existence. Palaces, gardens, lofty terraces & seats of repose seemed to announce, to these wondering spectators, the neighbourhood of better habitations, or the purity, as they said, of an Angels home. Their honest compassion interpreted this lovely vision, a creation of colours not unfrequent in September at the head of the bay of Fundy, as a message of that felicity which awaited the afflicted Akadians when their trials should reach their term. The comment was carried to Halifax, & deepened the impression of the sequel [remainder] of the tale.

As the darkness closed in, anxiety took a sharper edge. No family could settle in its own cottage; & no hamlet was satisfied with its own conjectures. Flambeaux of pitch pine¹⁸⁵ blazed in every direction. Inquirers encountered inquirers, & their mutual interrogatories heightened their mutual distress. If they could only have learned the condition of those that were dear to them, & the kind of consolation that would have cheered their Spirit, their own would have been sustained. This was the bitterest night that Akadia had yet known. All was abandoned to woe. The tears of the Children fell

¹⁸⁵ Appears to be a comment on the types of torches used by the Acadians. Pitch Pine (*Pinus rigida*) is a species native to eastern North America.

unheeded. The bed of languishing was not smoothed. And no prayer ascended to heaven. The desolate households suffered not alone. The whole cattle of the Country, richly fed by the renewed herbage of autumn, were neglected; and their painful lowings added to the sadness of the scene. In this funereal dirge, the dogs bore a part. They had been cherished with a tenderness unknown to the rest of America, & perceiving the absence of the master & the dreariness that reigned in the dwelling, they too forsook it, & raised those dismal howlings, which seem at one time to betoken the Evil that has come [that is approaching], & at another to proclaim the yet deeper Evil that is to follow.

(38) Another day & night prolonged this state of perplexity, which was blunted only by that last cure of the wretched, the exhaustion of the powers [nature] of sensibility which it produced. At an early hour of the third morning, when only the boys & girls of the hamlet were on the stir, a shout of joy announced the opening of the gates, & the appearance of six or seven of the older of the Prisoners.¹⁸⁶ But it was hardly possible for them to separate, or make their way to their respective homes. They were detained & devoured by the inquiries of those who first met them. How had they been treated at the Fort. Had their Tyrants told them the destiny of the Akadians. Were they to be permitted to suffer & die together, or to be driven to distraction by tortures without a name.

A summary answer served little to allay this new ferment of the female mind. No violence had been offered to their persons. On refusing to take the prescribed Oath, they were declared prisoners of War, & put into confinement till government should dispose of their fate. Of that fate, they had learned nothing certain. But the Commanding Officer did

¹⁸⁶ A similar incident is recorded in Winslow's journal on 5 September 1755. It was agreed that "Twenty of their Number for whome they would be answerable" were allowed to return to their hamlets "to acquaint the Families of their Districts how Maters where and to assure them that the women & children Should be in Safety in their absence in their Habitations and that it was Expected the Party Indulged Should take Care to Bring in the Exact Account of the absent Brethren & their Circumstances on the Morrow." See entry dated 5 September 1755 in the "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), pp. 95-6.

not attempt to disguise its severity. He frankly told them, that as rebels & outlaws they were divested of all property in their lands, cattle & growing crop; & that sales and bargains for these subjects would be null and void in law. The place of their destination seemed to be distant; since they were to be permitted, as a favour, to carry with them their ready money & household furniture: tho' it was added, that it might be prudent to dispose of the bulkier articles, for which transports could not be expected to furnish room.¹⁸⁷ They could not say they had the Sympathy of the Soldiers.¹⁸⁸ The hand of Massachusetts had often lain heavy on their settlements; and her grim battallions were at last to restore them to the desert(?) ... They had come to compose their distracted families, & to give what assistance might be in their power to the general distress. But their visit was short, and a heavy penalty awaited the least prolongation of its term. The other prisoners were to enjoy, in their turn, a similar indulgence; but if only a single individual violated his parole, the whole arrangement was to stop till he returned, & made his submission. Of a boon so slender each ought to have the full benefit: and this would be the more easy, as a settled number of the women & children were to be permitted to visit the barracks (39) for an hour in the morning & an hour in the evening. The last words brought relief; and the Wild chant 'Portons la Croix'¹⁸⁹ was raised with a kind of frantic joy.

¹⁸⁷ Winslow and Murray probably collaborated on the Deportation order text, as they collaborated on the summons on 2 September 1755 at Fort Edward. See entry dated 2 September 1755 in the "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), p. 90. Although Murray's letters do not appear to survive, Winslow's copy of the Deportation order contains passages very similar to what Brown has written, arguably from Deschamps, who assisted Winslow and Murray with the translations. See entry dated 5 September 1755 in the "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), pp. 94-5. Brown may have had access to Winslow's journal, but this seems unlikely, particularly since Winslow is not once mentioned in the text.

¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Murray commented in a letter to Winslow that "you Know our Soldiers Hate them and if they Can Find a Pretence to Kill them, they will." See Murray to Winslow, 8 September 1755; printed in the "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), p. 107.

¹⁸⁹ "Portons la Croix" is translated as "carrying the cross". This phrase is included in one of the Acadian hymns sung on the last days of their stay in Nova Scotia. The hymns were preserved in the original French,

(40) At a pause like this, the reader may not refuse, perhaps, to indulge in the contemplation of a state of happiness, which had grown out of very Extraordinary circumstances; which was seldom abused; & which, if truth & gentleness & humanity could have ensured its continuance, would have been perpetual.

In the hundred & forty sixth year¹⁹⁰ of a colony, whose history, from the beginning, lies somewhat beyond the ordinary track of human affairs, & which appears at times to have intruded into the regions of pure fiction, the Character of the people was fully formed. Of the good sense, moral honesty & cheerful disposition imported into the country by the Huguenot¹⁹¹ adherents of Henry 4th nothing was lost; & from these [excellent] primitive qualities every new element supplied by accident took a prevailing tinge.¹⁹² In the earlier French emigrations,¹⁹³ as in those of Spain & England, the number

found on a stray leaf in the handwriting of Brown, in the British Library Collection. See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 27; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 153-4.

¹⁹⁰ 1750.

¹⁹¹ The term *Huguenot* refers to members of the Protestant Reformed Church of France, commonly called "French Protestants".

¹⁹² Following the ill-fated attempt to establish a French colony on Île Sainte-Croix (St. Croix Island) in 1604, Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts (c.1558-1628), a Protestant nobleman-courtier, relocated the French settlement to Port Royal, on the northern shore of the Annapolis Basin, in 1605. The Port Royal Habitation became the earliest European settlement of any permanence established in North America, north of Florida. Although De Monts was a Protestant nobleman, the inhabitants were not, as Brown implies, exclusively Huguenot. Samuel de Champlain (c.1570-1636), himself a devout Catholic, noted that there were "a number of noblemen and all kinds of artisans, soldiers and others of both religions, priests and ministers." See H.P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-1936), Vol. III, p. 321. The Huguenot foundation of the colony is a recurring theme found throughout the text, although there is little evidence to suggest that the religious orientation was predominately Huguenot. Brown's emphasis on the Protestant nature of the settlement may be more of a reflection of Brown's own identity than on the historical reality of the situation.

¹⁹³ The rich fisheries had lured Europeans seasonally to north-eastern North America for over a century, but it was the fur-trade that encouraged their efforts for permanent settlement. There were several previous attempts to establish French settlement in North America. In 1540, Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) and Sieur de Roberval (1500-1560) were commissioned to colonize New France but the colony collapsed in 1543. An expedition of French Huguenots, led by Jean Ribaut (c.1520-1565), established a short-lived colony on the east coast of Florida in 1562. A second French expedition to Florida in 1564, commanded by René de Laudonnière (c.1529-1574), erected Fort Caroline on the St. John's River. A year later, Pedro Menendez de Aviles (1519-1574) led a Spanish naval expedition to Florida, established St. Augustine and captured Fort Caroline. The Fort, repaired and renamed Fort San Mateo by the Spaniards, was destroyed by the French in 1568. Another unsuccessful attempt was made by the Marquis de La Roche (1540-1606) in 1598, when he left a group of convicts on Sable Island while he searched for a suitable settlement site. La Roche returned

of females bore no proportion to that of the other Sex.¹⁹⁴ By the wise Councils of Poutrincourt¹⁹⁵ & Lescarbot,¹⁹⁶ the deficiency was made up in Akadia by formal intermarriages with the principal families of the Mikmakis¹⁹⁷ & Marechites;¹⁹⁸ & the

in 1603 to find only 11 of his men had survived. Also, in 1603, attempts were made to establish a fur-trading post at Tadoussac, located at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Saguenay rivers, by François Gravé, Sieur du Pont (1560-1629) and Pierre de Chauvin, Sieur de Tonnetuit (?-1603), but this too proved unsuccessful.

¹⁹⁴ De Monts' expedition to Acadia was comprised entirely of men, although as Griffiths has noted, there was no attempt to exclude women. See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, p. 8.

¹⁹⁵ Jean Biencourt de Poutrincourt et de Saint-Just (1557-1615). An influential French nobleman, Poutrincourt accompanied Champlain on the first expedition to St. Croix. He returned to Port Royal in 1606 as Lieutenant Governor of Acadia and set out with Champlain to explore alternative settlement sites. Following the revocation of De Monts' trading monopoly in 1607, however, the whole colony was obliged to return to France and the settlement at Port Royal was abandoned. Having been granted the remainder of De Mont's rights at Port Royal in 1608, Poutrincourt returned to Acadia with his son, Charles Biencourt de Saint-Just (1591-c.1673), in 1610, where he found the Habitation intact and undisturbed. He left his son, known as Biencourt, in charge until 1614, during which time the Port Royal Habitation was attacked and destroyed by the Virginian privateer, Captain Samuel Argall. In 1614, having found the Habitation in ruins, Poutrincourt ceded all of his rights to Biencourt, who remained in the colony. Poutrincourt was on friendly terms with the Natives and under his direction, many of the Mi'kmaq inhabitants were converted to Catholicism. See Huia Ryder, "Jean Biencourt de Poutrincourt et de Saint-Just," *DCB*.

¹⁹⁶ Marc Lescarbot (c.1570-c.1629). Lescarbot, a French lawyer, writer, and historian, accompanied Poutrincourt to Acadia in 1606 but returned to France in 1607 when the settlement was abandoned. On his return, Lescarbot published a vast history of the French establishments in America, entitled the *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, the first edition of which appeared in Paris in 1609. Lescarbot was keenly interested in the Native population and devoted the whole of the last part of his *Histoire* to a description of their lives and customs. Indeed, records of Mi'kmaq life essentially began with the writings of Lescarbot, to which Brown had access and utilized in his draft "History of the Province of Nova Scotia". See René Baudry, "Marc Lescarbot," *DCB*. In his "History of the Province of Nova Scotia", Brown describes Lescarbot as "a man of capacity as well as education, much attached to Poutrincourt and actuated by a spirit of enterprise rare in [his] the profession, relinquished the pleasures of the metropolis, and encountered the perils of navigation, to gratify a laudable curiosity and to superintend the interests of his friend. In his history of French America he relates at great length those transactions in Acadia of which he had been an eye witness; corrects the weakness and credulity of the missionaries in their descriptions of the natives; and is deemed by Charlevoix, their professed apologist, to be sincere, well informed, judicious and impartial." *EUL Gen.* 159.

¹⁹⁷ The Mi'kmaq, an Algonkin-speaking people of Eastern Woodland culture, inhabited, at the time of first contact with European explorers, the regions known today as Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, northern New Brunswick and part of the Gaspé Peninsula. The French initially referred to the Mi'kmaq as the *Souriquois*. The Mi'kmaq were swift to appreciate the economic potential of the fur trade and were essential to the survival of the early French settlers at Port Royal. See Wilson Wallis and Ruth Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955) and Bruce J. Bourque, "Ethnicity on the Maritime Peninsula, 1600-1759," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (1989), pp. 257-84.

¹⁹⁸ The Marechites (Malicite or Maliseet), an Algonkian-speaking people of Eastern Woodland culture, traditionally occupied the territory of the Saint John River valley and its tributaries, between New Brunswick, Quebec, and Maine. It has been suggested that they are the *Etchemins* of early French writers. By 1605, members of this group were engaged in the fur trade and in providing guides to the French. See Wilson Wallis and Ruth Wallis, *The Malecite Indians of New Brunswick* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Bulletin No. 148, 1957) and Bourque, "Ethnicity on the Maritime Peninsula", p. 264. Brown's information regarding intermarriage between the Native and French population seems to have come from,

expedient added to the acuteness & intelligence of the Norman race, that caustic humour, intrepidity in danger & constancy in death, which so eminently distinguished these tribes of the Abenakis.¹⁹⁹ To this first infusion, the incorporation of the forlorn Scotsmen abandoned, on Goat Island²⁰⁰ & the northern bank of the river LESquelle,²⁰¹ by Sir William

at least in part, a document found among his papers in the Edinburgh Collection, entitled “French Sketch of La Cadie & Acad^{ns} - Letter M. Varennes to his friend in Rochelle - Woods Book”, which is apparently a transcription of the original. The document states: “The policy of France countenanced intermarriages between y Acadians & y Native Ind^{ns}. Instances of y kind were numer^s. Especially in y infancy of y settlem^t. There was accordingly a consid^{ble} mixture of Indⁿ blood in y tribes or settlem^{ts}; and the offspring of such marriages were disting^d by Vigor^s constitutions & dexterity in all the Wilder pursuits of y Country.” EUL Gen. 159 (“Woods Book” is presumably a reference to Thomas Wood (1711-1778), an Anglican missionary who arrived in Nova Scotia in 1752, was appointed chaplain to the garrison at Fort Cumberland in 1755 and in 1759 became chaplain to the first House of Assembly in Halifax. He settled in Annapolis Royal in 1764. Wood was apparently friendly with Abbé Pierre Maillard (see note 431), a French missionary to the Mi’kmaq, with whom he studied the Mi’kmaq language. See C.E. Thomas, “Thomas Wood,” *DCB*. According to Brown, “The Reverend Mr. Wood, Vicar of Halifax, obtained a copy of his Mickmack Grammar, which he professed at one time to print but met with no encouragement.” See EUL Gen. 157. The identification of M. Varennes has not been determined). Maillard, whom Brown greatly admired and to whose work he apparently had access (see note 277), claimed that racial intermarriage was so prevalent by 1753 that in fifty years it would be impossible to distinguish Native from French in Acadia. See Olive Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage, and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1997), p. 147. The most notable example of this marriage practice is the formal union of Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour (c.1663-1731) and an unidentified Mi’kmaq woman in 1626, probably the daughter of a Mi’kmaq chief, with whom La Tour had three daughters. Although there is no great number of such marriages recorded, the marriage of La Tour “attested publically to a belief in the social justifiability of such a relationship among the European community.” See N.E.S. Griffiths, “Mating and Marriage in Early Acadia,” *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, Vol. 35 (1992), pp. 109-27. There is, however, debate among scholars regarding the prevalence of this practice. See William C. Wicken, “Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi’kmaq Society, 1500-1760” (Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 1994).

¹⁹⁹ The Abenakis, one of the Eastern Algonquian cultures, traditionally inhabited an area extending across most of northern New England. Although the Mi’kmaq, Maliseet, and Abenaki occupied the Maritime region and united in response to foreign aggression, they were, in fact, separate and distinct groups. Finding it difficult to distinguish between Native tribes, European observers often grouped them together under the term Abenaki. For instance, the Jesuit scholar Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1692-1761) noted in 1744: “we shall see them [the Mi’kmaq], with their neighbors, under the name of Abenaki Nations”. P.F.X. Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, trans. J.G. Shea (Chicago: Loyola UP, 1962), Vol. I, pp. 264-5. The Native peoples of the Maritime Peninsula did enjoy close, generally cooperative relations and established an alliance known as the Wabanaki Confederacy, a coalition of north-eastern Algonquian tribes including the Abenaki, Penobscot, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and Mi’kmaq. While these tribes collaborated on issues such as diplomacy, war, and trade, each retained independent political leadership. See Bourque, “Ethnicity on the Maritime Peninsula”. It is interesting to note that in his draft of “The History of the Province of Nova Scotia”, Brown wrote: “The families which inhabited the Peninsula were distinct from those on the mainland, the former were called Souriquois & the latter Etchemins, and these national applications were afterwards exchanged (it would serve no purpose to ask the reason) for those of Mickmacks and Marechites.” EUL, Gen. 159.

²⁰⁰ Goat Island is a small island situated at the mouth of the Annapolis River. The original French settlement of Port Royal was apparently situated on the shore directly opposite Goat Island, although the remains of the original Habitation have yet to be located. The island appears on Lescarbot’s map of 1609, where it is

identified as “Biencourtville”, after Poutrincourt’s son, Biencourt. For more detailed analysis of Brown’s claim of Scottish occupation of Goat Island, see the following note (201).

²⁰¹ The Annapolis River was originally known as the Rivière l’Equille (Eel River), apparently named by De Monts and Champlain for the small sand-eels commonly found there. See Champlain, *Works of Champlain*, ed., H.P. Biggar (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922), Vol. I, p. 257 and Diéreville, *Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France*, ed., J.C. Webster (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1933), pp. 84-5. On Lescarbot’s map of 1609 it is referred to as Rivière du Dauphin, perhaps renamed in an effort to attract settlement. This name persisted until 1713 when it became known as the Annapolis River. Curiously, the name l’Equille was also applied to what is now known as the Allain River, as identified on Champlain’s 1613 map of Port Royal, and it is therefore unclear as to which river Brown is actually referring. King James VI of Scotland (James I of England) granted Sir William Alexander (see note 202) a charter to establish a Scottish colony in North America in 1621 and established the knights-baronets of Nova Scotia in 1624 in an effort to promote settlement of the colony. Sir William Alexander the younger arrived at Port Royal in 1629 and constructed Charles Fort, in honour of Charles I. Alexander returned to England in 1630 and the Scottish settlement was subsequently evacuated in 1632 when Port Royal was officially returned to France under the terms of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Eighteenth-century cartographic evidence suggested that the location of the Scots fort was situated in the vicinity of the original Habitation site, on the northern bank of the l’Equille/Annapolis River, yet the Guthry document, discovered in 1988, disproved this supposition. Recent archaeological excavation has confirmed the location of Charles Fort on the northern bank of the Allain River, at what is now Fort Anne National Historic Site. See N.E.S. Griffiths and John G. Reid, “New Evidence on New Scotland, 1629,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, Vol. XLIX (July 1992), pp. 492-508 and Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, pp. 9-14. As a matter of conjecture, given that the Guthry manuscript was deposited and subsequently discovered in the Scottish Record Office, it is certainly possible that Brown was familiar with this document and the location of Alexander’s settlement on the Allain River. Brown’s reference to the abandoned members of Alexander’s settlement is most intriguing. From the document entitled “French Sketch of La Cadie & Acad^{ns} - Letter M. Varennes to his friend in Rochelle - Woods Book”, it is stated: “The Scots Proprietary under Sir William Alex^r repeatedly attempted to establish Settlem^{ts} but y^r efforts failed, & y^r Emigrants were left in the Country without any leader or native institutions, & soon incorporated yms^s wth y^r French. These settlers s^d to be established on a single Isl^d called Goat Island, where y^r constructed built a fort of turf, & planted in y^r Area before it some plumb trees & Walnut trees . . . These Scots were dislodged fm y^r Fort in y^r neighborik of Port Royal by the Normans.” EUL Gen. 159. Antoine de Lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac (1658-1730), who arrived at Port Royal in c.1683, alluded to a similar incident. Cadillac states that “a few ships were outfitted with a number of about a hundred Scotchmen . . . he [Claude La Tour] went to Port Royal . . . abandoned the Scotchmen, and came to rejoin his son [Charles de La Tour], immediately the Indians started to kill the Scotch and the English; so that, lacking any assistance, a large number of them died of scurvy, and the rest were massacred by the Indians with the exception of a family who was rescued by the French, which Sieur de la Mothe saw in 1685, of whom two men, aged 60 or 65, have married French women, having abjured [Protestantism]”. Although this extract survives as *Extract of a Memoire given to the Duke of Orleans by Sr. de la Mothe Cadillac, formerly Captain in Canada and Governor of Mississippi, 1720*, the original memoir from which it came is presumably no longer extant, although it appears to have been written c.1692. See Clarence J. d’Entremont, “New Findings on the Melansons,” *French Canadian and Acadian Genealogical Review*, Vol. II, No. 4 (1969), pp. 219-39. There has long been debate as to the identification of the two men Lamothe encountered, although they are now believed to be Pierre and Charles Mellanson. For many years, it was thought, based on Cadillac’s information, that the Melanson family was originally of Scottish origin, having been part of Alexander’s settlement. Yet evidence suggests that the Melanson family arrived in Nova Scotia with Sir Thomas Temple in 1657, and it is now generally agreed that the Melanson brothers originally came from England. Brown may have used Cadillac as a reference; however, that he situates events specifically on Goat Island and the northern bank of River L’Esquelle, suggests Brown, or more specifically Varennes, had familiarity with an independent source. Determining the location of the abandoned Scotsmen is problematic given the discrepancy in the identification of the river, yet there are several possibilities to consider. Assuming Brown is referring to the Annapolis River, both the French settlement at Port Royal, being directly opposite Goat Island, and the Melanson settlement site, discovered in 1984, are located on the northern shore of the Annapolis River. Alternatively, if the river in question is the Allain, Brown may indeed be referring to the Scottish settlement

Alexander²⁰² & the Knights of Nova Scotia, communicated a share of the natural sagacity & frugal habits of the cottagers of Stirling shire & Clydesdale in the earlier days of Charles the 1st.²⁰³ In the estimation of the people themselves they had sustained a great [heavy] loss, on the cession of the Province, by the removal of the Seigneurs²⁰⁴ to

at Charles Fort. Of particular interest is the reference to Goat Island. Further to Wood's description of a "fort of turf" located on the island, a loose manuscript, discovered among the pages of Brown's draft "History of the Province of Nova Scotia", in the Edinburgh Collection, records the following in relation to Alexander's settlement: "They doubled Cape Breton, explored the bay of Fundy, & entered the River L'Esquille LAquille on whose banks where cabins [Huguenot] had long attracted the trade of the Natives. They selected the Isle de Chevril in the bason of that River not far from the Parish of St. Mary; where they erected a Storehouse and are enclosures of Pickets - long known in the country by the name of the Scotch fort on Goat Island. They made trial of a Winter; established some families on the . . . northern bank of the River". EUL Gen. 159. In the actual text of his history, however, Brown is less specific: "a rude enclosure, called Scotch Fort, was built . . . somewhere in the vicinage of Port Royal * saw in manuscript letter to have been in the neighbourhood of Goat Island." No significant archaeological remains have been reported on the island. For more on the Melanson family see Margaret C. Melanson, *The Melanson Story: Acadian Family, Acadian Times* (Toronto, 2003) and for information on archaeological excavation carried out at the Melanson site see Andrée Crépeau and Brenda Dunn, *The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)*, Research Bulletin Parks Canada, No. 250 (September 1986).

²⁰² Sir William Alexander, the younger (c.1602-1638). The eldest son of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, Earl of Stirling (c.1577-1640), to whom King James I granted territory between New England and Newfoundland as New Scotland, and authorization to settle the colony in 1621. Interest and financial backing for the proposed colony in Nova Scotia were raised when the Order of Knights Baronet of Nova Scotia was created in 1625. Alexander the younger set sail in 1629 to establish a Scottish colony in Nova Scotia. He was accompanied by Sir James Stewart, Lord Ochiltree (?-1659), who helped him establish a small colony and fort (Rosemarine) at Port aux Baleines (now Baleine) in Cape Breton. While the fledgling settlement in Baleine did not survive, Alexander, under the guidance of Claude de Saint-Étienne de La Tour (c.1570-c.1636), proceeded to Port Royal, where they erected a new fort, named Charles Fort, in the summer of 1629. Alexander returned to England in 1630 to recruit new settlers and supplies but was ordered to destroy the Scottish settlement and remove all persons and goods from the colony in 1631. Most of the colonists returned to England in 1632. See D.C. Harvey, "Sir William Alexander," *DCB* and Griffiths and Reid, "New Evidence on New Scotland, 1629," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XLIX (July 1992) pp. 492-508.

²⁰³ The original Scottish colony was small and ended abruptly as the colonists were removed and transported back to England. Although there is, as previously mentioned, speculation that some remained and merged with the French inhabitants, there is little evidence for a significant Scottish presence in Nova Scotia after 1632. It is interesting to note that Charles Morris recorded the following: "It is reported among the Acadians that the native Indians refused to let them improve their lands (no doubt at their instigation) that several therefore left their own company, and incorporated with them, and some of their male posterity are in the country at this day, but that the others soon returned to Scotland." See Morris, "A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia," NAC R2227-0-6-E (MG18-F10). That Brown was himself a Scot, may underlie his emphasis on the lasting impact of the Scottish in Acadia, and indeed, he rarely missed an opportunity to praise Scotland and "the genius of the Scottish part of the population".

²⁰⁴ A *Seigneur* is the holder of a Seignery or one of the landed gentry (*OED*). Following the seizure of Port Royal by British and New England forces in 1710 and the attribution of Nova Scotia to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French colonial authorities in Acadia relocated to French territory. See John Reid et al., *The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710: Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Louisbourg, Cape Francois,²⁰⁵ & Laws²⁰⁶ for vaunted establishments on the Mississippi. But instead of producing a bad effect, that event brought the inhabitants to a state of perfect equality, & laid the foundation for that cordial [intimacy and warm] attachment which secured to age & to wisdom their natural ascendancy.²⁰⁷ It facilitated, at the same time, the admission of (41) the recruits, who began to pour in upon them from a different quarter. These were the deserters or outcasts from the Congregational Church; whose early years had been too free for her austere restraints, & whose confirmed habits resisted her wholesome discipline. The welcome refugees, whose lively temper sorted well with the innocent gaiety of a purer [milder] people, introduced into the districts great muscular strength, a reach of cunning unknown before, & that versatile subtlety which scruples at no sacrifice, to acquire influence or wealth.²⁰⁸ I have Elsewhere spoken of the derelicts or Deodands²⁰⁹ as they were called, confidently committed to the humanity of the Akadians;

²⁰⁵ Founded by the French in 1670, Le Cap Francois was the capital of colonial Haiti until 1770. Situated on the north coast of Saint-Domingue, it is known today as Cap-Haitien.

²⁰⁶ Presumably a reference to John Law (1671-1729). Law, a Scottish economist and banker, founded the *Compagnie de la Louisiane ou d'Occident* in 1717 and was granted extensive powers to exploit the Mississippi region. He designed a scheme to further develop the French colony of Louisiana and this enterprise facilitated the immigration of more than 7000 Europeans to Louisiana. For more on Law, see Antoin E. Murphy, *John Law: Economic Theorist and Policy-Maker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

²⁰⁷ Although encouraged to relocate to French territory, most of the Acadian population remained in Nova Scotia, where they maintained a neutral position between British and French interests. While the Treaty of Utrecht diminished French authority in North America, it marked the beginning of an era of peace that lasted for almost thirty years, during which time the Acadian communities flourished. Griffiths has described the period from 1713 to 1748 as the "Golden Age" of Acadia. See Griffiths, "The Golden Age: Acadian Life, 1713-1748," *Histoire sociale - Social History*, Vol. XVII, No. 33 (May, 1984).

²⁰⁸ It is unclear as to whom Brown is referring, although their association, or rather disassociation, with the Congregational Church suggests a New England origin. Brown's source for this passage appears to be from the document entitled "French Sketch of La Cadie & Acad^{ns}", in which it is recorded: "During the Zeal of the NEng^d settlements for orthodoxy & uniformity a few families from Newbury(?) found y way from Boston & its vicinity to y^l French settlements, & were afterwards incorporated w^l y Acadians. Three of these left a numerous offspring, who appeared w^h reputⁿ am^g y Acadians: the Peterses, y Grangers & y Carters." EUL Gen. 159. While it is possible that exiles from Massachusetts sought refuge in Nova Scotia, there is no evidence to support a substantial increase in population. A few New England merchants established themselves in Nova Scotia after British forces captured the small French garrison at Port Royal in 1710, but they would seem unlikely candidates for Brown's "welcome refugees". See Barry Moody, "Making a British Nova Scotia," in *The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710*, Reid et al. pp. 132-3.

²⁰⁹ The word *deodand* is from the Latin *deo dandum*, meaning, "to be given to God". In English law, a deodand was an instrument (any animal or inanimate thing) which, having caused the death of a human

first by the English residents in Annapolis Royal, & next by those Adventurers who had fallen in the settlement of Halifax, or who, repenting of a disastrous Union formed in its loose encampment, resolved to seek a better fortune without the encumbrance of children. The acquisitions gained from this source were not inconsiderable in number; & the adopted strangers being conscious of no other affection but what they experienced in the kind hearted families of which they found themselves members, were devoted to their interest and their opinions with a sincerity & fervour rarely surpassed by the natural heirs.²¹⁰ The Akadians used to say, with their wonted gaiety, that indirectly at least they were under obligations to two of the British kingdoms; having received from Scotland knowledge and integrity, some activity & rather too much address from New England, & a fine soil on which to plant piety & patient labour in the children bequeathed to their protection by the charity of the Province. They needed only a little of the wildfire of Ireland to complete the draught from this fountain. But the females remarked that they had enough of that commodity already in the blood of the Buccaneers & Beausoleils.²¹¹ Amidst this diversity of origin, the stamp of the old Huguenots, the original frame work of the Settlement, was distinctly seen. This appeared in the Aquiline nose, the olive complexion, & the well compacted but undersized form that seldom rose above the Standard of a British Regiment of foot. The large rolling Eye, in which the white

being, was forfeited to the king (*OED*). In this case, Brown appears to be referring to children of English settlers who were adopted by the Acadians.

²¹⁰ According to Brown, the Acadians adopted and cared for these orphan children, although Brown's source has not been identified and the authenticity of this information is uncertain.

²¹¹ Referring to the family of Joseph Broussard dit Beausoleil (1702-1765). Born in Port Royal in 1702 and known as Beausoleil, Broussard was a militia captain and legendary Acadian resistance fighter who conducted what has often been described as a guerrilla war campaign against the British military in 1755. Broussard and his family were held prisoner in Halifax until 1763, after which Broussard is believed to have taken the Acadian survivors to Louisiana at the beginning of 1765. He was appointed captain of the militia and commandant of the Acadians in the region of the Attackapas, which included the parishes of Saint-Landry, Saint-Martin and Lafayette, Louisiana. See C.J. d'Entremont, "Joseph Broussard (Broussard) dit Beausoleil," *DCB*. Brown provides further detail about the Broussard family later in the document.

appeared to have a fine transparency bespoke an Indian descent. A purer red and white with auburn (42) or yellow hair indicated a connection with the natives of Forth or Clyde.²¹² While a lofty stature & a gaunt visage with a less accentuated pronunciation of the vernacular tongue claimed kindred with Massachusetts bay or New Hampshire.²¹³

But over all these minute varieties a new aspect was gradually rising, more exclusively due to the character of the country & the state of Society. The countenance of [of those of] the young, but especially of the females [the female Sex] was said to discover deep traces of a settled melancholy; to which the tone of sadness, that gave a touching power to the voice, finely accorded. It was likewise affirmed that in those families which had penetrated furthest into the [interior of the] forest, & had least opportunity of Social intercourse, the expression as well as the cast of the features bore a striking resemblance to those of the aboriginal inhabitants; even in cases where there was no intermixture of Indian blood. The muscles were equally relaxed. A similar air of vacuity spread over the countenance. And from this state of mutual repose, a stranger might have inferred [would have been likely to infer], either a stupid ignorance or an imperturbable [impenetrable] apathy.

This fact is not altogether uninteresting. The question concerning the original population of the New World has been perplexed by needless difficulties. In the recesses

²¹² In reference to the Scottish ancestry that Brown claimed was integrated into the Acadian population.

²¹³ Given Brown's previous statements regarding the diverse cultural components of early Acadia, it is not surprising that he believed the Acadian people represented a hybrid of French, Native, Scottish, and New English elements. According to the document entitled "French Sketch of La Cadie & Acad^{ns}", which clearly influenced Brown's thinking on the matter: "The Acadians – or French Settlers of Nova Scotia were a mixed race – breed. Composed originally of Various European nations, with a large portion of Indⁿ blood. Chiefly Normans – Britons - & the Huguenots from Rochelle or St. Malos." EUL Gen 159. According to McMahon, "It is possible that the Acadians possessed all the attributes Brown ascribed to them but to associate various aspects of their collective character with various strands of national heritage certainly overstates the case. The Acadians, in short, were French colonists." See McMahon, "Andrew Brown," p. 106. While Brown may be indeed overstating the case, McMahon seems to be oversimplifying it.

of the American continent, a lengthened term of years is not required to lay aside or to lose all the distinguishing characters of Christianity & civilization. A faithful exposition of the earlier events in the history of some of the European settlements, would shew how speedily this change has been effected without leaving an internal mark prominent enough to establish the descent or the relations of the white inhabitants. At the visit of Cabot,²¹⁴ a shorter period than had elapsed from the traditionary epoch of the Danish discovery of Labradore or Nova Scotia,²¹⁵ would have sufficed to obliterate all the differences between the people left by them & the indefatigable hunters of the Abenakis nation.

The mental dispositions of the Akadians, less dependant on external circumstances, appeared to be yet more completely amalgamated. If the ingredients had been various, the compound at least was simple. The excellent quality of the original materials healed all that was diseased (43) in the accessory elements; and a new mass [creation] arose that bore no inconsiderable price. There was a steadiness in the Akadian mind, & an intensity in its affections, of which no foreign dependency of France has furnished the slightest example. The disinterested generosity which elevated it was purely

²¹⁴ John Cabot (c.1450-c.1499). Cabot was the Italian-born navigator who explored the Atlantic coast of North America in the name of King Henry VII of England in 1497 and 1498.

²¹⁵ This is an interesting comment on Norse settlement in the region. Brown himself could not have read the *Vinland Sagas* as Latin translations did not appear in Europe and North America until 1837. Yet, he was obviously aware of their existence and familiar with contemporary debate regarding the Norse discovery of North America. Certainly, by the late eighteenth century, there was some discussion amongst the intellectual elite in America. See J.M. Mancini, "Discovering Viking America," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (2002) and Matti Enn Kaups, "Shifting Vinland - Tradition and Myth," *Terrae Incognitae*, Vol. II (1970), pp. 29-60. It is remarkable that Brown identifies the North Atlantic region of Labrador or Nova Scotia, for speculation on the location of the Norse settlement ranged from Virginia to Newfoundland. The Norse settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows, on the northern tip of Newfoundland, was only confirmed after Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad carried out extensive archaeological excavations from 1961-1968. See Birgitta Linderöth Wallace, *Westward Vikings: The Saga of L'Anse Aux Meadows* (St. John's: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006). It seems also that Brown is suggesting that the Native population of Nova Scotia had intermixed with Norse settlers, thereby implying that the Acadians may have had some Norse ancestry as well.

a local product; & above all the unsullied purity of which it partook bestowed a loveliness that won the heart.

Two ruling principles, feeble in comparison thro' the rest of America, bound the community together in a pleasing fellowship of thought & feeling. These were a fond predilection for the religious instruction of the parent nation,²¹⁶ and an invincible attachment to the land that gave them birth.

The first of these principles was the result of very memorable resolutions. The Huguenots who sought peace & prosperity in the outskirts of a rugged continent, retained little partiality for the government that persecuted them. But they cherished a grateful remembrance of the piety & love that actuated the Protestant communion in whose bosom they had been nurtured. When the sympathetic kindness of the Jesuits,²¹⁷ assisted by the cruel inroads of New England, succeeded in reconciling their descendants to the Catholic worship, the feelings which had formerly been attached to a Sect, laid hold of the Sentiment of national patriotism. These frontier colonists clearly perceived that the enlargement of the dominions of France formed the only basis of their security; & they sought to live under the Sceptre of the monarchy that they might enjoy the _____ of protection, & no longer be deprived of the public offices of devotion in their own native language. The instrumental duties of Christianity formed one of their absolute necessities. Unless its venerable solemnities [observances] sanctified whatever was joyful or afflictive in their lot, they lamented the absence of the Wine & the oil of life.

²¹⁶ A significant proportion of the colonists who later settled and developed the major Acadian villages based their religious practices upon the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. Although religion was a fundamental element of Acadian society, it was far less authoritarian than the Catholicism of New France. See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, pp. 131, 311-12.

²¹⁷ The first, and about the only, Jesuit priests arrived in Acadia with Charles de Biencourt in 1611. See Charles Washington Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1885), Vol. I, p. 105. It should be noted that the Jesuits were active in Acadia in the early development of the colony, but almost disappeared afterwards.

On this primary sentiment a second was superinduced, of nearly equal authority. The Akadians had conceived a warmth of affection for the country selected by their founders, for its climate, its occupations & its amusements seldom surpassed in the oldest nations. They were not satisfied merely with their stormy freshes,²¹⁸ their deep bays (44) & their sequestered vallies, but devoted to them as the only seats on the surface of the globe that could supply the round of activity & enjoyment which they were formed to relish. In no other section of the Continental Colonies of France, had such a rooted local attachment appeared.²¹⁹ So soon as the navigation of the Mississippi was opened to Canada,²²⁰ the surplus of its population descended the stream, to seek in milder latitudes the agricultural staples denied to a long Winter & a thin soil. Throughout the English plantations, the interchange of inhabitants between the Islands & the Continent & the Continent & the Islands, commenced at an earlier period & continues to the present day. At the peace of Utrecht, the zeal for the Church & commonwealth complained in Christian Unity, which the indefatigable industry of Winthrop²²¹ & cotton²²² & their successors had excited in Massachets²²³ grew cold; & before the commencement of hostilities with Spain in thirty

²¹⁸ A *fresh* refers to a freshwater stream running out into a tideway (*OED*).

²¹⁹ This “local attachment” is an important underlying theme in Brown’s work and it is interesting that he identified this as a distinct Acadian characteristic. Brown seems to have been influenced by the Varennes letter, in which the following passage is included: “Their attachment to y^s transatlantic settlement was more deeply rooted & more passionate yⁿ y^t of any oy^f European Colony. The Patriotism of y Acadians was completely translated to y^f new abode.” See “French Sketch of La Cadie & Acad^{ns}”, *EUL Gen.* 159.

²²⁰ Beyond Canada, the major concentration of French settlement was in what are now Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois. The Louisiana Territory was claimed for France in 1682 and French forts along the Mississippi River spread northward from New Orleans.

²²¹ John Winthrop (1588-1649). Winthrop was the founder and first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1630, he led 1000 English colonists to New England and was influential in shaping the Puritan character of the colony. See Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America’s Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003).

²²² John Cotton (1584-1652). Cotton arrived in Massachusetts in 1633 and became a prominent clergyman in the colony. He was also an important figure in the development of Puritan social and religious beliefs. See Larzer Ziff, *The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962).

²²³ Massachusetts.

nine,²²⁴ the Journalists & Historians of British America represented it as an appropriated characteristic of their Countrymen, that they were altogether indifferent to place, and discovered an ungovernable propensity to seek, on very slender encouragement, the smiles of fortune in a distant land.

But instead of decaying as population thickened, this local affection, which destiny wished the Akadians, increased in Strength. The original Custom observed in the Extension of settlement, survived the relations out of which it had sprung. In spreading from the bason of Port Royal, the peasantry clustered round the Chateau of the Seigneur.²²⁵ The construction of this place of Strength, & of two mills, the first for sawing wood, the second for grinding corn, were the first labours of a new Village; after which the heads of families received the Concessions that best suited their ingenuity or their taste. On the establishment of a general equality of rank, the acknowledged superiority of talent & worth created a subordination of a softer complexion. The Elder,²²⁶ whose reputation & substance were the infallible signs of wisdom & conduct, succeeded to the

²²⁴ 1739. The War of Jenkin's Ear. This conflict between Great Britain and Spain transferred to North America and lasted from 1739 to 1743, eventually merging into the larger War of the Austrian Succession.

²²⁵ Brown is likely referring to the village of Beaubassin, the first major Acadian settlement established after Port Royal. Jacques Bourgeois, one of the most prosperous inhabitants of Port Royal, began agricultural development at the site in 1672. Bourgeois constructed both a flour mill, parts of which he obtained from Boston, and a saw mill. See Arsenault, *History of the Acadians*, p. 48 and Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto", p. 10. Michel LeNeuf de la Vallière (c.1640-1705) obtained the first seigneurial concession in 1676 and built his manor on Île à la Vallière, raised ground known today as Tonge's Island. He brought with him additional colonists from Canada and Rameau notes that this settlement clustered around La Vallière. Eventually the two separate communities of Bourgeois and La Vallière merged into one. See Marc Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology," *Anniversaries That Work: Content and Connections, Proceedings of the 2003 Spring Heritage Conference*: www.fnsh.ns.ca/conference2003/contents.html. Alternatively, Brown may be referring collectively to the settlements which emerged around the Minas Basin, beginning in 1682 with the village of Les Mines (Grand-Pré).

²²⁶ In this case, Brown is not referring to the Acadian deputies, but rather to the founding fathers of each Acadian hamlet.

honours of the Patrician Chief. The scattered hamlets took his name, which the peopled Village gratefully perpetuated.²²⁷

These villages would have pleased the poet (45) of the year, being placed, between the breathing forest & the sounding shore, on the first brow of the upland, near a brook that seldom failed in summer & that continued to flow during the severest frost. A Cabin of rough logs, standing East & West & about twenty four feet square, satisfied the modest wishes of the Cultivator.²²⁸ Some used a roof of battened deals ingeniously fortified by a coating of birch bark; while others preferred the warmer covering of wheaten thatch, under which their forefathers had lived & died. The common people had only a single apartment, seven feet high & surmounted with a loft, in which they deposited their valuables. Only the Priests & Elders built houses of larger dimensions with sitting rooms & sleeping closets. With these slight exceptions, the architecture & distribution of the family dwelling were regulated by [conformed to] a single pattern.²²⁹

²²⁷ The general Acadian practice of naming each village after its founding father suggests a culture in which elders enjoyed considerable power and prestige. As children were married, they tended to settle near their parents, which resulted in small hamlets of interrelated and extended families. These hamlets have been described as “patriarchal enclaves.” See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, pp. 178, 309 and Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, pp. 63-4.

²²⁸ The following detailed portrayal of an Acadian home is significant as there is a dearth of eyewitness accounts describing domestic architecture and the standard of living in early Acadia. Brown appears to have based his description on the homes of Acadians he visited in the later eighteenth century, in particular, as he states later in the text, one in the Annapolis Valley. Indeed, Brown’s description has been largely confirmed by recent archaeological excavation. See David J. Christianson, *Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a Pre-Expulsion Acadian Site*, Nova Scotia Museum, Curatorial Report No. 48 (1984); Crépeau and Dunn, *The Melanson Settlement*, and Andrée Crépeau and David Christianson, “Home and Hearth: An Archaeological Perspective on Acadian Domestic Architecture,” *Canadian Folklore: Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 17, No. 2, (1995), pp. 93-109.

²²⁹ Griffiths notes that the standard of living was not necessarily uniform and archaeological evidence from excavation of the Belleisle site does suggest that certain Acadians lived in dwellings of larger size. See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, p. 310. A similar description of a typical Acadian home at Beaubassin is to be found in the journal of Robert Hale (1702-2767), a young New England doctor who journeyed to Nova Scotia in 1731: “They have but one Room in y^r Houses besides a Cockloft, Cellar, & Sometimes a Closet. Their Bedrooms are made something after y^e Manner of a Sailor's Cabbin, but boarded all round about y^e bigness of y^e Bed, except one little hole on the Foreside, just big eno' to crawl into before which is a Curtain drawn & as a Step to get into it, there stands a Chest. They have not above 2 or 3 chairs in a house, & those wooden ones, bottom & all. I saw but 2 Muggs among all y^e French & y^e lip of one of y^m was broken down above 2 inches.” Robert Hale, “Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia made in 1731 by

The chimney rose in the East gable. There was a door near the center of each side wall, & one in the West end of the house. Each side wall contained two neat windows of clear glass trimmed with some care. Three beds, of the finest feathers & a sheeting of white linen, occupied part of the _____ Area; the two first so disposed of on the opposite side walls as to leave an open space of Eight feet in the length in front of the fire; & the third on the north of the west door but placed on purpose to form a small recess between it & the other bed on the same side, which being closed in with a screen and having a communication with the court yard by the North door, held the milk & daily provisions of the family. The free space to the front of the fire, which served at once as a kitchen & a parlour seemed to have been arranged by the genius of the Scottish part of the population. A shelf, the exact counterpart of what may still be seen in the pastoral districts of Perth & Sterling, exhibited many bright rows of Pewter dishes and a full assortment of wooden trenchers²³⁰ & horn spoons.²³¹ The chests which contained the clothing of the household were well finished, and being covered with the shaggy hide of the Moose or black bear served as seats for the family & its guests. These seats were generally crowded, every house (46) swarming [as every family swarmed] with inhabitants.²³² A circumstance so

Robert Hale of Beverly," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XLII No. 3 (July 1906), pp. 233-4. It is also interesting to compare Brown's description with that of Frederic Cozzens, who left an account of a later nineteenth-century Acadian home in Chezzetcook. See Frederic S. Cozzens, *Acadia or a Month with the Bluenoses* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859), pp. 54-5.

²³⁰ A *trencher* is a wooden bowl or plate (*OED*).

²³¹ The most striking difference between the descriptions provided by Brown and Hale is the apparent standard of living represented, particularly in regard to the prevalence of domestic material culture. It should be remembered, however, that Brown's description is based on a home from the post-Deportation era.

²³² Diéreville, a French surgeon who visited Port Royal in 1699, observed at the end of the seventeenth century, "In almost every family five or six Children are to be found, & often many more; the swarming of Brats is a sight to behold". He also noted that some families had upwards of eighteen to twenty two children. See Diéreville, *Relation*, pp. 92-3. It has been estimated from census data that the average number of children per Acadian family was seven, although there were many families of ten, and a few of fourteen or more. See Gisa Hynes, "Some aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," *Acadiensis*, Vol. III, No. 1(1973), pp. 3-17.

pleasing in its nature did not pass unobserved; and the officers of the New England troops used to say in their letters to their friends, 'You may perhaps be pleased to hear what is meant by a family among the happy people of this _____ land. They have no servants. Indeed there is not now, & there never has been in their community a single instance of an individual living by the wages of labour. All are independent; all are land workers; all are nearly equal – and when the Elder children of a house are married, it generally happens that one of the younger children takes the home settlement, & the old people, being past labour [reposing from their toils], have the singular felicity of being cherished & soothed by the latest objects of their tenderness. Hence a family frequently consists not only of a man's wife & children, but of his parents & younger brothers & sisters, whose stock of cattle is rapidly increasing for their future Establishment. The length to which this custom is carried, will appear from the Census of the river Annapolis. We reckon it at two hundred families. But of these only a hundred & thirty six consist of the husband & wife & their children; the rest being composed in the manner now mentioned; so that it is no rare thing to find a house with four men capable of bearing arms, for they are fruitful, and multiply fast, and live to a great age.¹²³³

Easily as these numerous inmates were accommodated, one part of their dwelling always engaged particular attention. The severe winter of North America taught the first colonists the value of the cave or cellar & its dryness & security from the frost were duly consulted. For the purpose of preserving vegetables as well as liquors, it usually occupied the whole area of the cabin, & was dry to the depth of several feet, & faced with a stone

²³³ The source of this quotation is not known. It is interesting in that it confirms the multi-generational nature of Acadian homes and the apparent longevity of the Acadian people.

wall firmly bound together by long moss. A lode²³⁴ of soft water filled to the brim was often found in one of the corners.

No street was ever thought of in Akadia. The village stretched in a single row,²³⁵ & on the opposite side of the Common path way an oven of Antique form & considerable elevation faced the South door.²³⁶ The under part of the building which discovered much ingenuity was appropriated for the reception of the more favoured poultry (47) a branch of economical management in which the matrons both delighted & excelled. Their domestic flock often displayed a mixture of wild fowls of different species. Outards,²³⁷ Canards & Partridges repaid the assiduity of vigilant protestors, and some of these even propagated their young. The barn, stables & low houses stood at a small distance in the rear of the house, & generally retired a little towards the West.

In the range of upland cultivation, the province of ingenuity belonged to the Women by the long prescription of Indian usage, hemp, flax, maize, Melons, Squashes & potherbs were included.²³⁸ Here too a more pleasing object, the orchard, oval or circular in its form detained the Eye. The fruit bearing trees, among which the Apple predominated,

²³⁴ A *lode* generally refers to an open drain or aqueduct (*OED*).

²³⁵ Governor Perrot observed in 1686 that the Acadians built their villages strung out in a long line rather than compactly assembled. See Griffiths, *The Acadians: Creation of a People* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973), pp. 15-16.

²³⁶ Archaeological excavation at both the Belleisle and Melanson settlement sites has confirmed the existence of the exterior oven, although, in both cases the oven was located at the west end of the house. See Christianson, *Belleisle 1983* and Crépeau and Dunn, *The Melanson Settlement*.

²³⁷ The outard is in fact a European bird of the crane family, not found in North America. Yet, various seventeenth and eighteenth-century references to the outard in Acadia led Massignon, in her study of the Acadian language, to conclude that the outard referred to the Canada Goose. See Margaret Fortier, "The Cultural Landscape of 18th Century Louisbourg." 1983 Microfiche Report Series 83: http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/search/MicroRS83_1.html and Geneviève Massignon, *Les Parlers Français D'Acadie* (Paris, 1962), Vol. 1, p. 273.

²³⁸ In the mid-eighteenth century, Charles Morris observed: "The upland is made use of for the Production of all sorts of Roots and Garden stuffs but very little is used by them either for Grass or Grain, some particular Rich spots do Produce good Wheat and other Grain, but that is not in general". See Morris, "A brief Survey of Nova Scotia," NAC R2227-0-6-E (MG18-F10).

were raised from the seed or stone.²³⁹ Only the grafted stocks being found in the parish of Vieux Logis, & four in that of Pizaquid. They were planted in close rows, & in order to preserve the blossom from the hoar frosts of the Spring & the fruit from the high winds of autumn, a deep belt of Willows furnished a firm screen to the Clump. According to the rooted belief of the Akadians the early foliage of this screen had the virtue not only of breaking the force of the chilling blasts of Evening, and saving the yet unset fruit from the withering rays of the morning sun, but of actually intercepting the penetration [progress] of the frost. As all the varieties of the Willow tribe took kindly to the soil, the shelter of the Willow belt long preceded the danger to which the Orchard was exposed; and whether from this precaution, or the compact order of the fruit trees, it is certain that the proprietors seldom failed to gather a heavy crop and to make a great deal of excellent cider.²⁴⁰ This spot was equally attractive for its amenity & its repose. It had been the creation of the new married Wife; and she crowded round the little arbour with which it was always provided those wild flowers that were celebrated in the Indian songs, or that had grown into favour since the commencement of the Colony. There too she exercised her children when they first began to walk & to speak, and many of her gravest lessons of duty were delivered in there. On Sunday evenings during Summer it was the **(48)** chosen scene of family devotion, and the sweetest strains of Gratitude & resignation there dies on the listening ear. By a very natural law, the charge of the Orchard fell early under the direction of the daughters of the family, & became the resort of their youthful companions of the other sex. Many of their social amusements passed within this soft

²³⁹ Pear, Cherry, and Plum trees were also plentiful as fruit growing had become an important part of Acadian husbandry by the early eighteenth century. See Clark, *Acadia*, pp.165-6.

²⁴⁰ Brown's account of the Acadian orchard provides a detailed description regarding the intended purpose, primary function, and original appearance of the Acadian willow belt.

shelter, and it is delightful to record that the gaiety & joy which accompanied them were never [at no time] unworthy of the early lessons to which it gave [bore] witness. I can never forget the thoughts & feelings of that house, when, in the deep vale of the Annapolis, the Willow belts of the Akadian Orchards & their heavy trees bending under fruit broke fully upon my View. The silent majesty of the woods, the swell of the mountains towering on either hand, the river rolling in its strength, the softness of the Atmosphere, the departing footsteps of a once happy people, & the rougher character of the new cultivation took their turn & blended the exposition(?) of beauty with a prevailing sentiment of sadness.

Tho' the Agricultural industry of the Akadians has been often interrupted, its aggregate amount was highly creditable to their persevering diligence. If the Authority of the Advertisement circulated by the Governor of Nova Scotia thro' the Colonies of New England may be respected, that people had cleared on the waters of the bay of Fundy, & rivers navigable for ships of Burden, more than a hundred thousand Acres of upland which yielded two loads of hay an Acre.²⁴¹ They had likewise embanked & ploughed upwards of a hundred thousand Acres of dyked marsh, which, without manure or

²⁴¹ The advertisement to which Brown refers was presumably that issued by Governor Lawrence in 1759 in an effort to attract New England colonists to Nova Scotia following the deportation. A copy of this proclamation is found among Brown's paper in the British Library. See "Settlement of Lands: Proclamation by Chas, Lawrence, &c. 11th Jan^y 1759", BL Add. Mss. 19071; also printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. II, p. 146. There is some dispute regarding the clearing and cultivation of uplands. According to Clarke, less than 500 acres of upland had been cleared by 1750, as opposed to 13,000 acres of dyked marshland. See Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 237-8. Charles Morris, however, noted thousands of acres of cleared uplands during his survey of several newly created townships in 1761. See "A Plan of Minas Bason and Cobequid Bay with the several Towns granted thereon. Done by Charles Morris, Chf. Surv.^r 1761," National Archives of the United Kingdom, CO700/Nova Scotia 35. The first reference to the cultivation of uplands is from the Beaubassin area where, in 1687, M. de Gargas, the principal recorder in Acadia during the years 1685 to 1688, observed that the inhabitants had recently cultivated some of the higher ground where the grain grew very well. In 1701, the Sieur de Bonaventure (1659-1711) noted only one inhabitant of Beaubassin farming the upland, but one who regularly reaped a good harvest. See Coleman, "Acadian History", pp. 12-14. Although there were persistent complaints regarding Acadian neglect of the uplands for agriculture, they did in fact attempt to cultivate these areas to some extent. For more on European criticism of Acadian upland usage, see Clark, *Acadia*, pp. 158-61.

fallowing, annually produced the most luxuriant crops of Wheat, rye, barley & oats. The adjoining forest supplied an Excellent summer pasture for large droves of cattle sheep & swine; for whose winter keep the undyked marsh yielded a succulent salt hay. The number of horned cattle was very great, this kind of stock constituting the disposable wealth of the districts. Young housekeepers had generally five or six milk cows; while many of the Elders counted from sixty to eighty & even a hundred. During the last twelve years the sheep had been (49) industriously augmented; & the swine, slightly branded, rooled at large in the Woods, needing only to be fed for a few weeks at the end of Autumn on rye and Indian Corn to prepare them for the knife. Tho' the ploughing was principally performed by Oxen, Each family had three or four horses for the saddle or the load, diminutive in size but of great strength [and mettle] & agility. They were a cross between the breed of Normandy & New England; of which the finest in form & colour brought no more than eighteen or twenty dollars. Subsequent to the year fifty²⁴² the department of Minas alone exported from eight to ten thousand bushels of wheat,²⁴³ & could deliver to the butcher no fewer than fifteen hundred head of fat cattle. But the returns were soon sold as a fat ox was bought [brought only] for fifty shillings and a bushel of wheat for eighteen pence.²⁴⁴

The trouble of raising them, however, was proportionably light. The seasons of hardest labour occurred in seed time & harvest;²⁴⁵ when both sexes were assembled in the

²⁴² 1750

²⁴³ According to Deschamps, "upwards of 6000 Bushels of Wheat, were Shipped from the different Settlements, now Known by Horton Cornwallis Falmouth & Newport" in the year 1754. See *Deschamps Papers*, NSARM MG1, 258.

²⁴⁴ These final statistics were provided to Brown through his correspondence with Brook Watson. See Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), p. 131.

²⁴⁵ Spring and Fall. A portion of this information came from Delesdernier's account, written at the request of Brown. See "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58.

open air. After these periods each sex pursued apart the business of its respective department [province]. As soon as the crop was sown the young men of the villages [district] collected to clean & repair by common efforts, the embankments, drains and aboiteaux. The ploughing work was performed at the end of Autumn. But no family was ever left to be oppressed by an unequal task. A spontaneous band executed what they were unable to complete at the proper time;²⁴⁶ & after the manner of the Indians, the severity of Winter & the heats of summer were equally welcomed for holy days & social festivity.

The Parish Church the resort of the people on holy days, communicated a warm [a lively] interest to the landscape. From the preference given to water conveyance, it was generally created on a tongue of land at the confluence of two streams, or on one of the headlands of the bay most accessible to the inhabitants of the Vicinity. It was always marked by an Air of seclusion and that sweetness which it derived from the presence of the Marlin, (50) and the Swallow. If the shrubby spruce, the hemlock pine, the mountain ash & the red flowering maple abounded in this chosen spot, they were carefully relieved of all other trees, & the open patches were sown with the English grapes & reduced by the scythe & the roller to a close verdure [to the state of a close verdant turf]. This open lawn, at once extensive, airy & highly perfumed by the fragrance of the surrounding woods.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ As Griffiths notes, no family, however successful, could survive without community support. "Interdependence was the crux of Acadian life, not only because of the demands of the dykes but also for the hosts of tasks that needing doing, from barn building to ploughing and harvesting." Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, p. 177. In a letter dated 1791, the Rev. Hugh Graham informed Brown, "The interest of the community had ever its due preponderancy over the interest of the individual. This obtained not only among acquaintances in the same neighborhood, and in the same settlement, but extended to the slightest acquaintance and the remotest situation If, for instance, an abbitaux had given way, or a dyke had been broken at Cumberland, upon such an emergency as many hands were sent from Cornwallis as could be spared with any degree of conveniency." See Graham to Brown, 9 September 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 146-8.

²⁴⁷ The above paragraph is crossed out in the original text. Brown seems to have reconsidered the placement of this information as he deals with the Parish Church later in the text.

The whole community was clothed in domestic manufactures, the Exclusive product of female industry.²⁴⁸ The spinning wheels & looms of the matrons, were of the simplest construction; but their fabrics of linen, and their webs of linsey Woolsey²⁴⁹ were of the firmest texture. They had only two dyes, green and a grey black; both obtained from vegetable substances, & equally divided between the population; the green being appropriated to the young, and the grey black to the old.²⁵⁰ Since the settlement of Halifax, the advice & example of Jacques Terriot led the inhabitants of Les Mines to purchase the substantial drab cloth that was prepared for Pennsylvania, & the elders of that district had the appearance of a body of wealthy quakers.²⁵¹ It was the object of that sage, who held more closely of the Protestant part of the Community by his strong understanding than his Scottish Descent, not merely to obviate the charge brought against

²⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that Brown's father was a weaver by trade. In late-eighteenth century Scotland, weaving had become a specialized economic activity where men practiced the actual weaving, while women sheared, washed, carded, and spun the wool in preparation for cloth production. See McMahon, "Andrew Brown", p. 121. Watson informed Brown that, in Acadia, the women were employed in all aspects of clothing manufacture: "carding, spinning, and weaving wool, flax, and hemp, of which this country furnished abundance; these with furs from bears, beavers, foxes, otter, and martin, gave them not only comfortable, but in many instances, handsome clothing". See Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), p. 133.

²⁴⁹ Linsey-Woolsey is a strong, durable fabric consisting of a linen or cotton warp and a wool weft.

²⁵⁰ As Watson informed Brown, the Acadians "had no dye but green and black, but in order to obtain scarlet – of which they were remarkably fond – they procured the English scarlet duffil which they cut, teized, carded, spun, and wove in stripes to decorate the womens' garments." See Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), p. 133. It is not known where Brown obtained the information regarding the appropriation of colours, however, within the Varennes letter it is recorded: "The men were generally cloathed in a Coarse black stuff made in y^f Country, & many of y^r poorer sort were barefooted this y^e whole year. The Women covered y^m selves w^t a Cloak, & all y^f head dress consisted of a handkerchief very artlessly wrapt around it." See "French Sketch of La Cadie & Acad^{ns}", EUL Gen. 159.

²⁵¹ It is not known from whom Brown received this information, however, the following is recorded in his notes: "The Quaker days of the Akadians which I had for ascribed to the predilections for y^f body as the Councillors of Peace and tolerations was adopted according to some ____ given by ymselves in response to a more remote antiquity and to men for whom they naturally had a deeper Veneration – for the Grey jackets of the Old French Representatives in their own Provincial Parliam^{ts}." Apparently unsatisfied with his composition, Brown offered another version: "While in adopting the general dress of which I have spoken the Akadians were not unwilling to have it believed that they paid a particular respect to the peaceful character and ____ lent exertions of the Quakers they had a reference fully understood among themselves to a more remote antiquity & to men who had [made] a stronger claim to [on] their Veneration – to the Grey Jackets of the Representatives of the People on the Old French Parliam^{ts} whom they had resolved to emulate in their love & felicity & ____ ." EUL Gen. 157.

his compatriots of being concerned in the hostilities committed by the French rangers, but gradually to establish some fellowship of connection & interest between them and a community, pacific like themselves, & able in times of difficulty to plead their cause & give them effectual support. He had profited the means of opening an intercourse with some of the leading members of the Sect in Philadelphia.²⁵² Many of the deputies in all the districts cordially seconded his views. And if a few years more had passed without evil, it is not improbable that the Akadians might have acquired, an Interest [thro' the medium of Pennsylvania, a degree of credit and strength], that would have deterred the Government of Nova Scotia from hazarding the application of harsh measures.

Living equally on the products of the land and the water, the diet of the Akadians was always plentiful, and varied with the varying changes of the year.²⁵³ Part of it however was fixed. At breakfast, served up at an early hour, the assembled **(51)** household feasted on pancakes, mixed with slices of fried pork, milk & water forming the beverage. When the hour of dinner arrived they sat down to a substantial _____, composed of rice, beans, pease, potherbs, toasted bread & a full allowance of beef or mutton.²⁵⁴ Before their reconciliation to the Gallican Church,²⁵⁵ they used to say that their

²⁵² This is a very interesting comment. Indeed, there may have been an established connection between the two communities for the Acadians who were deported to Philadelphia in 1755 were initially cared for by Philadelphia Quakers who were sympathetic to the Acadians' plight. See William Reed, "The French Neutrals in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs*, Vol. VI (1858), pp. 297-8 and Christopher Hodson, "Exile in Spruce Street: An Acadian History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, Vol. LXVII, No. 2 (April), 2010, pp. 249-78.

²⁵³ Indeed, Acadian food resources provided a rich and diverse diet throughout the year. Dièreville commented on the abundance and variety of vegetables cultivated by the Acadians, including cabbage and turnip. See Dièreville, *Relation*, p. 108. Joseph Robineau de Villebon (1655-1700), who was stationed at Port Royal in 1686, also noted beets, onions, carrots, chives, shallots, parsnips, green peas, and a variety of salad greens. See Clarke, *Acadia*, p. 165. Their diverse diet certainly helped to fend off disease and epidemic as there are only two recorded incidents of plague in Acadia. See Jean Daigle, "Acadia from 1604-1763: An Historical Synthesis," in *Acadia of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies from the Beginning to the Present* (Moncton: Université de Moncton, Chaire d'études acadiennes, 1995), p. 12.

²⁵⁴ While the Acadians kept sheep and cattle, it appears that the protein in their diet was provided mainly by pigs, along with game and fish. As Dièreville noted, "their favourite meat is that of the pig" and "Nothing

country was made for a people that kept lent, & subsequent to that event they suffered nothing from a rigorous observance of the Canons. Supper was a lighter meal, consisting wholly of different preparations of milk in which cream was not spared.

Strangers alike to ostentation & to envy, indulging in no luxury of the table and no superfluities of dress, all the families were in easy circumstances. Amidst the stock of real wealth progressively advancing, occasional losses created no inconvenience; and the spontaneous generosity of the people prevented more serious evils from pressing with an overwhelming weight. The imports of the districts bore a very small proportion to the exports, and the difference returned in Mexican Silver or Portuguese gold.²⁵⁶ By the Supplies afforded to Danvilles²⁵⁷ fleet, the provisions conveyed to Louisbourg thro' the intervention of English traders, & the live Stock, which during the five preceding years had found its way to Quebec, this hoard was greatly augmented.²⁵⁸ For the last seven years, no person in Akadia had a book debt with the Mercantile houses in the colony;

tastes so good to them as pork, & they will eat it twice a day without growing tired of it. He also commented that the sheep, being kept for wool, were rarely slaughtered. See Dièreville, *Relation*, pp.104, 107 and Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, p. 175. According to Delesdernier, "although, they accustomed to keep great Herds of Cattle they never made any Cheese or any Mercantile Butter, being used to set their Milk in Small Noggins which were kept in such order as to turn it thick and very sour in a short Time - of this they ate voraciously with Bread - and what they did not eat was given to their Swine - of which they kept very considerable Herds - being fond of fat Pork and greasy victuals." See Delesdernier "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58.

²⁵⁵ The Gallican Church refers to the Roman Catholic Church in France from the time of the Declaration of the Clergy of France (1682) to that of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) during the French Revolution. Here Brown simply means Catholic.

²⁵⁶ In addition to French currency, Portuguese guineas and Spanish piastres were also circulating in Acadia. See P.M. Desjardins, M. Deslièrres and R.C. LeBlanc, "Acadians and Economics: From Colonization to 1960," in *Acadia of the Maritimes*, p. 207.

²⁵⁷ Admiral Jean-Baptiste, de la Rochefoucauld de Roze, Duc d'Anville (1709-1746). D'Anville commanded the French Armada ordered to invade and recapture Acadia in 1746. After a series of calamities, including the death of d'Anville, the expedition returned to France. See Étienne Taillemite, "Jean-Baptiste, de la Rochefoucauld de Roze, Duc d'Anville," *DCB*.

²⁵⁸ Acadian trade with Louisbourg, although illegal, seems to have been a fairly common occurrence (It is interesting to note that earlier in the text Brown suggested that Acadian trade with Louisbourg was not significant, see note 109). As Morris commented, "When Louisbourg was in the Hands of the French the greatest Trade was carried on with them, whom they furnish'd with Cattle, Live Stock and took in Exchange: Rum sugar Cotton Molasses Wine and Brandy and that Garrisons demands for Live Stock was so great as made the trade much in favour of the inhabitants that they furnisht themselves with a Silver Currency from it". See Morris, "A Brief Survey of Nova Scotia," NAC R2227-0-6-E (MG18-F10).

while many of them supplied, on a simple acknowledgement and without thought of interest, those resident dealers, in whose honesty they confided, with an additional fund of fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars to extend their transactions & profits. Some of the more discerning young men had interposed to controul this needless generosity, by lending out the ready money of the family, on personal security with the ordinary return of interest. This was the second interference which they had found it requisite to make to check the kindly propensities of their Seniors. The first arose from the mixed nature of the population, & the disposition general among parents of opening the succession of their substance equally to the orphans whom they had adopted as to their own natural heirs.

(52) On the departure of the Seigneurs, the law of good kind, borrowed from New England, was preferred to the custom of Paris.²⁵⁹ At the death of both parents, the Sons & daughters shared alike in the real & personal estate. If the father died first leaving a widow & children, half the real & personal estate went to the children, & the other half to the widow during her survivancy.²⁶⁰ When a widow who had descendants married again, & bore children to the second husband, one half of the succession life-rented by her [which she life rented] reverted to her former family, & the other half remained with the children of the second marriage.²⁶¹ But neither the husband nor the wife was permitted to

²⁵⁹ The Custom of Paris was a French legal code in use in the colonies of New France from the 1660s. The code covered elements of land and property ownership and inheritance and it is generally thought that the Custom of Paris provided the legal framework for Acadian society, although the extent to which the Custom was followed is not known. See Brenda Dunn, "Aspects of the Lives of Women in *Ancienne Acadie*," in *Looking into Acadie: Three Illustrated Studies*, Nova Scotia Museum, Curatorial Report Number 87, p. 49 and Jacques Vanderlinden, *Regards d'un historien du droit sur l'Acadie des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Moncton: Université de Moncton, 2008).

²⁶⁰ Dunn concluded that the equal division of inheritance between sons and daughters was in observance with the Custom of Paris. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁶¹ The Custom of Paris also made provision for widows, widowers, and their children. After the death of a husband or wife, property and goods were divided between surviving spouse and children just as Brown described. When minor children were involved, the Custom provided for an election of a guardian and an inventory was to be made after death so there would be no confusion if remarriage took place. *Ibid.*, p. 47. See also T.G. Barnes, "'As Near as May Be Agreeable to the Laws of this Kingdom': Legal Birthright and

dispose of any part of the real estate to the prejudice of their immediate descendants, not even in favour of an adopted child. Any provision made for them consisted wholly of [money,] live stock or moveables granted before their decease. This was sometimes regarded by the dying as a painful restriction; but it was easily obviated, since a declaration, before Witnesses, that such a portion of these, as the individual thought right, was a gift previously designed for a beloved dependant, always took effect.

The Social spirit originally infused into this Settlement, was confirmed by the revolutions which it underwent [had undergone]. At the close of day, when no suffering required assistance, and there was no mourning family to claim consolation, the inhabitants of either sex & all ages dropped, by a kind of tacit concert into the Cabbin that could best receive them, & spent the quiet hours of evening in gay pastimes or pleasing conversation. These cheerful meetings sharpened the intellect of the people, increased their Stock of knowledge, & accustomed them to an easy flow of expressive language. Tho 'the Akadians,' says one of my guides, 'were strangers to learning, & little acquainted with the Events of the great world, they seldom continued silent in company, & were never at a loss for subjects of discourse. Inventive and merry hearted they strove to give and to (53) receive entertainment; & as they were unanimous in most of their general opinions there was seldom room for dispute.²⁶² Their colloquial talents excited the greater surprize among the English, when it was recollected that no Conventual institutions had

Legal Baggage at Chebucto, 1749," *Law in a Colonial Society: The Nova Scotia Experience* (Toronto: Carswell, 1984), pp. 1-23.

²⁶² Brown's source is Delesdernier. See Delesdernier, "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58. This version differs slightly from the above quotation provided by Brown, although there is no question as to the source of information. Hugh Graham informed Brown: "Their wants and wishes were few, and their deficiencies and disputes were still fewer. They had no courts of law – because they had no need of them. If any difference arose it was soon allayed and settled by the interference and counsel of two or three of the most judicious and best respected in the neighbourhood." See Graham to Brown, 9 September 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 146-8.

ever found their way into the districts, to take charge of the education of the females & cultivate their taste.²⁶³ But the ingenuity of the gentler Sex, when directed by pure morals & a settled habit of useful application, may be unfolded with little assistance from tuition. The young women of Akadia learned the arts of dyeing, embroidery and making cloaths from their Indian relatives.²⁶⁴ Their mothers cherished in their hearts that virtuous modesty which is above all price; & a greater number of them could both read & write, than might have been expected in a country where no school had ever been taught.²⁶⁵ The publicity of their actions, & the confidential intimacy in which they lived, superseded the necessity of reserve or affection; & the native rectitude of their dispositions, made them observant of all the [those] decencies which the pride of philosophy has too presumptuously confined to the higher stages of an artificial civilization.²⁶⁶ Nor did they want topics of interesting discussion. Much had occurred of an internal but not unaffecting nature, since the foundation of their Establishments; and these occurrences were recited with that minute recollection of characteristical incidents, & those genuine touches of tenderness, that awaken the imagination of the young, & supply a fund both of experience & of practical sagacity. In prosperous times, the wild merriment of the

²⁶³ Sister Chausson instructed the young girls of Port Royal from 1701 to 1710, but apart from this ten year period, there was no formal schooling available in Acadia. See Dunn, "Aspects of the Lives of Women," p. 44 and Hynes, "Some aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," *Acadiensis*, Vol. III, No. 1(1973), pp. 3-17

²⁶⁴ Brown's use of the phrase "Indian relatives" here is interesting and reinforces the fact that he believed the two populations were interconnected.

²⁶⁵ The level of Acadian literacy is difficult to establish, but certainly there were members of the Acadian communities who could read and write and who were accustomed to using written documents. See Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, p. 313; Louis J. Dugas, "L'alphabétisation des Acadiens, 1700-1850" (M.A. Thesis, L'Université d'Ottawa, 1993). And Hynes, "Some aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," *Acadiensis*, Vol. III, No. 1(1973), pp. 3-17. It is interesting to note that Delesdernier informed Brown: "they were totally ignorant of the improved Arts and Sciences – I was acquainted with only one of them who could read and write." See Delesdernier, "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58.

²⁶⁶ Brown is commenting here on the theory of social development that dominated Enlightenment thought in the eighteenth century by questioning the notion that contemporary European society represented a higher stage of social development.

Mickmakis & Marichetes, which had all the satirical genius ascribed by the Moravian historians to the Aborigines of Greenland,²⁶⁷ was freely indulged. It consisted in riddles and their solution, in well conceived apologues that pointed a useful moral, and in an airy species of banter frequently conveyed thro' a galling Eulogium on those qualities of character to which the individual applauded had least pretension. The Soubriquets,²⁶⁸ so universal among the Akadians, were derived from this source; and being highly appropriate in their nature (54) adhered to the individual thro' life; unless, by some marked change of character or some meritorious public action, he purchased for himself a new name, which, in conformity to the Indian usage, was always imposed at a feast given by his family.²⁶⁹ Such a species of social intercourse was well calculated to exercise & improve the comic powers of that singular people. Many of the younger Akadians were well practised in dramatic representation, and could both dress & sustain a part with Exquisite propriety. The fathers of New England feared to encounter the direct judgment and sharp Wit of Miantinomoh;²⁷⁰ but their descendants fared still worse under the keen lash of Akadian satire. The institutions & administration of the Church & commonwealth, supplied the subjects on which this talent was exerted with entire good will; & there have been periods in which the report of the exhibitions would have gratified a part of more than one of the nations of Europe. Among these, was particularly noticed, the inquest held

²⁶⁷ The Moravian Brethren were one of the first Protestant denominations to establish colonial missionaries. Their movement founded sites in Greenland, South America, North America and the West Indies during the early eighteenth century. Moravian missionaries arrived in Greenland during the second half of the eighteenth century where they worked within the native Inuit communities. Historically, the Inuit were known to place value on emotional restraint, and clever song lyrics, which were coded or satirical, provided an opportunity to express emotions and opinions that could not be stated outright. See Pamela R. Stern, *Historical Dictionary of the Inuit* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004), p. 107.

²⁶⁸ *Soubriquet* refers to an affectionate or humorous nickname, or an assumed name (*OED*).

²⁶⁹ Yet another interesting comment on Acadian acculturation.

²⁷⁰ Miantinomoh (Miantonomoh) (c.1565-1643) was a chief of the Narragansett tribe of New England, an Algonquian speaking group that inhabited the west of Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island, and also portions of Connecticut and eastern Massachusetts. See "The Wyllys Papers," *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, Vol. XXI (1924), p. xxvii.

on an Abenakis prisoner of War; a summary of the horrid outrages of which he had been guilty against Gods people living within the jurisdiction [in the place of] of Massachusetts [the covenanted brethren of Massachusetts]; and the exhortation addressed to him to repent and believe the Gospel, that he might be saved at the day of judgment. The prisoner who, at every interval of this long exercise, had been chanting the strains of his death song, now fixed his eyes on the speaker, & sternly said - 'Yes, Kinshon,²⁷¹ yes, I will meet you that day with no cords on my arms ... you may strike now ... I shall then be revenged.' The trial of two of the Salem witches, the examination of the Witnesses [of their guilt], a formal discussion on the nature and force of the spectral evidence, and the speech of the judge in pronouncing the sentence of death, - was worked up with equal skill, and with an irresistible drollery. In a different vein, the reasons assigned by the different members of a Congregational Church for the votes which they gave in the choice of a Pastor, convulsed the spectators with laughter.²⁷² The rebuke administered from the pulpit, to a young man light in his conversation & wanton in his carriage, was equally irresistible; and the British officers stationed in the Akadian departments agreed in declaring, that there was a fascination in these evening meetings, **(55)** a good humoured gladness, & a power of communicating pleasure of which they had never dreamed. It was on these occasions chiefly that the feast became sumptuous. In addition

²⁷¹ *Kinshon*, meaning 'the fish', was a Native term sometimes applied to the Governor of Massachusetts but more commonly used in reference to New England or to the people of New England. See Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, reprint (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 199.

²⁷² This is an interesting example of a satirical sketch performed by Acadians. Found among Brown's notes in the Edinburgh Collection, is a manuscript entitled "Acadian Drama", which refers to the above mentioned satirical play. Unfortunately, the handwriting, which appears to be Brown's, is difficult to decipher. In another note, Brown states: "Give to the Acadians, y^f due, in their satirical dramas to expose their Neighbours the men of Massachusetts - the idea . . . partly derived from the Abenakis as punishment for y^f Cruelty to the Redmen". See EUL Gen. 157. For more on Acadian dramatic representation, see Jean-Claude Marcus, "The Foundation of a Theatre Tradition in Acadia," in *The Acadians of the Maritimes*, ed., Jean Daigle (Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1982), pp. 575-614.

to the resources of the herd & the poultry yard, there was always a fine stock of dried venison in the hamlets, and the pewter goblet circulated freely - 'for you could have entered few houses,' says Sir Brook Watson,²⁷³ 'without finding a barrel of good French wine on the tap.'²⁷⁴

In the romance of this condition, the aspect assumed by religion concurred with the taste of the people in providing the materials of a better Poetry [of a still better order of Poetry]. On returning to the national church, feeling was substituted in the place of reason, & offices of worship superseded the Expositions of doctrine. The laxity of the Jesuits, encouraged the Protestant, on one side, to retain all his favourite opinions; & allowed the Indian Mestize,²⁷⁵ on the other, to incorporate, with the established ritual, the grosser practices of his mother's superstition. The service of the Akadian parishes, conformed to the order of the Indian missions, of which the greater part was chanted, assisted this course of things. It must be acknowledged however that the Antiques of the American missal, revised or composed by Pere Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort,²⁷⁶ discovered a vein both of devotion & Poetry superior to what has usually appeared in such works. They consisted of four parts: the first uttering the thoughts & feelings best

²⁷³ Sir Brook Watson (1735-1807) was one of Brown's primary informants. Born in England, Watson became secretary to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Monckton at Fort Lawrence in 1752 and was sent to supervise the expulsion of the Acadians from the Baie Verte area in 1755. See L.F.S. Upton, "Sir Brook Watson," *DCB*. An interesting letter regarding the life and character of Watson, written by Hugh Graham (1758-1829), a fellow Presbyterian minister, at the request of Brown, is found among the Brown papers in the British Library Collection. See Graham to Brown, March 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol II (1881), pp. 135-45 and James E. Candow, "Hugh Graham," *DCB*. See also J.C. Webster, *Sir Brook Watson: Friend of the Loyalists, First Agent of New Brunswick in London* (Sackville, New Brunswick: Mount Alison University, 1924).

²⁷⁴ Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791. BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 129-34.

²⁷⁵ *Mestize* (*Mestizo*) refers to a person of mixed racial ancestry, especially of mixed European and Native American ancestry (*OED*).

²⁷⁶ Saint Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort (1673-1716). Montfort was an apostolic missionary who used and made popular the pastoral technique of singing Biblical text. See Joseph Deery, *Saint Louis-Marie de Montfort* (Praedicanda, 1952).

fitted to touch the heart of the penitent; the second containing the ascriptions of praise or ejaculations of piety used at the higher mysteries; the third expressive of those warm breakings after grace & virtue which become the settled Christian; and the last detailing the devout offices that more Exclusively belonged to the Indian Converts.²⁷⁷

Nothing serious took place, for which this storehouse of Piety did not afford a proper chaunt;²⁷⁸ and concerns, more strictly religious, were introduced and concluded with a full lab(?) of them. Of these, the planting of the cross, in other words, the sanctification of a new parish [by marking out the site of the future church] [formed a festival] was a festivity that called forth a flood of joy, the same general principle, a predilection for water conveyance, uniformly led to a similar choice for this place of resort the Parish Church, in all parts of the Province. (56) The parish church was erected

²⁷⁷ Brown's source on the religious service is Pierre Maillard, who was not only fluent in the Mi'kmaq language but mastered a system of "hieroglyphics" to transcribe Mi'kmaq words. Among Brown's notes in Edinburgh is a manuscript concerning the life and work of Maillard, in which Brown states: "I have had in my possession at different times, four or five Volumes of his works (Two of them I brought to Scotland) They were scattered among different Acadians in the Province. Two were procured for me by Mr. Phelan the Missionary in Cape Breton, and two were the property of Baptiste Roma of Chezetcook. One was returned before I left Nova Scotia. The other remained in my possession. I thought on leaving Halifax the good Acadian meant I should keep it but finding it otherwise I now prepare to return it, and as a necessary step transcribe the Preface, one of the only monuments of the labours of Maillard and the only thing which gives a value to the book." The note, which contains the transcription in the original French, is dated Edinb^r 18 Febr^y 1803. Brown also notes that the Maillard document is dated 1754 or 1759, stating: "This Marginal note is faded considerably. The date in particular I cannot exactly make out . . . I think however it is the former. It gives a great Scope to the useful labours of the able & ingenious Maillard. His 'Instructions on forme de Sermons' were rich in expressions, figures, and general ideas of the Mikmaks. The influence which he had acquired over that tribe was unlimited. Founded on the reverence of Virtue and confidence in the char^t of a man who considered nothing but the interest of his Mission. Of his works two are mentioned very useful, but which I fear either found their way into the hands of French Missionaries or ignorant Acadians, who revere them without knowing their value. These are his Grammar and his Symbolized or Hieroglyphical Character. Of the Grammar he speaks with the confidence of a man who knew its excellence. The symbols do not in this work come under his notice, but the beautiful Protection to Judge Deschamps is a very memorable proof of their Utility. I have not many documents of Maillard and yet I have sufficient to enable me to make an interesting Biography in the Annuals of the Indians or the History of N. Scotia." See EUL Gen. 157. The 'Protection' to which Brown refers was given to Deschamps by Maillard "during the time of some misunderstandings with the Mickmacks." According to Brown, "The Venerable Judge Deschamps put into my hand the Hieroglyphic protection furnished to him by Maillard, which had on more than one occasion saved him from captivity perhaps from death." See document entitled, "Note . . . Pierre Maillard", EUL Gen. 157. It is interesting to note that Jean-Baptiste Roma was a confidant of Maillard's and moved to the Chezzetcook area in the mid-1760s.

²⁷⁸ A *chaunt* is a short melody or phrase to which the Psalms, Canticles, etc., are sung in public worship (OED).

either on a tongue of land at the confluence of two rivers, or on one of the headlands of a bay that was most accessible to the surrounding habitations. It was always marked by an air of seclusion, and that sweetness which it borrowed from the presence of the Marlin & the swallow. If the shrubby spruce, the hemlock pine, the mountain ash or the red flowering maple, abounded in the Vicinity they were carefully relieved of all other trees, & the open patches were sown with English grass, & reduced, by the scythe and the roller, to the state of a close verdant turf. This velvet lawn, highly perfumed by the odours of the _____ forest & always enlivened by the sound of water was set apart for the burial of the dead. At distant intervals, Elevated crosses, painted white, & distinguished by some rude bearing, bespoke the family that slept around. The Indians desired to be gathered with the white kinsmen, from whom they had learned to heighten the joy of life, & to raise their thoughts to a better world.²⁷⁹ Their graves were indicated by a lower but a massive(?) cross, on which were chizzled hieroglyphical symbols descriptive of their ancestry & their virtues. A few wild flowers were trained around them; among which the Sempiterne²⁸⁰ or Everlasting had the preference, as emblematical at once of the imperishable worth of the departed, and the undecaying tenderness of the friends that survived. The Parsonage, a neat unambitious mansion, rose at a moderate distance; encompassed with its garden, in which were cultivated most of the medicinal plants that had a place in the old herbals of Europe, and all those particularly celebrated by the Indian Physicians. At this mansion, as a common centre, met many diverging paths, worn by the feet of the frequent passenger. Two or three of their paths were shaded on the South by a thick row of Willow trees, which marked the course of religious processions,

²⁷⁹ This is yet another interesting comment on the close relationship between the Native and Acadian communities.

²⁸⁰ *Sempiterne* means enduring constantly and continually, or eternal (*OED*).

& which by meeting at different distances, into the foliage surrounding the orchard, formed a singular streak in the deeper lents(?) of the native forest, & gave warning of the growing ascendancy of Europe.²⁸¹

Twice a year these paths were crowded (57) by the whole population capable of engaging in religious exercises. The first public procession took place at the feast of Spring, known by its Mickmake name 'the return of the geese' & celebrated in the Winter stations of the tribe with no small barbaric magnificence. In the Algonquian ritual this was the festival of dreams & riddles or all fools day. It retained in Akadia a part of its pagan character, expressing, by all the freaks of a wild gaiety, the joy on being delivered from the storms & the cold of winter.²⁸² A new observance, derived from a superstition of

²⁸¹ Much like his detailed portrayal of the Acadian home, Brown's description of the parish church and burying ground is written in such a way as to suggest he had experienced this scene first-hand. Indeed, in a document entitled, "Note Akadⁿ burying ground", Brown wrote: "In one or two instances the locality w^c the Akadians sought [selected] for y^f burying ground has given occasion to unpleasant consequences. From the time of y^f removal, the tides of y bay of Fundy, an interesting but neglected subject of physical speculation, have greatly augmented in force and were computed, at the place of my last visit, to _____ added at the Floods more than a foot & a half to the depths of y^c Column of water usually found on the plain when y^c present inhabitants took possession of y^f lands. This encroachment on y^c marsh lands of Piziquid is resisted with defiantly _____ of their own _____ for which occupy I believe part of the Old Village of y La Forets even completely overflowed. The burying ground of y^s _____, & its numerous dependencies [dependants] humbly situated on a kind of Island at y^c junction of the Avon & St. Croix, & no longer protected by y^e tundra _____ of affection has yielded to the fury of the tides _____ a succession of coffins, skeletons & bones _____ swept away _____ into y^c bason of Minas." Brown's description of the eroding cemetery in Piziquid is confirmed by Henry Youle Hind, who wrote the following in 1889: "the picturesque French Acadian burial ground on "the island," close to where the St Croix mingles its waters with those of the Avon, and now within the limits of the town of Windsor. Few lovelier spots in summer time can be found. But year by year since 1755 the tides have been at their ceaseless work in wearing away and bringing back again, until the encroachments of the waters were arrested by a strong breastwork erected during recent years. Before the memory of those now living, the encroaching waters had reached the bold and the unprotected sea front of the "Island" burying ground, and undermined its cross-crowned summit. Bit by bit it had fallen into the sea, each year revealing coffins and relics of the Acadian French, who had been buried there. From 70 to 90 feet inland, it is alleged, have been removed by the tides, and little now remains of this ancient burying ground at Piziquid, which these early but unfortunate dwellers amidst scenes at times enchanting, had tastefully selected and piously set apart as their God's-acre, probably about the year 1710. See Henry Youle Hind, *Sketch of the Old Parish Burying Ground of Windsor, Nova Scotia, with an Appeal for its Protection, Ornamentation, and Preservation* (Windsor: Jas. J. Anslow, 1889), p. 2. It is interesting to note that Hind identified a separate Native burying ground in Piziquid. Nevertheless, it seems certain that Brown's description of the Acadian burying ground is based, at least in part, upon his own experience in Piziquid.

²⁸² Delesdernier, in his "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia", recorded the following: "they still retain their superstitious bigotry, believing that their Priest can perform many

the Catholic Church, was engrafted on it with some dexterity; that of averting the plague of the caterpillar, the grass hopper, and the field mouse & other vermin so destructive to grass grain & fruit, – & of exorcising the evil spirit that sometimes infested the birds which increased with the increase of settlement & were often very troublesome. To guard against the ridicule of those attached to Protestantism, the Missionary found it necessary to remind the people that on this festival they must direct their thoughts to the High Being in whose hand are all the armies that have life, & who can commission the Weakest of them to blight the beauty of the Spring, & substitute for the glory of summer a desolation yet more terrible than that of Winter. Some anthems closed the Service, sung in parts and with a pathos that scarcely any sullenness of Spirit could resist. The Circuit of cultivation was then made, the people being arranged two & two. The girls clothed in white, veiled & crowned with chaplets of Wild flowers, led the procession. The Matrons followed; then came the boys & the men; the Elders of the Parish supporting the Ecclesiastic & his attendants closed the rear.

The Second Annual procession testified the public gratitude on the ingathering of the harvest; & suggested to those acquainted with New England, many striking points of comparison between the genius & usages of the two people of which the conclusion was always favourable to Akadia.

The morning of New Years day was ushered in by an unexceptionable observance. The men & boys of each family made the tour of the whole canton; entering

Miraculous Things, such as to expel destructive insects – remove Providential calamities - & - of which the following is an Instance Viz - It is a Custom Amongst them to celebrate a Hallowed Day called the Feast of the Birds - believing that their Priest, on that Day of the year - expelled the Birds which Destroyed their Grain". BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58. Brown seems to have gathered still more detailed information regarding this festival. Apparently, "The feast of the little birds" was still celebrated in the Memramcook region of New Brunswick until the mid-twentieth century. See Father Anselme Chiasson et. al., "Acadian Folklore," in *Acadia of the Maritimes*, p. 646.

every house, & embracing, in a spirit of unaffected kindness, every person it contained. Thus strife was composed, resentment forgotten & a new Course of harmony & peace begun.²⁸³ Before the service of the Mission (**58**) commenced, every family assembled at its own burying place, to remember the relatives they had lost, & to look on the spot where they were to be laid ~~with~~ by the side of those they loved. Of the Akadian Customs only the first part of that now mentioned is retained in Nova Scotia; & while it reconciles differences, it restores for a moment the happy people over whom they [over whose spirit they] had little power.

In a country where every thing was Sung, many pieces both of familiar & serious poetry had been produced; & the authors did not borrow [did not appropriate unmodified to their object], like those who wrote verses in the English Colonies, the descriptions or the imagery taken from [suggested by] a state of nature and a form of society altogether different from their own. Submitting to the impressions that were made on the imagination & the heart, they painted what they saw, & uttered what they felt. Their delineations, accordingly, were true to the Scene in which they were placed, & the whole effusion had a unity of character & a charm of originality that gave it additional value [greatly raised its value].²⁸⁴ The peaceful solitude of the New World, the deep repose which it breathed, the sweet oblivion of cares & passions to which it invited, were celebrated with a glow of sensibility, or embodied in new groups by touches of natural

²⁸³ Although the source of Brown's information is unknown, New Year's Day was apparently one of the most celebrated festivals in Acadia. According to popular belief, the first visitor to enter a house had to be a young man, for if a young female was to arrive before, ill-fortune would befall the family. It is interesting to note as well that the practice of forgiving and reconciling on this day is still practiced in some areas. See Chiasson et al., "Acadian Folklore," in *Acadia of the Maritimes*, pp. 635-6.

²⁸⁴ For more information on Acadian songs and poetry, see Chiasson et al., "Acadian Folklore," and Raoul Boudreau and Marguerite Maillet, "Acadian Literature," in *Acadia of the Maritimes*.

beauty that would have done no discredit to the May of Buchanan.²⁸⁵ Under the influence of other relations, the execution was equally happy, because the design was purely American. The calm sky, the growing stillness of descending night, the cheerful talk of labour when its task was done, & the distant boats of the fishermen deeply laden with the spoils in which the whole village was to partake were presented as the accompaniments of a shock that occasioned many tears. In a world of uncertainty, who may listen to the whisperings of hope? When the landing place was near, the remorseless sweep of an overwhelming wave rose, without a Warning, from the bosom of the unagitated abyss - & swallowed up the Victims. A rush of water came to the shore; ... but it was not like the rush of grief that came on the heart of the desolate. The Winter pieces were still more appalling. The fellness of the frost that locked up Sense & sometimes left the (59) lifeless form seated in its natural attitude - with every feature still and every shade of colouring unaltered, as if the indwelling spirit had been absorbed in some soft musings - was imaged with a simplicity & strength of expression that no mind could resist. Never too was the invincible but unavailing regret more touchingly uttered than by the Poetical mourners of Akadia, that no word of tenderness had passed at parting; that the closing interview was merely an act of ordinary life, & left nothing on which the heart might take hold to cheer the days of separation.

All my authorities agree in speaking of these interesting communities, as realizing much of what the ancients had conceived of the Golden Age;²⁸⁶ but a native record²⁸⁷ has

²⁸⁵ This may be a reference to the work of Scottish poet George Buchanan (1506-1582), who wrote the celebrated poem entitled, "The Calends of May". See John Veitch, *The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1887), Vol. I, pp. 344-6.

²⁸⁶ As Delesdernier commented to Brown: ". . . and Really if I ever Knew a People amongst whom the golden age, as described in history, was apparent it was the Ancient Acadians." See Delesdernier, "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58.

²⁸⁷ Brown's source has not been identified.

met my eye, that opens a still finer vein of Speculation; and if the world were disposed to welcome instruction, it might derive, perhaps, the most useful lesson from hearing in what manner they [the Akadians] treated the erring & offending of their youth.

[They remembered] The Akadians knew that man was corrupted: and even in the abodes of contentment & benignity, where the competitions & jealousies of life were excluded, & where the absence of temptation prevented the extremes of wickedness, they traced, at distant intervals, the seeds & shootings of those disordered propensities, that [which] in a more complicated state of society lead on to dark & deadly crimes. Some unhappy individuals discovered, from early youth, an original, unprompted & incurable disposition to falsehood; indulged at times thro' vanity to raise its own importance; and times employed, without an apparent motive, to create unnecessary alarm; & too often dealing in misrepresentation to sow dissention between neighbours. A severe discipline was patiently exercised to cure the offender [transgression]. He was treated as one who dreamed, & who labouring under sleep when broad awake, attempted to impose on others the reveries of his own perverse imagination. It was confessed, however, that no measure of punishment, & no application of contempt or scorn availed, during the first stages of life, completely to heal this malady of the mind. But happily its mischievous power was early controlled; & it sometimes, (60) served to lessen the blame of little misunderstandings, & to facilitate the advances to reconciliation. The more dignified of the villagers frankly acknowledged that, from what they experienced, an interested Spirit of flattery appeared to be too common an inmate of the human breast. It was the instrument of those who trusted more to address than to exertion, & who sought to obtain those objects by insidious caresses which might have been secured [procured] by a direct

request. The same document bears witness that Thersites²⁸⁸ [too often] had a representative or successor in the rivers & bays of Akadia: - in persons, who discovering nearly an equal mixture of envy & malice, sickened at the sight of the good qualities which they did not possess, traduced the motives of the most commendable actions, & exposed some latent root of bitterness in the happiest lot. This was the object of the sharpest satire in the evening meetings of the people. The witty and the humorous hunted down this vice, as the one that teased & fretted more than any other; checking the ardour of goodness, & degrading alike the benevolent & those who were cheered by their bounty. A covetous temper, occasionally purloined curious arms or pieces of ingenious mechanism. Tho' this propensity had all the effect of dishonesty, its object was not the same; the unlawful prize being merely secreted not enjoyed. When articles of this sort were amissing, few were at a loss to decide where they had gone; & the humbled relatives seldom failed to discover the concealment & make restitution. In all these cases alike, the indulgent community conceived that the individuals who thus covered with shame the families to which they belonged, laboured under some defect or derangement, but whether mental or corporeal they were not forward to determine. It somewhat confirmed this opinion that almost all those who laboured under such obliquities of nature, manifested a kind of Indian rage for spirituous liquors, and without a timely reformation generally died in early life. The suffering occasioned by such delinquency was seldom embittered by that poignant anguish that [which] weighs down the heart in older

²⁸⁸ In Greek mythology, Thersites was a soldier of the Greek army during the Trojan War, whom Homer described as vulgar and obscene.

communities. Sympathy alleviated what else where was [is made] a cause of reproach or of Scorn.²⁸⁹

(61) One family alone, that of the Brossards, better known by their Indian name of Beausoleil,²⁹⁰ which they owed to the Athletic form and daring courage, or as Membertou²⁹¹ called it the divine Spirit, of their Ancestor, was equally notorious for high talent & habitual violence. Adopting the Custom of the natives in taking several wives, this man²⁹² left a numerous offspring, who by intermarriages with Indian women, & a perverse ambition of sustaining their hereditary reputation, became a kind of freebooters or outlaw - the Robin Hoods of the New England frontier. Trained to all the stratagems of border clans, they were inexhaustible in resources, desperate in danger [of a desperate valour], & had never left a single victim alive or dead to the Vengeance of the adversary. Yet amidst all this violence & ferocity they preserved their pretensions to gentility, were guided by a romantic sense of personal honour, and lived in the utmost magnificence of barbaric splendour, feasting their guests with the choicest wines, & exhibiting on their board a rich assortment of plate the Work of the Boston silversmiths. At this period, the

²⁸⁹ This is an interesting comment on alcohol abuse. For more on alcohol use in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, see James H. Morrison and James Moreira, eds., *Tempered by Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces* (Porters Lake, Nova Scotia: Pottersfield Press, 1988), p. 18.

²⁹⁰ Brown's suggestion that the name of *Beausoleil* was given to the Broussard family by the Mi'kmaq is interesting. It is known that the original Broussard village at Port Royal, settled in 1671, was called Beausoleil. See Clément Cormier, "Jean-François Brossard," *DCB*.

²⁹¹ Henri Membertou (?-1611). The Mi'kmaq chief, or *Saqamaw*, Membertou lived with a small following in the St. Mary's Bay area and regularly summered in the region of Port Royal. In 1605, the first French expedition to Port Royal encountered Membertou and his followers, thus forming the basis of the Mi'kmaq-French alliance. See Lucien Campeau, "Henri Membertou," *DCB*.

²⁹² Brown is presumably referring to Joseph Broussard dit Beausoleil, the most notorious member of the Broussard family. Joseph was twice brought before the council of Annapolis. He was accused of the mistreatment of an Acadian and consorting with the Mi'kmaq in 1724, and of being the father of an illegitimate child in 1726. Although he denied the latter accusation, Broussard was imprisoned for a time for refusing to provide for the child's maintenance. See d'Entremont, "Joseph Brossard (Broussard) dit Beausoleil," *DCB*, Maurice Basque, "Conflict et solidarités familiales dans l'ancienne Acadie: l'affaire Brossard de 1724," *Les Cahiers – Société historique acadienne*, No. 20 (1989) pp. 60-9 and Warren A. Perrin, *Acadian Redemption: From Beausoleil Broussard to the Queen's Royal Proclamation* (Opelousas: Andrepont Publishing, 2004).

greater part of the race lived as refugees beyond the line of the Mejugouisch.²⁹³ The cattle & furniture accumulated by many successful inroads greatly augmented their substance. This prompted them to form extensive grazing establishments on the banks of the river St John; where the Protestant captives, whose lives they had spared, were the only servants ever seen in the country.

But the wealth & the taste of this clan, & the princely munificence which they frequently practised, excited no admiration within the Peninsula. They were the objects of terror & aversion as men of blood, & they young were taught to decline the alliance of the Children of Cain.²⁹⁴ It was in this family, accordingly, that the few instances occurred of those grosser enormities that dissolve the bonds of society, & spread fear & dismay thro' the privacies of domestic life. Their wild carousings [carousals] were sometimes followed by tragical events; & their disappointed attachments hurried them into the only acts of suicide that had stained the course of settlement.

Yet after all the alloy was so slight as hardly to (62) [as scarcely to] affect the lustre of the purer metal; & the mixture of vice served to awaken and invigorate a new order of Virtues, for which otherwise there would not have been room.

Till the designs of Lawrence darkened this fair prospect, all was confidence & joy. Early marriages made a holiday in every week.²⁹⁵ Under a general equality of fortune, no

²⁹³ Missaguash River. Many Acadians, especially during the period between 1749 and 1755, and in particular following the burning of Beaubassin in 1750, sought refuge in French territory, west of the Missaguash. During the Deportation, some made their way overland to establish settlements along the St. John River. See Robert A. Leblanc, "The Acadian Migrations," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, Vol. 11, No. 24 (1967), pp. 523-41. Broussard and his family apparently fled to the interior where he joined forces with other Acadians in the region, to resist a British detachment which had come to devastate the Chipouady and Petitcodiac areas in September 1755. See d'Entremont, "Joseph Brossard (Broussard) dit Beausoleil," *DCB*.

²⁹⁴ A Biblical reference to the children of Cain, the first born son of Adam and Eve, who was punished by God, along with his descendents, for the murder of his brother, Abel.

²⁹⁵ As Brook Watson wrote to Brown: "Their young people were not encouraged to marry till the maid could weave a web of cloth, the youth make a pair of wheels; their qualifications were deemed essential to

restraint fettered the liberty of choice. In many cases love had commenced with the first exercise of reason, & neither party could tell how it began [arose]. A few, and but a few sharp trials were remembered, in which persevering affection on one side, had failed to excite a return on the other. An early or a violent death created occasional disappointments; but no offense was ever given on the ground of indiscretion or infidelity. 'I do not recollect,' says one of my more venerable guides, who had frequented the Akadian districts from the time of Governor Cornwallis & who passed his old age among the remnant that escaped the removal, 'I do not recollect a Single instance of an Unlawful birth among this people to the present day.'²⁹⁶ No fewer than three hundred marriages thus founded on taste & virtue now waited the nuptial benediction within the peninsula alone. When the first stern mandates arrived from Chebucto, they were suspended. The events which followed gave little encouragement to proceed. The intended brides submitted gracefully to the dictates of prudence; but the young men testified an indignant impatience. In the bond of an indissoluble attachment, & with the beloved of their heart at their side, they were prepared to encounter the future. It was their duty, even in this extremity, to fulfil their engagements, & commit their lot [fate] to

their well doing and little more was necessary, for whenever a marriage took place the whole village set about establishing the young couple, they built them a log house, and cleared land sufficient for their immediate support, supplied them with some cattle, hogs, and poultry, and nature, aided by their own industry, soon enabled them to assist others." Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791, Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 129-34. Hugh Graham commented: "If a young couple married – conarrried off, a New England man would say – scarcely any separation took place between the parent stock and the branches. In this mode of life the two branches of connexion naturally braced and strengthened each other. Accordingly upon the occasion of a marriage settlement of a young couple not only the immediate parents, but the whole community, contributed in various proportion as the ability of the donors could, and as the exigencies of the case required. By this means the young people were in this very first outset in life placed in a state of independence, with all the satisfaction and ease which arise from a competency already possessed". Graham to Brown, 9 July 1791, Add. Mss. 19071, 54; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 146-8.

²⁹⁶ Brown's source is Delesdernier, "Account of the Acadians", BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58. Watson also commented: "Infidelity to the marriage bed I never heard of amongst them." Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791. BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), p. 133.

heaven. It required all the influence of the aged to reconcile these urgent pleaders to what they counted the bitterest drop in their cup of wretchedness.²⁹⁷ One little dirge²⁹⁸ of three stanzas relating to this incident, the production of an ingenious female in the village of the la Forets,²⁹⁹ made the tour of the departments. It was wild, irregular & overpowering, heard at distant intervals, and in a hurried flow of thrilling notes as twilight approached. It spoke of the sweets of youth, of a soft affection that beyond the joy which it promised left no room for desire on this side heaven, & of a shipwreck, a universal shipwreck in which those who perished were more (63) to be envied than those who survived, [escaped]. 'It passed over our hearts,' said the old Akadians of my time, 'like the first sharp frost of autumn over the leaves of the forest, ... & the same desolation followed.' The last line was not forgotten - 'Gather and join us, or give us a grave.'³⁰⁰

Amidst all this intensity of suffering protracted for many weeks, a strange prepossession infatuated [took root in the mind of] the people. To the last hour of their

²⁹⁷ The above passage is reminiscent of Longfellow's epic poem *Evangeline*, although it is unlikely that Longfellow had access to Brown's papers before he published his poem in 1847. While Grosart offered portions of Brown's material from the British Museum Collection to Longfellow's British publisher, David Bogue, for £20, so that the writer of *Evangeline* might make use of the collection as material for a popular history, Bogue apparently returned the manuscripts without consulting Longfellow. See Brebner, "The Brown Mss. and Longfellow," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XVII (1936), pp. 172-8. It is possible however, that both Brown and Longfellow were familiar with the legendary seeds of the same story, for there are strikingly similar elements contained in both. For more on the origin of Longfellow's poem, see Manning Hawthorne and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, *The Origin and Development of Longfellow's "Evangeline"* (Portland: The Anthoensen Press, 1947) and Griffiths, "Longfellow's *Evangeline*: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1982), pp. 28-41.

²⁹⁸ A *dirge* is a song of mourning or lament (*OED*).

²⁹⁹ The village of "la Forets", to which Brown refers, was presumably the family village of Foret, located along the Pisiquid (Avon) River. See Charles Morris, *A Map of the Surveyed Parts of Nova Scotia MDCCLVI*, NSARM 200-1756, 3.5.2.1756.

³⁰⁰ Although Brown lists his principal informants at the end of the document, he does not specifically mention the names of the Acadians who provided him with information. It may be assumed that this information was gathered, at least in part, during a visit to Chezzetcook. It is known that Brown also corresponded with Otho Robichaud (1742-1824), an Acadian pioneer of the village de Néguaç, located in north-eastern New Brunswick. See Maurice Basque, *Des hommes de pouvoir: Histoire d'Otho Robichaud et de sa famille, notables acadiens de Port-Royal et de Néguaç* (Néguaç: Société historique de Néguaç, 1996). Brown also recorded that many of the "interesting notices from the Acadians themselves" were provided to him by William Forsyth. This information, if indeed it existed in manuscript form, does not appear to be extant.

liberty, and even to the last hour of their confinement, they refused to believe that the [provincial] government would dare to execute their threatened purpose.³⁰¹ It was their settled opinion that all the demonstrations of which they had been the Victims, were merely a discipline of terror to subdue the remains of their attachment to France, and to constrain them to surrender a part of their possessions & live stock, to redeem the rest. Even when they saw the German & New England reapers gathering their harvest, and the rangers assisted by the labourers of Halifax driving away their cattle, they remarked [observed] that the governor & council had no authority to act with so high a hand, & would speedily receive their doom from the [indignant] justice of a magnanimous nation.³⁰² Perhaps there is not another instance on record of so warm a tribute being paid to the honour & humanity of a state, by a community peeled & harrowed under the [an] unlimited exercise of its power. In this temper it was in vain that the commandants of the forts entreated the heads of Villages to make out lists of such families and their connections as might wish to proceed together to the same port, that a place might be assigned [provided for] them in one transport, & all unnecessary separations prevented.³⁰³

³⁰¹ According to the document entitled “Mode of Desarming the Acadians”, drawn up for Brown by Joseph Gray, “Great pains was taken to collect the families and relations that they might be together in one Ship – and not a day passed without fully informing them of this and of what vessel they were to go on board of and the day when they were to Embark - and the Commanding officers very Earnestly Entreating with them to dispose of such part of their moveables as they had, and to Pack-up their apparel and such other matters as they wished to carry with them, but such was the Phrensy of these People that the greater Part gave themselves no trouble about the matter - conceiving that Government dare not send them away. . . no argument or persuasion would prevail with them to believe that Govern^t dare send them away.” See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 121; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42.

³⁰² According to the orders issued by Winslow at Grand-Pré on 5 September 1755, the Acadians were informed that their “Land & Tennements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sortes are Forfitted to the Crown with all other your Effects Saving your money and Household Goods”. See entry dated 5 September 1755 in the “Journal of Colonel John Winslow,” *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), p. 94.

³⁰³ See note 301. Also stated in the document entitled “Mode of Desarming the Acadians”: “On the day appointed for their Embarkation, many heads of families were missing notwithstanding the great Care to prevent any of the imprison’d men from making their Escape - however great was the trouble and vexation which they gave the Commanding Officer yet every officer of the Garrison Commiserating their situation - persevered with great Patience to collect and have family connections Embark together”. See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 121; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42. The following statement was

Before this period, says one of my guides, a kind of frenzy had taken possession of (seized on) their minds.³⁰⁴ The concerns of the world & even the affections of nature seemed to have lost all hold of their hearts. Opposite passions alternately prevailed. At one time the British might do with them whatever they pleased - their business in life was ended. At another time, their families were their treasure; and with them to cheer & uphold, the destroyer could not touch their peace. Again the power of local attachment, their woods their streams, the haunts of departed joy, came over them, .. and in the [an] agony of despair many of the young & [the] old deserted and took their way with such cattle [as they could carry with them] as they could drive off into the central forest.³⁰⁵ (64)

When the transports at last were moored in their stations, & the pendants waved in token of readiness to receive their complement, delusion took a different direction. The inhabitants confidently inferred that, in either alternative of that war which all appearances indicated, their reestablishment in Akadia was equally secure [certain]. If Great Britain prevailed, they trusted in her native generosity for a spontaneous recall to their ancient possessions; & if the ascendancy of France was decreed, they entertained no

also included in Winslow's orders: "I Shall do Every thing in my Power ... that whole Familys Shall go in the Same Vessel." See entry dated 5 September 1755 in the "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), p. 95. As Watson commented to Brown: "the season was now far advanced before the embarkation took place, which caused much hurry, and I fear some families were divided and sent to different parts of the globe, notwithstanding all possible care was taken to prevent it." See Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791. BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), p. 131-2.

³⁰⁴ See note 301.

³⁰⁵ Delesdernier commented to Brown that "They were in all about 18000 souls of whom about 12000 were Transported to different Parts of this British colonies on the continent and the remaining 6000, to avoid Transportation and the Pursuit of the English, took shelter in the Woods most of whom penetrated as far as Canada, where some of them remain to this Day." See "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58. At Fort Anne, in Annapolis Royal, Major John Handfield remarked that having "ordered out a Party to bring in About 100 of the Heads of Families and young Men" they "Found the Villages up the River Distitute of all the Male heads of Families who are retiered into the woods, having Taken their bedding &c. with them". See Handfield to Winslow, 31 August 1755, in "Journal of Colonel John Winslow," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. III (1883), p. 96. Stephen White has recently calculated an approximate total population of 14,000 Acadians at the beginning of the Deportation. See White, "The True Number of the Acadians," *Du Grand Derangement*, pp. 21-56.

doubt that the treaty of peace would become to them what the Proclamation of Cyrus had been to the Jewish Captives in Babylon.³⁰⁶ So deeply was this idea rooted, that the old men & the women dug pits in the nearest woods where they deposited the principal part of their stuff & utensils, ingeniously matted with rolls of birch bark.³⁰⁷ At the time when I first passed thro' Nova Scotia, two or three of these deposits had just been emptied, by four well informed Akadians from the State of Maryland, who wished to possess a memorial of the purest ~~state~~ of happiness ever known in the New World.

It need not be said that such visions greatly embittered the last days of distress. Terrible even to the iron hearted provincials were the duties [labours] which they brought [these days imposed]. In tearing decrepid age from the seat which it had long occupied, or from the bed where it prayed only for the mercy of being left to expire unseen, nature died within them. The cruelty was too much for the most cruel of their number to unloose the firm grasp by which the parting matron held that threshold which suffering had never crossed without being relieved. When this tumult was at the height, it is reported, that an old man of Vieux Logis, holding with one hand by the door post of his cabin, & pointing with the other, first to the fleet of transports, & next to the desolate village, said with all a prophet's agitation and all prophet's fire, that from the Gut de Fronsac³⁰⁸ to the Bay of Cheseapeak³⁰⁹ Great Britain was destined to expiate that days work; & that it remained for

³⁰⁶ A biblical reference to Cyrus the Great (c.600 BC-530 BC), founder of the first Iranian Empire. The Proclamation of Cyrus effectively terminated the captivity of the Jewish people and ordered that the Temple of Jerusalem be rebuilt.

³⁰⁷ According to the document entitled "Mode of Desarming the Acadians", "instead of securing what money & apparel they had to take with them - they filled their Chests with Linnen & other apparel and hid them in the woods - many of them buried considerable quantity of Dollars in the Earth - & other matters in Wells which were afterwards found by the English". See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 121; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42.

³⁰⁸ The Strait of Canso was once known as the Passage de Fronsac, in honour of Richard Denys de Fronsac (c.1654 -1691), a former Governor of Cape Breton. See Alfred G. Bailey, "Richard Denys de Fronsac," *DCB*.

³⁰⁹ Chesapeake Bay is a large estuary off the Atlantic Ocean, surrounded by Maryland and Virginia.

Akadia to quit for every ruined family then cast out, two ruined families also cast out by violence as rampant & fellness as unrelenting. As he spoke the New England soldiery were stunned, ... & feared they knew not why.

This direful spectacle had been industriously kept from the knowledge of the men, who were previously conveyed [safely lodged] on board the transports. Other causes of alarm had multiplied, & there were deep (65) misgivings in the council chamber of Halifax.³¹⁰ While the last despatches to the commandants were preparing [the sailing orders were expediting, despatching], an express boat brought the intelligence of the fate of Braddock³¹¹ - an event which in the judgment of Lawrence it was necessary to conceal by the most jealous precautions. - 'As it is hard to say' - he observes, 'what may be the consequences of this most unhappy affair, you cannot be too much on your guard against any unforeseen accident or surprise. Use your utmost endeavours to prevent the bad news from reaching the ears of the French Inhabitants.'³¹²

But no endeavours might avail to stop the voice of fame.³¹³ The French successes heightened by the very efforts [attempts] made to conceal them [intercept their progress] reached the loneliest recesses of Akadia & wound up the spirit of the people to all the wildness of Frenzy & despair. In this new tempest of feeling, all parties alike found it impossible to advance the work with which they were charged. Every day allowed for the

³¹⁰ This is an interesting comment, although it is unclear as to what "misgivings" Brown is referring to.

³¹¹ Edward Braddock (c.1695-1755). Braddock became Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America in 1754. With an army of 1,400 British soldiers and colonial militiamen, including George Washington, Braddock attempted to drive the French from Fort Duquesne at the headwaters of the Ohio River. On 9 July 1755, Braddock's force was ambushed and defeated by the French and their Native American allies and Braddock died of wounds received in the engagement shortly thereafter. The Acadians were kept ignorant of the French victory at Fort Duquesne, a defeat which greatly humiliated the British. See Anderson, *Crucible of War*, pp. 94-123.

³¹² See Lawrence to Monckton, 8 August 1755; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 269-70.

³¹³ In this instance, the term *fame* is intended to denote that which people say or tell; a public report or rumour (*OED*).

purpose of obviating evils, either augmented their number, or made them more formidable. The last week of October³¹⁴ had arrived, & detention added to the danger of the Voyage. Meanwhile, desertions multiplied, & disorder became extreme. The task begun by humanity was devolved on rigour. Experience proved that severity suited it better than gentleness. The good [accordingly] retired from the scene; & left [resigned] it to be composed of those to whom the Sufferings which they do not feel gave little pain. The fugitives recovered by the scouring parties were put at random into the vessels whose complement was not filled up. Husbands were separated from their wives, & parents from their children. The young of one parish were crowded among the old of another.³¹⁵ And amidst a deafening clamour, in which the wailings of grief mingled with the harsher cries of austerity, misery grew to a height that was almost passed endurance.

In the well known spirit of Justice and humanity that regulates the opinions [decisions] of the British nation, the rulers of Nova Scotia distinctly foresaw the difficulty of making out a case of political necessity, sufficiently deep in its principle, & sufficiently

³¹⁴ 1755.

³¹⁵ In the "Mode of Desarming the Acadians", it is recorded that "Efforts could not prevent their separating for after they were Embarkd - seventeen of the men made their Escape from on board of one vessel - and more or less from all the vessels during the whole time between Embarking and sailing - some of them would come on board again some days after of themselves & crowd in where others had Embarked to fill up the vacancys of the deserted that it was absolutely impossible to keep familys together, and being then late in the season that every days delay rendered it dangerous - and from the cause above mentioned - Such as was taken before the Sailing of the Transports were put on board of such vessels where desertion made Vacancies for them and was the cause and the only cause why families were separated - or any Branch of the Families separated." See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 121; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42. According to James Fraser, a merchant and one of Brown's informants, "The greatest Injustice that they (the Acadians) seem to think the English were guilty of is that those who were removed from Cumberland and Mines had it not in their option to go to whichever of the Colonies they pleased, and that the wives & children of several were not permitted to embark on board the same vessel with the Husband and Parent but put on board other ships some of them bound to different Colonies by which means many familys were separated and have not met to this day. The inhabitants of Annapolis think it hard that they were not allowed to dispose of the Cattle and other moveables before they were sent away. The information with respect to Annapolis and Mines is had from Otho Robichaux son of Louis Robichaux late of Annapolis, and that which related to Cumberland is had from several familys of the name of Savoix natives of Cumberland, now Inhabitants of Miramichi." See "Notes from Tradition and Memory of the Acadian Removal. By M^r. Fraser of Miramichi. 1815.", BL Add. Mss. 19071, 56; partially printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 94-5.

fortified in its various bearings, to support a measure so harsh [severe] in the first conception, & so much exposed at every step to contingent & consequential evils. (66)

They were not less aware than the Akadians that if the course of events speedily declared in favour of the British arms, nothing would save them from an appalling charge of precipitate counsels or unwarrantable rigour; & that a still more fearful trial was reserved for them in the result of the continued successes of the enemy. From the beginning, therefore, they took the precautions natural to persons placed in such delicate circumstances. On this ground, they affected greatly to reduce the numbers of the neutral inhabitants, tho' at the risk of weakening the main strength of their defence. Adopting the returns of the President³¹⁶ & Council of Annapolis Royal, which descended, however, no further than the year forty four,³¹⁷ they attempted to impose them on the world as the census of Akadia at the time of the removal.³¹⁸ When pressed on this point, they shifted their position, & excluding from the number of the Neutrals the whole of the Refugees in the departments subordinate to Chignecto, ranked in their returns as pardoned traitors, laboured to uphold their partial numeration³¹⁹ - tho', even with that deduction, the papers of Dauden clearly exposed the fallacy. The Appeal that was made to the expense of the transportation by the tonnage & hire of the vessels charged to the account of the national Treasury, proved equally unsatisfactory [was equally unfortunate]: since it was known that in the year fifty five³²⁰ the extraordinaries of the American military service

³¹⁶ Paul Mascarene.

³¹⁷ 1744.

³¹⁸ In a circular letter, Lawrence estimated the number of Acadians to be deported at 7000. See Circular Letter from Governor Lawrence to the Governors on the Continent. 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 277-8.

³¹⁹ See Sir Thomas Robinson to Governor Lawrence, 13 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 278-80 and Lawrence to Robinson, 30 November 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 283-5.

³²⁰ 1755.

[campaign] were drawn for on the Commander in Chief,³²¹ - whose sudden death had no tendency to extricate the perplexities in which the general aggregate was involved. Many of the Eye Witnesses of the transaction, kept a record of what passed under their own observation; & on reaching Halifax, they compared their tablets, and made out a tolerably accurate estimate of the whole population that was rooted out. I have seen more than one of these estimates, and they have left no doubt on my mind that from fifteen to nineteen thousand persons [from eighteen to twenty two thousand persons] were included in the grand embarkation.³²² Thirty days provisions were served out [ordered to be put on board] for the Voyage: at an allowance, for each person, of one pound of beef, seven pounds of flour, and three pounds of bread a week.³²³ Two passengers, were allotted to a ton;³²⁴ "right sharply measured," says one of my Manuscripts, "and still more sharply filled up

³²¹ Edward Braddock.

³²² Delesdernier suggested that 12,000 Acadians, out of a total population of 18,000, were deported in 1755. See "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58. As previously noted, White has calculated an approximate total population of 14,000 Acadians at the beginning of the Deportation. See White, "The True Number of the Acadians," *Du Grand Derangement*, pp. 21-56.

³²³ This information is contained in the document entitled "Mode of Desarming the Acadians", although it states that 5lbs of flour and 2 lbs of bread were allotted per week. See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 121; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42. The allowance of provisions appears to have been somewhat arbitrary. Lawrence's instructions to Monckton state: "It is agreed that the inhabitants shall have put on board with them, one pound of Flour & a half a pound of Bread pr. day for each person, and a pound of beef pr. week to each". See Lawrence to Monckton, 31 July 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 267-9. To Winslow and Handfield: "you will order five pounds of flour and one pound of pork to be delivered to each person so shipped, to last for seven days". See "Instructions for Major John Handfield, commanding his Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royal in relation to the transportation of the Inhabitants of the Districts of Annapolis River and the other French Inhabitants out of the Province of Nova Scotia.", 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 274-6. To Samuel Barron: "1 lb. Beef 2 lbs Bread and five pounds of Flour each person per week". See Lawrence to Barron, "Sailing orders and Instructions to Saml. Barron Master of the Transport Sloop Providence", 3 October 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 280.

³²⁴ According to "Mode of Desarming the Acadians", "Wherefore they were all sent Prisoners the Calculation was two to a Ton averaged for Old and young Including Infants as one." See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 121; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42. This is confirmed in "Instructions for Lieut. Colonel Winslow, commanding his Majesty's Troops at Mines . . . in relation to the transportation of the Inhabitants of the Districts of Mines, Piziquid, River of Canard, Cobequid, &c., out of the Province of Nova Scotia.", 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 271-4.

by the (67) numbers under twelve years old, that were taken to make up a full grown person."³²⁵

The particular destination of the transports was fixed according to a general scheme, which quartered a number of the French inhabitants on each of the colonies from Massachusetts bay to Georgia, proportioned to their reputed population & wealth. The orders given to the sailing masters were precise. A strict injunction required them to allow only a small number of passengers to appear on deck together, & to guard, with unceasing vigilance, against the hazard of insurrection which was so much to be apprehended.³²⁶ They were provided with one of the Circular letters to the Governor & Council of the colony to which they were consigned; that had been framed, under the auspices of Lawrence, to explain the necessity of the measure, & to solicit their good offices in carrying it into effect.³²⁷ This letter enclosed a printed form of the Certificate that was to be granted to the sailing master of his diligence & fidelity, & [that was to be] produced in Halifax as an indispensable voucher to entitle him to the payment of his hire.³²⁸

By a posterior arrangement, this widely dispersed fleet was formed into three divisions, & appointed to sail out of the bays & rivers at proper intervals so as to form a function near the mouth of the bay of Fundy, & place itself under the protection of a ship of war & some armed sloops. The division from the Isthmus of Chignecto, destined for

³²⁵ Brown's source has not been determined.

³²⁶ As stated, for instance, in Lawrence's instructions to Winslow: "And you will in these orders, make it a particular injunction to the said masters to be as careful and watchful as possible during the whole course of the passage, to prevent the passengers from making any attempt to seize upon the Vessel, by allowing only a small number to be upon the decks at a time and using all other necessary precautions to prevent the bad consequences of such attempts". See "Instructions for Lieut. Colonel Winslow", 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 271-4. One of the Deportation vessels, the *Pembroke*, was in fact seized by its Acadian passengers and taken to the Saint John River. See Paul Delaney, "The Pembroke Passenger List Reconstructed," *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, Vol. 35, Nos. 1 & 2 (Jan. - June 2004).

³²⁷ See "Circular Letter from Governor Lawrence to the Governors on the Continent". 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 277-8.

³²⁸ See "Instructions for Lieut. Colonel Winslow", 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 271-4. For accounts of the captains and owners of the transportation vessels, see *Ibid*, pp. 285-93.

Georgia the Carolinas & Virginia, was in the greatest forwardness.³²⁹ That from Minas bason distributed between Maryland and the grain colonies,³³⁰ could not proceed to Sea till the twenty ninth of October.³³¹ Annapolis Royal, the first Seat of Huguenot happiness in America, witnessed the latest throes of this heart rending dispersion; but the inhabitants had the prospect of the shortest voyage, being allotted to Massachusetts bay, whose manners [genius] and habits were not wholly unknown.³³²

The records of Nova Scotia, & the correspondence of its captain General with the Administration of the other colonies, with the Commanders of the fleet & forces & with the Board of Trade, which from this date became as annoying as it was (68) incessant, bear a strong testimony to the instructive fact, that no public measure, devised with a view to precaution & safety, ever proved to an equal extent the cause of danger, distress & mortification. An agitated government was kept on the rack of torture, by trials of patience & rumours of evil continually increasing in bitterness. The labours of Sysephus³³³ were renewed, & edged with pain that Sysephus had never felt. From the first of January fifty six,³³⁴ when the work was supposed to be finally concluded, to the first of

³²⁹ The transport of Acadians from the Chignecto region was supervised by Robert Monckton. See Lawrence to Monckton, 8 August 1755; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 269-70 and Paul Delaney, "The Acadians Deported from Chignectou to "Les Carolines" in 1755: Their Origins, Identities and Subsequent Movements," in *Du Grand Dérangement*, pp. 247-389.

³³⁰ The "grain colonies" refers to Virginia and North Carolina. The division of the Minas Basin region included the inhabitants from the districts of Mines, Pisiqid, River of Canard, Cobequid. John Winslow was in charge of the Les Mines area, while Edward Murray supervised the deportation of Acadians from Piziquid. See "Instructions for Lieut. Colonel Winslow", 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 271-4.

³³¹ 1755.

³³² Under the supervision of John Handfield, the destinations of the inhabitants of Annapolis Royal, and of the transports ordered to the Annapolis Basin, were Philadelphia, New York, Connecticut and Boston. See "Instructions for Major John Handfield", 11 August 1755; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 274-6.

³³³ Sisyphus. In Greek mythology, Sisyphus was the king of Corinth, or Ephyra, who was punished to an eternity of rolling a large boulder up a hill, only to watch it roll back down.

³³⁴ 1756.

July sixty five,³³⁵ when a new subject of American solicitude arose that swallowed up all minor concerns,³³⁶ the local authorities were exclusively occupied in obviating the terrors or alleviating the calamitous events resulting from this rash proceeding. In the distribution of the inhabitants made up at the Secretarys office, some whole cantons were unaccountably overlooked. Thro' compassion or motives of a coarser kind, the officers in command had allowed many hamlets to escape their search. About sixteen hundred active men made good their retreat to the rich meadows on the banks of the river St John, & the secluded bays towards the head of the Gulph of St Lawrence.³³⁷ And more than enough took post in the heart of the Peninsula to harass & overawe a greater military force than it contained. 'Keeping to the Woods,' says one of my journals, '& subsisting on the cattle which like themselves had absconded & become wild, they were daily augmented by new recruits and grew at last into a formidable force.'³³⁸ Before the end of May fifty six³³⁹ the whole amounted to more than nineteen hundred fighting men; & devoting their lives to the pursuit of revenge, they attached to their body the company of the Marine Royale

³³⁵ 1765.

³³⁶ This is presumably a reference to the institution of the Stamp Act in 1765, the first direct tax levied on the American colonies, which sparked organized protest throughout British America, eventually leading to the American Revolution.

³³⁷ As Lawrence stated: "Notwithstanding the vigilance of the Officers commanding at the different outposts, & the great care with which they executed their orders for embarking the French Inhabitants on board the transports for carrying them out of the province, Several of them made their escape into the Woods and have found means of subsistence during the Winter. Those without the Isthmus have joined themselves with the French Officer's party who retreated from the Fort at the mouth of the River St. John last summer. He has also with them, the Mick Mack and St. John Indians, and they make by the best information 1,500 men in number, and are very active in annoying any partys sent out from Fort Cumberland or Gasperau. As they can receive supplys from Canada or Louisbourg at a small Harbour called Jediach, they will doubtless draw to them all those inhabitants that have taken shelter in the Woods in different parts within the peninsula, in which case they will be strong enough to annoy us greatly upon the Isthmus". See "Remarks relative to the State of the Forces in Nova Scotia", 30 March 1756; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 298-9.

³³⁸ Brown's source has not been determined.

³³⁹ 1756.

which had evacuated the fort at the mouth of the Saint John,³⁴⁰ collected the Mickmaki and Marechite warriors; & having received arms ammunition & cloathing from Louisbourg, operated as a powerful diversion in favour of the French interest. In all the outsettlements, the planters felt as if smitten by an unseen enemy. Success emboldened enterprize; & Lawrence confessed to Lord Loudoun³⁴¹ (69) in the end of June³⁴² & to Sir Charles Hardy³⁴³ on the first week of July,³⁴⁴ that he could hardly keep up the communications between his forts, & trembled for the safety of those on the Isthmus of Chignecto tho' doubly garrisoned.³⁴⁵ During two campaigns, the deplorable state of this Province hung as a dead weight on the military service in America; &, at the very moment when British valour triumphed over Louisbourg,³⁴⁶ Nova Scotia on this front was reduced to extremity. 'You will be surprized to hear,' said Lawrence to the Board of Trade, on returning from that Expedition, 'that these land ruffians, now turned Pirates, have had the audacity to fit out shallops to cruize on our coast, and that sixteen or seventeen vessels, some of them very valuable, have already fallen into their hands.'³⁴⁷

³⁴⁰ Although the Acadian resistance leader, Boishébert (see note 358) may have established a French force at the mouth of the Saint John River by 1749, work on the Saint John fort did not begin in earnest until 1754. Following the capitulation of Beausejour in 1755, however, Boishébert evacuated and destroyed the fort. See Webster, *Forts of Chignecto*, pp. 28, 70.

³⁴¹ John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun (1705-1782). Lord Loudoun was appointed Commander in Chief of British forces in North America in 1756. In 1757, he planned an attack on Louisbourg, to be followed closely by an attack on Quebec, with the base of operations being Halifax. But a lack of organization and timely intelligence regarding the considerable strength of the French at Louisbourg, forced Loudoun to abandon the siege. See McLennan, *Louisbourg*, pp. 202-5 and Stanley McCrory Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1933).

³⁴² 1756.

³⁴³ Sir Charles Hardy (c.1714-1780). In 1755, Hardy was appointed Governor of New York and in 1757, under the command of Vice Admiral Francis Holburne, escorted Lord Loudoun and his army from New York to Halifax, intending to attack Louisbourg. He subsequently served as second in command under Boscawen at the final Siege of Louisbourg in 1758. See Julian Gwyn, "Charles Hardy," *DCB*.

³⁴⁴ 1756.

³⁴⁵ See "Extract from a letter of Gov^r Lawrence to Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New York, Halifax 5 July 1756", BL Add. Mss. 19073, 27.

³⁴⁶ 1758.

³⁴⁷ See Lawrence to Board of Trade, 20 September 1759; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 307-8.

Thro' some medium that I have not been able to trace, the Lords of Trade appear to have concurred heartily in the opinion generally entertained by the officers serving in America, that the fairer omens rising on the nation at the close of the Campaign fifty eight³⁴⁸ would lead to a still grander expedition in the following spring. In looking forward to such a measure, they expressed to Lawrence a reluctant acquiescence in the plan which he had submitted for rooting out of his Province the last remains of the French inhabitants: 'as there is no attempt,' they add in words sufficiently galling to his vexed spirit, 'however desperate or cruel, which may not be expected by [from] persons, so exasperated as they must have been [be] by the treatment they have met with.'³⁴⁹

Towards the end of autumn,³⁵⁰ this undignified duty was imposed on Colonel Monckton, the Conqueror of Beausejour. To ensure at once the safety & success of the enterprise, that officer was furnished with Otway's Regiment,³⁵¹ the Second batallion of the Royal Americans, four companies of Rangers, & a small squadron of light ships under the command of Sir Charles Hardy. But in such a service, activity & resolution were of no use. The Refugees were too much on their guard to incur the risk of surprise. At Gaspey, Miramichi and the bay of Chaleurs only the Magazines were destroyed.³⁵² The habitual caution of Sir Charles Hardy when acting by himself, declined the responsibility (70) of encountering the tremendous tides of the river St John; & he very luckily discovered that

³⁴⁸ 1758.

³⁴⁹ See Board of Trade to Lawrence, 10 March 1757; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 304.

³⁵⁰ 1758.

³⁵¹ The 35th (Royal Sussex) Regiment of Foot was an infantry regiment in the British Army, sent to North America in 1756. The colonel of the regiment at this time was Charles James Otway (1694-1764), and the regiment was known as "Otways Foot" up to the end of the Seven Years War. See G.D. Martineau, *A History of The Old Belfast Regiment and The Regiment of Sussex, 1701-1953* (Moore & Tillyer, 1953).

³⁵² Following the Siege of Louisbourg, simultaneous expeditions, under the command of Sir Charles Hardy, were launched in search of Acadian fugitives. James Wolfe (see note 363) commanded the expedition to the Canadian settlements in Gaspé region, while James Murray attacked the Acadian and Mi'kmaq camps at Miramichi Bay. Later that fall, coordinated attacks were supervised by George Scott (?-1767) along the Petitcodiac River and Robert Monckton along the St. Johns River.

it was too late in the Season to think of approaching [looking at] the iron bound shores of Cape Sable.³⁵³ But even the imperfect execution of his orders left room for treachery & famine to entail unheard of evils on a band of gallant men. These unwilling partisans of a court that neglected and betrayed them, for the purpose of taking vengeance on that government by which they had been ruined, contrived to lengthen out their existence by the bow the arrow & the traps for taking the larger game. On the departure of Sir Charles Hardy, the Canadian commissary,³⁵⁴ entrusted with the duty of subsisting the district, collected the dispersed families & undertook to replace the provisions which the flames had consumed. On this assurance, they pulled themselves at Point Beaubain [Beaubaire]³⁵⁵ on the river Miramichi. But the false hearted commissary bartered the greater part of the stores & cloathing with the contraband leaders of New England. During a severe winter five hundred persons died of want.³⁵⁶ When spring opened, a crowd of women & children, in the Last stage of debility, cast themselves on the mercy of the English. But even in this extremity the men refused a life that was to be prolonged by their bounty; & having learned that Canada was to be assailed by a fleet & army, they announced their intention

³⁵³ Cape Sable or Cap de Sable was the region now known as Yarmouth and Shelburne counties, located on the south-eastern coast of Nova Scotia (see note 368).

³⁵⁴ Although it is uncertain as to whom Brown is referring, it may be Jacques Prevost de la Croix (1715-1791), who was appointed financial commissary of Île Royale in 1749 and promoted to commissary general in 1757. While Prevost worked to resettle refugee Acadians, Pichon noted that he was “devilishly fond of money”. See T.A. Crowley, “Jacques Prevost de la Croix,” *DCB*.

³⁵⁵ Beaubears Point. Situated along the Miramichi River and now known as Wilson’s Point, Beaubears Point, also known as Camp d’Espérance, was named for the resistance leader, Boishébert, who led fleeing Acadians to the site where they took refuge. See William Francis Ganong, “A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick”, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II* (1899).

³⁵⁶ Many of the Acadian refugees perished through starvation and disease while awaiting rescue. Boishébert’s efforts were limited by a scarcity of supplies and of the Acadian refugees gathered at Beaubears Point, Maillard wrote: “Here I see only the greatest distress and poverty All the families who have come over to us are starving”. See Phyllis E. LeBlanc, “Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot,” *DCB*.

at Quebec of forming their Compatriots into a Volunteer Corps to serve for pay & provisions & act by itself.³⁵⁷

This was an element in the general aggregate of the covering army of no slender estimation. From the peculiarities of their condition & fortunes, the Akadians had become more sagacious & vigilant & inventive than any other settlers of the New World. It was from them that Canada learned the use of fire signals, which in their hands answered most of the useful purposes of the telegraphs of the present times. They likewise added to the alertness & the success of the ranging service. A leader of this body, one of the Deodants of Halifax, became the most distinguished of all the Partizans that drew attention during the vicissitudes of the Siege.³⁵⁸ The fertility of his resources, his desperate valour, the distant points at which he struck on the same day; & the success of all his stratagem, had marked him out on the fall of Quebec for the honour of being tried as a deserter and Traitor.³⁵⁹ A fortunate escape relieved the army from so undignified a proceeding, & left to [reserved for] the American cause [contest] a [one of the most] strenuous & experienced supporters.

³⁵⁷ A corps of Acadian volunteers took part in the defence of Quebec in the summer of 1759. See LeBlanc, "Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot," *DCB*.

³⁵⁸ Presumably a reference to Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot (1727-1797). Boishébert, an officer in the colonial regular troops and French resistance leader, defeated a British force sent from Fort Cumberland to ravage Shepody and Peticodiac in September of 1755. He attempted to evacuate the most destitute of Acadian families and in January 1757, went to the Miramichi River, located in what is now east-central New Brunswick, to set up his headquarters at Beaubear's Point, where he was engaged in protecting Acadian refugees until 1758. Boishébert took part in the defence of Quebec in the summer of 1759, and also in the decisive battle on the Plains of Abraham. See LeBlanc, "Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot," *DCB* and J.C. Webster, *Charles Des Champs de Boishébert, a Canadian soldier in Acadia* (1931). Boishébert's association with the unidentified *Deodants of Halifax* is unknown.

³⁵⁹ Upon his return to France in 1760, Boishébert was accused of having profited personally from the purchase in Quebec of supplies for the starving Acadians and was imprisoned in the Bastille. See LeBlanc, "Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot," *DCB*.

When fully embodied they strengthened Montcalms³⁶⁰ camp on the heights of Beauport,³⁶¹ as has elsewhere been stated with fifteen hundred daring irregulars, eager to embark in every hazardous undertaking.³⁶² In Wolfe's³⁶³ attack from Montmorency³⁶⁴ they signaled at once their desperate valour & their thirst of blood. And in the sequel of the siege they gave more annoyance to the Assailant than any other division of the French force.

In the year fifty nine,³⁶⁵ when Admiral Saunders³⁶⁶ despatched the first cruisers to examine the state of the St Lawrence & the defences of Quebec, only two small cantons of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia remained; the secluded Graziers³⁶⁷ on the River St John, and the interesting (71) clanship at Cape Sable,³⁶⁸ which had flourished under the

³⁶⁰ Louis-Joseph de Montcalm (1712-1759). Commander of the French forces in North America during the Seven Years War, Montcalm is most remembered for his role in the fall of Quebec in 1759. See W.J. Eccles, "Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, Marquis de Montcalm," *DCB*.

³⁶¹ Beauport, located on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, just east of Québec City, served as Montcalm's headquarters during the siege of Quebec.

³⁶² It has been suggested that Boishébert led a force of approximately 150 Acadian volunteers to Quebec. See Stewart Reid, *Quebec 1759: The battle that won Canada* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003), p. 22.

³⁶³ James Wolfe (1727-1759). Having participated in the Siege of Louisbourg in 1758, Wolfe was commander of the British expedition that took Quebec. He died of wounds received in the battle of the Plains of Abraham. See C.P. Stacey, "James Wolfe," *DCB*.

³⁶⁴ Montmorency. Wolfe established a camp at Montmorency in an effort to launch an attack on the French defences at Beauport. The battle of Montmorency took place in July 1759, during which the British were forced to withdraw and evacuate their positions, having suffered heavy casualties.

³⁶⁵ 1759.

³⁶⁶ Charles Saunders (c.1715-1775). An admiral in the British Royal Navy during the Seven Years War, Saunders organized the armada at Louisbourg and commanded the fleet which brought Wolfe to Quebec in 1759. See William H. Whiteley, "Sir Charles Saunders," *DCB*.

³⁶⁷ *Grazier* refers to a person who grazes cattle (*OED*).

³⁶⁸ The Cape Sable region was originally known to the Mi'kmaq as *Pobomkook*, and to the French as *Pobomcoup*. In 1623, Cape Sable was centred by a fortified trading post called Fort Lomeron, which was renamed Fort La Tour in 1631 after the Governor of Acadia, Charles de La Tour (1593-1666). In 1654, Philippe Mius d'Entremont (c.1601-c.1700), who came to Acadia in 1651 as a lieutenant with La Tour, received an exclusive grant of land, the seigneurie of Pobomcoup, which extended from Cap-Nègre to Cap-Fourchu near present-day Yarmouth. d'Entremont was given the title Sieur d'Entremont, Baron de Pobomcoup and his settlement near the entrance to the harbour at Pobomcoup eventually formed a small centre of population, known today as the town of Pubnico. Several other Acadian settlements were established, including Chebogue, situated north of Pubnico and in the present-day Cape Sable area, to the south. There were approximately 40 Acadian families living in the Cape Sable area by 1755. The "clanship" to which Brown refers is presumably the d'Entremont family. See George MacBeath, "Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour," *DCB*; Clément Cormier, "Philippe Mius d'Entremont," *DCB*; Clarence d'Entremont, "Le Cap Sable: ses établissements acadiens avant la dispersion," *La société historique acadienne*, cahier 14,

fostering care of the venerable Dentremont of Pobonscoup,³⁶⁹ the last Seigneur of Akadia, & now nearly ninety years of age. But tho' living undisturbed, & increasing, like the founders of the Eastern nations, in descendants & herds & flocks, the Pobomcoups, as they called themselves, were strangers to repose. They mourned the fate of the kindred districts, & looked forward with terror to their own. To avert, if possible, this dreadful calamity, thrice suspended by unforeseen occurrences,³⁷⁰ they laid hold of the opportunity afforded them on the fifteenth of September fifty eight,³⁷¹ by the visit of a New England fishing bark, to send a Petition to the Governor & Council of Massachusetts, which tho' dictated in broken English to an illiterate skipper, was sufficiently affecting to have melted a heart of Stone.³⁷² Having shortly adverted to the part which that Province had taken in the different compacts ratified between the Akadians & the Presidents of Annapolis Royal, these earnest petitioners, consisting of forty heads of families & more

Vol. II, No. 4 (1967) pp. 167-72 and *Histoire du Cap-Sable de l'an mil au Traité de Paris, 1763* (Eunice, La.: Hébert Publications, c.1981); H.L. d'Entremont, *The Forts of Cape Sable of the Seventeenth Century* (1938) and *The Baronnie de Pombcoup and the Acadians: a History of the ancient "Department of Cape Sable", now known as Yarmouth and Shelburne Counties, Nova Scotia*, (Yarmouth: Herald-Telegram Press, 1931). See also Silas T. Rand, *Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians, who reside in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and Newfoundland* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1888), p. 208.

³⁶⁹ Assuming Brown is referring to the "Dentremont of Pobonscoup" as "nearly ninety years" in 1759, and not at the time Brown was writing, it is likely one of Philippe d'Entremont's grandsons.

³⁷⁰ Having escaped the first wave of expulsion in 1755, Lawrence sent Major Prebble, commanding officer of a New England regiment, to seize the Acadian inhabitants of the Cape Sable region and destroy their homes in 1756. Prebble took 72 prisoners and burned 44 houses, while the remainder of the inhabitants fled to the woods. See Lawrence to Shirley 9 April 1756; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 299 and Lawrence to Prebble, Orders and Instructions to Major Prebble, 9 April 1756; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 300. Hearing that some Acadians had escaped in 1756, Lawrence sent Major Roger Morris to raid and burn the remaining villages in 1758. 63 Acadians were deported at this time.

³⁷¹ 1758.

³⁷² The captain of the vessel appears to have been Mark Haskell, who delivered the petition with the following remarks: "The foregoing is what I received from the mouths of Joseph Landrey and Charles Dantermong, two of the principal men of Cape Sables and I am in doubt of a punctual compliance of the Contents." See Landry to Pownall, 15 September 1758; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 307-8. In reference to Haskell's statement, Brown wrote "From the tenour of the representation it is not to be doubted that the transcriber has here omitted the important article, No..... But how eloquent is distress, when the ignorant master of a Contraband Schooner could write such a representation by the direction of persons but imperfectly acquainted with the English Language?" See BM Add. Mss. 19073, 58; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. II, p. 139; also Pownall to Lawrence, 2 January 1759; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 304-5.

than a hundred & sixty souls, went on to say. . . 'We hope that your Excellency & worthy Council will have compassion upon us, your poor distressed fellow creatures, & grant us this humble request which we fervently implore; that it might please you to take us under the protection of your government. And if you would condescend to establish us here, in this land where we dwell, we should hold it our second duty to love, honour & obey you till our latest breath; to do whatever you require of us, so far as our power extends; & to maintain the War against the King of France, with all our able bodied youth. If we may no longer stay here, we beg to be received into New England, to live as the other French neutrals do there. And if it must be our hard fate to come away, we will obey your Excellency & come - tho' it would be to us all like departing out of this World.'³⁷³

This Petition was received with a considerate humanity by Thomas Pownall,³⁷⁴ whose head & heart were honestly devoted, first to the honour & next to the interest of his country. Towards the end of December, he transmitted it, with a very favourable report, to General Amherst,³⁷⁵ who expressed his readiness to furnish the means of transporting the Cape Sable inhabitants in a body to Massachusetts... (72) ---as he apprehended that in the cross humour of Lawrence, on whose cordiality something depended, nothing more might [could] safely be attempted in their behalf.³⁷⁶ But tho', under this respectable sanction, Pownall pressed the measure on his council, they dreaded again to encounter the determined hostility which the General Assembly had openly declared against the whole

³⁷³ See Joseph Landry to Thomas Pownall, 15 September 1758; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 307-8.

³⁷⁴ Thomas Pownall (1722-1805). Pownall arrived in North America in 1753 and succeeded William Shirley as Governor of Massachusetts in 1757, a position he held until 1760. See Charles A.W. Pownall, *Thomas Pownall, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Author of the Letters of Junius* (Kessinger Publishing, 2006).

³⁷⁵ Jeffery Amherst (1717-1797). Amherst commanded the successful British siege of Louisbourg in 1758, assisted in the attack on Quebec and was military governor of Canada from 1760-1763. See C.P. Stacey, "Jeffery Amherst," *DCB*.

³⁷⁶ See Pownall to Lawrence, 2 January 1759; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 304-5.

transaction;³⁷⁷ & expressed their concern, that for this reason as well as on account of the Exhausted state of the Treasury, they were not at liberty to advise the introduction of so great a number of destitute families within the jurisdiction. The whole proceedings were therefore forwarded to Nova Scotia, with a remark highly characteristic of the writer. 'As for the case of the poor people at Cape Sable, it seems very distressing; & if policy might acquiesce in any measure for their relief, humanity loudly calls for it.'³⁷⁸

But humanity tho' seconded by policy called in vain. The pacific spirit of these people, their avowed dislike to France which had so long seduced & deserted them, their industry in agriculture, & their expertness in all the branches of the fishery, made them Invaluable as a germ of population to the desolated colony. Their appeal to the compassion of Massachusetts, however, had sealed their doom in the Councils of Chebucto; and a subsequent offer of a similar unlimited surrender to the discretion of the resident Government had no power to reverse it.

While these negotiations were pending, the aged D'Entremont & his nearest connections submitted to the direful necessity of Separating themselves from their faithful Adherents, & seeking a refuge in the clemency [moderation] of the Proprietors of Waste lands in the home counties of Massachusetts.³⁷⁹ At an early period of the Spring sixty,³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ At a Council meeting in Boston on 4 December 1758, Pownall was advised to send a copy of his application to Lawrence and "at the same time advise him that the Council could not be of opinion to receive those people into the province even although they should be indemnified as to all charge that might arise by means of their coming hither." See Akins, *Acadia*, p. 307. For more on New England's policy towards the Acadians, see Brebner, *New England's Outpost* and Richard G. Lowe, "Massachusetts and the Acadians," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1968), pp. 212-29.

³⁷⁸ See Pownall to Lawrence, 2 January 1759; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 304-5.

³⁷⁹ Brown may be referring to Jacques d'Entremont (1679-1759), who was among the Acadians from Cape Sable whom Prebble brought to Boston in April 1756. They were destined to North Carolina but after arriving in Boston, refused to re-embark. The General Court permitted them to remain in Massachusetts and distributed them among the fishing towns from Plymouth to Gloucester. An account of the seizure of the Cape Sable settlement is in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 5 May 1756. A description of the landing by Thomas Church is in "Papers Relating to the Acadians," *New England Historic and Genealogical Society*,

the Armed sloop of the Province were despatched to the Cape to bring the residue of these forlorn inhabitants to Halifax.³⁸¹ There they were encamped for the summer on Georges Island along with many of their brethren dragged from the Island of St John and the bay of Chaleurs.³⁸² On the first of November,³⁸³ an empty transport belonging to Yarmouth was impressed for the service of receiving the whole (73) on board to the numbers of three hundred persons, & carrying them to England to await the disposal of William Pitt³⁸⁴ the Secretary of State. Captain Nichols,³⁸⁵ the master, represented to the agent the length of time that his vessel had been detained on the American station beyond the terms of the original engagement; the hard duty she had gone thro'; her shattered condition; & his own determination to break her up as no longer trust worthy & take a passage for himself & his people at the Expence of the owners. The agent, who had learned from his superiors to care only for himself, coldly answered that the exigencies of the Province allowed of no

Register, XXX (1876), p. 18. If so, then Brown has placed this event out of temporal sequence within the greater narrative, as it took place in 1756.

³⁸⁰ 1760 (see note 381).

³⁸¹ Once again, Brown seems to have confused the date of this event, as the Cape Sable Acadians were apprehended in 1758 and 1759. See Lawrence to William Pitt, 3 November 1759, in which Lawrence stated: "In the beginning of last Spring, part of the French inhabitants at Cape Sable, who had done us much mischief, finding themselves distressed, deputed some amongst them to come with offers of Surrender: to be disposed of at His Majesty's pleasure. Accordingly I dispatched, as early as I could, the Province armed vessels to Cape Sable, where they took on board one hundred and fifty-two persons, Men Women and children, and when they arrived here, I ordered them to be landed on George's Island, as being a place of the most security. On my application to Admiral Saunders he ordered an empty Transport to call here, on board of which are embarked (some having died here) one hundred and fifty-one persons . . . to proceed to England under Convey of His Majesty's Ship "Sutherland," and their receive such orders as your Excellency shall judge proper."; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 308.

³⁸² According to Clarence d'Entremont, there were already six Acadian prisoners from the St. John River in custody on Georges Island. See Clarence d'Entremont, "The Third Expulsion of the Acadians - 1759," *Yarmouth Vanguard*, 15 August 1989.

³⁸³ The correct date would be November 1759.

³⁸⁴ William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham (1798-1778). Pitt, a British Whig statesman, became Secretary of State in 1756 and served as Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1766 to 1768.

³⁸⁵ Presumably William Nichols, who was captain of the *Duke William*, one of the transports assembled in November 1758 to transport the Acadians from Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) (see note 388). The vessel was apparently owned by Nichols and William Butcher of Great Yarmouth. See National Archives, Kew, "Records of the High Court of Admiralty and colonial Vice-Admiralty courts" HCA 26/6/34.

such alternative; & that he must be content to take his chance of skilful management & a calm Sea.

The fate of the people thus wantonly endangered, is marked by a trait of heroism [calm resolution] of ordinary humanity. By skilful management & a calm sea, the transport had advanced within seventy leagues of Scilly,³⁸⁶ when several days of rough weather opened her leaks & made her unmanageable. The pumps were choked. Severe fatigue [exertion] had worn down the strength of every person capable of working. Some hours had passed since the vessel began to settle, & the growing dip announced the approaching catastrophe. In this extremity, Captain Nichols called the Priest³⁸⁷ into his cabin, explained the condition of the ship, & stated that no prospect of safety remained for any on board, unless the passengers, whom it was impossible to single out and separate, would permit the people to take to the boats. He could not have found a more able interpreter of his wishes. The Priest collected the passengers in the after deck, grouped them by families, harranged them for a quarter of an hour, & having obtained their implicit acquiescence in the too partial measure of safety, gave them a general Absolution. Nature no doubt had its struggle, but no outward sign betrayed it. When the boats were lowered down, only a single individual violated the agreement, by dropping into the last as it pushed from the side of the ship. 'Jean-Pierre,' said a soft voice, 'will you then leave your wife & [your] children to perish without you.' The husband & father turned [at the call, laid hold of] caught the end of the rope which he had just let go,

³⁸⁶ The Isles of Scilly lie off the most south-westerly point of the United Kingdom.

³⁸⁷ If indeed, Brown is recounting the story of the *Duke William*, the priest on board was Abbé Jacques Girard (1712-1782), the parish priest at Pointe-Prime (present-day Eldon, Prince Edward Island), who embarked at Port-la-Joie, Île Saint-Jean, on 20 October 1758. See Micheline D. Johnson, "Jacques Girard," *DCB*.

jumped lightly on the deck, wished the (74) party a happy landing in England, and locked himself in the arms of his sobbing wife.¹³⁸⁸

The boats were still in sight when the transport went down. Captain Nichols, who long commanded one of the Falmouth Packets, frequently reverted to this extraordinary incident with tears of gratitude & admiration. He used to say that it was a hard struggle at the moment, & had cost him unspeakable pain [many a Pang] on reflection, to have purchased his own life & that of his people at the expence of so much goodness [worth] & generosity.

The more lengthened trials of the Compatriots of the Cape Sable inhabitants [Pobomcoups], [These victims of the ocean, on which it is permitted to bestow only a passing glance,] were born with a temper not altogether unworthy of so rare an example of magnanimity.

Before the day of departure arrived, the bitterness of grief had given place, among the neutrals of Minas & Chignecto, to thoughts of liberty & vengeance.³⁸⁹ The plan, contrived by the more resolute youth, of a general rising in the transports as soon as they approached the mouth of the bay of Fundy & of a subsequent rendezvous in the river St

³⁸⁸ Brown's account is taken directly from a document in the British Library Collection entitled "A remarkable circumstance respecting the French neutrals, of the Island of St. John, related by Capt. Pile, of the ship "Achilles"; printed in "The Acadian French", *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 148-9. This account, provided to Brown by William Forsyth, of an ill-fated vessel captained by Nichols bears some resemblance to the *Duke William* that Captain William Nichols was in charge of, and which sank some distance off the coast of England in late 1758. However, all of its Acadian passengers embarked from Île Saint-Jean in the fall of 1758 and not from Halifax in 1759 as Brown suggests, nor were the Acadians of Cape Sable, to which Brown refers, on board. This portion of Brown's narrative contains some fact, and some fiction, pulled together from various parts of the overall Acadian Deportation story, spanning the period from 1756 to 1759, and funneled into the story of the *Duke William* and its sinking in December 1758. My thanks to Earle Lockerby for sharing his knowledge of the *Duke William*, and upon which this note is based. For more information on the sinking of the *Duke William*, see Earle Lockerby, "The Deportation of the Acadians from Ile St.-Jean, 1758," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (1998), pp. 45-94 and Shawn Scott and Tod Scott, "Noel Doiron and the East Hants Acadians," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 11 (2008) pp. 45-60.

³⁸⁹ Brown's narrative here reverts back to the Deportation events of 1755 in Minas and Chignecto.

John, was widely communicated & obtained universal concurrence. Fury was to supply the want of arms; & tho' many might fall, the freedom of the survivors would soften the pangs of death [their pain in dying] [sweeten their last moments]. But the traitery mist, which hovers over the ground a day or two before the first fall of snow had unfortunately repeated its appearance, & somewhat disconcerted their hopes.³⁹⁰ The afternoon of the twenty ninth of October³⁹¹ was marked by those rolling masses of the assorted clouds, in which departing heat and returning cold seemed to struggle for the mastery. Lengthened streaks of a gleaming light, resembling so many river courses in the general darkness that covered the surface of the deep [grim surface of the bason], were flung from these warring clouds, of which the general colour rapidly alternated from the snowy white to the icy green. These reflections from the sky suddenly gave place to others [reflections] from the land, that [which] flitted as fast & which changed as they flitted from the bloody red to the sickly orange & the funeral black [jetty dead(?)] of the pineforest. The well known portents were speedily verified. Before sun set several hail showers fell; & as the light faded a smart breeze from the (75) South Southeast brought the flaky snow. During the night this breeze freshened into a strong gale, & on reaching Cape Porcupine³⁹² the

³⁹⁰ This anecdote comes from the document entitled "Mode of Desarming the Acadians", in which it is recorded: "These neutrals had agreed among themselves that in case they should be sent away - that when they were under sail in the Bay Fundy that they were to rise on the navigators - throw them overboard and carry all the Transports into the River St John where they were to Land and defend themselves with the assistance of all the Tribes of Indians - but Providence ordered it otherways At the time of weighing anchor the wind being at East South East - soon blew a violent Gale of Wind - it overtook them immediately after they passed Cape Porcupine or Blowmedown - both men & women became sick unable to move which together with the Darkness of the night prevented their design - and they remained sick untill they were so far in the Ocean as to be out of their knowledge what course to steer when the Storm was over it Blew excessive hard at North West and Winter coming in, that many of the Transports were obliged to send before the wind - untill they made the Land of England and France where some Transports did arrive and landed their passengers." See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 121; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 138-42.

³⁹¹ 1755.

³⁹² Cape Porcupine is known today as Cape Blomidon, a headland located on the Bay of Fundy. Blomidon is derived from the eighteenth-century name "Blowmedown".

waves rolled in mountains. Unaccustomed to sail under hatches, the women & children became extremely sick, & the confined air & prevailing sadness subdued the resolution of the men. This gale abated only for a few hours to give place to a hurricane from the North West, before which the labouring transports were obliged to send under bare poles. Amidst the general commotion only three of them were mastered by the passengers.³⁹³ In the rest the desire of deliverance gave way to the anxieties [solicitudes] of self preservation. Before tranquility returned the Akadians had passed the limits of their local knowledge. They knew that in the event of alarm the compasses & log books were to be thrown overboard; & submitting to necessity conversed with the crew on the plan which they had abandoned. But the same incidents that defeated their project produced a corresponding change in the destination of several of the transports. Many of them were compelled to take the benefit of the breeze, & instead of attempting to regain the latitude of the Southern colonies shaped their course for the nearest Ports of England. Seldom has any short navigation been more terribly visited by disaster; of which even a slight outline would suffice to fill a Volume [furnish matter for a large Volume].

1. Of a miserable people, that portion, undoubtedly, had least of the benefit of pity, which was thus cast on the shore of England, or compelled by a peremptory order of the Governments of Virginia & North Carolina to go there [repair thither] for new [other] instructions.

The councils of these colonies, treating the letters of Lawrence with supreme contempt & disdaining to hold the least intercourse with him, victualled the transports for

³⁹³ It should be noted that none of the transport ships was mastered during the first wave of the Deportation involving the Acadians from the Chignecto and Minas regions, however, at least one vessel, the *Pembroke* was taken over by its passengers from the Port-Royal area. See Delaney, "The Pembroke Passenger List Reconstructed," *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, Vol. 35, Nos. 1 & 2 (Jan. - June 2004).

their additional voyage; represented to the board of trade that this was all that could be expected of them in the perturbed state of the country; & expatiated [remonstrated] with great asperity on the folly & wickedness of sending into their jurisdictions a strong body of French recusants, to find their way to the Indians in the back woods, & add (76) to those savages [cruel savages] which the united efforts of the crown & the colonies were insufficient to repress.³⁹⁴ During the subsequent casualties of the War great additions were annually made to these victims of a most iniquitous policy, & their sufferings [distress] speedily reached a height which admitted of no aggravation. The French Court refused, in very unmeasured language, to recognize them as prisoners of war, & affected to consider them as British subjects treated, not on account of their personal delinquency but in detestation of their national descent, with a wantonness of cruelty long unknown to the annals of Christendom. In that view, it became the melancholy & painful [but imperative] duty of the sovereign, under whose parental sceptre they had once lived, to make a public appeal in their behalf to all the moral principles respected among men, & solemnly to demand of the nation which had ruined them some adequate redress of their wrongs. The British government could not but feel the point of their stings; & resorted to the usual expedient of placing them [the Akadians] under the direction of the commissioners for

³⁹⁴ Little preliminary notice was served to the colonial governors, and the circular, which contained Lawrence's justification for removing the Acadians to the more southerly colonies, on grounds of military necessity, arrived on the same vessels that carried the Acadians into exile. In colonial Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie (1693-1770), who served as Lieutenant Governor from 1751 to 1758, commented that the appearance of more than a thousand Acadians from Nova Scotia caused great discontent among his people and reported to the Board of Trade that as they "have refus'd to swear Allegiance to His Majesty, so we can have but a very poor Prospect of their being either good Subjects or useful People". See Dinwiddie to Board of Trade, 15 November 1755; printed in R. Brooks, ed., *Dinwiddie Papers* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Collections, 1899), Vol. II, pp. 269-72. He also wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson, the Secretary of the Board, that "it is very disagreeable to the People to have imported to rest among us a No. of French People, w'n many of y't Nat'n joined with Ind's are now muder'g and scalp'g our Frontier Settlers". The following spring, the Acadians who had landed in Virginia were but put on board ships, and, at the cost of £5,000, sent to Britain. See Dinwiddie to Robinson, 17 November 1755, *ibid.*, p. 268 and Dinwiddie to Dobbs, 11 June 1756, *ibid.*, pp. 442-3. See also Naomi Griffiths, "Acadian in Exile: The Experiences of the Acadians in the British Seaports," *Acadiensis*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1974), pp. 67-84.

sick & hurt seamen to be treated as prisoners of war.³⁹⁵ Under the care of these commissioners they were confined in barracks at Southampton & Bristol & the Island of Gurnsey; where unvisited & unlamented they lingered out the weary [wearisome] years of a consuming but indecisive conflict [contest]. Mixed with prisoners of a very different description, they gradually sunk under the sickness of a broken heart. Many of the young died of the small pox. The jail fever thinned the ranks of those grown up to maturity; and, at the signature of the definitive treaty, the list of the survivors occupied a very limited space [was comprized in little room].³⁹⁶ Then the stern temper of the French cabinet began to relax. The Duke de Nivernois,³⁹⁷ the Minister in London, & the family of La Fayette³⁹⁸ were projecting large [sugar] plantations in the vicinity of Cape François [in St Domingo]; & thro' their influence an offer was made to the scanty remnant, of ample concessions in that Island where the descendants of some of their ancient Seigneurs had accumulated immense Wealth. The offer was thankfully accepted [proposal was accepted with warmth] and became a [the] germ of new Evils to themselves and to their devoted Race.

³⁹⁵ In the summer of 1756, it was decided that the Acadians who had been relocated to England were to be maintained by the Medical Department of the Sick and Hurt Board of the Admiralty, the authority generally responsible for prisoners of war in England. See Griffiths, "Acadians in Exile," pp. 69-70.

³⁹⁶ On 24 June 1756, 289 Acadians landed in Bristol, where they were housed in "Warehouses". By the end of the month, Falmouth had reported the arrival of 220 French Neutrals, and Liverpool, 242. Finally, in the first week of July, there was a report from Southampton of the arrival of another 293. The Acadians were to remain in England for nearly seven years, but an epidemic of small-pox attacked all four groups in the month of July, 1756. By early August, the Medical Department determined that upwards of two hundred were ill, and a quarter of the Acadians eventually died. See Griffiths, "Acadians in Exile," p. 70.

³⁹⁷ Louis Jules Barbon Mancini Mazarini Nivernois (1716-1798). Nivernois was the French King's representative in London. Having received a memorial from the Acadians expressing their desire to be carried either to France or to some French colony in 1763, Nivernois facilitated the relocation of some Acadians to France. See Émile Lauvrière, *La tragédie d'un peuple: histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions Brossard, 1922), Vol. II, p. 121 and Griffiths, "Acadians in Exile," pp. 75-84.

³⁹⁸ The family of La Fayette, specifically of Michel Roche Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de La Fayette (1757-1834), was distinguished in France; the name "La Fayette" being derived from an estate in Aix that belonged to the Motier family in the thirteenth century. Indeed, in the summer of 1764, an invitation was made to the Acadians residing in New England to go to Santo Domingo. See Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History*, p. 111.

(77) 2. On the footing of humanity, there was no room to complain of the reception given to the great majority of the Akadians by the different Colonies to which they were sent.

Tho' from Georgia to New Hampshire, the Governors & councils concurred with the Assemblies & with the inhabitants at large in pronouncing an unqualified sentence of reprobation on the conduct of the public officers, who had disgraced their country by an act of cruelty ~~of which the despotism of France ought to be ashamed~~, which suited only the genius of Spain in the worst days of its American atrocities, yet they did not forget what was due to extreme distress. After guarding what they deemed to be their own rights & immunities, by protests of the most decided character against the unconstitutional & unwarrantable proceeding [legislative power] of the council of a Province in daring, without consultation, to subject colonies, stripped of their militia, labouring under the weight of the taxation required for supporting the quotas of troops serving in the field, & exposed to the attack of savages infuriated by success, with the charge of subsisting & selling popish recusants, proscribed as rebels & traitors: and after strengthening this challenge, by a reference to the occupations & habits of the people thus thrown upon their coast in the depth of winter whom they accurately described as strangers to their language, ignorant of their system of rural economy, & likely to become a permanent burden on an exhausted treasury, they made a liberal provision for the immediate relief of the suffering neutrals. This natural kindness was heightened when they found leisure to contemplate their dispositions & their state. No sooner had the good Akadians rested from the agitations of the voyage, than the real evils of the removal were forgotten in the misery which it had incidentally produced. Husbands found themselves separated from their wives, parents from their children, & the young persons who had pledged their faith

to each other, from the chosen partners whose smile would even yet have bandaged their bleeding hearts. All their public calamities were lost in the poignancy of these private sorrows. They spoke not of that country which they had converted into another Eden. They seemed to view with indifference both nakedness (78) and hunger. And life itself seemed to be prized only for the sake of the opportunity which it afforded them of recovering their families, or the friends of their heart. 'Assist us,' they said to the wondering crowds that gathered around them, 'only assist us in reuniting the ties that have been broken, & recovering the beloved companions that have been lost; and we will return to the district [to your strange dwellings as our dearest home;] & become your bondman to the day of our death.'³⁹⁹

The appeal was universally sustained. Indeed, it is not a little surprizing that this measure of the Government of Nova Scotia, the only one that had even the semblance of bearing hard on any department of the British administration with regard to the white inhabitants of America, should have produced, within its own dominions, a degree of pity, reproach & indignation, which the far deeper atrocities perpetrated by the French war parties altogether failed to excite. In the province of Pennsylvania alone, not to include the corresponding savages on the frontiers of New York & Virginia, the sufferings of the Akadians were expiated [repaid] four fold during the campaigns fifty six & fifty seven,⁴⁰⁰ not certainly without irritation or complaint at the moment, but at least without having any other impression than this, that such evils were to be expected from the enemy with which the Colonies were contending. But the austere act of tearing up the Akadian settlements could not be forgiven; & each separate jurisdiction presumed at its

³⁹⁹ Brown's source has not been determined.

⁴⁰⁰ 1756 and 1757; referring to the Seven Years War.

own discretion to redress the grievances which it involved. In this spirit the Governors & councils furnished the more desolate of these Sufferers with formal papers to seek their kindred & connections thro' the rest of the Colonies, & to return, if necessary, to Nova Scotia itself to learn the place of their destination.⁴⁰¹ Public collections were, at the same time, made in the Capitals and thro' most of the Religious communities in the interior, to provide them with the means of executing these pilgrimages dictated by Nature. And then commenced a wide series of adventures which only success or death might terminate. Of five or six of these I have sketches, that surpass in proofs of devoted constancy & generous daring, all that Poetic genius or prosaic fiction, in their happiest efforts, have conceived or painted of the force of human affection. Such of them as were prosecuted (79) under the authority of regular papers, & by the assistance which the compassion of the Colonists supplied, look tame in comparison of those that were undertaken in the confidence of personal intrepidity. Michael Bourke⁴⁰² & eighteen companions, whose hopes had been wrecked by the cross accidents of the Embarkation, secluded [withdrew] themselves from the pretence & the pity of the English inhabitants; lived on the wild animals which they snared in the woods contiguous to Charleston;⁴⁰³ finished three birch canoes on a model of their own; & bartering their peltry for the maize & rice offered by the Negroes, with whom alone they condescended to traffic - dropped down to the ocean

⁴⁰¹ It is known that by November 1756, Lawrence was astonished to learn that "the Governors of Georgia and South Carolina have given leave to the French Inhabitants to return into the Province". See Lawrence to Board of Trade, 3 November 1756; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 302-3.

⁴⁰² In a memorandum by James Fraser of Miramichi, entitled, "Notes from Tradition and Memory of the Acadian Removal", dated 1815, Fraser stated: "Michael Burke and 18 others returned from Carolina along shore round the head of the Bay of Fundy Cumberland without any other craft than a Bark canoe which they picked up along shore about a month after they set out and which they made use of to cross Rivers Coves and Creeks, the same Burke died at Cumberland in Novemb^r 90." See BL Add. Mss. 19071, 54. Brown seems to have acquired additional information regarding Burke and his return to Nova Scotia. The comment relating to Acadian trade with the African-American population is particularly interesting.

⁴⁰³ South Carolina.

before the return of Spring; crept along the shore, recruiting their provisions at the solitary hamlet; till having crossed every bay and weathered every headland of a dangerous coast, they landed in safety at the mouth of the Tintamarre⁴⁰⁴ on the first day of July. Their resolution met its recompense in the bosom of their families which had escaped [eluded] all the searches of the Garrison of Fort Cumberland. Bourke, the leader, died in peace & affluence in the bosom of a numerous offspring in the month of November seventeen hundred & ninety. Pierre o Basque,⁴⁰⁵ his brother & twelve associates engaged in a still more laborious enterprize.⁴⁰⁶ Setting out from the river Savannah⁴⁰⁷ with bows & arrows & only a single fuzee,⁴⁰⁸ they penetrated the vast wilderness till they struck on the Allegheny⁴⁰⁹ near its junction [confluence] with the Monongahela, & ascending its stream, tracked the current of the Muskingum⁴¹⁰ to its source, from which they crossed to lake Erie; and at the end of twenty months were conveyed by the Waters of the St Lawrence to the well known landing place at 'Baye Verte', - when they kneeled down in the mud, kissed the hallowed mould, & wept that

⁴⁰⁴ Tantramar is the modern name applied to the river that runs through a great marsh opening into Beaubassin. It was also known as Tantamarre, Tintamare, Tantemar. See Webster, *Life of Thomas Pichon*, p. 144.

⁴⁰⁵ Pierre Bastarache (1724-?). Bastarache, along with his brother Michel (1730-1820), was deported to South Carolina in 1755. The family surname was originally Basque or, alternatively, Au Basque, as they came from the Basque country in France. See Corinne LaPlante, "Michel Bastarache, *dit* Basque," *DCB* and Delaney, "The Acadians Deported from Chignectou".

⁴⁰⁶ In "Notes from Tradition and Memory of the Acadian Removal", Fraser recorded: "Michael OBask and his Brother Peter OBask with 12 others travelled through the Woods from Carolina some say from New Orleans to the head of the river S^t Lawrence and from there came in a Canoe to Cumberland to visit their wives familys and native land. Both the Basks are alive in the neighbourhood of Miramichi." See BL Add. Mss. 19071, 54; partially printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 94-5. For more on the oral traditions of the Acadian return from exile, see Paul Surette, "L'histoire orale et l'histoire d'Acadie," *Histoire Orale* (Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1981), pp. 49-58.

⁴⁰⁷ South Carolina.

⁴⁰⁸ *Fuzee* refers to a light musket or firelock (*OED*).

⁴⁰⁹ The Allegheny River joins with the Monongahela River to form the Ohio River in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

⁴¹⁰ The Muskingum River is a tributary of the Ohio River, in south-eastern Ohio.

they were again on the margin of Akadie. In the year ninety two,⁴¹¹ when these materials were collected, both the Basques were comfortably seated on the banks of the river Meramichi;⁴¹² & like the Patriarchs after the flood of Noah [they] took pleasure in telling their descendants the desolation they had seen & the gratitude which they felt for their own marvellous deliverance. Other knots of these devout pilgrims **(80)** not less keen in their pursuit, or less capable of bearing solitude fatigue & hunger, continued their inquiries for years without securing the prize for which they had so meritoriously contended. The wide extent of North America did not bound the field which they perseveringly explored. A determination that no difficulties could turn aside conducted them to Europe, & Bristol Southampton & Guernsey were searched as with a lighted candle. Accident sometimes accomplished the object, which no efforts of zeal or prudence were favoured [allowed] to attain. In one or two instances the youthful lovers, betrothed on Beaubassin in fifty five,⁴¹³ met one another still unmated in General Washingtons⁴¹⁴ camp at Cambridge when the sufferings occasioned by the blockade of Boston were at their height. The disappointed bridegrooms were bearing arms for American independence,⁴¹⁵ & their despairing brides were bringing their contributions of blankets & provisions from the interior country to advance the sacred cause. Their

⁴¹¹ 1792. It is interesting to note that Brown states the information was collected in 1792, as the date on the material from Fraser is dated 1815. It is certainly possible that Fraser collected the information in 1792 and would also explain why Michel Bourg's death is clearly established in November 1790 (see note 402). This would also suggest that Brown was in contact with Fraser after he returned to Scotland in 1795. See "Notes from Tradition and Memory of the Acadian Removal", BL Add. Mss. 19071, 54; partially printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 94-5.

⁴¹² Miramichi River.

⁴¹³ 1755.

⁴¹⁴ George Washington (1732-1799). In 1775, the Continental Congress in Philadelphia appointed George Washington Commander in Chief of the American continental army. Washington led the army to victory over Britain in the American Revolution, and was later elected the first president of the United States. Cambridge Common, Massachusetts, was the site of Washington's camp.

⁴¹⁵ Numerous Acadian soldiers served in the United States Army during the American Revolution of 1775-1783. See Clarence d'Entremont, "La participation acadienne à l'indépendance américaine," *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, Vol. VII, No. 1, (1976), pp. 5-13.

meeting moved the provincials who witnessed it - & they hailed their bursting emotions as a token of success.⁴¹⁶ Under the date of ninety two,⁴¹⁷ one of my informants says, 'that tho' hope must long since have been extinguished, these fond searches are not yet wholly discontinued. - at an end.'⁴¹⁸

Among the more composed & resident groupes of the dispersed neutrals, huddled in the neighbourhood of the colonial capitals, spectacles were exhibited not less affecting. In the beginning, their distress assumed the same form as that of the natives of the Lucayos Islands,⁴¹⁹ who were decoyed by the avarice of the Spaniards to the shores of St Domingo, under the pretence [promise] of partaking in the happiness of their departed ancestors. And its workings cannot be more faithfully represented [pointed] than by the simple language of the historian of that transaction. 'Many of them in the anguish of despair refused all manner of sustenance; & retiring to desert caves, & unfrequented woods silently gave up the Ghost. Others repairing to the sea coast, cast many a lingering look to

⁴¹⁶ Once again, elements of the *Evangeline* story are recognizable in Brown's account, although it is not known from whom Brown received this information. Among Brown's papers in the Edinburgh Collection is the following note entitled, "Acadians in Washingtons Camp": "Under this sudden and & strong revulsion of all the mental powers, the principle of life had nearly failed. The emotions of both parties were too big for utterance, - too violent to be borne. They fixed their eyes on heaven, which had kept that happiness in reserve, as if to implore that after so many impatient murmurings, the transport [burst] of their gratitude might find acceptance - and rushing into each others arms, were released by deep sobbing & a flood of tears. The American soldiers hailed the auspicious occurrence as an omen of their own ultimate success an image of that joy with which after trial & tumult & fear they were to ____ & to grasp that liberty which their swords had won." See EUL Gen 157.

⁴¹⁷ 1792.

⁴¹⁸ Brown's source has not been identified.

⁴¹⁹The Lucayos Islands is said to have been the original name given to the Bahamas by Christopher Columbus when he landed there in 1492. The islands were at that time inhabited by the Arawak people who called themselves Lukku-cairi and came to be known as Lucayans. Robertson dealt with the Spaniard's deception of the Natives in his *History of America*: "Several vessels were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now well acquainted, that they came from a delicious country, in which the departed ancestors of the Indians resided, by whom they were sent to invite their descendants to resort thither, to partake of the bliss enjoyed there by happy spirits. That simple people listened with wonder and credulity; and, fond of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness. By this artifice above forty thousand were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the sufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants of that island, and to mingle their groans and tears with those of that wretched race of men." See William Robertson, *The History of the Discovery and Settlement of America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), Book III, p. 96. Robertson cited Herrera as his source.

that part of the ocean where they knew their own country to be situated; & if the breeze proceeded from the same quarter they eagerly inhaled it, - fondly believing that it had lately **(81)** brushed over their own happy vallies, & came fraught with that breath of life which they had once loved.¹⁴²⁰

In this state of dejection, the women interposed; & subduing or disguising their own sufferings, employed all the soft endearments that love or gentleness suggested [could suggest] to dissipate the gathering sullenness of despair. The children that could not speak, and such as were just beginning to talk & to prattle [conceive & to feel] were selected for this urgent service [important ministry]. The expedient succeeded when others had failed, & reconciled even the most fretful & intractable spirits to the evils which admitted of no remedy.

But as [if] distress were only to change its aspect, & never to know an end among this unfortunate people, a new trial made a new demand on their sympathies. Insanity, hitherto unknown in their families, became rife. This fearful malady took the most opposite forms; raging, in one case, with all the fierceness of an implacable hatred against the whole human race; & melting, in another, into all the weakness of an undistinguishing compassion.⁴²¹ Few tales might command a deeper interest than that of Agatha Belle

⁴²⁰ Although Brown's source is uncertain, the language resembles that of the historian Bryan Edwards who wrote "The poor Lucayans, finding their miserable mistake, would refuse all sustenance, and retiring to the sea-shore of Hispaniola, which lay opposite to their own country, would cast many a look towards their native islands, and inhale with eagerness the sea breeze which sprung from that quarter." See Bryan Edwards, *The History Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1798), p. 29.

⁴²¹ Brown's comment on the mental illness, possibly post traumatic stress, suffered by some of the Acadians in exile is very interesting. While it is not known where Brown obtained this information, it may have been gleaned during conversations he had with Acadians who had returned to Nova Scotia. In any case, it is a topic rarely considered by modern historians and scholars.

Fontaine⁴²² & Marie Comeau⁴²³ her inseparable companion, whose reason at first was only a little more settled than that of her unhappy friend [Protegee. Ward.]. The wandering intellect of the former _____ discovered the traces of a noble mind had engaged all the tenderness of her compatriots. They watched her ramblings with the most anxious solicitude, & when her friend became her attendant, & told tear for tear, the oppressed heart of each insensibly found relief. In ministring consolation to the afflicted both recovered their self possession; and ultimately became angels of mercy not to their own connections only but to the English inhabitants. These engaging females could not bear the sight of sadness, & tears completely overcame them. 'Faints your heart,' they cried, 'but oh not for sorrows like those which we endure. God forbid that any bosom should swell with griefs like ours. Our hopes have perished, but our pity lives. We have been punished for repining. Learn from us to submit in silence. We now weep only when we can give no assistance.'⁴²⁴

When the Akadians at last ceased to grieve, they might have said with the Indians that they failed not to remember. **(82)** The Captive Jews dispersed in the provinces of Babylon were not more attached than they to their country & their religion. They cherished the memory of both with an invincible affection; refused to assimilate with the people among whom they were scattered, returned to Akadia on every pleasant & every painful occurrence of life; & when dying dwelt on the delights of that beloved land - which could be exceeded [to be exceeded] only by those higher delights to which they were going. Like the Jews too these exiles cherished the belief, under which they had

⁴²² This individual has not been identified; however, once again, here is a close resemblance to Longfellow's *Évangéline*, whose family name was Bellefontaine. Furthermore, it is known that there was a Bellefontaine deported from Grand-Pré in 1755.

⁴²³ This individual has not been identified.

⁴²⁴ The source of Brown's information has not been determined.

acted from the beginning, that they were destined to return in a body to the inheritance from which they had been torn [taken]. In all the regions of the dispersion alike, mothers infused into their children the animating assurance that a day was marked for the restoration of their possessions; that the memory of those that wasted them would rot; & their happiness be fixed on a durable foundation - without the hazard of being again exposed to be bought or sold, ceded or surrendered by the hucksterings of cabinets or the necessities of Kings.

Influenced by this strange impression, a powerful effort was made by the principal men of the Akadians, in the year sixty five,⁴²⁵ to obtain settlements for themselves and their Brethren either in their native country of Nova Scotia or in the Province [environment] of Quebec. But the petition presented for this purpose, under the name of Stephen Landry,⁴²⁶ was poisoned, unknown to the simplicity of the parties, like some of those that had been presented in Akadia, by the sinister designs of their pretended friends. Thro' the artifice of the leaders of faction in the colonies, it painted scenes of the cruellest suffering, & insinuated grievances & complaints against the Spirit which had long actuated the administration of his Majesty's Government In America, - of which the meaning was fully understood by the members of the Cabinet. With a view to facilitate the signature of other representations of a different tendency, this petition was translated, furnished with a running commentary, & widely circulated among the sons of liberty

⁴²⁵ 1765.

⁴²⁶ Stephen Landry addressed a petition on behalf of the exiles detained in Maryland and Pennsylvania, requesting a settlement in Nova Scotia or Canada. General Thomas Gage (see note 427), consulted with the governors of Canada, Nova Scotia and the British secretary of state, who were opposed to the appeal. Among Brown's papers in the British Library Collection, is a short note which states: "Answer of the Board of Trade to the petition of Stephen Landry & other Acadians (several hundred souls) from Pennsylvania and Maryland praying to be permitted to return to Nova Scotia or to be allowed settlements in the province of Quebec. Positive refusal." See BL Add. Mss. 19073, 68; printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. I, p. 141.

before it found its way to England. Thro' the Intervention [By the good offices] of General Gage⁴²⁷ it was presented to the King in Council; &, according to the stated course of business, General Conway⁴²⁸ referred it to the consideration of the Board of Trade. After discussing [investigating] in (83) an elaborate but partial report, the temper & conduct of the Akadians in all times & under all circumstances that body concluded in the temper that had too long edged this part of their deliberations 'that it would neither be adviseable nor expedient to permit the Petitioners to return to Nova Scotia or to settle in Quebec; where their irreconcilable enmity to the British Government might probably operate more to the prejudice of his Majesty's interest, than it could do in any other part of his Dominions.'

This judgment appears to have been no less hasty than erroneous. In the actual condition of the colonies, the grant of the prayer of Landry's petition would have operated successfully in favour of his Majestys interest, by shewing the readiness of the Government to redress wrong & relieve distress. The colonies were insidiously directed to the Akadians for a warning of what was to be expected first from the interestedness, & next from the obstinacy of a foreign domination. And it need not be doubted that the deep wrongs & measured resentment of a great body of people spread over the whole surface of the country, had some effect in quickening the prejudices & confirming the passions which began at this time to be propagated with indefatigable industry. These new pleaders of a Cause, which rejected no support however feeble, became popular. The secret instigators of the colonial troubles had a strong inducement to patronize & protect the

⁴²⁷ Thomas Gage (1719-1787). Gage was Governor of New York and Commander in Chief of British forces in North America from 1763-1775. See S.F. Wise, "Thomas Gage," *DCB*.

⁴²⁸ Henry Seymour Conway (1721-1795). Conway was a British general who began his military career in the War of the Austrian Succession and eventually rose to the rank of Field Marshal (1793). See Clive Towse, "Conway, Henry Seymour (1719-1795)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

French inhabitants. 'Notwithstanding the rancour,' says one of the best informed of my guides, 'which had hitherto so very generally prevailed in all the provinces against Roman Catholics, the Akadians enjoyed, even so early as at the peace of sixty three,⁴²⁹ a very unexpected, indeed a very unaccountable share of the good will of the inhabitants; & were cherished as warmly in Massachusetts as in Maryland. 'This,' he continues, 'they no doubt owed in part to their integrity, peaceable conduct & frugal habits; & in part to a less creditable motive, the increasing desire of disparaging the policy and administration of the national government.'⁴³⁰ They began, accordingly, to conceive an attachment for their new habitations; & were confirmed in this sentiment by a pastoral letter of the venerable missionary Pierre Maillard,⁴³¹ which, in their own artless expression, strung again the sinews of their strength.

⁴²⁹ 1763.

⁴³⁰ Brown's informant has not been identified.

⁴³¹ Pierre Maillard (c. 1710-1762). Maillard was a French missionary to the Mi'kmaq who arrived at Louisbourg in 1735. He seems to have mastered the Mi'kmaq language within a few months of his arrival and perfected a system of "hieroglyphics" to transcribe Micmac words. Apart from his ecclesiastical duties, Maillard played an important political role on Île Royale and in Acadia during the final years of the French régime. Following the capitulation of Louisbourg, the missionary took refuge with his Mi'kmaq at Miramichi Bay where a large number of Acadians who had escaped deportation in 1755 were gathered and by the autumn of 1760, Maillard had become a British official with the title of government agent to the Indians. See Johnson, "Pierre Maillard," *DCB*. Brown's admiration for Maillard is obvious, writing: "I have seldom been more interested in tracing the progress of any life than that of Pierre Maillard; and in taking leave of it now where my gray hairs grow thin, I am not ashamed of the inquiries that occupied my youth." See "Note . . . Pierre Maillard", *EUL Gen.* 157. In another note, Brown stated: "Pierre Maillard was one of the most able and unwearied of the Missionaries which the Jesuits employed in their North American Missions. He was a classical scholar; his taste for liberal society was strong; the mild urbanity of his manners conciliated esteem; He rose above the prejudices both of his Country & his order . . . The Indians & Acadian French venerate his memory. When necessary business obliges them to Halifax they visit his Grave. A cluster of Briars twine around it – the only instance of the kind, in my time in the burying ground. This circumstance which they considered as a special instance of the Devine favour." See *EUL Gen* 157. Furthermore, Brown admitted that he had uncommon access to Maillard's work: "I possessed peculiar advantages for drawing up the sketch of the studies and labours of this distinguished Missionary. During my residence in Halifax I had an opportunity of examining several of his Manuscripts, & particularly a finely written preface to the principal offices in the Mickmack Mass book. In this preface, transcribed under the Mast of a fishing Schooner off the harbour of Louisbourg, the author tells the years & toils that had passed away before he thought himself qualified to give his Version of the different services the last correction. Thro' the good offices of a Gentleman who trafficked largely with the Mickmacks I obtained a very perfect copy of the Hieroglyphics breviary, written by an Indian Woman of the name of Catheline, whose habits & humour were well known to the white inhabitants of Miramichi". See *EUL Gen.* 157.

(84) This epistle first cheered their hearts by the high commendation which it bestowed upon their immoveable attachment to the faith & worship of the holy Catholic & apostolic church; upon the still uncontaminated purity of their morals; & upon the brotherly love and charity which prevailed towards one another. It then proceeded, [and said] in the vein of sacred consolation - "tho' your inheritance be turned to the stranger and your houses to the Alien, tho' the joy of your life be departed, & your young men have ceased from their songs, - yet you shall rest from the day of adversity. Build you houses, therefore, to dwell in, & plant you gardens, and eat the fruit. Take you wives, & take wives to your sons, & give your daughters to husbands, that ye may be increased; & seek the prosperity of the land whither you have been carried. Nor forget the wise training of your children to diligence & ingenuity as in the days of old, that they may not only become independent, but rise to power, & be prepared to avail themselves of the times of enlargement coming to the inhabitants of this hemisphere."⁴³²

The voice of their ancient patriarch rested on their ear like that of an Angel from heaven. They adopted what they conceived to be the true interest of the country; and in all the districts where they clustered, a marked hostility [has] appeared to the British government and a decided preference for French connection. The town of Baltimore in Maryland, where the Revolutionary Genius, first of America & next of France, were hailed with the liveliest enthusiasm, & which has since become the seat of the most successful privateering known in modern times, has risen [rose] to wealth & grandeur on the basis of Akadian talent & Akadian enterprize.⁴³³ By the Matrons of that people an

⁴³² This is presumably from the letter of Maillard, to which Brown refers.

⁴³³ Nearly 1000 Acadians were sent to Maryland following the Deportation. Although they encountered oppression and hardship, inflamed by anti-Catholic agitations, they did find work in Baltimore as sailors and longshoremen and gradually improved their standard of living. Indeed, the rise of Baltimore from 1750

opinion was strenuously instilled into the mind of their children, that so long as their race flourished in their section the Naval power of Britain, how formidable soever elsewhere, would in vain be pointed against Baltimore. And it may not be denied that many of the Seaports of the United States have a still weaker defence than this Akadian prophecy.

[note - Robins]⁴³⁴

(85) 3. The fortunes of a third body remain to be told [related]; of those strong parties of freebooters and Pirates, as they were called, which had been surprized on the outskirts of Nova Scotia;⁴³⁵ and of the more numerous prisoners of War who had been sent [conveyed] from Quebec & Montreal to the common deposit on George's Island.⁴³⁶

Into the final Capitulation of New France the remnant of the Akadian brigade was refused admission: the commander in chief⁴³⁷ being instructed to resist the demand of the French Generals on this subject, by an appeal to the previous declarations made by the Minister in reference to that people. But this denial was intended only to preserve the credit & consistency of the military operations of the state, without bearing hard on men

to 1790 was a spectacular and impressive process, becoming the fourth largest city in America by 1790, although the degree to which the Acadians contributed to this ascendancy is uncertain. See Carl A. Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginnings of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1987), pp. 35-54, Gregory A. Wood, *The French Presence in Maryland, 1524-1800* (Baltimore, 1978) and Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

⁴³⁴ This appears to be a reference by Brown regarding the previous passage. It may be relating to the work of Abbé Robin, Chaplain to the army of Comte de Rochambeau, who wrote an account of the Acadian colony in Baltimore in 1781. See Abbé Robin, *New Travels through North America* (Philadelphia, 1783).

⁴³⁵ In 1761, during a General Assembly of the Nova Scotia House of Representatives, it was recorded: "That notwithstanding their expulsion in the year 1755, great numbers returned and joined the French parties and were headed by French partizans in defense of Canada, in Piratical depredations upon the coast of Nova Scotia, and with small parties scouring the internal parts of the province, destroying the inhabitants and driving off their cattle in spite of the Troops sent against them, which they could easily evade from their thorough knowledge of the Country." See "Address of the House of Representatives"; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 315-18.

⁴³⁶ Following the capitulation of French forces in 1759, Acadian refugees in the Québec region began to return to Nova Scotia. Upon their arrival, Lawrence ordered that they be arrested and imprisoned. See Robert A. Leblanc, "The Acadian Migrations," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, Vol. 11, No. 24 (1967), p. 528.

⁴³⁷ Jeffery Amherst.

already overwhelmed with affliction. They were treated, accordingly, with an indulgent lenity; allowed during spring & summer sixty two⁴³⁸ to work for wages; & encouraged to hope for an ultimate establishment in the country. This kindness, however, came too late. All that was good within them, had given place to a rooted bitterness or an unrelenting severity of Spirit; and no, sooner was the accession of Spain to the war announced, & the appearance of a powerful armament off Newfoundland reported, than they took courage, & bade the settlers of the new townships tremble, since the day of retribution was at hand.⁴³⁹ The settlers knew too well the extent of their wretchedness to doubt their good will to the expected work; & being detached from one another and much exposed to the stroke even of a feeble assailant, deserted their lands & took refuge in New England.⁴⁴⁰ An alarm equally great pervaded Halifax; which was not a little augmented by the peremptory orders issued by General Amherst to despatch the whole disposable force serving in America, distracted as it was by the Indian war raging in the interior,⁴⁴¹ to join

⁴³⁸ 1762.

⁴³⁹ See "Address of the House of Representatives"; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 315-18. The New England Planters, the first significant English immigration to settle in Nova Scotia after the Acadian Deportation, began to arrive in 1760/1761. For more on Planter settlement in Nova Scotia, see John Reid "Pax Britannica or Pax Indigena? Planter Nova Scotia (1760-1782) and Competing Strategies of Pacification," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (2004), pp. 669-92, and Margaret Conrad, ed., *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1988).

⁴⁴⁰ See "Address of the House of Representatives"; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 315-18, in which it is stated: "for no sooner was the Spanish war declared, and the junction of Spain with France known, than they assumed fresh courage, and began to be insolent to the Settlers in the Townships where they were at work, telling them that they should soon regain possession of their lands and cut every one of their throats. And the numerous appearance of savages, this summer from the most distant parts of the province, joined with their insolence, and the invasion of Newfoundland has had such an effect upon the minds of the new Settlers, who by the necessity of their situation, are considerable detached from one another in the country, that great numbers have been induced thereby to quit their habitations, and retire to the Continent for safety; and there is much reason to apprehend that if this panic should spread itself further among them, most part of the rest will follow the same example."

⁴⁴¹ Presumably in reference to Pontiac's Rising, launched in 1763 by a loose confederation of Native American tribes in the Great Lakes region who were dissatisfied with British policies following the French and Indian War. Although British officials at the time believed that the uprising was instigated by French colonists in an effort to drive British soldiers and settlers out of the region, subsequent historians have found no evidence of official French involvement in the conflict. See Anderson, *Crucible of War*, pp. 535-46.

in the meditated attack on the possessions of France and Spain in the Caribbean Sea. For many weeks together the respectable inhabitants and even the (86) working people were obliged to mount guard every third night. The brilliant successes gained by the Indians⁴⁴² increased the public apprehension being regarded as a silent rebuke to the White men who submitted tamely to despair. During this ferment, the general Assembly met,⁴⁴³ and, with more than its usual precipitancy, represented to the Governor the indispensable necessity of relieving an agitated community from the presence & festering passions of a body of men, who grieving to behold the English in possession of the lands which they had enriched, would embrace every opportunity of recovering them even at the utmost disadvantage.⁴⁴⁴ The case was submitted to a Council of War, when it was acknowledged, by judges of more candour & humanity than had deliberated on a former occasion, that one irregular measure too often involved the necessity of resorting to another as a remedy. The Akadians were therefore hurried away to Boston, with an earnest request to Governor Bernard⁴⁴⁵ that he would provide them with a temporary accomodation, till General Amhersts orders should arrive for the final disposal of all the prisoners of War.⁴⁴⁶ On presenting a message founded on that request to the General Assembly of the Province,⁴⁴⁷ that body took fire at the unexampled impertinence of the administration of Nova Scotia; & not only refused to make a provisional arrangement in behalf of these

⁴⁴² Presumably in reference to the capture of a succession of British forts by the Native alliance before the Fort Niagara Treaty of 1764.

⁴⁴³ In reference to the 1762 deportation of Acadians detained at Halifax that was judged necessary by the Legislative Assembly. See Akins, *Acadia*, p. 329.

⁴⁴⁴ See "Address of the House of Representatives"; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 315-18.

⁴⁴⁵ Francis Bernard (c.1712-1779). Bernard served as Governor of New Jersey from 1758 to 1760 and of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769. See Colin Nicolson, ed., *The Papers of Francis Bernard: Governor of Colonial Massachusetts, 1760-1769* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2008; distributed by the University of Virginia Press).

⁴⁴⁶ See "Report of the Committee, 18 October 1762"; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 332-4.

⁴⁴⁷ Massachusetts.

forlorn prisoners, but even enjoined the Governor not to permit them to land.⁴⁴⁸ They were therefore hastened back to Halifax in the severest season of the year, and subjected afresh to all the horrors of their narrow prison house in George's Island.

In the course of the subsequent summer, they received intelligence of the liberal concessions in the Island of St Domingo that had been offered to their Brethren confined in England.⁴⁴⁹ Thither, accordingly, the greater part of them determined to proceed, & not a few at their own expence, where trials of a new kind were their portion.⁴⁵⁰ The planters of the French Islands, deprived during the hostilities, **(87)** of which they had recently been the theatre, of all foreign supplies, & obstructed [deranged] in the course of their internal oeconomy, now laboured under a scarcity approaching to a famine. They beheld, therefore, with mingled feelings of rage & indignation the arrival of transports crowded with families alike unfurnished with the means of settlement or support. The governor & Council found no difficulty; under the influence of these [such] feelings, in declining to acknowledge the Akadians as French subjects, in refusing them permission to land, & in denying them the smallest recruit of provisions to continue their voyage. [make a new voyage.] The captains [sailing masters] of the transports, meanwhile, had fulfilled their engagement, & no entreaties on the score of humanity could induce them to convey their passengers to the mouth of the Mississippi. In this dilemma several of them ran their vessels into the unfrequented creeks adjoining to Cape Nicholas Mote,⁴⁵¹ where they exposed [consigned] their miserable passengers to their fate. One or two more humane

⁴⁴⁸ See "Report of the Committee, 18 October 1762"; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 332-4 and Belcher to Egremont, 20 October 1762; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 334-5.

⁴⁴⁹ See Wilmot to Halifax, 28 January 1764; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 341 and Griffiths, "Acadians in Exile," pp. 67-84.

⁴⁵⁰ See Wilmot to Halifax, 18 December 1764; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 350-1. Wilmot stated that 600 Acadians departed to the French West Indies.

⁴⁵¹ Presumably somewhere near the coastal community of Môle Saint Nicolas, in present-day Haiti, where French authorities had directed the Acadians to settle. See Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, pp. 426-7.

than the rest consented to proceed on a reduced allowance to Mobile or Biloxi, where the people might find an opportunity of ascending to the settlement which their friends had formed above New Orleans.⁴⁵²

It was only on the twenty eight of September sixty four,⁴⁵³ that an instruction from Whitehall empowered the government of Nova Scotia to disperse the residue of the Akadians, within the province, in small numbers among the rest of the settlers, & in situations where they could have no communication with the Subjects of France in the Islands of St Pierre and Miquelon.⁴⁵⁴ This instruction again admitted that people to the possession of landed property, and appointed the same number of acres to be granted to their families which the Commission of Governor Cornwallis had allowed to private soldiers & seamen.⁴⁵⁵ Under the auspices of Lieutenant Governor Franklin,⁴⁵⁶ a man whose generous spirit has descended to his children, several companies of Akadians collected in Kings County availed themselves of the provision, took the oath of allegiance, & were assured that they should not **(88)** be summoned to military service out of the Province, & should suffer no molestation on account of their religion.⁴⁵⁷ They were

⁴⁵² Between 1757 and 1770, nearly 1000 Acadians migrated to Louisiana. The first significant influx was led by Joseph Broussard *dit* Beausoleil, who, along with 193 Acadians, departed Nova Scotia and arrived in New Orleans in 1765. This immigration was followed by those in St. Domingo, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and France. See Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia*, p. 73-89.

⁴⁵³ 1764.

⁴⁵⁴ As early as July 1764, the Lords of Trade had informed then Governor of Nova Scotia, Montagu Wilmot (?-1766), that he should allow the Acadians to settle in Nova Scotia, provided they took the oath of allegiance. See Griffiths, *Contexts of Acadian History*, p. 125.

⁴⁵⁵ 50 Acres.

⁴⁵⁶ Michael Francklin (1733-1782). Francklin, who served as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia from 1766-1772, allowed those Acadians who had returned following the expulsion to settle around Minas Basin on terms far more generous than the Council had recommended, including the unrestricted practice of the Roman Catholic religion. See L.R. Fischer, "Michael Francklin," *DCB*.

⁴⁵⁷ See Francklin to Deschamps, 1 June 1768; printed in Akins, *Acadia*, pp. 353-4.

settled by his direction & their own choice in a pleasant district called Clare,⁴⁵⁸ where they early took root and have since lived in peace & prosperity blessing the memory of their benefactor. Unhappily, when this measure was intimated to the Elders who had grown familiar with the genius that had too long swayed the deliberations of His Majesty's Council, they unanimously refused to accept the proffered bounty, preferring the condition of tenants under the wing of a protestant Proprietor to the precarious tenure of a Roman Catholic landholder.⁴⁵⁹ This resolution, in which they were confirmed by the representations of designing men, has tended materially to disturb & impoverish & afflict their descendants. They could not obtain leases from any single Grantee adequate to the support of the different clanships of which they consisted. The bays & headlands on which they arbitrarily seated themselves, have since been covered by patents surreptitiously taken up [obtained] by the favourites of [at] Government house.⁴⁶⁰ The industry of some families, & the money which they drew from the supplies of cordwood brought to the market of Halifax, [have] enabled them to purchase a small part of the territory held undivided by themselves & their brethren. But the price of the rest rises in proportion to the progress of population; & there is still room for a generous interposition of the grace & bounty of the Crown in their behalf. It would not cost the treasury much, in

⁴⁵⁸ The community of Clare is located on the south shore of Baie Sainte-Marie, in south-western Nova Scotia. While it may be an aesthetically pleasing landscape, the soil was not nearly as fertile as that of the lands from which they were removed.

⁴⁵⁹ Brown may be referring to Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres (1721-1824) and his Acadian land tenants in Menoudie, Memramcook and Petcoudiac. As Delesdernier informed him, the Acadians: "were so blinded with prejudice that a submission to the British Government was to them no less than to relinquish the Christian Faith - consequently they preferred, the Privilege of being threatened as Prisoners of War - by as much as they valued their Souls more than their own Benefit whereupon some took Leases of Land and settled as Tenants under the several Large Land holders in the Province - other went to service amongst the Inhabitants". See "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58. The Roman Catholic landholder to whom Brown refers is not known.

⁴⁶⁰ A portion of the Piziquid area, for instance, was granted to members of Lawrence's Council before the founding of the townships. Grantees included: Jonathan Belcher, Benjamin Green, Charles Morris, Richard Buckley, Thomas Saul, Joseph Gerrish and John Collier, among others. See Duncanson, *Falmouth*, p. 16.

the few cases where equivalents or compensations in land might be refuted by these unpopular proprietors, to purchase for this ill fated people a full [clear] title to their possessions; & the beneficent act could have no tendency to undermine the pillars of American dominion [empire].

(88a) After the first campaign of the revolution war,⁴⁶¹ this sentiment gained [gathered] popularity in the Province. When the transports brought to Chebucto bay the loyalists⁴⁶² turned loose on the world by the galling necessity which led to the Evacuation of Boston, a passenger in the fleet remarked with great emotion, on approaching Georges Island, that, at the sight of the mass of wretchedness in the midst of which he had sailed, the fittest Akadian, ever confined within its pickettings, might have consented to discharge the Traditionary prophecy of the Expiation which Britain was to make for the work of the twenty ninth of October fifty five.⁴⁶³ But that traditionary prophecy was not so to be discharged. A second embarkation of loyalists repeated the same scenes of distress in new forms and on a far broader scale. The people of Europe may perhaps be surprized to learn a singular fact which excited the most serious reflection in America, that, in the first and the last of these strangely contrasted embarkations, the same individual sustained a leading part, and thus gave them a connection in the thoughts of the observers [of men] which might not otherwise have been so clearly perceived. 'In seventeen hundred & fifty five,' says Sir Brook Watson, in a valuable communication to which this appendix has been more than once indebted, 'I was a very humble instrument in sending eighteen thousand French inhabitants out of the Province of Nova Scotia: In seventeen hundred &

⁴⁶¹ June 1775, the Battle of Bunker Hill in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

⁴⁶² Over 35,000 United Empire Loyalists immigrated to Nova Scotia in the wake of the American Revolution. See MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil*.

⁴⁶³ 1755. This is the approximate date that the transports of exiled Acadians left Nova Scotia.

eighty three, as Commissary General to the army serving in North America, it was my duty, under the command of Sir Guy Carleton,⁴⁶⁴ to embark thirty five thousand loyalists at New York to take shelter in it; and I trust all in my power was done, both to soften the affliction of the Akadians, & alleviate the sufferings **(88b)** of the Loyalists, who were so severely treated for labouring to support the unity of the British Empire.¹⁴⁶⁵

It was on the cultivation of the Akadians, that these new recusants & delinquents took root in the Soil [were enabled to establish their families], as their forefathers had done on the cultivation of the Indians. The sadness of the scene accorded with their feelings. Like themselves the former inhabitants had cleared lands, but their harvests waved for other possessors. Their orchards, tho' mossed with age, still blossomed in the spring, but an alien enjoyed their beauty. The ruins of their villages, spoke of the uncertainties of America, - and pointing them out to the stranger with a significant glance, the occupants say in the language to which they once resounded - 'tout passe'¹⁴⁶⁶ - & their meaning is not misunderstood - for it announces [for it darkly indicates] another revolution abiding that country which has already undergone so many.

The experience of the loyalists helped them to estimate the merit of the sacrifice which the Akadians had offered to religious rather than political attachments⁴⁶⁷ - & then too that better spirit was infused into all the branches of the Provincial administration, which has in some measure cured the prejudices & redeemed the misconduct of preceding

⁴⁶⁴ Guy Carleton (1724-1808). Having participated in the assault on Québec, Carleton was named Lieutenant Governor and Administrator of Quebec in 1766 and commissioned Captain General and Governor in Chief in 1768. In 1782, he was appointed Commander in Chief in North America and oversaw the evacuation of Loyalists following the American Revolution. See G.P Browne, "Guy Carleton," *DCB*.

⁴⁶⁵ See Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 129-34.

⁴⁶⁶ Meaning, "All things must pass" (Matthew, 24, 6-8).

⁴⁶⁷ This is an interesting comment on the perceived differences of the displacement or exile experienced by both the Acadian and Loyalist populations. Brown seems to suggest that the Acadians had limited respect for the subsequent sufferings of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia.

times. I take pleasure in bearing Witness that so long as I was connected with the province a decided majority of His Majestys council acted as the zealous Patrons of this interesting class of Subjects: regarding them nearly in the same light as they did the aboriginal owners of the Soil;⁴⁶⁸ (89) exerting their influence with effect in preserving them from exaction; & willingly promoting every measure calculated to advance their prosperity. But they have no power of unsettling private property, when once constituted according to the forms of law: They may not even interfere with its disposal; and it is chiefly thro' the medium of public opinion that they have succeeded in accomplishing an equitable compromise between the Grantees and this order of Tenants - possessing so many claims to indulgent attention.

After all the revolution thro' which the Akadians of Nova Scotia have passed, they are still a separate people, & their ancient happiness remains with them. By the patriarchal simplicity of their manners, their patient industry, the moderation of their desires, their early marriages, & the great age to which they attain, their population doubles more rapidly than in the most fertile districts of the new continent. In seventy one⁴⁶⁹ they somewhat exceeded fifteen hundred;⁴⁷⁰ and by a well connected survey, executed for my gratification by the intelligent Father Jones⁴⁷¹ of the Roman Catholic

⁴⁶⁸ Brown's comment on the treatment of the Loyalists compared to that of the Native population is interesting, although not entirely clear.

⁴⁶⁹ 1771.

⁴⁷⁰ This information may have come from Delesdernier who informed Brown that the number of Acadians living in Nova Scotia at the time was 1600, although he suggested that the number may have been exaggerated "to obtain the Benefit of Rations". See "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58. Watson suggested to Brown that in 1791, their numbers had "increased about two thousand". See Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791, BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55; printed in "The Acadian French," *NSHS Coll.*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 129-34.

⁴⁷¹ Presumably James Jones (1742-1805). As the first Roman Catholic priest in Nova Scotia whose mother tongue was English, Jones arrived in Halifax from Cork, Ireland in 1785, at which time the growing population of Catholic loyalists and Irish demanded the presence of English-speaking priests. In 1787, he was appointed as superior of the missions of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Îles de la Madeleine, St John's (Prince Edward Island), and part of New Brunswick. Jones returned to Ireland in 1800. See A.A.

Chapel of Halifax, the aggregate census of their cantons amounted, in ninety two,⁴⁷² to upwards of seven thousand.⁴⁷³ Their loyalty to the British Government has been proved by services that have repeatedly called forth the warmest thanks of both branches of the Legislature. During the earlier stages of the French revolution, they were less infected with the frenzy which it called forth, than any other portion of the inhabitants of North America, not even excepting the domesticated Indians [domiciled]; and it may not perhaps be reckoned among the least wonderful of the changes of opinion in the course of a single life, that those very persons who suffered by the excesses of fifty five⁴⁷⁴ finally arranged themselves among the more candid and judicious [successful] of the defenders [appeared in their old age as the candid and apologists] of the Provincial administration. 'The more discerning of the Akadians now alive,' says an informant who resided in the center of their settlements, 'acknowledge that it was no more than what sound policy required, to remove from the colony, at so critical a time, men situated as they were, ignorant of public affairs, misled by intriguing Priests, & constrained (90) by the imperious mandates of Louisbourg & Quebec, to keep in a state of perpetual irritation the lonely inhabitants of distant townships & the slender garrison of a defenceless capital.'⁴⁷⁵

On the thirteenth of September ninety,⁴⁷⁶ I visited, in the company of a respected friend, (who has since sat, for many years at the head of the bench of Justice with honour

MacKenzie, "James Jones," *DCB*. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Acadian population of the Maritime Provinces, apparently based on an accurate ecclesiastical census of 1803, was estimated to be 8,400. See Leblanc, "The Acadian Migrations," p. 535.

⁴⁷² 1792.

⁴⁷³ At the end of the eighteenth century, the Acadian population of the Maritime Provinces, apparently based on an accurate ecclesiastical census of 1803, was estimated to be 8,400. See Leblanc, "The Acadian Migrations," p. 535.

⁴⁷⁴ 1755.

⁴⁷⁵ See Fraser, "Notes from Tradition and Memory of the Acadian Removal", BL Add. Mss. 19071, 56; partially printed in Casgrain, *Collection de Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 94-5.

⁴⁷⁶ 1790.

to himself and to the unbroken satisfaction of all the wise & good in the Province),⁴⁷⁷ the Akadian Village of Cheztecoup⁴⁷⁸ [That presented, under the auspices of a few grey haired men, who had shared in all the griefs of the dispersion, a new race born to better hopes. In that village, spread along a narrow] There, in a narrow bay swelled by many streams, & as sweet as the autumn of America, a venerable forest and a luxuriant crop could make it, I saw the image of human happiness rendered visible. Our inquiries & observations were continued for two days. They seemed to fly on Wings; but they revealed much which I might not otherwise have been able to discover [and taught me to understand and note what probably would have escaped my attention]. The impression which they left on my mind, is transcribed [extracted] from the original entry now lying before me; - 'Here the man corrupted [spoilt] by [vain] philosophy, might recover the genuine feelings of nature: Here the misanthrope would be constrained to love his kind: Here the most troubled spirit might find rest; & the greatest wanderers be brought into the way [road] that leads to heaven' -⁴⁷⁹

By intelligence lately received from Nova Scotia, I am enabled to put a still more flattering [gratifying] termination to this chequered narrative. The calamities entailed on France by the miserable factions which alternately succeeded to the direction of its affairs, have been appointed to contribute richly to the consolation of that [a] people

⁴⁷⁷ Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange (1756-1841). Having been appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Strange arrived in Halifax in 1790. He resigned as Chief Justice in 1797. He and Brown developed a close friendship and Brown dedicated his sermon entitled, *The Perils of the Time, and the Purposes for which they are Appointed*, to Strange in 1794. See Donald F. Chard "Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange," *DCB*.

⁴⁷⁸ Cheztecoup is a small community located approximately 30 kilometres east of Halifax, on the Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia. Settled in the early 1760s by a somewhat miscellaneous Acadian population who were associated with Maillard, the community was a considerable distance from other Acadian centres and was in frequent contact with the surrounding non-Acadian settlements and with Halifax. See Ronald Labelle, *The Acadians of Cheztecoup* (Lawrencetown Beach, N.S.: Pottersfield Press, 1995).

⁴⁷⁹ Brown's information is presumably from conversations with those Acadians he met during his visit to Cheztecoup.

which suffered so cruelly by its nefarious policy. The heavy hand that was laid on the Gallican clergy sent to their forgotten [remembered] retreats enlightened & conscientious instructors, to confirm their steadfastness in the faith, & to cultivate their virtuous dispositions. Several of the ejected curés,⁴⁸⁰ still in the prime of life, becoming weary of hanging as a dead weight on that bounty which supplied their wants without sympathizing in those views which strengthened their patience - sought as the best relief from mental depression a scene of active usefulness where they might communicate the founts of their piety & experience to descendants of their countrymen tried like themselves. These persons (91) proceeded to the British Colonies of North America, and I have been assured that almost every Akadian canton may now boast of a French Priest very different in principle and temper from those that were supplied by the Houses of the Jesuits. Of these Priests, three were represented to me as no less remarkable for their intimate knowledge of the discoveries of science & the processes of the useful arts, than for their attainments in literature & theology. One of them was described as a second Maillard: affectionate, inventive, indefatigable in doing good.⁴⁸¹ The native worth [ingenuous temper] & strong intellectual capacity of the Akadian youth had won his heart, and determined him to pass the remainder of his days, far from the turmoils of Europe, in promoting their well being. His ingenuity suggested the means of remedying many of the inconveniences to which

⁴⁸⁰ Following the French Revolution, the Law of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was passed in July 1790, which subordinated the Roman Catholic Church in France to the French government. Under the Law, all remaining clergy were obliged to take an oath of loyalty to the constitution. Those who refused were labeled as “non-jurors” or “refractory priests”. Harassment of the refractory clergy turned to open persecution in late 1791 and the majority left France. The number of Catholic priests in Nova Scotia was augmented by the arrival of a number of such refugee priests. See Graeme Wynn, “1800-1810 Turning the Century,” in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, p. 226.

⁴⁸¹ Presumably a reference to Jean-Mandé Sigogne (1763-1844). Having rejected the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1791, Sigogne arrived in Nova Scotia in 1799 to serve the parish of Ste. Marie in the district of Clare and the surrounding Acadian population. He retained this position until his death in 1844. See Bernard Pothier, “Jean-Mandé Sigogne,” *DCB*.

long custom had reconciled the people; of turning their local advantages to a profitable account; of multiplying their resources; & of providing for the respectability of their descendants by a well ordered education of which he took the charge. If originality be rare among men, imitation at least is universal. The clanship that reaped the benefit of the talent and activity of this meritorious ecclesiastic has become a pattern to the rest. And the Akadians have again recovered their interest in human life, their power of reasoning with understanding on the revolutions of society, & of applying their conclusions as an encouragement to be contented with their condition, & diligent in promoting the prosperity of the state to which they belong.

This extraordinary tale is now told. But tho' the tenor of the narrative must have given rise to many reflections, it may not yet be closed. In the recitations of Nova Scotia, an after piece or Epilogue is invariably annexed [attached] to it; and I should not be wholly Excused [be forgiven], if I neglected to pay some little deference to so well known an authority.

The moral judgments of a people (92) or, to give them a less respectable name, their superstitious opinions with the grounds on which they rest, form no unimportant part of the materials of history. Even to the Sceptic who rejects their Authority, they must appear to be a curious instance of the aberrations of the human understanding; and they can never be indifferent to the Statesman, since they exercise at once a seen & an unseen influence on human affairs. Whatever part the Americans may have acted in particular circumstances, their sense of right & wrong is acute; & they have about the heart a full charge of those good Old English prejudices which connect the fortunes of single individuals & political bodies with the principles that have directed their conduct. In reporting the events that accompanied or succeeded the Akadian removal, I have paid

some attention to these prejudices, & in what follows I submit implicitly to their guidance.

Tho' no occurrence prevented the execution of this cruel measure, and no softening obviated [allayed] its severity at any stage of the progress, the Americans have nevertheless remarked, that every agent engaged in the work met with a condign punishment.

In this view, it is recollected in the first place, that the insidious means employed by the French cabinet to extend the limits & strengthen the defences of their continental possessions, involved the irretrievable loss of them all. It is next said, that if the Akadians had been the only victims of the false morality of the Jesuits, they would justly have merited the general execration that has been heaped upon their memory; & it is not forgotten, that this was the last time that the society⁴⁸² was permitted to disturb the peace of mankind either in the Old World or the New.

A longer detail is found necessary to explain the sharp retribution reserved for Governor Lawrence; for his too forward or too obsequious council; and for the Board of trade, whether considered as an original party or a subsequent accessory to the transaction.

The inference respecting this doubtful relation is founded on a despatch of the twenty fifth of March fifty six,⁴⁸³ in which their (93) Lordships transmitted to Lawrence His Majesty's Commission for the government of the Province. In that despatch, after acknowledging the arrival of the account of his administration, till the eighteenth of the preceding October, their Lordships add, 'We have laid that part of your letter which

⁴⁸² The Society of Jesus.

⁴⁸³ 1756.

relates to the removal of the French inhabitants, & the steps you took in the execution of that measure, before his Majesty's Secretary of State; & as you represent it to have been indispensably necessary for the Security & protection of the Province, in the present critical situation of our affairs, we doubt not that your conduct herein will meet with his Majesty's approbation.⁴⁸⁴

Few minds were prepared to feel more painfully this grant of promotion, coupled with the bitterness of an implied or hypothetical vindication, depending on the ultimate result of a war which from month to month became more distressing & more doubtful. Lawrence therefore looked out for support & encouragement to the Governors of the neighbouring colonies; & with an abject spirit offered incense to Shirley, whose abilities & pretensions he despised: - but who had too long been tutored in the School of Massachusetts not to withhold the sanction thus covertly solicited, & reserve all his interest for occasions of his own. He was equally unsuccessful in his courtship of Lord Loudon.⁴⁸⁵ In the year fifty eight⁴⁸⁶ the active duties of the siege of Louisbourg afforded him a grateful respite from the complaints & accusations with which he was unceasingly tormented. His applications to be delivered from this persecution and continued in the military service were urgent, but they were not attended to. Wolfe saw him testy, captious & austere; rising to the tone of cheerfulness & to that gaiety of wit & vigour of original remark for which he had once been celebrated, only in the advancing stages of inebriation: and seeing these things, he had no desire for his society or his services in the siege of Quebec. To Boscawen, who had a personal kindness for him, he bitterly bewailed [complained], as that veteran was preparing to take a **(94)** last leave of America where he

⁴⁸⁴ See Board of Trade to Lawrence, 25 March, 1756; partially printed in Akins, *Acadia*, p. 298.

⁴⁸⁵ Lord Loudon.

⁴⁸⁶ 1758.

saw all things going wrong for the true [separate] interest of the nation, of the insult & obloquy with which his character & administration were covered [assailed] throughout the English colonies. But riding safely in a good ship, the honest Admiral despised all in land squalls; & being conscious of no sinister motive in the judgment which he had delivered when called into the councils of Nova Scotia, posterior events gave him no uneasiness. This fretful Governor fared still worse with General Amherst, who was teased by his importunate demands for detachments to scour the country & keep open its communications - a service that completely broke up every corps that was sent upon it.⁴⁸⁷

To these mortifications succeeded a formal attack from a different quarter, which Lawrence was equally unable to encounter or to turn aside. In the proceedings of a government which had too often assumed the forms as well as the spirit of a Court Martial, the grievances of the freeholders silently made their way to the King in Council. They were urged at the bar of that august tribunal, by a solicitor, of whose fearless genius and rude pen Massachusetts had often availed herself in exposing the irregularities or the misdeeds of delegated power. [that Solicitor, Ferdinando John Paris,⁴⁸⁸ had by the aid of Borrowed talent] On the present occasion he had worked up his bitter brief [into a keen

⁴⁸⁷ Brown's assertion that Lawrence was widely despised by his contemporaries is interesting, and a subject to which little attention has been paid. Certainly, this is not the impression with which one is left when reading Dominick Graham's entry on Lawrence in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Graham notes the following: "Referring to the monument raised to Lawrence's memory in St Paul's Church, Halifax, to indicate the late governor's popularity, Belcher wrote, "In a grateful sense of his affection and services the last tribute that could be paid to his memory was unanimously voted by the General Assembly at their first meeting after the late Governor's universally lamented decease." These sympathetic remarks by a contemporary with whom Lawrence had sometimes been at odds and the considerations mentioned above should be placed in the scales against the views of historians who condemn him for his inhumanity to the Acadians." See Graham, "Charles Lawrence," *DCB*. It should be remembered that many of Brown's informants would have known Lawrence personally, thus adding credibility to his account.

⁴⁸⁸ In response to Lawrence's continuing refusal to call a representative assembly, the committee of Halifax freeholders, which employed London lawyer Ferdinando John Paris to represent the grievances of the Province to the Board of Trade, wrote a complaint against the Governor. See "Memorial of the people of Halifax to the Home Government", BL Add. Mss. 19069, 34 and "Petition of Ferdiand John Paris, 4 February 1758", BL Add. Mss. 19071, 35.

edge] with much good will; & boldly arraigned Governor Lawrence as a man of an iron heart, - insolent when strong, cruel when safe, oppressive when unresisted, - who had depopulated the province committed to his care of its English as well as of its French inhabitants; & accumulated, during a short administration, a sum of wretchedness unknown to the British Empire since its first enlargement beyond the limits of the narrow Seas.⁴⁸⁹ In confirmation of these charges, the more shocking incidents of the Akadian Removal were enumerated. Much was asserted concerning the gross partiality exercised in the division of the Spoil, & not a little insinuated concerning the corrupted motives in which the design had originated.⁴⁹⁰

The Board of Trade heard of (95) this pleading, in which they were indirectly implicated, with no small concern. But as it was a complaint & remonstrance not an impeachment that the Solicitor had been retained to prosecute, the greater part of the matter urged was regarded an irrelevant or calumnious. It had the effect, however, of accelerating the institution of a house of assembly [in Nova Scotia], to which the petitioners looked forward for the redress of their grievances.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹ As Julian Gwyn has noted, "The expulsion, as an act of war, of the bulk of the resident population between 1755 and 1758, and its urgent replacement with Protestant settlers from New England, disrupted economic advance." See Julian Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations: Maritime Commerce & the Economic Development of Nova Scotia, 1740-1870* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1998), p. 40.

⁴⁹⁰ See "Petition of Ferdinand John Paris, 4 February 1758", BL Add. Mss. 19071, 35.

⁴⁹¹ "With respect to the complaints against the Governor and other officers of government, their lordships observed that the papers annexed to the petition were of such a nature, and the charges contained in them were so blended together and intermixed with matter which had no relation whatever to any complaint against any particular person that they would not be admitted as articles of complaint, whereon the Board could found any orders or proceedings, and therefore it would be necessary that all such matter, contained in the petition and papers annexed as has no relation to any fact properly chargeable as matter of complaint against the said Governor and other officers, should be drawn out therefrom; and also the several charges against each particular officer likewise drawn out separately with the particular proofs upon which such charges are founded, in order that the Board might transmit to each of the persons complained of their particular parts only which relate to such person for his answer and defence, with directions that the complainants or their agents as well as the persons complained of or their agents should have free liberty to take depositions and examine witnesses before a proper magistrate touching the matters complained of in such manner, and under such regulations as have usually been practised in cases of the like kind, all which directions Mr. Paris said he would endeavour to comply with". See "Journal, February 1758: Volume 65",

On the first meeting of the legislature which had thus been precipitated, the Governor was reduced to great perplexity. He knew that management was necessary to obtain the Sanction of the lower house to the act of removal, and he proposed to extort it by the virtue of a law for quieting the new settlers in their possessions. The discussion placed the majority, consisting of the Petitioners to the King in Council, on very delicate ground; because the measure was in direct opposition to some of the Statements [their strongest affirmations] which they had made. But the security of the Province compelled them to sacrifice their sense of consistency; & they yielded without a struggle to a proposition that could not be opposed.

Thus Lawrence succeeded in obtaining what was counted a confirmation of the most reprehensible proceeding in his Government. His success, however, had no tendency to quiet the perturbations of his mind. 'If his nerves had been made of caltrops(?),' says one of my journals, 'they must have been torn to pieces by the pullings which every day renewed.'⁴⁹² The gaiety of spirit which had once enlivened him, his confidence in his intellectual powers, & that command which he exercised over those [all] who approached him - failed together. His executive talents lost their elasticity; no one ever knew more of the eternal existence of pain; & he sunk into a morbid apathy that unfitted him alike for business or amusement. Yet even in this general wreck of his nature, jealousy still survived. He could not bear any conversation apart that rose in his presence; and seemed to dart at the speakers a look of fear or of entreaty as if they had been talking to his prejudice. **(96)** A sudden death⁴⁹³ delivered him from these heart rending agonies, and

Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations, Vol. 10: January 1754 - December 1758 (1933), pp. 370-80. See also BL Add. Mss. 19069, 34 and 19071, 35.

⁴⁹² Brown's source has not been determined.

⁴⁹³ Lawrence died suddenly on 19 October 1760 at the age of 51.

from a gathering storm in which his fame must have perished. No sooner was this event made known at Whitehall, than an agent was appointed [instructed] to seize his papers & hold his effects under sequestration, till his accounts with the government should be adjusted. One thing at least is certain that the Board treated his memory with very unusual asperity; by furnishing to his successor,⁴⁹⁴ thro' the medium of the complaints made against all the branches of his management, such a series of instructions as might enable him to execute his high trust in a manner agreeable to his own wishes & the just expectations of the Sovereign. In this austere sentence of posthumous condemnation, every accusation that had been proffered against the deceased, whether supported or unsupported, was broadly produced & made a warning for the more faithful observance of his Majesty's orders. The heaviest charge of all, arising out of the Akadian removal occupied a prominent place, & could neither be denied nor palliated. 'We have reason to believe,' say their Lordships, 'that Governor Lawrence, in the execution of one of the most important parts of his trust, has greatly transgressed his instructions: First, by granting some lands in much greater portions than he was authorized, & next, by the distribution of others, which we doubt whether he had power to grant at all And what is, in our opinion, a very great aggravation of his misconduct, is, that these excessive grants have, for the most part been made to persons in various branches of public employment.'⁴⁹⁵

The last article in the indictment stretches beyond the Governor, and strikes directly at the council and the consideration which they received for the share they had taken in the Expulsion of the French inhabitants. It points to what was known, in the

⁴⁹⁴ Jonathan Belcher.

⁴⁹⁵ Following Lawrence's death, the Board of Trade ordered an investigation into charges of "partiality, profusion and private understanding", declaring that he had granted more land to single persons than was permitted, and that he had concealed the cost of his land policy. Jonathan Belcher investigated the charges against Lawrence and reported, in January 1762, that "upon the best examination in the severest charges" the accusations were unfounded. See Graham, "Charles Lawrence," *DCB*.

satire of Nova Scotia, by the name of the Gudgeon Grant, - the well cultivated and extensive manors, on the bason of Minas, partitioned by a summary act among the great officers of the Colony. The value of this princely donative (97) & its various appendages, was sufficient to have established a firm phalanx of Patrician families to take for ages the direction of public officers; - and yet it melted like the dew of the morning while the spectator looked on its richness. Everything concurred in succession to disappoint & embarrass the new Proprietors. During the years of violence all the dykes & aboiteaux were destroyed; and when peace returned the labour of repairing them & reclaiming the marsh lands was nearly as great as at the time of the original settlement. The expence incurred by these works plunged the grantees in debt, & brought their estates to the market before the increase of population had raised the price. [An opinion artfully circulated by the New England landjobbers, that the Akadian Townships were smitten with a curse, & refused to yield the crops in which they had once been so prolific - operated still further to depress the sales.] Hence, instead of bettering the fortunes of those officers of government, their large possessions tended only to reduce them to irremediable poverty. Few fathers, in comparison, transmitted any fragment of them to their descendants. One or two patches in a very ragged state reached the second generation, but none reached the third. I shall never forget the solemnity with which the highest dignitary of the churches in British America publicly said - 'I would not hold an acre that was ever cut by an Akadian share, for all the harvests that have waved on Minas or on Beaubassin: nor would I include a parcel of their property in the inheritance to be bequeathed to my children, to eat their substance like a canker & consume them to the bone.'⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁶ Brown's source has not been determined.

The reader must now be presented with the judgment pronounced on that board, whose severe condemnation of the minor agents has lately passed under his review.

That Indefatigable comprehensive & powerful statesman, Edmund Burke,⁴⁹⁷ the delight of the last age, and the object, it may not be doubted, of a growing admiration among [all] enlightened men, [in images yet to come] never appeared to greater advantage on any other occasion [occurrence] of his Political life, than in conducting the plan for the better security of the independence of Parliament & the Oeconomical reformation of the civil establishments of the state. The accomplished mover of this plan displayed the happiest vein of humour. The pleasantry of his wit was unfailling, & even those who sunk beneath his arm listened to his speech with uncontrollable (98) approbation. That speech was first put into my hand by one of the Puisne judges of Nova Scotia, with the emphatic remark - Here closed the series of visitations, in the progress of which all the parties immediately or remotely concerned in the Akadian dispersion, paid the price of their carelessness or their criminality with an exactness & a severity which even heedlessness [Scepticism] itself has been compelled to acknowledge. In the midst of sallies that called forth the loudest bursts of applause, & converted the exercise of retrenchment into an elegant literary gratification, the excessive orator staid his course & took a graver tone. In this unlooked for transition, his fiery eloquence seized on the fate of the Akadians, which he appears to have deeply investigated, as his strongest plea for the abolition of a department, without a will of its own, subordinate [subservient] to the pleasure [views] of Ministry & in the few things committed to its charge, unfaithful to the

⁴⁹⁷ Edmund Burke (1729-1797). Burke was an Anglo-Irish statesman who served for many years in the House of Commons of Great Britain as a member of the Whig party. As author of *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Burke was considered a classic political thinker and philosopher. He was known to be sympathetic towards the American colonies and Irish Catholics. See Ian Crowe, ed., *The Enduring Edmund Burke: Bicentennial Essays* (Wilmington: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1997).

paramount & everlasting interests of humanity.⁴⁹⁸ - As he spoke the two thousand three hundred volumes of the Board of trade, & the political wisdom which they concentrated, were forgotten. No voice was raised in defence of the delinquent Council of Commerce. The retribution of Akadian wrongs formed the sting of their Political decease. And the temper of the house grew more stern from the saddening aspect which American affairs exhibited [wore] [presented] at the moment.

How often have I heard it repeated in America, that if ever the evils occasioned by a precipitate act of apprehended state necessity, received a summary but decisive retribution, those produced by this Act of the Government of Nova Scotia received such retribution with a series of marks superadded, that ascertained both their origin and their objects. I may not deny that the desire of enforcing, this moral, in the whole intent of its application, thro' the foreign connections & dependencies of Europe, has supported my patience in collecting & piecing the materials of a narrative that has cost me as much trouble as any other part of my work. It is in the bye corners of history, that instruction & experience may sometimes be gathered with greater success than in its most splendid details:⁴⁹⁹ & I certainly consider **(99)** this little Episode in the general action of the Seven years war, as possessing an inherent power [prevailing efficiency], to lift the public functionary, in a distant land, above the undue influence of the fears & the hopes of a trying situation; & to bring to his aid, while deliberating on the alternative which he ought to chose, even when self preservation seems to be at stake, an endless succession of

⁴⁹⁸ The first significant public dissent on the treatment of the Acadians came from Edmund Burke who argued that “in truth they had from us very little protection” and that “we might have saved many useful people to this colony, and prevented the necessity (if it was a necessity) of using measures which, if they are not impolitic, are certainly as an humane and generous mind is never constrained to but with regret”. See Edmund Burke and William Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America in Six Parts*, 2 Vols., 3rd ed. (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1760), Vol. 2, pp. 277-9.

⁴⁹⁹ This is an interesting comment on Brown’s approach to historical writing and perspective on the discipline of history.

disastrous contingencies too apt to be overlooked amidst the agitations of passion, & the inflexible tribunal of posterity, always inclined to pity & avenge the oppressed.

On this subject Britain has enough to deplore in the past, without incurring new blame in the future. [How happy, at the present day, to have been saved from its enemies by _____] It would have been delightful to have seen the Aristocratical Republic of the Narraghansetts,⁵⁰⁰ fostered by her firm protection, flourishing in commerce, agriculture, and & arts of ingenuity: and yet more instructive [how grateful as well as] to have witnessed the Akadian community, contributing, by their genius, to the number of original inventions; cultivating their taste for Poetry; improving their talent of humour; and becoming wealthy & respectable without contending for political privileges by _____ [mixing] vile [low] intrigues or [condescending to] purchase the dignity of independence at the expense of probity and honour.

[The last sentence must be changed ... I can make it better.]

13 Argyle Square 13th May 1819.

⁵⁰⁰ In reference to the Narragansett Planters, a group of wealthy landowners who settled on the fertile lands in southern and south-western Rhode Island and who later settled the recently vacated Acadians lands following the Deportation. See Edward Channing, *The Narragansett Planters: A Study of Causes* (Baltimore: James Hopkins Press, 1886).

Supplementary Documents

The following transcribed documents constitute some of Brown's notes relating to the Acadian Appendix, found among his papers in the Edinburgh Library collection. Of particular importance is the first document concerning the sources of information Brown utilized in the writing of his history. The last document is a variant version of the manuscript's introductory remarks.

Appendix N^o. 1 Acadian removal.

The extent as _____ the authenticity of my materials on the subject of this appendix, is highly gratifying; & they have not been exhausted [much drained] by the narrative.

1. The papers of Judge Morris alone, communicated by his Son the Surveyor of Nova Scotia, & consisting of three pieces, of which copies were made for my use, might have answered all the purposes of general history.⁵⁰¹

2. The Venerable Judge Deschamps, who had grown old in the service of the Province & enjoyed a large share of the respect & affection of its inhabitants, drew up, at my desire, a full statement of the Case of the Akadians. It becomes me to acknowledge, that, pressing heavily on the testimony of Dauden and the discoveries made by those who conducted the Secret Service of the day, this document strongly maintains the political necessity of the removal & vindicates the conduct of government. 'There are but few persons,' said the Judge in the year seventeen hundred and ninety, 'now alive, who were concerned in the measure, and they are fully convinced of the propriety of their conduct.'⁵⁰²

3. Joseph Gray Esq^{te} of Windsor, well known for his intelligence & enterprising Spirit, submitted at a very advanced age to methodize and transcribe for my information, the whole of the notes which he had made & of the family papers [records] which he had

⁵⁰¹ Copies of these 'three pieces' survive in the British Library. They have been previously transcribed and published in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. They are: BL Add. Mss. 19072, 14, 1748 – 9 – 1755 Judge Morris' Account of the Acadians; BL Add. Mss. 19072, 31, 1755 Judge Morris' Remarks Concerning the Removal of the Acadians... the difficulties to be apprehended: and the means to surmounting them...; and BL Add. Mss. 19072, 32, 1755 Judge Morris' Paper on the Causes of the War in 1755: and the History of the Acadians. Note that the NSHS Collections version of some of the Morris papers contain errors.

⁵⁰² See BL Add. Mss. 19071, 49 "A sketch of the province of Nova Scotia," 1782; by Judge Deschamps.

preserved, relative to the Genius, institutions & dispersion of the Akadians. In respect to their customs and private life, he deserves to be ranked as my principal guide [authority]; & to establish his authority [credit] it is enough to quote the concluding sentences of his narrative. 'I was an Eye Witness of all the foregoing transactions; having, by the permission of General Cornwallis, carried on Commerce in Pezaquid from the year fifty one to the time of the removal. I accompanied the troops when they disarmed the neutrals; was present at Fort Edward when the Oath of Allegiance was finally tendered; assisted at the Embarkation, having previously taken great pains to persuade the people that they would certainly be sent away. When the transports sailed, I took my passage on board of the Snow Hopson, Captain Taggart, & had my share in the dangers of the Voyage. [My father in-law Joseph Gerrish was a member of his Majesty's Council; I have pinned some of his notes to the pages.]'⁵⁰³

4. An old and respectable settler of Nova Scotia, Moses de La Dernier Esq^{re}, whose retentive memory & solid judgment made him one of the most entertaining reporters of the events of his own time, [that one country could have furnished,] supplied a corresponding account of all the occurrences on the Isthmus of Chignecto. The facts which he has selected to illustrate the innocence & felicity of the Akadians [happiest sections] surpass any thing to be found in the finest coral paintings of Pastoral romance.⁵⁰⁴

5. The Rev.^d Hugh Graham, the Presbyterian minister of Cornwallis, collected many of the traditions circulating round the bason of Minas respecting the fate of its primitive cultivators. His letters relate some of the painful transactions that took place

⁵⁰³ See "Notes of Mr Gray on the Acadians with Notices of the Country &c." BL Add. Mss. 19073, 53.

⁵⁰⁴ See "Account of the Acadians and Indian Tribes of Nova Scotia containing "Observations on the Situation . . . Customs and Manners of the Ancient Acadians – with Remarks on their Removal from Nova Scotia and the Causes thereof : Also their numbers and the character and disposition of their posterity who remain . . . and some Remarks on the Indians," BL Add. Mss. 19071, 58.

after the general Embarkation, and very striking anecdotes of what was called the deplorable end of the more sanguinary of the provincial rangers.⁵⁰⁵

6. To the kind interposition of William Forsyth Esq^r., whose commercial relations extended to every part of the Province of Nova Scotia, I owe the recovery of some interesting notices from the Akadians themselves, and the very affecting account of the impressed transport, commanded by Captain Nichols, which suffered shipwreck near the coast of England.

7. Mr. James Fraser, a merchant of probity & discernment familiar with many of the people [old Akadians] who had returned from all parts of the Continent & West Indies, completed this part of my researches by reporting the dispassionate judgment which they pronounced on the measure in their Old Age.⁵⁰⁶

8. In a Geographical & Statistical manuscript history of the Modern(?) settlements of Nova Scotia composed by Judge Brinton, whose habits of accuracy & means of information were well known in the wide circle of his friends, I found a fine statement of the hope not less rooted than that of the Jews which the Akadians cherish in all the countries of the dispersion of their final restoration to a beloved land.⁵⁰⁷

9. Sir Brooke Watson favoured me with a touching communication, that pointed with a noble spirit of humanity to the two most memorable incidents [in his] a long & active life, which tho' clouded at the beginning by the deepest shades of adversity, [no ... this must be recalled] cleared up, under the powerful influence of talent integrity & useful

⁵⁰⁵ The British Library collection contains some of Graham's contributions, but none of the historical or ethnographic material specific to the Acadians. See BL Add. Mss. 19071, 54. Two original letters of the Rev. Hugh Graham, relative to the life of Alderman Brook Watson, M.P., and to the habits of the Acadians, *etc.*; Mar.-9 Sept. 1791 are contained therein. Three additional letters are included in the Edinburgh collection.

⁵⁰⁶ Some traces of this individual's contribution are contained in "Notes from Tradition and Memory of the Acadian Removal. By M^r. Fraser of Miramichi. 1815.", BL Add. Mss. 19071, 56.

⁵⁰⁷ This source has not been identified.

Service, into a splendid career of prosperity & honour that brightened to the end
[brightening to the last].⁵⁰⁸

10. The Secretary's Office of Nova Scotia furnished the public documents which support the more trying parts of the narrative.

The excess of solicitude manifested on this occasion, may be explained by the design which I had long entertained of making the Akadian History the Subject of a separate work. I still feel some interest in the preservation of these documents [materials], as I am persuaded they might suggest to Genius many a valuable hint. Akadia presented the only instance of improved humanity that occurred among the European planters of the New World - and many have described it, tho' rather too presumptuously [hyperbollically], as one example at least of Paradise restored. No drop of Indian blood was ever spilt in Akadia; & the annals [record] of the Colony [French inhabitants did not contain] did not present a single entry [instance] of capital punishment.

Andrew Brown

There was a time when this story would have
born a high price in Nova Scotia.

⁵⁰⁸ See Watson to Brown, 1 July 1791 & 12 August 1791. BL Add. Mss. 19071, 55.

In the course of the narrative, I have been obliged to speak too much of Le Loutre, Dauden and others of the same stamp. On that account I have pleasure in noticing any incident that points to the working of good feeling in their nature. Before the removal, Dauden escapes me by getting to Europe with Hoquart. But Knox's journals introduce Le Loutre as a prisoner in the Island of Jersey, where one of the Centinels that took the guard in the tumult of indignation produced by the severe treatment he had received from him in Nova Scotia, instinctively levelled his firelock to shoot him dead. This [sudden] impulse was restrained by timely recollection of the duty which he was appointed to perform. In the state paper office Le Loutre makes a creditable appearance. Amidst the infidelity satire & heartlessness of France, for which the enthusiastic missionary had risked so much, his breathing, he says, was oppressed; & he could find neither solace nor repose. The simplicity, _____ happiness of Akadia there rushed upon his thoughts, softened by time & heightened by imagination. There life in any form had been a blessing; & the satisfaction of deploring the madness which had brought that life too soon to an end, was the best boon that Providence could bestow. He therefore presented a humble Petition to His Majesty's Government, that he might be permitted to return to America in any manner and under any engagements which might be thought necessary, & have the melancholy satisfaction of sharing in the distress which he had partly occasioned. It is not gratifying to say that this earnest request was denied; tho' it is evident that if this Priest had ever returned to the exercise of his ancient vocation with all his ancient Spirit, he was an instrument of no Edge compared with those that were hewing down every branch of kindred & Connection between the American Pine & the British Oak.

The Akadians owed their subsistence in no small degree to fishing & hunting, in which they took great delight. They were settled contiguous to the tide. Fish of various kinds were at their door, and they excelled in all the modes of catching them. Thro' the whole period of their settlement too game abounded and formed part of their festivities.

The fate of this people was in all respects so severe, that it admitted of no aggravation. They were torn from their dwellings in the end of Autumn. Winter was settling in when they were cast .. put.. on shore at the different ports to which they were consigned. At that Season of the year there was not one of the Colonies where an adequate provision could be made for so many helpless families destitute of cloathing provisions & money.

Under so unexpected but unjust a call, the members of his Majesty's Councils were every where convened. Their meetings were frequent, but terminated only in fruitless discussions. They had no fund on which to charge the expenditures necessary for relieving so many objects of distress. The hazard was too great to venture on draughts from the Provincial Treasury, which it was quite obvious the Assemblies would not sanction. In this state of things the support of the sufferers was left to the humanity of private individuals; and the presumption of the Governor of Nova Scotia in Creating so terrible a mass of Misery and leaving the remedy to third parties who had no concern in the case became the subject of complaint and Accusation. Whatever pressure of necessity in his own Province might have compelled so hard a measure, he had passed altogether

the bounds of his jurisdiction when he involved others in its consequences. His Authority was confined to Nova Scotia alone; and yet he had taken a liberty competent only to the Supreme Authority of the State in cases of Extremity. The Arrogance with which he had imposed burdens on independent jurisdictions was not to be endured ... and in some instances the people were not permitted to be landed from the transports.

The Government, perhaps rather the Municipal Officers of Pennsylvania, proposed, with all the coolness of their Oeconomical system, to bind out the Akadians & their children, in the quality of Redemptioners, to the creditable farmers of the inland counties. This proposition was rejected as an insult. The Elders asserted that they had given no offence to the Rulers or people of Nova Scotia; that they were the Victims of Suspicion merely; that they had been stripped of their inheritance & prosperity because they were Frenchmen; but that their liberty was their own, and they could regard themselves in no other light than as prisoners of War lying at the mercy of the Adversary who had subdued them They had lived freemen & should be laid in a freemen's grave.

. . . . Within Nova Scotia, the Akadians are settled in groupes in the Township of Clare on the South side of St. Marys Bay . . . In the Township of Argyle at the South West extremity of the Peninsula . . . in the sequestered bay of Chezetcook 12 or 14 leagues to the eastward of Halifax and in different harbours & Oshearus(?) in the Gulph of St Lawrence up to the ancient Bay of Chaleurs

It is not permitted to the historian of North America to close the Scene of discord, and turn the reader's attention to the Occupations of peace. Two disastrous events, one growing out of the direction which the hostilities [designs of France] appeared to take at the commencement of the War, and the other resulting from the [some very] unwarrantable proceedings, in the middle Colonies, consequent on its termination, remain ~~to exhaust the resources of Britain and~~ to drug with bitterness that cup of Victory which Great Britain had hoped to drink unmixed. I allude to the removal of the French neutrals from the province of Nova Scotia, in the year 1755 and to the furious Indian war provoked on the borders of Virginia, before the fall of Quebec, and extended, after the Capitulation of Montreal, thro' the whole frontier of English settlements. Both these events, deeply calamitous in their nature, run to a great length; connect themselves closely with posterior occurrences of a different character; & put it out of my power to prevent many very awkward anachronisms. I have submitted to this mortification with the greater patience, because, while the facts to be recorded possess an interest of their own, they have a direct tendency to illustrate, in other respects, the general accuracy of my narrative. It shall be my study to dispatch both with all the brevity that may be compatible with a clear exposition of facts and a faithful delineation of character.

No. I Removal of the French inhabitants from the Province of Nova Scotia in 1755.

Living amidst the Scenes which the ingenuity of these colonists had embellished, & which seemed still to breathe the melancholy inspired by their fate, I investigated the circumstances of their story with a persevering zeal that abated only when every avenue of intelligence closed. It was once my intention to have devoted a separate publication to the only instance of an unsullied purity of private character, a devoted loyalty to the parent state, a rooted local attachment & an unbroken friendship with the Original proprietors of the Soil that has occurred in the Wide range of European Settlement. In attempting, at the distance of thirty years, to execute this purpose on a smaller scale, I have been anxious to dismiss every thing from my thoughts but the matter of the record, and the impartiality that belongs to the Historian.

In the text, I have spoken of the Akadian removal, in the language held by the Servants of Government in North America, as a discretionary act of the legislative power of Nova Scotia. But I must now submit to modify that language, according to the State of the case. Under a rooted conviction, that in a nation like Great Britain, matters of fact cannot be concealed; and a conviction, not less rooted, that truth alone qualifies history to convey instruction with a Weight of Authority, I have conscientiously made truth the guide of my Course thro' a varied, & at times a Sickening undertaking. When the hour of trial comes with more than its usual sharpness, I have no disposition to shrink from the obligation which I have contracted; & there acknowledge, with readiness, that another party, the Board of Trade, must take its share of the responsibility incurred by this supposed measure of urgent state necessity.

At the time when the deliberation concerning the means of defending the North American possessions from the encroachments of France became serious, and especially when the powerful assertions on the Sea Coast which that most insidious adversary might derive from the Arms of the French Neutrals, terrified the infant settlements raised up in Nova Scotia by the fostering care of the Earl of Halifax, that Veteran Statesman, the Coadjutor of many administrations, was Acting in a double capacity; both as the President of the Board of Trade & as a leading member of the interior Cabinet. From the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Lord Halifax had been the disinterested Patron of the Colony, had obtained the honour of giving his name to the capital, & exerted by influence in furthering liberal votes of Parliament for supporting its unthrifty establishments. To him, accordingly, in the first instance, the representations of the distresses & dangers of the Settlement were addressed; and, as his political credit was in some sort staked on their success, he gave them a larger share of Attention than could be expected from the rest of his colleagues. Hence it becomes necessary to introduce the parties & mark the series of incidents, by which this great officer of state was disposed to consider the prosperity, perhaps the possession of Nova Scotia as in a great measure suspended on the decision of the French inhabitants with regard to an unqualified oath of allegiance, which it was judged indispensable, at this period, to tender to their acceptance.

Conclusion

As demonstrated in this thesis, there are two underlying premises central to the interpretation, and ultimate credibility, of Brown's manuscript. Brown's unique access to primary sources, and the methodology utilized in the acquisition and interpretation of those sources, created a foundation of evidence that enabled him to write one of the earliest and most revealing historical accounts of the Acadian Deportation.

Not only was Brown collecting and consolidating information only a few decades after the events of 1755, providing him the opportunity to gather documents and details that no other historian has since been able to obtain, but his social status and beneficent nature encouraged individuals to share their personal, and often politically sensitive, recollections and impressions as well. As the twentieth-century historian J.B. Brebner once appreciated, Brown's work was "ever and again marked by the shrewd, intimate judgements of a man who had the kind of knowledge of Nova Scotia which we cannot recapture today".⁵⁰⁹ In this respect alone, Brown's manuscript represents an important contribution to the historiography of Acadia.

And yet, Brown was more than a mere collector of documents, accounts and traditions. As a student during the height of the Scottish Enlightenment, and under the influence of William Robertson, Brown demonstrated a consistent and rigorous approach to historical study, and the meticulous nature of his research speaks to the emerging trend of academic scholarship at the time. Brown was a shrewd historian, able to deal effectively with the resources available to him and, taken together, these factors reinforce

⁵⁰⁹ Brebner, "The Brown Mss.," p. 174.

the credibility of his document as an important source of information on the Acadian Deportation.

While the fundamental framework of the events surrounding the Acadian Deportation is not radically altered, Brown's unique vantage point enabled him to gain insight into various aspects of the story that the passage of time alone would inevitably mute for later historians. There is a discernable immediacy in Brown's account that stems from his ability to communicate directly with those involved in the events. For example, the impact of the Deportation on the mental health of the Acadian people is a topic rarely touched upon in detail. Although the 'tragedy' of the Deportation and the 'sufferings' of the Acadian people are premises found in many subsequent accounts, few historians have been able to get beyond the lexis of these thematic underpinnings. Brown's detailed description of the distress and mental anguish that accompanied the separation of families during the Deportation reveals aspects of the human experience that cannot be recreated from a later examination of the documentary evidence.

It is this same temporal proximity that allowed Brown to portray the social and economic conditions of pre-Deportation Acadian life in such vivid and colourful detail. In particular, his depiction of the gender-specific divisions of labour and traditional domestic activities within the Acadian household illuminates early life in Acadia and offers insight into how Acadians actually lived. While his assessment of Acadian life prior to the removal may be somewhat under-critical and over-romantic, it does not negate the value or significance of the raw information therein contained.

Brown's account also provides interesting details that may require a reassessment of some of the events and individual actions that led to the Deportation itself. The incident of the intercepted letter at Fort Edward and the role played by Daudin in

exacerbating the confusion within the Acadian communities serves to reinforce the fact that the accumulation of small, unrecorded episodes, to which Brown had purview, can lead to a greater, more complete understanding of the events that subsequently transpired. Likewise, Brown's viewpoint on the unique and important role played by the Acadian deputies was obtained from sources no longer extant, and constitutes a perspective effectively absent from the official documents, providing valuable context to the internal political structure of Acadian society.

Of particular interest is Brown's assessment of Charles Lawrence. Providing one of the most intimate descriptions of Lawrence's character, Brown not only sheds light on the personal nature of one of the central figures in the story of the Acadian Deportation, but also offers unique insight into the impressions of Lawrence's contemporaries following the events of 1755. While Brown was arguably making a statement on the importance of civic virtue and social leadership, or the lack thereof, his knowledge of Lawrence seems to have come directly from those who knew him and should now be taken into account in any future appraisal of Lawrence's life.

There are, of course, as Nancy McMahon has shown, a number of assumptions present in Brown's manuscript that seem to have influenced his evaluation of the development of Acadian society.⁵¹⁰ His contention that the religious foundation of the colony was of a Huguenot or Protestant orientation, and that remnants of Sir William Alexander's Scottish settlement had a lasting impact on Acadian culture, seem to be more a reflection of Brown himself than anything discerned from his historical research. Although he may have encountered seeds of information that led him to venture down

⁵¹⁰ McMahon, "Andrew Brown," pp. 103-6.

this interpretive path, it appears that in both cases he overemphasized the significance of these historical components.

Brown also displayed a tendency to romanticize early Acadian life. While it must be taken with a certain degree of scepticism, this inclination was undoubtedly a deliberate attempt to demonstrate the negative impacts of an ill-advised colonial policy and harsh administration of a generally pacific community. For Brown, the Acadian Deportation had all the elements necessary for an engaging narrative that would strike a resounding chord with his audience, but also, more importantly, presented an opportunity to highlight and reinforce the need for individual, social and civic virtue within an ever-expanding Empire. In this way, Brown's narrative appears as more than simply an historical account of those who might have seemed to his intended readers to be an obscure people in a distant place, but as an educational medium designed to quell destructive passions and political complacency. This places Brown firmly in the mainstream of eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual thought and serves to define his own motivations as an historian.

The identification and confirmation of much of Brown's primary source material through the process of annotation and analysis of converging lines of evidence validates not only the content of Brown's account but his ability to evaluate, interpret and present the information available to him. Furthermore, establishing a foundation of evidence to support the authenticity of both Brown's information and interpretation, lends credibility to those aspects of the account that have not been confirmed by independent or secondary sources. In conclusion, this study has confirmed the validity and integrity of Brown as an historian while revealing the overall historical authenticity of Brown's account of the Acadian Deportation.

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