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ACADIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE ATLANTIC
PROVINCES

by

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ACADIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES

MARGARET COLEMAN
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UNEDITED MANUSCRIPT
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Acadian Settlement in the Atlantic Provinces

This account of Acadian settlement in the Maritime provinces is very sketchy and is not meant to be definitive. There is a great deal of material in the Public Archives of Canada which should be investigated, and it would probably be worthwhile to look at the Acadian collection being built up at St. Joseph's University in Moncton.

"Acadia" changed hands several times before the French residents were expelled in 1755. The French first established themselves at Passamaquoddy in 1604 and the next year transferred their activities to Port Royal. Between 1613 and 1632 Acadia was under the control of the English, who called it Nova Scotia. The Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye of 1632 returned it to the French, who held it until 1654 when England regained possession. The province was formally returned to France in 1667 but it was not until 1670 that a French Governor actually assumed control. The period between 1670 and 1713, when the English took over permanently, was one which saw Acadian settlement spread up to the Minas Basin, around Cobequid Bay, up to the Isthmus of Chignecto and into the south of present-day New Brunswick. Between 1713 and 1755 the natural increase of the Acadian population brought about expansion in the old areas and pushed settlement even farther. During this last period, however, it is difficult to determine how large the various settlements really were. Whether or not the French Censuses were accurate, nevertheless they were taken and they are a useful guide. Under the English, vague estimates were made at total population but no actual counts were taken.

Before the expulsion there was very little British settlement in the province. Virtually all the British in the province were there in an official or military capacity.

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La Hève (now La Have) and Petite Rivière

The first settlement at La Have was made under the supervision of Isaac de Razilly in 1632 after the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye had returned Acadia to the French from the English. In that year Razilly was made Lieutenant General for Acadia. Partly financed by the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France and partly financed by his own company, the Razilly-Condonnier Company, Razilly sailed from France in July 1632 with three ships. The expedition included about 300 people - sailors, soldiers, workmen, craftsmen, 12 to 15 families, 6 Capuchins and several noblemen. Arriving in September, Razilly began work on the construction of a residence for himself, a store, buildings to house the people and Fort Sainte-Marie-de-Grâce. The Capuchins built a chapel and a school. (See Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1966, p. 568, Isaac de Razilly) The Fort was built on what is to-day known as Fort Point - a site which would command the whole harbour. Apparently erosion since that time has worn away most traces of the fort. (See Report # 100 by Miss C. King).

To help in the establishment of settlement, Razilly sent some men to clear land at a spot called la Petite Rivière, (still called Petite Rivière), one and a half leagues from the Fort along the coast to the west. Eventually forty people were settled there.

The progress of the settlement was halted when Razilly died suddenly at La Hève in 1635. The number of permanent settlers he was responsible for bringing out has been estimated at about 120. (See George MacBeath's biography of Razilly in DCB, p. 569.) Razilly was succeeded by Charles Menou d'Aulnay who moved the settlers to Fort Royal where the land was more fertile.

While Razilly was busy with his settlement, one of his lieutenants, Nicolas Denys, built a dwelling across the bay from Fort Point. Here he

had about a dozen men working for him cutting limber for export. (See Denys' Description & Natural History of the Coasts of North America, p. 149). The exact location of this establishment is not certain. The editor and translator of Denys' book, William F. Ganong, suggested in 1908 that it was close to where the post office of Riverport was situated at that time. (p. 150).

Charles Menou d'Aulnay died suddenly in May 1650, deeply in debt to one Emmanuel Le Borgne. Le Borgne, as D'Aulnay's creditor, claimed that he was now Seignior of Acadia, and came to the province to make good his claim. As part of his attempt to make good his claim and to monopolize the trade of Acadia, Le Borgne went to Cape Breton Island and took prisoner Nicolas Denys who had established a fishing station there. Denys was taken prisoner to Port Royal via La Hève where his captors were ordered to burn everything, including the chapel. (See Denys' book, p. 99-100).

Apparently Le Borgne later repaired the fort, probably building a wooden stockade around the stone remains of the fort. (See Report #100). At this point the history of the area becomes confusing, and more work needs to be done to establish exactly what went on at the site.

Acadia was restored to France in 1670. From that time until the British assumed control permanently in 1713 there does not appear to have been any settlement to speak of. Several officials during the last French period tried to re-establish La Hève but their requests fell on deaf ears and nothing had been done when the English took over. Governor Perrot wrote in 1685 that the remains of the fort, chapel and houses were still visible. (Public Archives of Canada, MG1, C¹¹D, vol. 2-1, p. 50.)

The 1671 Census lists no residents at La Hève. The Censuses of the 1680's list a few inhabitants (numbers vary between 3 and 20) who were occupied in fishing and fur trading and who, according to De Meulles, traded with the English who supplied their provisions. (C¹¹D, 2-1, p. 125). Governor Villebon wrote in 1699 that there were only two families living there. (J.C. Webster, Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century, p. 135). Bonnaventure in 1701 referred to habitants cultivating the land there but doesn't say how many. (C¹¹D, 4-1, p. 209). And when, in 1720, the engineer Paul Mascarene made a detailed report on the state of Nova Scotia, he mentions La Hève only as a possible seat of government. It would appear, therefore, that the only significant Acadian settlement at La Hève was that brought in by Razilly in the 1630's.

Merligash (Mirлагаiche, Merliguish, etc.) - Lunenburg

Merligash appears to have been a settlement which really developed during the English period, but which had disappeared as early as 1753. Governor Hopson reported in 1753 that because of "former settlement" there there were three or four hundred acres of land cleared. As recently as 1749, however, Cornwallis had reported that on his way to Halifax he had seen several families living in comfortable wooden houses covered with bark at Merligash. (See Bell, W. P. The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, p. 403). There were a few people there during the last French period, but not many, and they do not seem to have been farmers. The 1686 Census lists only 19 people at both Merligash and La Hève, and these 19 cultivated only three arpents of land. Gargas in 1687-88 listed 10 Europeans and 11 Indians cultivating only $\frac{1}{2}$ arpents of land at Merligash.

Port Rossignol (Liverpool Harbour)

One of Isaac de Razilly's lieutenants when he came to La Hève with a party of colonizers in 1632 was Nicolas Denys. Soon after his arrival, Denys, in partnership with Razilly, began a sedentary fishing operation at Port Rossignol, now Liverpool Harbour. Seizure of his ship in 1635 by the Spanish King, however, caused too great a financial blow for the enterprise to take, and it seems to have been abandoned.

Denys himself does not clearly indicate the site of his establishment. The editor of his Description & Natural History of the Coasts of North America, W. F. Ganong, suggests that it was near Brooklyn Nova Scotia, just north of where the wharf was situated at that time. (1908).

No further mention of further settlement appears in any of the Acadian censuses, but they were not always complete. The Intendent De Meulles wrote in 1686 that the English were using an island at the mouth of the Bay (Coffin Island) as a fishing station, but he mentioned no French settlers.

Cape Sable

(1) Fort La Tour (Fort St. Louis)

After the death of Charles de Biencour de Foutrincourt about 1623 Charles de Saint-Estienne de la Tour took charge of Acadia. Soon after, he built a post at Cape Sable called Fort Lomeron after David Lomeron, his commercial agent in France. This post was important as the sole French establishment in the province during the 1620's when the English possessed Acadia and as the only French establishment in "New France" between 1629 and 1632 when the English controlled Quebec.

In 1628 four French supply ships heading for Cape Sable were captured by the British and their passengers were taken prisoner to England. La Tour's father Claude was among these. Claude de la Tour soon joined the British cause and returned to Acadia in 1630 with two ships which attacked Fort Lomeron but failed to take it. Soon afterwards two French supply ships with a relief crew arrived and workmen began strengthening and enlarging the establishment which some say was renamed Fort La Tour or Fort St. Louis. (i.e. George MacPeath in his biography of Charles de la Tour in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1966, p. 593). Some say however that this fort was a completely new one. (see later). La Tour eventually allowed his father and his English wife to come to Cape Sable and live in a house he had constructed outside the fort. Outside the fort La Tour also developed a garden of peas and wheat.

The exact location of Fort St. Louis had not been established definitively. From the description of Nicolas Denys (See Ganong's translation of his work, p. 131, 133) it would appear that it was on the east side of Barrington Bay, not in what is known as Fort La Tour. (See also H. L. D'Entremont's The Baronnie de Fancoup and the Acadians, 1931, p. 81).

After the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632 Acadia was restored to the French and Isaac de Razilly was sent to the province with a group of settlers. (See notes on La Hève). An arrangement was made with the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France to divide the jurisdiction of these men, both of whom had received commissions as governor from the Company. Razilly was to control La Hève and Fort Royal and La Tour St. John and Cape Sable.

In 1631, encouraged by recent attention paid to Acadia by France, La Tour began a Fort Sainte-Marie at the mouth of the St. John River and in 1635 transferred his headquarters there.

The period between 1635, the year of Razilly's death, and 1650, when his successor Charles de Menou d'Aulnay died, was one of bitter struggling between La Tour and d'Aulnay for control of Acadia. After an armed clash between the two, La Tour was ordered to France to explain his actions while d'Aulnay was ordered to administer La Tour's forts. Although La Tour did hand over Fort La Tour at Cape Sable, he refused to go to France and took refuge at his fort at the St. John. D'Aulnay burned Fort La Tour in 1642, keeping the contents for himself, and, according to D'Entremont, the foundations could still be seen on the "sand hills" at Barrington Bay in 1931. (D'Entremont, p. 21).

(2) Baronnie de Fombcoup (Pubnico)

After d'Aulnay's death in 1650 La Tour went to France where he succeeded in re-establishing himself in royal favour and in having his commission as governor restored. In 1651 he returned to Acadia with a group of colonists including his friend Philippe Mius d'Entremont. In 1653 he granted to d'Entremont the territory between Cap Nègre (Cape Negro) and Cap Fourchu (Yarmouth) as the "Baronnie de Fombcoup". According to Clement Cormier, d'Entremont's biographer in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, a "feudal castle was built near the entry to the natural harbour of Pubnico, on the east side." H. L. d'Entremont, one of this d'Entremont's descendents, suggests that this was the site of the original Fort Lomeron and that Fort St. Louis (Fort La Tour) was not in fact an enlargement of Fort Lomeron but an entirely new fort on a new site.

In 1654 the British took Acadia and Charles de la Tour was taken to England. According to most accounts he and his wife returned to Cape Sable where he lived quietly until his death in 1666.

The name Cape Sable which is used in the censuses of Acadia seems to include the whole area of the "Baronnie de Pombcoup" so it is difficult to place settlement exactly. It is probable, however, that it centered around the "castle" at Iubnico. The settlement seems to have been a small and quiet one with little contact with the rest of Acadia. D'Entremont himself in his later years went to Fort Royal where he died, bequeathing his title to his son Jacques. At the time of the 1671 census there were three families (including d'Entremont) comprising 14 people. (PAC Acadian censuses, G22, vol. 466 pt. 1, p. 1). A description of the coast in 1686 says that at "poubonicoeur", 6 leagues from Cape Sable, there were five families composed of 18 people. (PAC MG1 C11D, 1 part 2, p. 13). According to the De Meulles Census of 1686 lists 15 people there. The sons and daughters of La Tour and d'Entremont had married each other. Governor Ferrot wrote that year that la Tour's sons were poor, but had been brought up like peasants and were happy just to say that they owned land. (MG1, C¹¹D, 2-1, p. 49). By 1687-88 there were 22 Europeans and 24 Indians in the Cape Sable area. (Gargas' Census, quoted in Morse, Acadiensis Nova vol. 1, p. 144-55). These inhabitants must have chiefly traded in fish and furs, there being only $4\frac{1}{2}$ arpents under cultivation. When Governor Villebon visited there in 1699, however, he found the settlers growing wheat and peas and raising horned cattle, sheep and pigs. There was also a water mill. (Webster, J. C. Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century p. 134).

After the British took over Nova Scotia in 1713 the Acadians at Iubnico seem to have lived quietly without much contact with anyone except the New Englanders with whom they traded fish and furs. In July 1727 they took an oath of allegiance to Britain. According to d'Entremont,

their only link with their countrymen was through the occasional visits of a missionary.

By the time of the expulsion in 1755 D'Entremont suggests that there were 250 people in the Pubnico area. It was apparently their custom to spend the winter at Pubnico but in the summer to spread out along the shores as far as Baccaro Passage (Darrington Bay), living in rough log cabins with thatched roofs and no cellars.

The Pubnico area was not touched in the initial expulsion in September 1755. In April 1756 however a force under Jedediah Prebble took about 70 people prisoner in the Baccaro area and sent them to Massachusetts. (D'Entremont, p. 95). In September 1758 Col. Moncton took between 60 and 70 people from Pubnico and sent them to Halifax. At this time the whole settlement was apparently burned. In June 1759 another expedition took 152 residents from the Pubnico and Chebok (Chebogue) area and after keeping them at George's Island in Halifax until November, shipped them to England. Some of the Acadians who were sent to Massachusetts returned to the area in 1766.

Port Royal-Annapolis Royal area

The first settlement in the Annapolis Basin was that of the Sieur de Monts and Samuel de Champlain in 1605. It was at the site of the present Port Royal, opposite Goat Island. This establishment was destroyed in 1613 by Samuel Argall from Virginia.

The second colonizing venture was that of Sir William Alexander and his son in the late 1620's at a site called Scots fort near the French site.

In 1632 Acadia was returned to France, and in 1635 Charles Menou d'Aulnay succeeded Razilly as lieutenant general for the king. Shortly

thereafter d'Aulnay established a fort at the site of present-day Annapolis Royal. Until 1713 it was this site which was known as Port Royal, and after 1713 as Annapolis Royal. With d'Aulnay's encouragement the settlers from La Hève and Petite Rivière gradually moved to Port Royal where the land was more fertile. The centre of the Port Royal area lay around the fort but settlement developed along both sides of the Annapolis River, and population figures for Port Royal usually refer to the whole river.

At the time of the 1671 census there were 358 people (68 families) at Port Royal and it was the only major settlement in the country. By 1701 its population had risen to 456 but it had been surpassed in numbers by the Minas area. (See PAC MGI, G22, vol. 466, pt.1, p. 169). By 1714 there were 915 people.

Settlement appears to have developed in a long line set back slightly from the river. (The Acadians preferred where possible to dyke marshlands along rivers and bays and farm these fertile lands rather than uplands.) Because settlement was so spread it is difficult to relate it to present-day villages. In 1710-11 a detailed map was made (reprinted in appendix F to volume 2 of Morse's Acadiensis Nova) which shows all the houses along the Annapolis River.

At the time of the expulsion in 1756, 1600 Acadians were crowded into ships anchored near Goat Island. This does not, however, represent the entire population of the Port Royal area because here many residents escaped to the woods.

Minas area

Settlement around the Minas basin is difficult to pinpoint too. Most of the French censuses refer to "Minas" - and what was meant by this

term was not always the same thing. Up until 1701 it included what settlement there was around Pisiquid (Windsor) and the area around the end of Cobequid Bay. Around the Minas Basin, as at Port Royal, the Acadians preferred to farm the lowlands rather than the uplands, and houses tended to be set back from the water on higher ground than the marshlands. Settlement did spread along the Habitant Creek, running west from Canning, along the Canard River and along the Cornwallis River. The marshlands south of Evangeline Beach were syked and farmed. The settlement known as Grand Pré probably centered around the present-day Grand Pré but extended in a string between Horton and Wolfville along the edge of the marshlands.

As growth took place the areas of Pisiquid and Cobequid came to be known separately and "Minas" came more to mean the area between Horton and the Canard River. "Minas" outgrew Port Royal as a centre of population and eventually became the real centre of Acadian activity. At the time of the expulsion Colonel Winslow rounded up and deported over 2100 people from "Minas".

Pisiquid - (Windsor)

The search for more marshlands to farm which had pushed settlement from Port Royal up to "Minas" pushed settlers to the Pisiquid (Windsor) area towards the end of the seventeenth century. This became another major Acadian settlement and was the site of Fort Edward, erected by the British in 1749 to keep an eye on the local residents. Settlement was not confined to the present town of Windsor - it spread along both sides of the Ste. Croix River and along the Ascension and Avon Rivers. At the time of the expulsion Captain Murray deported over a thousand habitants from the Pisiquid area.

Petite Rivière - (Walton River)

There was some Acadian settlement to the east of what was called Petite Rivière, which appears to be the modern Walton River.

Vil Cheverie

Vil Cheverie, on the east side of the Avon River, was the site of a small Acadian settlement. The village still goes by the same name.

Schubenacadie

This was mainly an Indian centre, at which Le Loutre established a church, but there may have been some Acadian settlement there too.

Noel

Noel, which still bears the same name, seems to have been a sizeable French settlement.

Cobequid

The area at the east end of Cobequid Bay seems to have been known as Cobequid although settlement here is divisible into smaller settlements. After 1700 Cobequid too became a major centre of Acadian population. The individual settlements are shown on a 1756 map of the area between Baye Verte and Lunenburg. (H2/202 at Public Archives). On the south shore, near the end of the Bay was vil la Bourge. At the end of the Bay in the Truro area were two more small settlements, vil Bois Brulé and vil au Coins. Moving around to the north shore there was vil Deux Gatts, probably just north of the modern North River, and Vil Nigeganish in the Belmont region. At La Pariosse, at the site of the present-day Masstown, was located a church which served the area.

Between Masstown and Portapique there were several small settlements which I could not relate to present-day towns. More research ^{will} must provide some answers here. These settlements were Vil le Cadens, vil Petit Louis Longue Epée and Le Bourg.

Vil Porcupine and Cap Porcupine were probably the present-day Portapique and the Cape to the east.

Vil Conomie was at the modern site of Economy. There was also some settlement on the east side of Economy Point.

Chignecto

During the French period references to Beaubassin applied to all settlement in areas which later became known as distinct villages. In any case settlement during the French period was probably more concentrated around the Missaguash River than it was by the 1740's and 1750's when Acadians were moving in from the older settled areas such as Minas and Annapolis in an effort to find new land and/or avoid the British. Between 1750 and 1755 Acadian settlement in the Isthmus was at its greatest.

A great deal more work could be done on settlement in the Isthmus of Chignecto. There are a large number of French and English sources in the Archives which deal with the period immediately before 1755 and these probably contain much useful information. This account is based largely on accounts preceding 1713, on Acadian Censuses and on J. C. Webster, whose work is not infallible and often lacks documentation.

Webster quotes a census of 1754 which was prepared for him by Flacide Gaudet, an eminent Acadian Genealogist. This census would be very useful and more trustworthy if we knew where Gaudet obtained his figures.

The first settler in Chignecto was one Joseph Bourgeois who had come to Acadia as a surgeon about 1640 and who moved to Chignecto from Port Royal soon after 1671. Several of his relatives and other colonists soon followed and they established themselves on the forest-covered ridge on the east (south) side of the Missaguash River. (This would be along the edge of the Fort Lawrence ridge.)

Ile a la Vallière

In 1676 Michel Le Neuf de la Vallière, a Canadian gentleman born in Trois-Rivières, was given as a seigneurial grant the entire Isthmus of Chignecto. He made his headquarters on what was then known as Ile de la Vallière and later called Tonge's Island, an area of higher ground surrounded by marshlands. De Meulle's map of 1686 shows three houses on this "island" which was at the Cumberland Basin end of the Fort Cumberland (Beauséjour Ridge). During the early 1750's the French at Fort Beauséjour always kept a small guard there. J. C. Webster wrote in 1930 that this elevated land then formed part of a farm and that until recently "remains of cellars of the old French houses could be seen at the southern end." (Webster, J. C. The Forts of Chignecto, 1930, p. 14)

Chignecto - Beaubassin

Until the mid-eighteenth century settlement at Chignecto probably centered on the ridges on either side of the Missaguash River. (These are the Fort Lawrence and Fort Cumberland ridges). When the Intendent De

Meulles ordered a census in 1686 there were 127 people, 102 guns, 426 arpents of land cultivated, 236 horned cattle, 111 sheep and 189 pigs in the Beaubassin vicinity. (Acadian census in PAC? I. 55-56.)

These lived on about 22 farms along the edges of the ridge near the fertile marshlands which they cultivated. (De Meulles' report on Beaubassin, PAC MGI, C¹¹D, 2-1, p. 110ff, has been reprinted in Webster p. 140-42.)

They grew their own food, made their own wool and linen cloth and bought what they didn't produce themselves from the English. De Meulles' map of 1686 shows houses on Ile de la Vallière, the two ridges and a very few on the ridges between the La Flanche River and the present-day Macan River. Gargas in 1687-88 counted one priest, 100 other Europeans and 21 Indians living in the Beaubassin region - these occupied one church, 15 houses and 5 wigwams. (Morse, Acadiensis Nova vol. 1. p. 145-55).

In September 1696 a group of New Englanders under Colonel Benjamin Church landed at Beaubassin Bay, destroyed a large part of the houses and crops while the habitants took to the woods. (See Webster, p. 16). Settlement continued to grow, however, for by the time of the 1698 Census there were 178 residents of Chignecto. They apparently confined themselves to cultivating the marshlands; it was reported in 1701 that there was only one habitant farming the uplands. (PAC MGI C¹¹D, 4-1, p. 222). In July 1704 Church returned to Acadia, harassing Fort Royal, destroying much of the settlement at Minas and then returning to Beaubassin and destroying the livestock and houses of about twenty settlers there. (C¹¹D, 5, p. 9).

In 1707 the population at Chignecto was 271.

I was unable to find any maps or accounts other than that of De Meulles in 1686 which indicated the exact location of settlement in the Chignecto region. It is not until the early 1750's when English and French

attention centered along the Missaguash River that one is able to determine the size and location of various distinct settlements.

Beaubassin

After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 Acadia was officially transferred to Britain. This Acadia apparently included present-day New Brunswick, but the English neglected this area and the French gradually moved in. Between 1749 and 1753 a joint boundary commission tried to settle the question without success. The French had encouraged a number of Acadians to come to Chignecto and tension between the English and the French was mounting. Early in 1750 de la Corne, commander of the French force, established himself on the hill of Beauséjour. The British Major Lawrence arrived on April 21 but was unable to force the French to withdraw and in fact withdrew himself the next day.

By 1750 the name Beaubassin seems to have been applied to a more distinct settlement at the Cumberland Basin end of the Fort Lawrence ridge. Here was a church, and the village appears to have been the main settlement in the Isthmus. When Lawrence arrived on April 21, he found the town of Beaubassin in flames, and by the next day the town "was deserted and reduced to ashes, the Mass-House not excepted, though there were about a dozen houses standing to the right of it." (Lawrence's account, quoted in Webster, p. 106). Later that day the "enemy", according to Lawrence, set fire to every building which remained on the Beaubassin side of the Missaguash to the French. According to Webster about 150 houses were burned at that time.

In the fall of 1750 the British began to build Fort Lawrence on the site of Beaubassin. It was dismantled in 1756.

Tonge's map of 1755 shows the sites of two villages burned by the Indians on the ridge south of the La Planche River. These are probably la Butte and la Planche, La Butte to the west and La Planche to the east of a small stream which to-day runs through Amherst.

Beauséjour

By 1755 there were quite a few houses in the immediate area of Fort Beauséjour. Some of this settlement dates back to the very early period. De Meulles' map of 1686 shows several houses on the Beauséjour ridge. A map of a British officer in 1755 shows a French church to the north west of the fort. Franquet's map of 1751 shows several "habitations" to the north west of the Au Lac River. A Census of 1752 counted 178 habitants at Beauséjour. (Acadian Censuses, p. 267). The authority on Acadian genealogy, M. Placide Gaudet, says that in 1754 there were 86 old inhabitants at Beauséjour, 89 refugees from the rest of Acadia settled there and 47 new arrivals who had not yet settled. (Webster, p. 37).

Veskak (modern Westcock)

This was a village on the west shore of Beaubassin Bay, south of the mouth of the Tintamarre River. The present-day village of Westcock is on higher ground than the French settlement which was probably on the lowlands between the modern Westcock and the present-day Frosty Hollow Creek. The 1752 Census found 64 people there while the 1754 one prepared by Gaudet shows 64 old residents and 33 refugees settled there.

Le Lac

Le Lac was at the head of the Rivière du Lac (Au Lac). According to Webster (p. 12) it was just above where the River was crossed by the old French Road from Baie Verte to Beauséjour, and that crossing is known as Rye's Corner. The lake has disappeared since an aboiteau was built causing the lake to be drained. In 1931 it was a drained field. (Webster, p. 12). In 1752 there were 83 habitants at Le Lac, whereas Gaudet counted 116 old residents and 114 new ones in 1754. (Webster, p. 37).

Tintamare (present Tantramar)

Webster describes Tintamare:

"The village was a straggling settlement with a church (having a missionary) situated above a ford in the river of the same name. The area corresponds to that now [in 1931] between Morice's millpond and the Four Corners, at the crossing of the main road to Sackville and the Jolicure Road. The church is believed to have stood on the site of the modern Beulah Chapel (now vanished) on the north east corner, the graveyard having been adjacent to it.

.....

Jeffrey's map [1755] has the designation "Tantemar Villages", which would indicate a scattered community, and would include a small French settlement on the stream now known as Morice's Brook at Upper Sackville, designated Frès des Richards."

Webster's location of Frès des Richards should probably be questioned, since he himself on the next page places it on a map at what would appear to be the present-day site of Middle Sackville rather than Upper Sackville.

In 1752 Census lists 152 people at Tintamare and 40 at "Les Richards". (Acadian Census, p. 277). Gaudet says that in 1754 there were 184 old settlers at Tintamare and 31 at Frée des Richards, and 54 refugees at Tintamare and 22 at Frée des Richards. (Webster, p. 37.)

Près des Bourques

According to Webster, this village "stood on the upland, on which is the modern town of Sackville, at the site of the first modern Catholic Church." (p. 12). It is sometimes spelled "Bourgs", "Bourg" being a fairly common Acadian name.

The Acadian Census of 1752 lists 24 people at the Pré des Bourgs. Gaudet says that in 1754 there were 50 old settlers there and 39 refugees settled.

La Coupe

The name La Coupe figures on the odd French map but it is not very clearly located. Webster says it was near the La Coupe River, "probably on the west side of the Southern end of the Jolicure ridge". He said that in 1931 a number of cellars were visible at the site which was then on the farm of one David Hewson. (p. 12). Webster, however, is not infallible and he does not indicate what information he is basing his conclusions on.

The Census of 1752 listed 15 people there. Gaudet says that in 1754 there were 40 old settlers but does not list any new ones.

Baye Verte and Gaspereaux

Baye Verte stood at the site of the modern town of Baie Verte. It served as a landing place for the French from Ile Royals and Quebec. When the Intendent De Meulles arrived there in 1686 he found only two Indian cabins. When Franquet, the French engineer, visited it in 1751 he found 18 houses recently built by Acadian refugees. (Franquet's

description is in the Public Archives, MG1, C¹¹C, p. 141 ff.) Around Fort Gaspereau half a league north along the shore there were a house 14' square covered with planks for the Commandant, one 24'6" covered in bark for the troops, a 6' square bakery, two storehouses, one 29' by 19' for supplies and one 21' by 19' for munitions. Le Loutre had a storehouse there. The British Governor Hopson wrote home in 1753 that on feast days over 300 people from an area about 6 or 7 miles around Fort Gaspereau came to the "Mass House" there. (PAC Nova Scotia A, vol. 54, p. 134).

In the 1752 Census there were 127 people listed at Baye Verte and 83 at Gaspereaux. (Acadian Censuses, p. 280). Gaudet says that in 1754 there were 132 refugees at Baye Verte and 28 at Gaspereaux. Webster p. 37).

Butte de Portage

Portage Hill was apparently a height of land at the Baie Verte end of a cove at the upper end of the Missaguash River. It was at a place still known as Portage Hill where, according to Webster, the remains of cellars could still be seen in 1931. He places it at the end of a lake near the point where the Nova Scotia-New Brunswick border changes from a north-easterly direction to a straight easterly direction. There were two houses containing 21 refugees from Acadia and a French royal storehouse there when Franquet visited it in 1751. It was at this point that the French embarked in canoes for Pointe à Buot. (See his report, p. 144-5). Gaudet says that by 1754 there were 59 refugees living at the Portage.

Pont à Buot

Pont à Buot, marked on several maps, was the site of a bridge across the Missaguash. According to Webster the course of the river has been altered and the site of the French settlement was actually at the

site of the present-day Pointe de Bute. When Franquet visited it in 1751 there were 30 French Canadians stationed there. There was a redoubt 130' by 60' on high ground near the Ruisseau à l'Ours, the stream which ran into the Missaguash just east of the bridge. The redoubt was triangular, built from timber with a tower at each corner. The Commander was housed in a building 14' square and the troops in another one 36' by 14'. The 1752 Census listed 92 settlers at that place. Gaudet says that in 1754 there were 101 refugees there. (Webster, p. 37).

The side of the stream where the buildings were located is a question. It appears from Franquet's map of the route between Baie Verte and Beauséjour that it was on the east side but from his detailed sketches that it was on the west. The map and sketches are reproduced in Webster, p. 18 and p. 47. A map by a British officer appears to place the fort on the east side of the stream, but other maps are not clear.

Butte à Roger

Butte à Roger was a small hill which appears from Franquet's map to be on the same ridge as Fort Beauséjour. According to Webster it is on a lower level than the fort and the site is just north of the main road between Sackville and Amherst. (p. 14). It served as a guard-outpost for Fort Beauséjour. Gaudet says that in 1754 there were 18 old inhabitants of the Butte à Roger but no refugees.

At the time of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755 a large number of the inhabitants of Chignecto were removed but many of them escaped up into present-day New Brunswick.

Judging from various old maps there were other Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia not far from the Beaubassin-Beauséjour area. Tonge's map of 1755 shows several houses which appear to be at the present site of Minudie, or, more likely, on the highlands which come close to the water to the east of the town. The same map shows considerable settlement on the high ground near the river at three places near the point where the Maccan River splits into the Maccan and Nappan, one near Nappan Station, one just east of Lower Maccan and one on the point between the two. Jeffrey's map of 1755 marks "French Settlements" along the coast of Baie Verte south of the town of Baie-Verte.

Tatamagouche

Before 1755 Tatamagouche, at the site of the present-day Tatamagouche, was one of the main ports by which supplies provided by the Acadians were shipped to Cape Breton. It was through this port that trading was carried on from the Cobequid area.

In August 1755 one Captain Willard, acting on General Moncton's orders, searched the houses of Tatamagouche for arms, sent the inhabitants to Fort Cumberland, burned the village and captured two boats ready to sail with supplies for Louisburg.

Ramrekeke (Ramshack) - Wallace

How large an Acadian settlement was here before 1755 I do not know, but there was one because Captain Willard was ordered to destroy it in 1755 at the same time as Tatamagouche.

Pictou area

According to George Patterson who wrote a history of Pictou County in 1877 there was a French settlement on the large island in Merigomish Harbour and others at the head of the French River and at the head of the French Channel.

Chedabucto - Guysborough

Here between about 1659 or 1660 and 1667 Nicolas Denys established a sedentary fishing station of two large buildings and 120 men. After 1667 the site was abandoned until 1682 when the Compagnie des Peches Sedentaires de l'Acadie established itself there. This establishment was reasonably large - two buildings 60' by 18' or 20', several rough huts,

a chapel, a store, etc. It appears however that the population there was largely a summer one which returned to France for the winter. The establishment suffered severely in a raid by English pirates in 1688 and was completely destroyed by the English in 1690. It never recovered from this blow. The site was at Fort Point, at the western entrance to the harbour.

Musquodoboit and Shillencook (Chezzetcook)

The name Musquodoboit before 1755 seems to have applied to the coast east of Halifax in the present Cole Harbour-Lawrencetown area. (See Bell, W. P. The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, Toronto 1961, p.402). It appears first in the Acadian Census of 1671 (Acadian Censuses, p. 2) when there were 13 people there, but not again before 1713. There was some French settlement there before 1752, however, because the Surveyor Morris in that year described the remains of French settlement which seemed to have been burned. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, vol. 49, p. 83). Closer examination of material in the Archives, including Morris's report, would probably pinpoint settlement more exactly.

Morris also described settlement at Shillencook, which Bell says is the modern Chezzetcook. (p. 402). It appears to have had a church, but other than this Morris mentioned only four houses.

Present-day New Brunswick

With the natural increase of Acadian population after 1713 the youth of the colony began to spread through the Isthmus of Chignecto to begin new settlements in what is now New Brunswick. Population in these areas received a boost after the late 1740's, but they were beginning to be developed before that. These settlements include:

Chipoudy (Shepody)

Chipoudy was founded about 1726 when a few families moved across the Bay of Fundy. Further research would be necessary to determine the exact site of this village, which may have been more of a string of settlement along the Shepody River. Bona Arsenault (History of the Acadians, Quebec ^{C.B.} 1966) says that the town was at the site of Hopewell Hill but his information is not documented. A memorandum of 1749 says that there were 40 or 42 habitants at "Chipoudy". (PAC MG1 C11E, 3, p. 334). Placide Gaudet says that in 1754 there were no old inhabitants at Chipoudy, but only 59 refugees. (Webster, p. 37). There would obviously seem to be something wrong there somewhere - perhaps further research could clarify the matter.

Petitcodiac

Settlers from Acadia apparently came to the Petitcodiac River as early as 1712. (MacNutt, W. S. The Atlantic Provinces p. 6.) The centre of settlement seems to have been at the modern Hillsborough. The 1749 memoir mentioned above says that there were 42 or 43 habitants on the Petitcodiac, with room for many more. Gaudet says there were 1100 old settlers in 1754 and 31 refugees. Here is another occasion on which one questions Gaudet's figures!

Le Cran

Le Cran was a small settlement on the Petitcodiac River at present-day Stony Creek.

Memramcook

The name Memramcook probably applied to any settlement along the Memramcook River. Gaudet in 1754 counted 62 refugees there and no old inhabitants but his figures are questionable.

Arsenault (p. 50) lists sites of other Acadian settlements in the area: Silvibro (Dieppe), Le Coude (Moncton), Beausoleil (Boundary Creek), Babineau (at the mouth of the Cloverdale River in the present-day area of Salisbury).

The St. John River

The first European establishment at the St. John was Fort La Tour, built by Charles de la Tour in 1631 and destroyed by Charles Menou d'Aulnay in 1645. D'Aulnay subsequently built another fort on the west side of the harbour. There was not a great amount of settlement around either fort.

French Censuses of Acadia tend to count the whole length of the St. John River as one settlement, and the English when referring to the area did too, so that here too it is often difficult to pick out individual settlements.

Several seigneurial grants were made in present-day New Brunswick in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but many of

the grantees never came and settled. Some did:

In 1695 Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chauffours, was established with his wife and child, 6 men and 2 servants at the site of the fort at Jemseg. They had a barn, house and stable. Jemseg had been built by the British in 1659 and had changed hands several times since. Governor Villebon had used it as his headquarters between 1690 and 1692. In 1701 the King's Lieutenant wrote that the floods of the previous year had ruined the Sieur de Chauffours' house and garden and that the family was reduced to poverty. (PAC MG1 C¹¹D, 4-1, p. 225).

In 1695 Mathieu d'Amours de Freneuse, his wife, 4 children, 1 servant and 2 men were living in a house, a barn and a stable. Their settlement was apparently on or just opposite the Middle Island, a few miles below the Cromocto. (see Raymond, W. O. The River St. John, 1910, p. 126). He had several habitants (about 15) living on his property. (See Acadian Censuses, p. 104).

René d'Amours, Sieur de Clignancourt, established himself "a few miles above Nashouac at or near Eccles Island", about half a league from Fort Nashwaak. (Raymond, p. 126). Also established on the land at Nashwaak was a habitant with his wife and two children. The Fort at Nashwaak was built by Villebon in 1692 in the north west corner of the angle formed where the Nashwaak River and the St. John River met. According to Webster (Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century p. 209), the site is mostly underwater. The fort was abandoned in 1698 and demolished thereafter.

There never seems to have been a very large population on the St. John during the French period. The Acadian Census of 1698 records only 41 Europeans living there. When the capital of Acadia was

transferred to Port Royal after Villebon's death in 1700, the St. John was left without any military protection, and when war between England and France broke out again in 1702 the settlers there were forced to move either to Quebec or Port Royal. The St. John valley was again virtually deserted.

Even after 1713 when the British assumed control of Nova Scotia not much French settlement took place along the St. John. A Census taken in 1733 shows only 111 habitants on the length of the St. John River. (Raymond, p. 167). In 1748 Le Loutre wrote that there were only 15 or 20 French families on the St. John. More Acadians began to arrive in the years immediately preceding 1755. Governor Hopson in 1753 estimated that there were 100 families on the St. John. (PAC Nova Scotia A, vol. 54, p. 147-8).

After the expulsion of 1755 a number of refugees made their way to the St. John. According to Raymond, settlements in the late 1750's had grown up at the west side of St. John Harbour, there were a few settlers at the mouth of the Nerepis, and settlements had developed at Gagetown, at Belleisle, at Jemseg, at the Oromocto, and at St. Anne's Point (Fredericton). The last was the largest settlement - over 600 acres had been cleared and a little chapel had been built near the spot where Government House would later stand. (See Raymond, p. 209).

In November 1758 a large force under Brig. Robert Moncton made its way up the St. John to destroy Acadian settlements. They burned about 50 houses and barns at present-day Gagetown and also several from Upper Gagetown. At this point it was too late in the season to go any further. In February of the next winter an expedition burned

St. Anne's (Fredericton), destroying 147 houses, 2 churches, barns, stables, granaries, etc. (Raymond, p. 242-3). Many of the inhabitants escaped to hiding places in the woods, while many made their way to Quebec. After the fall of Quebec two hundred more Acadians were sent prisoner to Halifax, and in 1763 the remaining few Acadians were expelled.

Prince Edward Island

After the fall of Louisburg in 1745 the English took Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island) which they held until the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. After 1748 the French actively encouraged the Acadian population of Nova Scotia to emigrate to Ile Saint Jean. They had some success, particularly in the years 1749-1752 when so many Acadians were crossing the Missaguash River in the Isthmus of Chignecto in search of new lands or freedom from British jurisdiction. D. C. Harvey (The French Régime in Prince Edward Island New Haven, 1936, p. 269) estimates that in 1748 the total population of the island was 650 while in 1752 it had risen to 2223, according to the Census of that year taken by the Sieur de la Roque. De la Roque lists all the inhabitants in all the settlements. Most of them contained both new Acadian settlers and older ones who had come in before the 1740's, although a few settlements like St. Peter's and East Point contained a larger proportion of older inhabitants than new.

De la Roque found settlement at the following places:

Fort la Joye (Charlottetown Harbour), Rivière du Nord-Est (East River), Rivière du Nord (Yorke River), Rivière du Ouest (West River), Rivière

de Feugiguit (near modern Fisiquid), Rivière du Moulin (on south side of the East River, perhaps Mill Brook?), Anse au Comte Saint-Pierre, (?), Anse au Matelost, (?), Grand Anse, (?), Grand Ascension (on Rivière de la Grande Ascension), Pointe au Boulleau, (east of the entrance to the above river), Anse de la Boulloterie, (?), Pointe Prime (Prim Point), Anse à Pinnet (Pinnet Harbour), Havre la Fortune (Fortune Bay), Pointe de l'Est (East Point - There had been a settlement at the point but it had burned and the residents had moved 2 leagues from the point on the north side), St. Pierre du Nord (St. Peter's), Tracadie (the settlers were on the west side of the harbour), Etang des Berges (3/4 of a league from Tracadie), Macpec (Malpeque), Bedec (on both sides of the Bedeque River), La Traverse (Cape Traverse), Rivière des Blonds (both sides of the Tyron River), Rivière au Crapeau (Crapaud), Anse au Nord-Ouest, (?), Anse aux Sanglier (?).

Pentagouet (Penobscot or Castine, Maine)

After the destruction of Fort Royal in 1613 by the English, Claude de la Tour transferred his activities to the fur trading in the Penobscot area and eventually built up Fort Pentagouet as a combined fortified post and fishing station. This has been cited as the first permanent settlement in New England. (see George MacBeath, La Tour's biographer in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1966, p. 596.)

In 1625 or 1626 Pentagouet was captured by the English from the Plymouth Colony, who held it until 1635 when Charles Menou d'Aulnay retook it for the French. The next year the King granted the "Vieux Logis" and a strip of land at Pentagouet to Claude de la Tour, who, however, probably never returned to the site.

The period between 1635 and 1650 is dominated by the struggle between Charles de la Tour and d'Aulnay for control of Acadia. In 1639 d'Aulnay used his influence with the Court to have Pentagouet assigned to him. He cleared land there, and, according to J. C. Webster he also built a mill and traded with the Indians there. (Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century p. 219).

After d'Aulnay's death in 1650 La Tour was reinstated as Governor of Acadia which included Pentagouet. After the British captured Acadia in 1654 he was taken prisoner to England, where, in 1656, he sold his rights to William Crowne and Thomas Temple and Crowne took command of Pentagouet.

When Acadia was finally returned to France in July 1670 the new Governor, Hector d'Andigné de Grandfontaine, went to Pentagouet to take over the province. Following his instructions from France, he established

his headquarters at Pentagouet as a deterrent to English aggression. According to his biographer in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (p. 63), Grandfontaine attempted to encourage settlement there but the site was in to exposed a position and the land was not good and many of the settlers eventually went to Port Royal and Beaubassin. In 1672 a famine struck the colony and some of the men were sent to Port Royal for the winter.

In 1671 Grandfontaine ordered Father Laurent Molin of Port Royal to take a census of Acadia (PAC?, MGI, G22, vol. 466 pt. 1, p. 2) and he recorded one family and 25 soldiers at Pentagouet. Grandfontaine made a detailed description of the physical characteristics of the area in 1671 but did not mention settlement. (MGI, C¹¹D, 1 part 2, p. 20ff). He apparently restored the fort and maintained there a garrison of about 30 men under Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin. Saint-Castin soon erected a house and other buildings and began trading with the Indians.

In 1673 Grandfontaine was replaced as Governor by Jacques de Chambly who arrived at Pentagouet in the fall. In the summer of 1674 France was at war with Holland and a party of Dutch pirates captured Pentagouet with its garrison of 30 men, removed the cannon and took Chambly prisoner. (DCB p. 185). Saint-Castin managed to escape to Quebec but was able to return to Pentagouet.

In 1686 Governor Ferrot wrote that there had been a fort at Pentagouet which had been destroyed in the late wars, but that half a league from the site there lived a gentleman and several men who were engaged in the fur trade. (C¹¹D, 2 part 1, p. 48). This was Saint-Castin who had had his establishment looted by the English in 1684 (p. 220, Webster, Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century) and would have it looted again in 1687. At the time that Gargas took his census in 1687-88,

there were a priest and 12 people along with 160 Indians at Pentagouet and they lived in 2 houses and 32 wigwams. They raised no animals and cultivated only 2 arpents of land. (Morse, W. I. Acadiensis Nova vol. 1, p. 145-55). The 1693 Census lists Saint-Castin, his Indian wife and child and two other men and their families for a total of 14 Europeans. (Acadian Census p. 96-97).

Pentagouet during the years Saint-Castin was there seems to have been a centre of anti-English activity. Missionaries established themselves there to make the French influence felt among the Indians, and in 1696 a force assembled there to aid Iberville in his attack on the English at Fort Pemaquid. (Webster, p. 221).

In 1703 the English again plundered Saint-Castin's property at Pentagouet and in the next year Colonel Benjamin Church laid Pentagouet waste. The area was one of border struggles for a large part of the eighteenth century but Acadian settlement there does not seem to have been a factor. Further investigation might show what Acadian settlement there was.

The actual site of Pentagouet is not definite. Some sources say it was at Castine, Maine (i.e. Webster) while others say it was at Penobscot, a few miles away. (i.e. Morse). Further research would perhaps clarify the matter.

