

**THE FRENCH PERIOD
IN NOVA SCOTIA
A.D. 1500 – 1758
AND PRESENT REMAINS**
a historical, archaeological and botanical survey

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The cover illustration is a 1757 map of Acadia produced by the French to record the travels of M. B., an Engineer in the Navy. R. Porter Collection.

Reg Porter
 Belle River, PEI
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INTRODUCTION

The period of European advance upon Nova Scotia needs to be divided into several sections. In the first and longest section, the French played a very minor part. The sixteenth century belongs to the fishermen of many nationalities. The seventeenth century was that of fur-trading companies and seigneuries, the whole chequered with French and English claims and withdrawals, ending at last in almost continuous war between these nations. Late in this century, colonial peasants, brought in to provide food for the fur-trading forts, developed into an almost independent farming community, the Acadians. In 1570, the French government for the first time took over the management of the province. The Eighteenth Century began in war which soon ended in the final capture of Nova Scotia by the English. It was immediately followed by the French attempt to regain control of this gate to the St. Lawrence by building the fortress of Louisbourg. This recovery of French governmental contact with the Acadians led rapidly to their expulsion.

Innumerable histories cover these periods, but unfortunately most of them are tainted by chauvinistic attempts to prove the excellence of one nation or the other. Recently some balanced and well-documented books have emerged. We can rely upon Hoffman's study of the fishing period and Clark's of that of the Acadians. Conventional histories rely upon written records which may give more exact details than can be reached by any other method, but in a country such as Acadie, where literacy was scarce and books unknown, documentation was limited to the governing class of Frenchmen who regarded Indians and Acadians alike in terms of profit to be gained from them and their conformity to French demands. The only sympathetic description of Acadian life, and that limited to Port-Royal and its neighbourhood, was written by Dièreville in 1700.

The reconstruction of Acadian life needs to be enlarged by archaeology, an expensive process at best and one which is becoming more difficult as Acadian root-cellars are ravaged in the hope of finding treasure or are filled with field-stones or garbage. There is a third approach, that of examining superficially the surviving remains and checking traditions against the visible results of Acadian occupation. It is only in this field that this study can claim any novelty.

CHAPTER 1

EUROPEAN DISCOVERIES AND CLAIMS

The western shore of the Americas faced the prevailing winds and the currents of the sea and so received some, perhaps many, boats of Asiatic fishermen lost at sea. Conditions on the eastern coast were very different. Here the only westward-flowing current was that of the Northern Trade, and ships which might have survived the crossing would have reached the West Indies or the north of South America. In the north, the current from the west of Greenland may have carried Eskimos to Newfoundland and even farther. The Norse Greenlanders with better ships found the continent by accident without the aid of currents.

Ingstad's discovery of a Norse site in northwestern Newfoundland has settled in part the long search for Vinland. If the Greenlanders had come to trade, Indians and Eskimos might have accepted them, but they came to settle, and Viking brutality led to war in which the Norse had no great advantage in weapons and were outnumbered. For centuries thereafter, ships came to Vinland for timber and may even have reached Nova Scotia, but we have found no evidence of any influence upon the Indians whose coastal campsites are now well-known.

The only possible Norse relic is the "Yarmouth Stone", said by one writer to have come from Tusket, by others to have been found beside Yarmouth Harbour. This is a rectangular stone with lines of scratchings which have been asserted to be Micmac pictographs (which they are not) and runes (which they may be). Efforts to read them have not been very successful. An amateur rendering brought out a statement: "So-and-so-addressed the men". An expert rendering produced: "Leif to Erik raises". Any rendering is a triumph since one-third of the runes are illegible. However, if this version is correct, it may mean that this was the tombstone of Eric the Red. Similar runic stones in New England have turned out to be tombstones brought as curios from Greenland by fishermen.

In the fourteenth century, the Greenlanders entered upon bad times, neglected by their motherlands, ravaged by piratical fishermen, and pressed by the advancing Thule Eskimos. They disappear from history. Already European ships were capable of crossing the ocean if the winds were not too seriously against them. The tombs of French fishermen tell of voyages that

would have preceded that of Columbus. Be that as it may, Columbus' success inspired the explorations that followed. In 1495, John Cabot reached Newfoundland, and in 1498 he may have touched Nova Scotia and have continued southward to Virginia, claiming all this land for England.

In early records of fishermen in Nova Scotia, the Micmacs are reported as treacherous and dangerous, their faces painted red and white. This is not normal Indian behaviour and rather suggests the strain of a threatened people, already pressed by the agricultural Mohawks from the north and the agricultural Armouchiquois from the south, and now face invasion from the sea. A Portuguese attempt to settle was attacked and driven away by the Micmacs, but as soon as they understood that the fishermen did not want the land but merely to dry their fish on the beach, friendship followed.

CHAPTER 2

THE FISHERMEN

The fishermen set out from Europe in spring and arrived at the time when the Indians were shedding their winter cloaks of beaver, and a trade began, furs for iron tools. Both parties profited. Cast-off beaver cloaks, sodden from the bear-grease underwear of winter, were in great demand by hatters. The iron knives, arrowheads and pots were treasures to the Indians who rapidly mastered their side of the bargaining and soon turned traders, exchanging surplus European tools to Indians inland. By 1550, they had abandoned tools of stone, chipped or ground, and no longer made pottery, though until the twentieth century Indian women chipped stone scrapers, since the trade offered no substitute.

It may not be an accident that at this time of the arrival of iron weapons among the Algonkians, the Mohawks withdrew from the St. Lawrence into New York state. Their own explanation is that for several years their corn crops had failed. This may be true, but the weather did not uproot their agricultural neighbours.

The sixteenth century was devoted to the Wars of Religion and the struggle of Spain for dominance in Europe. The fishermen, however, belonged to a social class which had nothing to gain by becoming involved in war, however they might enjoy private piracy. They did not quarrel with each other, though each race preferred the company of men of their own language. So, without making any national claim, each national group adopted a particular harbour as its own centre. The Spanish took Sydney Harbour, the English Louisbourg, the French Canso and Yarmouth, the latter then called "Fourchu" or "Arcadie". In his journal, Champlain used the name of Arcadie for Nova Scotia at first and later Accadie, and this was probably the origin of the later name of Acadie.

No remains of this period survive. An occasional fisherman passed a winter here in order to be early on the fishing banks. We do not know to what extent the fishermen affected the Indians in matters other than tools. In the first decade of the next century, an Indian band was almost annihilated by smallpox, and this may have been one of many such epidemics. Membertou, chief of the Annapolis Valley Indians at that time, told Lescarbot that in his youth the Indians had been numerous as the hairs on his head, and now they

were reduced to a handful. Allowing for exaggeration, this may have been correct. Hunting Indians could not support inveterate diseases and so had no resistance to them. The Jesuit Father Biard could find only one thing in favour of Membertou, that he was respectable enough to have a beard. Few Indians had beards, so this suggests that the mingling of races may have begun early. Membertou also had a taste for wine, and the degeneration of the race by alcohol may already have begun.

The discovery of new continents by Columbus for Spain, and by Cabral for Portugal led to a quarrel and a decision by the Pope who divided the New World between these two countries. Protestant kings paid no attention to this, and Catholic France refused to accept it. Francis I sent Verrazano in 1524 to explore and map the coast of North America and claim it for France. The report of his voyage includes some interesting items, such as his discovery of the Pacific Ocean six miles inland from what is now Delaware, and he completed his trip at the non-existent city of Norembegue. In 1534, Jacques Cartier touched Nova Scotia and entered the St. Laurence River. The Portuguese reached Newfoundland in 1501, but the riches of India made the cold north unattractive. Now four European countries had laid claim to the same area without respect to the Indians or to each other. Though governments did not know it, Nova Scotia, unlike most of the Atlantic shore, was ripe for peaceful colonization, thanks to the fishermen and their fur trade.

CHAPTER 3

THE FUR TRADERS

The beginning of the Seventeenth Century brought an end to the Wars of Religion. The invincible Spanish infantry had been defeated, Holland was free, and Henri IV was king of France in which Catholics and Huguenots were trying to live in peace. France, by nature the richest country of Europe, had suffered so much from wars that its government had little money for overseas adventures. However, the profitable fur trade was in the hands of fishermen and did not enrich the crown. Adventurous merchants, chiefly Huguenots, had already been testing the possibilities of the St. Lawrence River, and now one group applied for a monopoly of the Atlantic shore. The company would pay the crown for the monopoly and would repay themselves by ousting the fishermen from the trade. However, there were other powers in France than that of the king. Most powerful was the Catholic Church which looked forward to the conversion of the Indians. There were also nobles seeking free land not available in France, and there were a few nationalists who looked forward to colonization of New France.

So a monopoly was granted to Pierre de Gua de Monts, a Huguenot noble whose partners included Gravé du Pont and Jean de Biencourt, sieur de Poutrincourt, a Catholic noble. They alone had the right to trade in fur over an undefined, unmapped area which included Nova Scotia. They would have the right to grant seigneuries to those who would bring out colonists to develop them. Any rights of Indians and fishermen were ignored.

The first settlement by de Monts, in 1604, was on an island in the estuary of the Ste. Croix River which now divides Maine from New Brunswick. In the bitter winter that followed, one-third of the party died from scurvy for which there was no remedy. (Recently, the site of that first fort was excavated and twenty-eight skeletons were found, their teeth showing the results of scurvy.) In that year they had explored the coasts of Maine and the lower half of the Bay of Fundy. Poutrincourt had been impressed by the Annapolis Basin and had claimed it for his seignury, Port-Royal. In the second year, the fort was shifted to Port-Royal as being less cold and more protected. This now became the hub of Acadian development.

This settlement was very unfortunate. De Monts and Poutrincourt had captured and confiscated several fishing ships trading for furs in the area of

their monopoly. Although such seizures were the privilege of the company, they were unpopular, so the king withdrew the monopoly. For three years the habitation lay empty, protected by Membertou, the Indian chief who had recognized the value of a trading post in his territory. In 1610, Poutrincourt returned, bringing workmen, a few peasant families and a priest to convert the Indians. This priest never learned the Micmac language, so the conversions were carried out by Biencourt, Poutrincourt's son. Membertou's family and those of the chief of the Saint John estuary, were baptised, and Biencourt was sent to France to report this achievement and to raise support for the coming year.

On his way, Biencourt learned from a fishing vessel that the king, his father's friend, had been assassinated. Now the queen-regent insisted that Biencourt take Jesuits to carry on the conversions, and the pious Mme. De Guèrcheville became a partner in the monopoly since no Huguenots would support a project in which Jesuits were involved. Soon after arrival, the leading Jesuit, Father Biard, began to find fault with everything in the settlement, his quarters, the Indians, and especially the ignorance of the converts, and he reported all this to France. Poutrincourt's interest was chiefly in the seigneurie and the protection of his rights. He was not a good trader and the takings of the year were quite inadequate, so he went to France himself that winter, leaving his son as viceroy. In a few months, the peppery Biencourt was at odds with Biard, and this ended in his excommunication. The news reached France; Mme. de Guèrcheville withdrew her support and the Huguenot merchants had Poutrincourt imprisoned for debt.

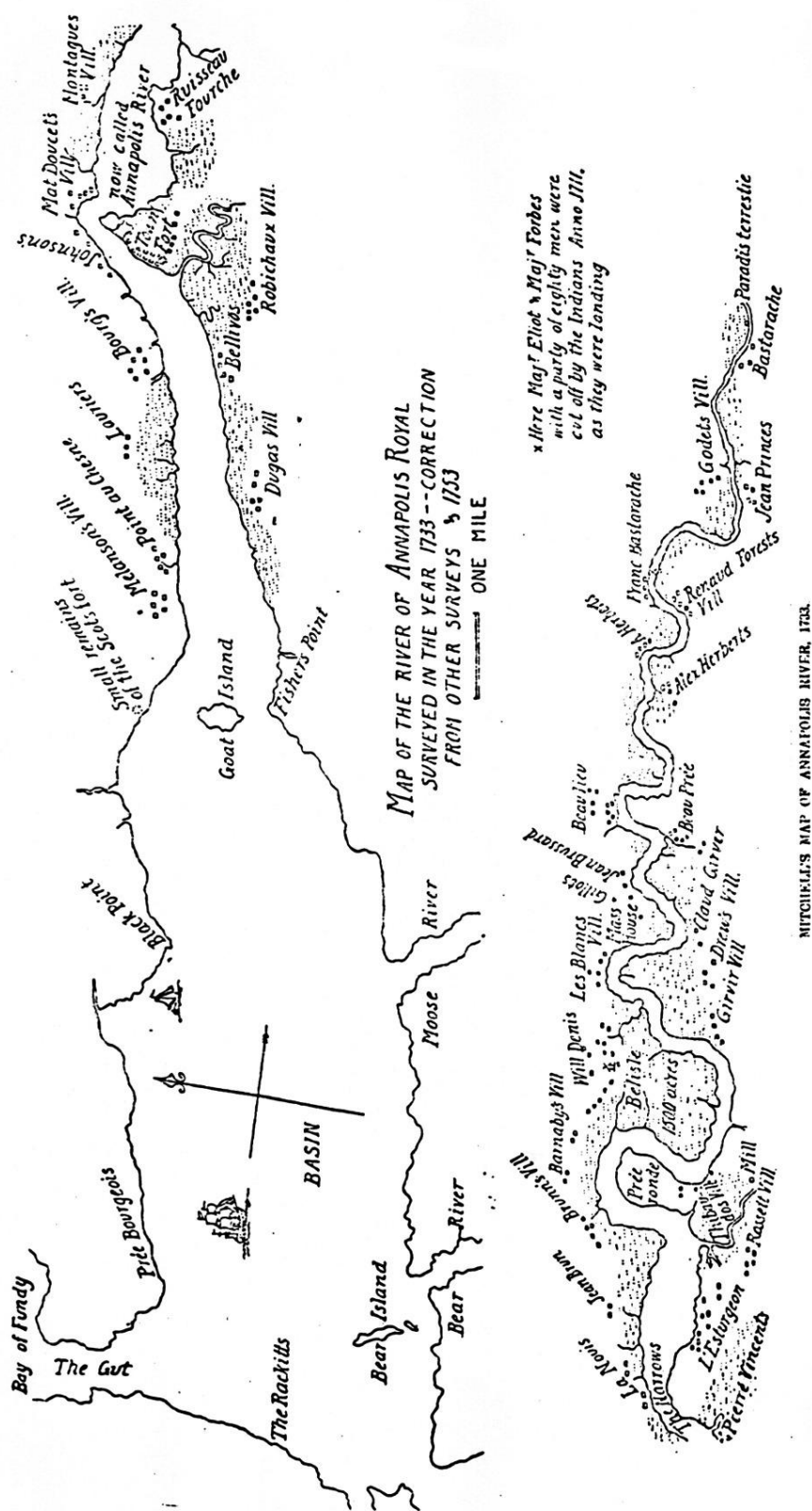
Mme. de Guèrcheville was certain that the Jesuits were in danger while left in Port-Royal, so she planned a new mission to be established in Maine. A ship collected the Jesuits from Port-Royal and carried them to Mount Desert. Their luck remained bad. Samuel Argall, returning to Virginia by the northern route, happened by chance upon the new settlement in territory recently abandoned by Raleigh and Gilbert. Without hesitation he attacked the settlement and carried off the French ships, Father Biard and another Jesuit, since by law Jesuits were forbidden on English land. In Virginia he was ordered to return and to destroy any French encroachments upon English territory. He took Father Biard with him, burned the remains of Mount Desert and Ste. Croix and then fell upon Port-Royal. Biencourt and his companion, Charles de La Tour, were away at the time. The buildings were plundered and burned, most of the cattle were killed, and then Argall departed.

The next April, Poutrincourt arrived with his family and some more peasants for his seigneurie and found it in ruins. His people had wintered with the Indians, a reward for Biencourt's efforts to bring both peoples into one religion. Poutrincourt took his family and some others from the colony back to France. Biencourt and the La Tour father and son remained to carry on the fur trade. There is much disagreement as to the number of employees and peasants who remained. We know only that during the next years they had an adequate band of *coureurs de bois* for their fur trade, and the fact that sixteen years later there were five surplus marriageable girls available for the Scottish colony suggests that most or all of the peasant families had remained. Biencourt developed a profitable fur trade from his base in the present Annapolis and later built a fort in the Cape Sable area and named it "Fort Lomeron". He devoted his short life to litigation with his French merchants and died in 1623. His seigneurie then passed to his partner, Charles de La Tour.

The fort of Poutrincourt has been recreated on the original site at Lower Granville and has been modelled on the drawing made by Champlain. The outer appearance is probably correct. but the inner rooms are not suggestive of Biard's complaints.

No introduced plants are peculiar to this neighbourhood unless the unusual strain of red clover belongs to this first settlement. It is tempting to associate white strawberries with this period. These were called to my attention by Mr. Norman MacRae who found them beside the old French road west of Grand Pre and again at Vimy in Picardy. The only likely colonists from Picardy would have been those from Poutrincourt's seigneurie there. However, they have been found at Karsdale, a mile west of the Habitation, and at Bear River across the basin. Roland and Smith report such berries from White Rock, a mill site of Acadian times, and they grew at Upper Clyde and by the Roseway on the South Shore.

The early clearings in the Annapolis area cannot now be identified. The mill at Lequille, where some of the colonists passed the winter of 1613-14, has been commemorated by the building of the pattern of a French mill surrounding the hydroelectric station. The real mill must have been very small, since it had been shipped from France, and it must have stood a furlong to the south where the river is divided into three channels. Ever since that time until a few years ago, there have been mills on the southern branch. A millstone found near there has been accepted as having belonged to Poutrincourt's mill, but our knowledge of millstone types is sadly limited.



Mitchell's Map of the Annapolis River, 1733

In 1629, Sir William Alexander planned to plant a Scottish colony in Nova Scotia, and he arranged with La Tour to take over the abandoned area of Poutrincourt's fort. As happened to most new colonies, this party lost one-third of its men to scurvy in the first winter. Then Charles I of England abandoned the English claim to Nova Scotia, and the surviving Scots were shipped back to England, except for the few who had married French wives. The map of 1733 (see previous page) marks the Scots Fort as on the site of the present Habitation. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada have preferred a place on the slope to the north for their monument. There seems to have been some building on the spot, though scarcely enough to house seventy men and two women. Beside it is a remnant of Acadian hedge of native hawthorn. We should need additional evidence before feeling certain that this was the true site.

Charles de La Tour was an enterprising trader. At the death of Biencourt, he took over Fort Lomeron and enlarged it to "Fort St. Louis". For several years there has been disagreement as to the sites of the forts. Leander d'Entremont, the first Acadian historian, placed Fort Lomeron at his own home in East Pubnico, Fort St. Louis on the Villagedale sand hills, and the later fort of Sir Thomas Temple on Baccaro Point. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board shifted Fort St. Louis to Baccaro Point and named it Port Latour, much to the annoyance of local people. Neither site has been excavated to determine its date.

Claude de La Tour, father of Charles, sailed to France but was captured by the English. He was well treated and married a lady of the court. Again King Charles had changed his mind and was claiming Nova Scotia. He gave La Tour a grant there and sent him with a ship to take possession of the Biencourt territory. Claude arrived and demanded the fort from his son, but Charles refused to surrender it. Only force could dislodge him, so Claude marched his men overland to an assault on the fort but was repulsed. At last he came to terms. Charles would retain the fort; his father would be given house and garden; and this idea of the English would be forgotten. French-Canadian historians have praised the patriotism of Charles de La Tour who refused to surrender his fort to the English. His later career suggests rather that he, like most contemporary seigneurs, was interested entirely in his own advantage. The final years of Claude have left no mark upon history.

As local historians point out, this scanty item of history does not fit the present Port La Tour. That small site lies at the edge of the water, and a ship would have bombarded the fort without landing. The Villagedale fort was far back from the shore, out of reach of the ship's guns, its sandy beach

excellent for landing Indian canoes and small boats. It could be attacked only by land.

In 1632, the Company of New France dispatched an adequate body of colonists, some three hundred in all and including a somewhat insufficient number of women. The leader was Isaac de Razilly who commanded the ship that took the Scottish settlers back to England. He shares with Poutrincourt the credit of having done more good than harm in the creation of Acadie, which cannot be said of other seigneurs, except perhaps the unfortunate Nicolas Denys. Razilly chose the La Have harbour as his base and sent out his lieutenants to establish trading posts as far as Maine, where they raided the English fort. Instead of making the usual mistake of starting collective agriculture with employed workers, he distributed family holdings with the result that in three years they were almost self-sufficient in food and even had vineyards producing wine. He had built a fort, a chapel and the first school in Canada, and then in 1635-36 he died.

His authority now passed into the hands of his first lieutenant, d'Aulnay de Charnisay, a very different type of seigneur. His first attention was to destroy his French rivals, regardless of their legitimate grants. At this time, La Tour dismantled his Fort St. Louis and shifted his headquarters to the Saint John River. A very confused French court divided the land, giving to d'Aulnay the north shore of the Gulf of Maine and the Bay of Fundy as well as Port-Royal, and to La Tour the shores of Nova Scotia and his base on the Saint John.

D'Aulnay's first attack was upon Denys who had set up a post for fishing and timber with Razilly's permission, and this was promptly destroyed. In the harbour of Herring Cove, now Brooklyn, the relics of a wharf bound with copper may have been the site of this post. D'Aulnay's next move was to shift his headquarters from La Hève to Port-Royal. It is said that d'Aulnay left in La Hève those colonists who had married Indian wives. All that can be offered in confirmation is that even to this day there remains a band of métis in the neighbourhood.

Today very little remains to remind us of the original settlement of La Hève. The fort was destroyed by Le Borgne, d'Aulnay's successor (perhaps to prevent it from falling into English hands). Until recently there used to be the tiled floor of a building at the edge of the harbour, and this was named without evidence, "The Chapel." The local council settled the matter by having it bulldozed out of existence. Along the edge of the harbour there are still a few small cellars which have not been excavated and dated. One local

tradition is that Razilly's fort is now under the sea, but I shall doubt this until divers have confirmed it. West of Petite Rivière there is a cemetery almost covered with blown sand. It is enclosed by a low wall of large blocks of slate making a quadrangle, but at the north side this wall continues east and west, suggesting a much larger enclosure. Between: this and the beach there is a crescentic dune, but deep in the sand there is a barrier of stone, perhaps once a breastwork for the defence of the fort. The choice of site is very similar to that of Villagedale, a stretch of sandy beach available to canoes but not to ships. Farther to the west, a rather large cellar stands on a ridge overlooking the sea. The site and the type of cellar resemble those of the chapels in the Port-Royal settlement, and nearby European Woodbine grows abundantly. However, this may be part of the first post of Denys.

The line of small farms from Crescent Beach to Bridgewater deserves a more thorough botanical search than I have given it. In a short visit I encountered introductions from Europe: purple loosestrife, hops, woodbine, mint, meadow-sweet, tansy, caraway and sorrel. Two are wholly ornamental, three are pot-herbs, one concerns drink, two are medicinal - a proportion to be found in most Acadian settlements. In reverse there is the weed, *Bidens tripartita*, one species of the "beggars' ticks". This is common in Bridgewater, rare elsewhere in the province. It is also one of the first American weeds to be introduced into western France in the Seventeenth Century, possibly a gift of the fur trade from La Hève.

D'Aulnay had also a good side. At Port-Royal he built a fort, a chapel and a school; he brought over artisans from France to teach their skills to the colonists; he continued the conversion and education of the Indians; he improved the livestock and probably the variety of vegetables and flowers. In fact, he spent for the benefit of the seigneurie far more money than he had. However, his main aim was La Tour. He attacked the fort by Saint John and was beaten off. A second assault was more successful. La Tour was away and though his wife defended the fort bravely, it was captured, and she was compelled to watch the hanging of La Tour's men. She died soon after. La Tour, temporarily ruined, retreated to Quebec. One day, d'Aulnay failed to return, and his body was found on the edge of the Annapolis River. The servant who had been with him when the canoe upset had forgotten to report the matter.

D'Aulnay's principal creditor had been Le Borgne to whom he had offered five years of the profits of the seigneurie; so now Le Borgne arrived and began a wholesale ravage of the seigneuries. Mme. D'Aulnay had done her best to harry Denys in her husband's style, but Le Borgne was too strong for

her resources. La Tour had returned, and now he married Mme. D'Aulnay, and with their combined force they held Le Borgne at bay.

This was now the period during which Cromwell ruled England and his wars affected even Acadie. Sir Thomas Temple, sent out to capture New Amsterdam, received notice that the war with Holland had been settled so he turned upon New France and seized control of most of south-western Nova Scotia. It was then that he built a fort, perhaps Fort La Tour. When he left, he gave this fort to Charles de La Tour who at this time had become an English subject for a few months. At last, in 1667, the French government took over control of the colony and order began to return. Grants to seigneuries were sold to seigneurs hungry for the profits of the fur trade, although already the Indians had reduced the stocks of beaver drastically. Nearly every large river along the North, East and South Shores had its fort, but these were abandoned almost as rapidly as they were built.

In 1700, Villebon was the military governor of Acadie and was chiefly preoccupied with wars with the English which had already lasted periodically for half a century and were to continue for as long again. In times of peace, New England fishermen fished and dried their catch along the South shore, and it had been suggested that this should be stopped. Villebon's suggestion was that these fishermen should be encouraged and taxed. At that time there remained only five forts on the Atlantic coast: Port-Royal; Mirligueche, Moscoucoubouet, Rivière Ste. Marie, and Campseau. All these needed reinforcement, and the taxation of the fishermen might pay for the defence of these posts in time of war.

Port-Royal had been captured and destroyed frequently during that century, so there has been reason for contention as to the site of d'Aulnay's fort and those of later days. The general opinion is that the present Fort Anne was the site of all these forts, although the surviving buildings are all of the English period with the sole exception of part of the Magazine. The European oaks and elms might belong to any period. The field bindweed in the field south of the mowed area tells of Acadian occupation. More important is bulbous buttercup growing beside the Magazine. This weed seems to have been introduced at either La Hève or Villagedale and has spread along the South Shore from Barrington to Halifax, but is unknown among the farming Acadians except near Curry's Corner, Hants County, to which it was probably carried by oxen or cartwheels during the Acadian trade with Halifax. This patch in Port-Royal may be a relic of d'Aulnay's shift from La Hève to this site.

Mirliguèche is a French rendering of Maligawash, one of many similar names which seem to be Algonkian yet are not Micmac. Possibly they belong to the Shield Archaic people in whose territory all but one of these names are found. The meaning seems to be a bay, in this case the Lunenburg harbours. This seigneurie was granted to Hugues Randin in 1697 and the fort was on Second Peninsula on the land now occupied of Clarence Rhodenizer. The site was well chosen, beside a harbour protected by curves and islands from the direct blow of the waves. A quarter mile away was Bachman's beach, the summer campsite of the Indians of the La Have Valley. The area of the fort has been grazed or cultivated for centuries and only the border remains intact — the paved approach to the now-missing wharf, the breastwork of boulders and an abatis of living native hawthorn at the top of the cliff. Three cellars were filled when the field was cultivated, and a tiled square with a central hole was interpreted as a privy. A quarter-mile to the north, the sea has been undermining a brick-kiln. Red bricks, less hard than the French bricks of Villagedale, are scattered along the beach, and on the bank there appear clumps of fused grey bricks from the lining of the kiln. During cultivation, much broken pottery turned up, occasional coins and crumpled iron tools, many six-pound cannon-balls, a single chain-shot and much grapeshot. The fort must have been bombarded from the sea in the war that ended with the final capture of Port-Royal in 1710.

The fort of Mouscoudabouet was on Francis Nose Island at the mouth of the Musquodoboit River. Nothing of it now remains except a pitted mound where generations of children have dug for cannon-balls, the same six-pounders that destroyed Mirligueche. Some of the island has since been farmed, but nothing suggests any attempt of the seigneur to do more than gather furs.

The fort of Rivière Ste. Marie, built by the Sieur de la Gardière, another of the persecutors of Denys, was just south of the present Sherbrooke. The paved landing at the edge of the river may have been initiated by the fort, but it has been repaired and used until recent years. Nothing remains of the fort's foundations. A single plant of cat's-ear, a vegetable of the Acadians, may have survived from long ago.

Villebon's fort of Campseau is uncertain. On "Grass Island" opposite Canso are the embankments of the latest fort, but this may belong to the Louisbourg period. Before that there had been settlements by French and New Englanders, and only archaeology can sift out the remains.

Seigneuries were granted along Northumberland Strait at Tatamagouche, Pictou, Merigomish, and Tracadie, but all were destroyed in the war of 1710 and have left no visible ruins. The tradition of the seigneur of Minudie is exceptional. He is said to have brought in a hundred colonists, to have dyked the present public pasture and to have had a flourishing fishery, but the encroaching sea has taken church and cemetery and little remains.

CHAPTER 4

THE ACADIANS

D'Aulnay's preoccupation with civil wars may quite unintentionally have given some advantages to the farmers. In the neighbourhood of Port-Royal there are straight slit-ditches filled with stones, marking the boundaries of farms which may never have been cultivated. The peasants of Acadie were drawn from many provinces of France. Poutrincourt may have brought his from his estate in Picardy. Razilly's contingent seems to have come from Saintonge, d'Aulnay's from Normandy. The northerners were accustomed to upland farming, and the seigneurs always considered this to be the only properly French method, though in Acadie it involved slow and unprofitable labour. The peasants from Saintonge were accustomed to the Dutch system of dyking marshlands where trees were absent and soil was rich. In the absence of the seigneur they began to take over the marshes, and for the first time farming became profitable. This practice laid the foundations of Acadie. Because it produced food, it was tolerated by disapproving governors who needed this surplus to feed their armies of French and Indians in the wars with the English. As the fur trade became less and less profitable, the Micmacs came to depend ever more on the "gifts" of the French.

In theory, Port-Royal was the capital of Acadie and the protector of the people; in practice it worked the other way. The French and Indian raids upon the farming villages of New England called for revenge. Quebec was impregnable and the country of the Abnaki Indians, allies of the French, lay between New England and the St. Lawrence, but Port-Royal was open to ships. So some nine times Port-Royal was raided and destroyed, and the peasant farms were plundered. In times of peace, the governors demanded meat and grain. The furs that the farmers traded from the Indians must be sold to the fort, and the few things that the farmers could not make for themselves were sold to them at French prices. By treating with the New Englanders, the farmers could receive more for their furs and products and could buy their tools more cheaply. This trade was strictly forbidden and was dangerous. New generations moved farther up the river where they were safe from raids, but this also cut them off from the contraband trade.

A solution to this problem was found by Jacques Bourgeois some time after 1671. With five other families he sailed up the Bay of Fundy to the Tantramar Marsh and there founded the settlement of Beaubassin. Here was unlimited marshland far from both New England raiders and the French government. The settlement flourished.

The next settlement was that of Minas (*Mines*). The name came from the copper of Cape d'Or which with Cape Split marked the mouth of the basin. We have many histories of Grand Pré, usually contradicting one another, but no satisfactory treatment of the widespread settlement of Minas. The first arrivals may have established themselves at Grand Pré as tradition states, though a more promising and very old dyke is at Upper Dyke Village. Rapidly with the generations, dyked fields followed farther into the marsh until rather more than half of it had been reclaimed. Similarly the dykes crept from each side across the greater marsh of the Canard River and up the Cornwallis (*Grand Habitant*) River to New Minas, the limit of the tidal marshes. Another overflow of population moved eastward up the Avon Estuary. For a time this was treated as part of Minas, but later it was given the Indian name of Piziquid.

The most promising part of Piziquid was on either side of the Avon River, but almost equally early settlements worked up the St. Croix and Cogmagun Rivers. Another settlement, named Cobequid, was begun in the neighbourhood of Truro, but this remained of little importance until the expulsion of the Beaubassin Acadians. Along the South Shore and along the coast of Fundy there was a scattering of Acadian fishermen, but the only signs of organization were in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth and Pubnico, the latter a grant given by La Tour to his companion, Philippe Pius d'Entremont.

CHAPTER 5

ENGLISH RULE

Villebon's premonition was well founded. Nothing was done to strengthen the French forts, and in the War of the Spanish Succession the English captured Acadie. In the treaty that followed, France surrendered "Acadie as the area is understood," a dangerously vague definition. Now Port-Royal was renamed Annapolis-Royal and an English governor and a handful of assistants took command. The first years were disgraceful, a confusion of incompetent or high-handed governors seeking to impose their ideas upon equally uncomprehending Acadians. These governors looked upon the Acadians as enemies and dangerous, but if they were expelled they would merely go over to Quebec and increase the enemies there. The Acadians had no wish to leave their good lands. They were *censitaires*, recognizing the rights of the seigneurs, though they did their best to avoid paying their dues. They were French in their sympathies and the English were traditional enemies, but there was a third loyalty which overshadowed both loyalty to France and to their pockets, and this was religion. It came first in their decision, their land came second and France came third. To the governors religion was probably less important than loyalty. perhaps less than convenience. They tried in vain to persuade the Acadians to accept the oath of loyalty to England. They were willing to give the Acadians priests and the practice of their religion. The Acadian leaders demanded one more concession, that they should not be called upon to war against the French.

This agreement seems to have been tacitly accepted by both and was repeated through the years. The Acadians kept their land, and the Annapolis garrison was fed. At no time were the Acadians prevented from leaving. The governor's work passed into the hands of Col. Paul Mascarene, of Huguenot family, fluent in French and sympathetic to the Acadians, and they enjoyed the most prosperous period of their history.

During this time the French had discovered that "Acadie" meant only Port-Royal. They began to build the Fortress of Louisbourg, a needed base to protect the mouth of the St. Lawrence. A census of the time found Cape Breton to hold one Frenchman and twelve families of Indians, and so was definitely not part of Acadie by the French understanding of the agreement. To the Acadians. Louisbourg was a gift of heaven. The French offered them

free lands and bounties. Some of them, probably young men, came to the call, but they found the Cape Breton soils unattractive and the bounties not forthcoming. Only fishermen seem to have remained. But Louisbourg needed food and Acadie had it to spare. Cattle and grain moved northward and the Acadians rejoiced in a triple achievement, a patriotic service, good profits, and the pleasure of contraband business. Unfortunately Louisbourg overreached itself. As soon as the fortress was completed, the harbour became a refuge for French privateers which nearly destroyed the New England fishing fleet of the Banks. One result of this coup was that when the War of the Austrian Succession began, New England raised an army to attack Louisbourg and captured it.

There were other developments. A Jesuit priest, LeLoutre, had been sent to Acadie as a missionary to the Indians. In his first years he had done excellent work with the Indians and later with the Acadians, but when war broke out, patriotism overruled religion in him and he took part in the war. He arranged ambushes by the Indians and involved Acadians as spies to report the movements of English soldiers or ships. For the young men, this was both excitement and a sense of patriotism, but some of the wiser older Acadians protested to Quebec of this misuse of religion and expressed the opinion that the Acadians would certainly suffer from it. While the attack upon Louisbourg was in progress, LeLoutre called out the Indians to the siege of Annapolis. A small body of Acadians joined the Indians, and the besiegers were fed by Acadian farmers while they waited for the arrival of d'Anville's invincible fleet, and others shipped food to Louisbourg to the extent of 700 cattle in a single year while the English garrison starved. Disease ruined d'Anville's fleet and the siege was raised.

LeLoutre had advised the French to move into the western part of Beaubassin. As the garrison of Annapolis was small, an appeal for assistance was made to New England which sent Col. Noble and five hundred soldiers. It was decided to set up a fort in Grand Pré, the most truculent settlement. They came too late in the season. The ice prevented them from landing at Grand Pré, so the soldiers were landed at Morden to trudge through deep snow for more than thirty miles while carrying supplies for too weeks. The ship carrying the sections of the fort could not reach Grand Pré. The soldiers reached Grand Pré and took possession of a score of houses spread over more than a mile. Promptly an Acadian set out on snowshoes and took the news to the French at Beaubassin. They came, collected a band of Indians from Shubenacadie and reached Melanson during the night. There they were given descriptions of the houses in which the soldiers were billeted and

Acadian boys led them to the houses. More than one hundred were killed and many more wounded before the awakened soldiers were able to hold their own. But they had no provisions and had to come to terms. They agreed to give parole for the rest of the year and set off to Annapolis. Mascarene's report to the government was that Annapolis would never be safe while the Acadians remained.

When the war had ended in an agreement that France and England should restore what enemy lands they had captured, Louisbourg was returned into French hands, much to the annoyance of New England. England for the first time showed consideration, and the naval base of Halifax was begun. This made impracticable any more fleets of privateers from Louisbourg, and it also gave the Acadians a market for their produce, since the new city was surrounded by infertile land. The peace, however, was not well observed. Quarrels on the Ohio River built up progressively, and the French built Fort Beausejour in the west of Beaubassin. Colonel Lawrence was sent to build a fort on the eastern side to prevent any further encroachment. LeLoutre called out his Indians and ordered the remaining settlers of Beaubassin to cross into the French lines where the men were conscripted into the French army. Then the houses and the church were burned so that there should be no shelter for the English. Fort Lawrence was built there and a sniping warfare continued until Monckton captured Beausejour. But the first expulsion had taken place.

Lawrence now became governor of Nova Scotia and continued to correspond with Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. Both were aware of the danger. Although undeclared, this was war, and if the French should break through into Nova Scotia, the thousand or more Acadian men would accept the order of LeLoutre to join the French army without regard to the oath of loyalty to the English. Then they could sweep away the small forts and isolate Halifax from all sources of food. Even New England might be endangered. At this time came the news that General Braddock's army, the only British regular body on the continent, had been destroyed by French-Canadians and Indians in the Pennsylvania forest. The two governors did not wait to see whether the French would take advantage of their weakness: without orders from England, the Acadians of the main settlements, as many as could be captured, were scattered among the unwilling colonies along the Atlantic coast or were sent to France. This was the second expulsion and the only one publicised.

Lawrence has been painted as a heartless villain. But let us put ourselves in his place. He was the governor entrusted with the protection of this province.

If he had been kind and the French had come again and recaptured the province, would history not have recorded him as an irresponsible sentimentalist who should never have been given the post of governor?

Two years later, Louisbourg fell again to the English and was destroyed by the New England soldiers. There followed a quite unnecessary expulsion of the Acadians of the Atlantic coast, Prince Edward Island and part of New Brunswick, a task which made Wolfe sick to be taking part in it. This was the third expulsion. It cannot be justified, but it may be understood. The English commanders -- Lawrence, Monckton, who took Beausejour and Lord Amherst who took Louisbourg -- had been trained to a very definite type of war, and regarded guerrilla warfare as deserving devastation to the enemy and contempt for their own guerrilla assistants. The same attitude is found in Montcalm who felt disgraced by his use of Indians, and the French officers at Beausejour were disgusted by LeLoutre's treacheries. After the second expulsion, a truculent minority of remaining Acadians and some Indians carried on guerrilla attacks, and to a conventional general like Amherst, this was a crime to be prevented. Because the warriors could not be distinguished from the peaceful, a number of both Acadians and Indians were killed unnecessarily.

After each expulsion, soldiers were instructed to burn the buildings so that escaping Acadians should find no opportunity to return. Nevertheless, a considerable number managed to return or to avoid capture, and in 1768, Acadians were allowed to return and were given lands, though, except in Pubnico, not the same lands as before.

CHAPTER 6

WHAT LITTLE REMAINS OF ACADIAN CULTURE OF THE EARLY PERIOD

The Acadians were all Catholic. This linked them with the Indians, who never betrayed the loyalty they had accepted with baptism, and both met disaster at the hand of one bad priest. It is probable that some of the de Monts-Poutrincourt workmen and some of the Lowland Scots were Protestant, but all these were in time gathered into the dominant religion. The trickle of foreigners, attracted by free land and a surplus of women, seem to have been Catholic from the beginning. During the period of French control the clergy carried on schools, at first only at Port-Royal, later at Louisbourg. A minority of men in other settlements could read and write, but this art was of use only to businessmen and in dealings with the government. The customs of all settlements were so much alike that it would not have occurred to any except foreigners to describe them. Priests were few and far between and for most of the time the smaller communities had to carry on their own services. The fact that the priest on his rare arrival often had to marry a couple and baptise their child at the same time was never due to irregular behaviour.

There are contradictions in our few records of their clothing. The traditional dress of grown girls for great occasions was white with black bodice and black head-kerchief, the festive peasant dress through much of Europe. A New England pedlar recorded their hunger for scarlet cloth which they could not dye for themselves. This was used to make tassels, but these may have been intended for the oxen. Visitors commented upon their wearing moccasins. There is no record of special shoemakers, and homemade footwear continued to be used until early in this century - and not only by Acadians. The better kind were moccasins of well-cured hide; the larrigans were made from the forelegs of moose or cow, the tough knee-pad serving for a heel, and these were crude and often smelly. The only example of French footwear that has survived was salvaged by Mr. Ternan in Annapolis when a ditch had been dug to a depth of five feet and had uncovered the refuse of a bonfire. In this were found broken crock and a neat slipper of a small girl. Evidently, she had outgrown the slipper which was probably from France for it had been taken to pieces and a larger pattern had been

fashioned from birch bark. Pattern and slipper had then been discarded, and we shall never know if the new slipper fitted.

Acadian houses have been described in many ways. Rameau, who may never have seen them, included mud-and-wattle huts, but this type of architecture, though it might have served in necessity, would not have survived a single autumnal downpour. Gargas described the Minas houses as “low, built of logs one on top of the other, and roofed with thatch.” Dièreville says: “far apart and with clay chimneys.”

The last two descriptions fit the cellar which I excavated in New Minas. One end of the cellar had been distorted by a large pine tree, but the dimensions seemed to be 25x 12 feet. The wall may have been 8 feet high, probably of squared logs. There were no corner uprights as there would be in the “pigpen” type of log cabin. Not a nail was found in the whole site, which makes it probable that the roof was of thatch. The very thorough burning of the logs confirmed this. The walls lead fallen outward, suggesting the “half and half” dovetailing of the logs at the corners. The root-cellar had been only some four feet wide at the bottom, and the hammered dry-stone walls sloped outward to a height of four feet. The raised foundation supporting the vanished sills suggested that the house-floor would have been about six feet above the rough stone paving of the cellar. At the western kitchen end of the cellar, a ramp with slate steps led, presumably, to the trapdoor. The northwestern end of the kitchen was paved with long blocks of slate driven edgewise into the soil. At the corner was part of a hearth walled with stone mortared with clay which had baked to a brick-like colour. Above it was a pile of much clay and occasional stones, the collapsed chimney.

The house cannot have been occupied for very long, as the only household rubbish was a cluster of piglet bones, perhaps a single stew, and even this may be post-Acadian and be no older than the inevitable pop-bottles. The lack of broken pottery suggested that wooden vessels were used. Within a few rods of the house were several plants favoured by the Acadians: apple trees, native and European hawthorns, wild black cherry, asparagus and Daphne. This house can be taken as typical of the Eighteenth-Century dwelling in a well-developed community not influenced by Louisbourg. Asparagus had not reached Port-Royal by 1700, and the blue and-white porcelain of the North Shore was absent.

My pattern of development of the Acadian farms is based upon that of Minas and applies only partially to other settlements. I have divided the types of

farm into four phases. These tell only the success of the settler. For the date one must fall back upon conventional history.

Phase I

Near the edge of marshland and beside a runnel of water, there will be an indentation in the ground partially surrounded by native hawthorns, choke-cherries and occasionally an apple tree. This was a but of a new arrival without wealth or helpful kin. He dyked a field of marsh-land, a low three-foot dyke of alternate layers of clay and spruce branches. For three years the salt in the soil would prevent the growth of a crop other than hay so he would need no cellar and must depend largely upon his livestock, wild fruit and game. The hawthorns defended the house from the encroachments of cattle. In the few sites that I have sampled, I have found no refuse to suggest long occupation. Instead there is another house-site further up the runnel.

Phase II

The second phase has a rather larger house and with it, or in it, is a small circular cellar without stonewalling. Now there was produce to be stored for the winter. Dièreville tells of white turnips and cabbages. Apple trees are more in evidence. Dièreville also says that the livestock pastured in the forest. If they were left there in the winter, this would explain the usual shortage of manure and the rapid retreat of the forest, hastened also by demand for firewood and boards. Each growing son would need another dyked field beyond that of his father, more livestock and a new house. A second cellar on the other side of the runnel usual, but there were no villages.

Phase III

By now the family would have mastered the situation well enough to plan for comfort. An orchard replaces the rare apple trees. The new house would be several rods farther from the marsh, and the root-cellar would be dug and walled before the building. A well may replace dependence upon the runnel. The vegetable garden would have a number of pot-herbs, medicinal herbs, and plants for flavouring cider. A road edged with hawthorns or buckthorns links the house to others of the same standing.

Phase IV

The last phase of house has European shade-trees and abundant flowers, a demonstration of rooted security. There was no further development, for at this point the Expulsion came, erasing all phases.

Acadian roads were designed for oxen which were magnificently strong and desperately slow. For them the most efficient road was as straight as possible and showed a splendid contempt for gradients. Many such roads retain remnants of hedges, a necessity until this century, since those with no pasture turned their cows onto the road to live as best they could. It was up to the residents to protect their own gardens and fields. In some Acadian areas, stone walls were used and in others snake-fences of rails, but neither of these fencings have been found among the dyking Acadians. Forgotten roads can often be suspected by Daphne, meadowsweet, caraway, chicory, tansy and European oak, as well as the hedge-trees. Along these roads one can find traces of dwellings not depending upon dykes: blacksmiths, millers, and the motels of the slow traffic, usually a hedge and traces of an indestructible Acadian orchard, the roots of which sprout new trees forever.

Acadian mills were small, frequent and various. Windmills were on the ridges of Grand Pré and Canard; tidal mills at Kentville and Martock. The major part of the work fell to steep brooks, usually small ones. One type dammed a brook high on the slope and released the water to rush down the mill-race to spin the millstone for a glorious few minutes. Such mills were found at Gaspereau, New Minas, Paradise and south-westward from Annapolis. It is recorded that they bought their millstones from New England. The Acadians were very skilful with wood, but they do not seem to have been good workers in stone. As most mill sites have been used since Acadian times, the only method of recognizing them is by observation of trees and flowers, such as Lombardy poplar, eglantine, elecampane and hyssop, plants less dear to the New Englanders.

Shipbuilding was practiced on many shores and rivers, but now the coastal relics cannot be distinguished from the ephemeral dwellings of fishermen. In late days there was traffic with the West Indies, and at all times they traded with New England, a practice which made for some changes in Acadian life. Potatoes, for example, were not mentioned among the current foods as recorded by Villebon and Dièreville in 1700, but in Minas and Cobequid potato-forks have been ploughed up, and in the expulsion of 1768, potatoes were the greatest store of food gathered by the soldiers. With this foreign influence and the instructions given by the English government, it is difficult

to be sure what developments were truly Acadian. For example, Boudro Bank (Town Plot) had abundance of introduced trees and plants; the road to it from Church Street is typically Acadian in its detour of marshes and brooks that would have needed bridges. Until this century, there was a ferry across the Cornwallis River and a straight Acadian road from the other side to join the Port-Royal Grand Pré road. Nevertheless, there is only one cellar attributed to the Acadians and no trace of dyking in the neighbourhood. Such organization seems not Acadian, yet ferries were not unusual.

Basket-making is another puzzle. The Micmac Indians are said to have made baskets of coiled grass strung with Spruce-roots, but the modern Micmac make splint baskets of European type, presumably learned from the French. But the French introduced three species of willow useful for strong baskets, yet only among the Lunenburgers have I met a tradition of making them.

CHAPTER 7

SUPERFICIAL REMAINS OF PRE-EXPULSION SETTLEMENTS

Port Royal

No very primitive house-sites were found in this oldest settlement, except in the outlying areas of Paradise and Lawrencetown. On the Exhibition Ground in Lawrencetown there used to be a "French cellar," now buried in garbage. Westward on the slope there may have been two Phase I houses sheltered from the north wind. The small flood-plain below has a low dyke, and between this and the house site was an ancient orchard. At Paradise, on the north shore above the bridge, the miller's garden is visible and the one-time mill-race can be traced up the slope to the pond beyond the road. On the south bank of the river and below the bridge, there are four cellars of Phase II type though Mitchell's map of 1733 (see page 13) shows only three. At the next bend of the river downstream, the map shows houses on each side, but these could not be determined. Local tradition has it that here ships used to be built.

At the centre of Upper Granville, the map shows the "Mass House" among several houses. A few of these houses are still visible as cellars. The site of the chapel is said to be in an impenetrable jungle of native hawthorns. It is said that the field to the east held the cemetery and that the mounds of graves had been visible until in this century, when it had been ploughed. At Belle-Isle (named for Le Borgne or his son) I was shown the cellar of the chapel with its raised foundation intact. Three cellars were at the edge of a scrub of native hawthorn, and the orchard was edged with Buckthorn. These were on the present Young farm. A little farther to the west there had been another cluster of cellars of which only one remained uncovered.

At Granville Ferry, the Dunromin campsite covers much of the hill which overlooks "The Narrows" of the Annapolis River. There is a local tradition that the earliest church in Nova Scotia had stood on a flattened quadrangle in the campsite. The map does not confirm this, and a terracing of the quadrangle makes me suspect that it was a gun-emplacement of the French, but only excavation could confirm this. Part of this tradition tells that at the time of the Expulsion, the church bell with all the gold of the Acadians was buried there. Troop, one of the earliest post-Expulsion settlers, learned the

place of the treasure and removed it. The bell, but nothing else, was sent to the Acadians at Church Point. I was told this story was attributed also to Upper Granville and Belle-Isle, and it turns up also in the history of Bridgetown and in the *Journal de Cecile Murat*. (The version in North Hants is slightly different. A visiting Acadian dug up the three-legged pot by night.)

On the eastern side of the Dunromin ridge there were many botanical signs of Acadians, but the houses marked in the map (c.f. page 13) were not found. It is said that many houses in Granville Centre have French cellars, and that other cellars have long since been filled with rubbish. There are local historians in Annapolis and the detailed mapping of these must lie with them, as must the hidden history of Annapolis itself.

South of the basin and west of the Allain (Lequille) River to Goat Island, the map shows only 3 villes. It is possible that the Bellivo's lived on an island in the marsh. The trees, European oaks and hawthorns, suggest it, but no signs of habitation remain. The Robichaux ville has been built over, and the westernmost, Dugas ville, seems to have been a mill. There is a dammed pond high by the road. This fed a mill-race, now a gully filled with native hawthorns, which runs down to the basin. The site of the mill was not found.

Lequille, the site of the first grist-mill in North America, was disappointing. There is little doubt that the mill was on the southernmost branch of the river on the rapids. In later times, there should have been a miller's residence, but this was not found. The only dyke is well downstream, and on the high escarpment above it there are signs of Acadian houses.

East of Annapolis and south of the river, the map shows abundant houses, but few were discovered. At Moschelle there is a dyked marsh, probably the Ruisseau Fourché of the map, and on the hill to the north there were three sites of Phase IV type. The western one was intact, surrounded with European oak, elm and apple trees. The central one, the Boat Club, has the trees but has been covered by a farmhouse. The eastern site had obviously been remodelled for a later farmhouse, but beside it there remained a well which is said to have hidden "French gold". The failure to find any certain cellars farther east on this side of the river was largely due to the fact that almost all of the farm people seemed to be new families, whereas on the north side the land had been farmed by the same families for centuries and these knew the fields in detail.

In 1700, Villebon reported a cart-road up the north side of the river as far as Paradise, and only a bridle path from there to New Minas. This path can

only be guessed, but occasional patches of apple trees, purple willows and hedges of native hawthorn in the Berwick and Cambridge areas suggest roadside dwellings, though none have been found.

Beaubassin

Beaubassin on the Tantramar Marsh, the first swarming of the Acadians to establish their own hive, is now difficult to trace. The area is well-chosen and is all farmland. It was the first settlement to be expelled and destroyed and was the first to be re-inhabited by the English. In 1969 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board did some excavations of house-sites in the neighbourhood of Fort Lawrence, now the Trenholm farm, and found a variety of fragments which should give a greater understanding of that period.

The road to and past Fort Lawrence is obviously French, straight and in places edged with house-sites and patches of hedges of European and native hawthorns. The position of the former fort suggests that it had also been the site of the church. In summer, only gardens and roadsides are available for examination. These still retain Acadian plants such as horse-radish, hops and garden cress. Where excavation had been made in 1969, in 1970 the ground was yellow with the European variety of *Rorippa islandica*, hitherto unknown locally. The ground is rich with shards of pottery and broken clay pipes, some, at least, of which show trade with Louisbourg. The area needs a local enthusiast to map the ground before and after it is in command of the crops.

The western extension of Beaubassin, Minudie and River Hébert, confirms Beaubassin's reputation as producer of livestock. The marshlands are dyked but do not show the scale pattern of fields so common in Grand Pré, and the wet soil suggests that the house-sites would have been on the rising land now covered with modern houses. The weeds and herbs so common to Acadian regions were absent here. I was told that tansy and chicory were to be found, but I did not see them.

Minas

Grand Pré, thanks to Longfellow's *Evangeline*, has been the theme of a number of histories and pamphlets, while the neighbouring settlements have been honoured with only a few lines in the county history. As these writings frequently contradict each other and are based upon local traditions which

have benefitted by several generations of improvement, it is necessary to check them with the scanty remains of today.

In Minas Basin (see page 35) the tide rose to an average of thirty feet, which resulted in wide salt-marshes on lowlands and on the shores of rivers for miles inland. Grand Pré was a stretch of marshland about two miles wide and, for half of it, one mile across, penned between the Gaspereau River on the east and the Cornwallis (*Grand Habitant*) River on the west. To the north it was protected for nearly two miles by the ridge of Long Island. A narrower tongue of marsh continued westward as far as Greenwich. On the east of the Gaspereau River was a miniature of Grand Pré, now called Avonport. This was protected from the north by Oak Island.

An overflow of settlers boated up the Cornwallis River. At New Minas as a large moraine, another Oak Island, divided the river, and the southern branch had good marshland. It was necessary only to dyke both ends and a rich polder was theirs. Very soon this settlement had church and priest.

On the next shore of the Basin, northward and parallel to the Cornwallis River, was the *Rivière aux Canards*, a brook at low tide but at high tide a lake of two thousand acres. Here there developed the largest population in Minas.

Two miles farther north from Canard was another, the *Petit Habitant*. High banks limited its marshland, and the population was small. Still farther north was the Pereau River. A census told that this eventually had a population of fifty persons, but the river was never dyked, and this total may have included fishing families scattered along the shore.

In the triangle of Grand Pré Park which houses the forge and the cabin, there seem to have been two Phase I sites, and the circular cellar of a Phase II has been filled with boulders. On the eastern side there is another Phase I by a brook. The next line of Phase III house-sites is about three hundred yards up the slope, but few of these have not been thoroughly destroyed. On Long Island there seem to have been not less than six farm houses overlooking the road by Ransome Creek (see page 35). These and the sparse line of sites beside the French road that runs from Black Landing on the Gaspereau River, runs through the present village, crosses the "Eaton Hill" and continues parallel to the present highway for about a mile, are of Phase IV. Here ploughing and the ravaging of cellars have turned up relics of Grand Pré's last prosperity. Coins are usually of Spanish silver, the currency in which the English troops in Halifax were paid. A Louis-d'or with a pair of

Avonport is said to have had two hamlets of three cellars each. All have been filled in, but they are described as circular and unwallled, Phase II. They suggest a late occupation cut short by the Expulsion.

The delay in occupying the Avonport peninsula may be explained by the tradition that on the knoll above the beach there had been an Indian chapel and cemetery. Respect for the Indians may have delayed occupation until a church in Grand Pré made the chapel unnecessary. There were both church and priest in Grand Pré by 1687.

Recently a house was built on the site of the Indian chapel and in the digging of a ditch from the house to a new well a spot was found where the soil had been disturbed. At a depth of three feet, a cache of tools appeared: a short sword, a stiletto with a metal scabbard, an axe, a dozen or so of knives from which wooden handles had decayed, fragments of a copper kettle, and a quart of beads. At the bottom of the disturbance were a few pieces of crumbling bone above a thin layer of black soil.

The axe was of a type better than those found in the Pictou burials, dated to 1640. The sword and stiletto were of the type of showy but rather useless treasures sold to the Indians in the Seventeenth Century, becoming in time white elephants suitable for gifts to the departed. The longer beads, white or blue, were porcelain imitations of wampum. Flat spacer-beads, also white or blue, were even more abundant. The kettle had been small and flimsy and may have been ploughed up from some other burial. Everything suggests French goods of the Indian trade towards the end of the Seventeenth Century.

Local tradition told that the local Micmac chief, an immense man, had been brought here to be buried. The Micmac custom of burying men is well known. The body was wrapped in a skin or birch bark and was left on a trestle until it was reduced to bones. After this, the bundle was carried to the graveyard of his family and was buried secretly with gifts or tools and food from his relatives. This had been such a burial. The disturbed soil was not quite four feet in its longer dimension, too short for a complete body but adequate for the post-trestle remains. Such a grave was lined with birch bark painted with red ochre; this and the wrapper of the bones may have been decayed into the black layer. In the red clay-loam the thin cover of red ochre would not have been apparent. The fragments of bone could have come from the femurs of a sturdy man, or could have been gifts of food for the dead.

Westward from Grand Pré, an escarpment overlooks the railway and the "Wickwire Dyke." Almost every trickle from the level land to the south has

cut a gully toward the marsh, and on one or both sides there are Phase I or II house-sites. These positions would have given the owners an excellent view of the dykeland, while the gully would provide water and often an easy descent to the marsh. As in Grand Pré, there are two roads and lines of house sites to the south. The row of the escarpment and the next row peter out before reaching Wolfville; the southernmost row continues to Greenwich.

New Minas also has an escarpment overlooking its dykeland. At the foot of the Jones Road, the last house is the “Griffin House” beside a small tumbling brook. Here at one time a set of blacksmith’s tools were found, and beside it a series of gristmills have been swept away since Acadian times. A few rods to the east is the cellar of the Acadian church and beside that a smaller but ample cellar thought to be the priest’s house. At present this spot is enclosed by second-growth spruce, but if this were cleared, it would again have the position of the ideal French church-site, visible throughout the parish. There are a few cellars on the escarpment and others at the edge of the lower fields. A furlong eastward in the cultivated land, a forested island stands alone, traditionally the Acadian cemetery. All the Acadian cemeteries seen as yet, Upper Granville, New Minas, Grand Pré and Maitland, have been without gravestones.

The mill beside the Griffin House must have been quite inadequate for the needs of the settlement. On the Elderkin Brook at the edge of Kentville, there used to be a tidal mill, working on the principle opposite to that of the aboiteau of the dykes. This let the water of the high tide enter and held it there, and released it through the mill at low tide. We cannot be sure that it was Acadian, but on the west side of the road beside the mill-race are seven species of trees and shrubs associated with the Acadians.

There is an interesting anecdote in the County History. About 1820, an Acadian passing through New Minas was given supper and bed in one of the farms. The visitor told his host that his father had been a boy at the time of the Expulsion. The order came to them that the men must gather at Grand Pré to hear the governor’s command. The village council consulted and suspected a ruse. They decided not to go, and instead they gathered their belongings and withdrew some miles into the woods. There they built a stone house for their priest and huts for themselves and awaited the arrival of the French. Every morning some of the men walked to a place from which they could see the Minas Basin, in the hope that the French ships would have arrived. This went on for nearly a year, and the French never came, so they gave up and crossed to the fishing settlements off the South Shore which

were still intact. (This legend with some minor changes is told also in Pereau, though it places a French fort at Glenmont.)

There are other legends in the White Rock area, telling of the “French Fort” and the “Stone House.” The latter wanders as far as Canaan. The French fort, according, to tradition, was a stone house still standing when the New England Planters came. It occurred to me that this might have been the house of the New Minas priest. Only one old man (he died a month later) could tell me where it was -- along the old road west and parallel to the Deep Hollow, probably an Acadian road from New Minas to the grist-mill at White Rock. There were two cellars there, neither suggesting Acadians, but, some two hundred yards from this high spot, the slope steepened and gave a clear view of the Basin, the only such viewpoint in miles.

From the first settlement, the Gaspereau River was of great importance to Grand Pré. In April, the smelts would move up the river as far as Melanson, the top of the tide, and would hesitate there while they adapted themselves to fresh water, and then would move on. In May and June, the alewives (called *gaspereaux* from the Micmac name of *caspalakh*) repeated the performance and were caught and salted down for winter food. And before the run of *gaspereaux* had moved upstream, the salmon were coming in.

The north side of the Gaspereau Valley is The Ridge (see page 39) which has innumerable tiny brooks but none useful for mills. The other side is the South Mountain, nearly twice as high and draining miles of rugged plateau. Here the brooks are of satisfactory size for Acadian mills. There is considerable difficulty in determining which brooks had Acadian mills, since almost all had mills in centuries to follow. Millstones do not help because Acadians and Planters alike bought their millstones from New England. It has been necessary to lean upon the feeble reeds of tradition and plants. Millers needed to live near their mills, and usually they left some of the Acadian flora behind.

Distance was a great difficulty, but throughout the ten miles from Avonport to New Minas, oxen wound slowly over the Ridge and down to the most convenient mill. Some of these trails have become streets and farm roads; others have been abandoned and can be traced only as faint tracks occasionally edged by Acadian weeds, trees and hedges, and the rare house-site along the ghostly trail.

From White Rock to Curry Brook, French willows and Lombardy poplars, elecampane, eglantine, Bouncing Bet and, in one place, hyssop mark probably Acadian mills. The floodplain of the river was in places cleared of

Canard

The settlement of Canard has lost almost all the cellars that told of the inhabitants. The valley was a wide one and flat, originally flooded to the foot of the low ridges on each side. These ridges were forested and of sandy loam, of little use to the Acadians except for grazing and orchards, but here houses were built. The dykelands of the valley gave them grain, the undyked marsh gave hay, so the uplands could be almost ignored. The post-Acadian farmers reversed the plan. The dykelands were valued for hay which fed cattle in the barns, and the manure gathered there was used to change the sandy ridges into fields. So the cellars have been filled in and can be remembered only by the older generation. On the property of Mr. Ernest Eaton, a particularly fine house-site has been protected, a rectangle of house and beside a long terrace above the slope, perhaps a garden overlooking the valley.

There are traces of old roads along both ridges (see page 39). On the north ridge was the site of the blacksmith's forge, formerly a circle of black charcoal, but now reduced to a rich stand of Canada thistle. There was a church somewhere in Canard and, when a barn east of the present Anglican church at Church Street was being extended, an iron kettle was fouled buried, under it a smaller kettle and in this, wrapped in birch bark two glass cruets and the double cup of the communion service. These must have been buried at the time of the imprisonment of the men folk at Grand Pré. No trace of the church remains, but the most likely site would have been where the rectory now stands on the top of the ridge, visible to the valleys of both Canard and Grand Habitant.

From the rectory a road runs along the crest of the ridge, and small straight roads run down the slope to the marsh. The field to the north was at one time called "Windmill Field", and at the junction of one of these roads there were many stones scattered around, whereas other junctions were free of stones. This may have been the foundation of the windmill of which nothing else remains but a name. To the west, another of these crossing roads retained a long slender line of native hawthorns, the remnant of an Acadian hedge.

The settlements of Petit Habitant are not known. At Sheffield Mills there are marshlands that might seem tempting, but there is no sign of dyking or house-sites. The name of the village is that of the last owner of the mills. Two or three New England names preceded this, and the oldest name of all, "Montique", may have been an Acadian *monticule*, meaning the small knoll on which the early mill stood.

Further north is the brook of Pereau (see page 39). In spite of the assertion that Pereau had housed some fifty Acadians, I could find no tradition of French occupation among the oldest inhabitants. There had been no dykes until recently, and the tide had come up above the church. The upper stretch of the brook was promising though dyke-less, a treeless pasture with massive stretches of Canada thistle. The brook entered at the north side and swung around the head of the pasture under the slope of an overlooking escarpment. The obvious places for houses were beside the brook. At the northwest, the roadside shrubs changed abruptly to choke-cherry, native hawthorn and hazel. No cellar could be found but, where the brook met the road, there was a rubble of stone which might have come from a cellar or might have been part of the road construction. The southward escarpment was lined with spruce except at one place where again hawthorn, choke-cherry and wild black cherry alone remained. Behind it was a slightly sunken rectangle, 20 x 15 feet, rather large for a poor Acadian house, so perhaps a more recent shed.

Two such houses, if they were houses, would account for less than one-third of 50 inhabitants. Perhaps the term "Pereau" may have covered the area as far as Whitewaters at the foot of Blomidon. Most of the coves along this shore show French willows, caraway and sometimes comfrey, which suggest families or shipbuilders, though nothing is certain.

The important cellars of Upper Dyke have been erased.

Piziquid

The upper shores of the Avon estuary, although the tides are even higher than at Grand Pré, have only small and unpromising marshes, But this was partly offset by marshes and flood-plains along the rivers, especially the Avon, St. Croix and Cogmagun.

Falmouth on the western side of the Avon had the greatest marshes to dyke, and soon after the first settlement it was encouraged by the opening of the trade with Louisbourg. At some time around 1720, a road was opened from Grand Pré over the Ridge, crossing the Gaspereau River by means of a log-floored ford at Walbrook, crossed the South Mountain to the east end of Bishopville, forded the Halfway River and crossed Grey Mountain to French Mill Brook, where it entered Lower Falmouth. A ferry to Windsor, and then the way northward had no great problems.

There must have been many cellars in this area, but only one, and that doubtful, was found. Upper Falmouth was somewhat richer. From the road leading to the Avon bridge, a French road turned northward, skirting the marshland. For a great distance it was hedged with native hawthorns, and then a small ridge of higher land was pitted with hollows, three at least cellars, the others possibly sink-holes caused by collapse of underground gypsum. A little further along the bridge road and on the south side was an old orchard which seemed to have been French.

The site of the bridge had been the ford which linked Upper Falmouth with Martock. There used to be a pile of stones beside the ford, and when this was dismantled for the bridge, a cache of communion plate was found beneath. The church had been nearby. It seems probable that the other church was in lower Falmouth. The communion plate was scattered. Much of it reached King's College and was lost when that building burned.

Martock had an extensive marsh. The many cellars on the Daniel property have all been filled, but they are remembered as of Phase II type, though other details suggested growing prosperity. A small river had had a mill at the head of the tide. The contradiction between poor housing and prosperity could be explained. There were now two markets for Acadian surplus, Louisbourg and Halifax, and the most convenient ways to both ran through Piziquid. A new road from Grand Pré crossed the Gaspereau River at the ford of Melanson and crossed the mountains to the ford of Upper Falmouth. This road was extended southward from Martock to Chester and so to Halifax. In a pasture between Martock and Windsor there is a stand of bulbous buttercup, a weed transferred by cart or ox from the South Shore. For drovers who wished to send cattle northward to Louisbourg, they could skirt Windsor to Wentworth or by the back road which equally would lead them to the crossing of the St. Croix River at Sweet's Corner. But the Expulsion cut off dreams of wealth before the makeshift houses were replaced by more comfortable ones.

The expansion of Windsor has in the past thirty years destroyed the old pattern. There used to be small dyked marshes, each with its small farmhouse beside the river. Until recently the Avon had a run of smelts, and Martock farmers remember tales of their ancestors who swept up salmon with hayforks. Along the ridges above, farms connected by roads, each with its European oak, told of upland farming. Salad-burnet grew beside the lime quarry and Lady's Mantle, not the species of either Yarmouth or Cape Breton, was scattered in many fields. The abundant Daphne and quaking-grass on the King's College grounds tell rather of drover motels than of

farming. Ships could carry grain or flour to Beaubassin, from which it could be transferred to French ships on the Northumberland Strait, but cattle must walk to the North Shore trading settlements.

A considerable settlement had worked its way up the St. Croix River. As far as Sweet's Corner there were salt marshes to dyke. Above that tide-limit, they dyked the flood-plain and opened the dyke every two or three years and refreshed the soil after the Egyptian pattern. The Acadians were extremely sociable and would soon have established at least a bridle-path between neighbouring settlements. They also were shrewd in business, and must have welcomed the movement of cattle and have prepared to take their share of the profits. The Wentworth road used to be edged with Acadian plants. At the present bridge at Sweet's Corner, an Acadian cellar looks southward over a dyked marsh. The next Acadian settlements were Avondale and Belmont. Little is remembered there except for the "French road" which runs straight front Belmont to the estuary. Farther north, at Poplar Grove, the trees around the existing houses are often those of Acadian Phase IV, although the people whom I questioned knew nothing of the French. The last settlement of Piziquid was on the Cogmagun River with its most conspicuous point at Upper Burlington where orchards, hedges, cellars, and even a cellar suitable to a chapel, can be seen. Tradition has it that Cogmagun held two hundred Acadians. From this point the north road can only be guessed until it appears again at Noel in the Cobequid area.

The greatest village on the St. Croix River was that of St. Croix, but this was destroyed for gravel when the new highway was built, and nothing now remains but a row of hawthorns and the occasional Daphne in neighbouring gardens.

Cobequid

This settlement began at Truro in the Seventeenth Century but developed very slowly. The marshes were limited and difficult to drain, and markets for their produce were far away. Then came the growth of Louisbourg and its insatiable appetite, and Cobequid, probably more suited to livestock than to grain, had access to the northern ports.

To begin from the south northward, like the road to Louisbourg, we find a number of small villages recorded as having Acadian settlers, Cheverie, Walton, Tennycape. The maps and the places themselves do not support this. In the first place, this stretch of coast lacked good marshlands. There may have been shifting families of fishermen, but not an Acadian plant could be

found in any of them. This is not very good evidence, as the North Shore settlements, and even much of Beaubassin, had few of the plants that moved outward from La Hève or Port-Royal. But abruptly, at Burntcoat and Noel, tansy, chicory, caraway, Bouncing Bet and purple loosestrife lined the road.

Burntcoat has a tradition of Acadian farms, but only two dubious house-sites of Phase I were found. A ridge in Noel is named for the French, a suitable place for houses, but now the whole is cultivated. Here in several places there were signs of intentional clearing of upland, a practice probably resulting from the occupation of all suitable dykeland. At Maitland, I was shown the position of two cellars (Phase III) now filled and invisible. In Maitland, a cemetery is said to have been begun by LeLoutre for his Indians. At the far end of this moraine, a gravel pit was begun and disturbed the grave of a girl with long fair hair, shrouded in a linen sheet.

Not far beyond is the Shubenacadie River where LeLoutre's chapel for the Indians is remembered though unmarked and cultivated out of recognition. There were several small settlements up this river, but they seem to have been too late to have left obvious remains. There is a tradition of a French road which comes from the Shubenacadie River to Clifton on Cobequid Bay. At this point there is a farm on the east side which has yielded a surprising number of iron tools, such as potato-forks and a smith-made axe. A cellar produced the broken blue-and-white cups typical on the North Shore and associated with the Louisbourg trade. As this is a small upland farm, such wealth seemed disproportionate, but on the western point of the copse there is a deep layer of charcoal, suggesting the beacon of a ferry crossing the bay to the river road to Tatamagouche.

From Clifton, the road eastward leads to Old Barns, named for Acadian barns which had escaped the burning. There are no dykable marshes along this shore, so these, too, must have been upland farms. European hawthorn and purple loosestrife occur along the road and were formerly conspicuous in the west of Truro.

Westward from Truro, the north shore of the bay has extensive marshes which show little or nothing of Acadian occupation except that brooks beside villages have a few flowers and weeds that suggest Acadians. Masstown once had the Acadian chapel which served this area.

The North Shore Settlements

Acadian history on the Northumberland Strait divides into two periods, each confused and scantily documented. The first period was of the fur-hungry seigneurs whose dates begin in 1680 and end with the war of 1710. Their grantors expected them to introduce colonists, but of this we find no signs. The second period began with the creation of Louisbourg, 1714-58, an attractive market which brought Acadians in fair number to a coast without promising marshlands. Because the two periods are so close together, we cannot be sure to which the scanty Acadian relics belong.

In this confused situation we find a considerable lack of local histories. George Patterson in his *County History of Pictou* collected many interesting facts. Mr. Roy Kennedy has made a study of Tatamagouche with naps of interesting details. But most of this coast remains unknown.

Tatamagouche had the most westerly seigneury in Nova Scotia. The harbour was a magnificent gathering place for the fur trade, but the low tide of the strait built no marshlands to attract Acadians. The site of the fort is not known. Kennedy suggested a point to the west of the village on the grounds of the numerous stone arrow points found there, but such arrow points would have been abandoned a century before the building of the fort. I can only suspect a place in the west of the community where hawthorns and caraway may have some significance.

In the Louisbourg period, this was an excellent harbour where French ships could collect Acadian food, and Acadians could collect money and trade goods. So there seem to have been two groups of Acadian settlers, traders to store the goods and act as middlemen, and farmers to feed the small community and to keep the cattle until a ship arrived. The present road from Truro to Tatamagouche shows no signs of Acadian roadside houses or weeds, but near The Falls another parallel road lower down is edged with Daphne and probably was Acadian. Kennedy has mapped along the railway line some cellars which must have been associated with the shipping industry. One of these cellars was in a private garden, and one night some boys came to dig for treasure without asking permission. The owner heard them and said nothing, but he wrapped himself in a white sheet, came out and moaned at them and they vanished. Seven cellars have been found along the French River west of the town, farming settlements using the very limited flood-plains. Two cellars have been excavated and have contained the blue-and-white and even finer crockery of the Louisbourg trade, as well as nails, luxuries unknown in New Minas.

A few miles eastward is Brule with a wide salt-marsh of unpromising fertility, though resembling the pre sale of La Rochelle which feeds delicious sheep. Only its name remains to suggest Acadian occupation. Wallace, or rather the opposite side of the bay, had an Acadian settlement for a short time. In the present community one clump of tansy was found among a rich variety of non-Acadian weeds, but as tansy was a favourite also of New England, it may be without significance.

Pictou had its seigneur, and his fort may be responsible for Patterson's information that once there had been a battery of guns on Battery Hill. Acadian shanties were reported on Middle and East River and at Caribou. In South Pictou, burials of a man and a young woman were unearthed, but our only knowledge of their period is that they had no coffins.

There were three more grants between Pictou and Canso Strait, perhaps Merigomish, Antigonish and Tracadie. There was some sort of French settlement off the western part of the Millar farm at Merigomish. The site was on a low hill overlooking the bay, an unlikely place for either Acadian farmers or fishermen, but suitable for fur-traders since this bay, once rich in fish and oysters, was a favourite summer place for Indians, and an extensive Indian campsite was on the same farm. I have seen only a piece of biscuit pottery found in the ploughing of the French site, and it was of a type seen also in Louisbourg. A few miles to the east at Barney's River, there is said to be a rampart erected by the Indians, (though it certainly was not). No other questionable sites are known in either Antigonish or Tracadie. The Acadian settlements in that area seem to belong only to the return in 1768.

The botanical aspect of the North Shore settlements is unhelpful. Caraway is found around many inlets, but as this weed was used by both Acadians and their successors, it alone is not good evidence. It seems that none of these settlements had reached the Phase III fixity in which flowers and orchards began.

The Fishing Settlements

The wealth of fish along the South Shore had been recognized a century before the coming of Razilly. Earlier posts have been reported from Shag Harbour and Port l'Herbert, but nothing is known of these. It seems likely, however, that Razilly's self-supporting farmer-colonists would have depended more upon fish than upon wild game for their meat. All that is known is that a scattering of Acadian settlers drifted along the shore, eastward to Halifax, westward to Cape Fourchu. They seem to have

combined fishing with gardening, to have been often isolated families which endured for a very short period.

The most interesting of the fishing-farming sites is Pubnico which stretches for several miles around the harbour and is divided into seven villages. This is merely an expansion of the pattern to be seen anywhere along the coast. The storm waves beat against the shore, and where they find little opposition, they rush inland and return with a rush of gravel. Where the rocks resist, a sea-cliff develops. As the fisherman's boat is of first importance, his house must be near to the developing cove, and the stretches behind the sea cliffs remain empty.

Philippe Pius d'Entremont, the ancestor of Pubnico, was brought from Normandy by La Tour and by him was given this grant in 1653. The local soil is generally poor, so fishing became important. In the third expulsion of 1758, the population was carried away, and when they were allowed to return, the d'Entremont family was the only one in Nova Scotia to return to its former home.

My search there for abandoned cellars was a complete failure. The reason was obvious. Only the occasional coves gave shelter to fishermen's boats. Beside these they had built their former houses, and the same sites had suited the returning Acadians. It is said locally, -- though I doubt the accuracy of this -- that the older Pubnico was wholly in the present East Pubnicos. A great part of the Acadians resettling Pubnico belonged to families whose homes had been in Port-Royal or Minas, now divided among the New England Planters, so they must have needed to expand into new areas, but the botanical picture makes it doubtful. More of the old Acadian plants are found in West Pubnico than in East.

Life in early Pubnico was very different from that in the dykelands. Fishing was confined to spring and summer months before the dangerous *suêtes*, the storms, began. An acre of salt-marsh provided hay for the livestock through the winter. Pasture was needed for the cattle and the sheep which provided much of the clothing. As stones were only too common, stone walls were common barriers as the almost complete absence of hawthorn shows. However, the recent widening and improvement of roads carried away the old walls which have been replaced with wire. In some pastures in East Pubnico there are narrow ditches packed with stone, suggesting the property divisions of Port-Royal, and these do not correspond to the present fences. In some of the pastures there are narrow serpentine paths a foot deep, the work of flocks of sheep moving in single-file during hundreds of years.

The botanical picture of Pubnico is in part impoverished Port-Royal, in part La Hève, and the rest peculiar. Although the early d'Entremonts usually married La Tours, the bulbous buttercup seems not to have been carried from Barrington, which suggests that their contacts were by sea. The recent generation has been prosperous as never before, and the flowers and trees along the main streets have little resemblance to the outlying stretches. There are no European trees, except for a rare hawthorn, and the old-fashioned flowers are only barberry, Bouncing Bet and woodbine. Cat's-ear and Lady's Mantle may have been vegetables. Stinging nettles along the beach are common as on the fishing islands. As nettles have strong fibres, they may have served a profession needing cord. But what brought quaking-grass to Pubnico East and West?

Westward from Pubnico, Argyle had an inland marsh which had been dyked. On the hill on the west side was the cellar of the chapel, said to have been built by LeLoutre. Up the slope there had been a road with edges marked with slit ditches packed with stone, gapped only at the chapel and at the bottom of the slope, beside a clump of hawthorns suggesting a hidden house-site. Another stretch of French road was known on the eastern side of the river.

Robert's Island was said to have had an Acadian house and barn left standing after the expulsion. The family tradition is that the present house stands on the site of the old. This island has a local name of *Non-prison*. During the expulsion, the soldiers left a batch of Acadians on this island for safekeeping. They did not realize that at low tide the men could wade to the shore.

The Chebogue islands have a number of cellars. The largest island, Beveridge or Ponderosa, is said to have had several Acadian cellars beginning to collapse in the early nineteenth century. Since then, a farmstead has been built on the most likely site, and then this has been replaced by a summer cottage. Nothing visible remained to suggest Acadian occupation except firm clumps of bull-thistle and a patch of celandine which, being somewhat poisonous, was a valued medicinal herb.

There is no doubt that Yarmouth was once a settlement, but this has been erased by the growth of the town. One county history states that Chegoggin to the northeast had French cellars, and another county history denies it. This area, too, has been built over, and at most one can say that the slope by the brook, a likely site, is covered with European hawthorns and French willows.

The Baie Ste. Marie is commonly regarded as having been avoided by the Acadians until this area was granted to them on their return. With regard to the farming Acadians, this may be correct, but some Acadian plants turn up on Brier Island and along Digby Neck -- chives, yellow flag and pimpernel. Probably these are relics of shifting fishermen like those of the coves of the South Shore.

Cape Breton

If we had not known from history that the efforts of Louisbourg to draw the farming Acadians into Cape Breton had failed, we could have learned it from the introduced European plants. The French population of the island was divided into three or four distinct groups. There was the governing body at Louisbourg itself; the bands of workers quarrying stone and cutting wood for the building, in many distant places; the local workmen and farmers in the neighbourhood of the present Louisbourg town; and the fishermen at Canso, Isle Madame, and Main-à-Dieu. There were also a few seigneuries with their peasants and fishermen. Of these only the fishermen seem to have been Acadians, though there may have been some among the workers. The plants of the fishermen are typically Acadian, as are the people: chives, caraway, yarrow on Isle Madame; sorrel in the fishermen's summer camp in East Ingonish. Louisbourg itself has none of these. Instead it has angelica, devil's-bit, tormentil and morgues. Except for the last, these are refined plants; angelica, for flavouring drink; devil's-bit, a flower; tormentil to reduce toothache; and only one of these is found on the mainland. A search in the Louisbourg hospital garden was not profitable. The abundant Canada thistles had flower heads much more purple than those of other areas. Red clover seemed to be of the same starved strain as that by Poutrincourt's Habitation. White clover was as large as alsike.

The Sieur de Boularderie was one of the more active seigneurs. His seigneurie was the peninsula of his name, but in summer he carried on an extensive fishery in Ingonish. All this was lost in the first capture of Louisbourg, and his son later claimed war damages, including a manor house which has never been placed. Beside the road up the Clyburn River, a knoll had been flattened as a foundation for a house of which nothing remains. A curving road leads up to the house and is supported by a well-packed wall. A few yards from the house, a small brook runs down the slope and at the bottom was divided to irrigate a water-garden. Around this site there are a number of plants, some of them associated with the Cape Breton

French: osier, bullace plum, European raspberry, Bouncing Bet and monkshood. Whoever had planned this house had occupied it only in summer (it had no cellar), and he had an unusual amount of money to spend on his dwelling.

Of these plants, osier and monkshood are found in several places around the Bras d'Or, which suggests a scattered population ignored by history.

CHAPTER 8

ACADIAN PLANTS

These plants have been found around Acadian sites or chiefly in Acadian areas. A few native plants are included when these seem to have played a significant part in Acadian life and should be noticed by those interested in Acadiology. There may be some of these which are only accidentally associated with the Acadians, and there may be many more weeds, such as dandelions and plantains, which are likely to have been introduced by the Acadians as well as their successors, but are too widespread to be attributed to either.

Trees

French Willow (*Salix Alba*). This common tree is said to have been introduced because of its quick growth, though this seems unnecessary in a forested land. Its shoots were used for baskets in Europe.

Osier (*Salix viminalis*). A basket-willow frequent in Cape Breton.

(*Salix Smithiana*). A hybrid osier found in Cape Breton.

Purple Willow (*Salix purpurea*). A basket-willow. Yarmouth, Berwick, Wolfville, Grand Pré.

Lombardy Poplar (*Populus nigra italica*). Common, especially by mills.

Black Poplar (*Populus nigra*). One tree in Grand Pré.

Scotch Elm (*Ulmus glabra*). By Acadian sites in Port-Royal; rare in Minas.

Pedunculate Oak (*Quercus robur*). Shade-tree in Port-Royal and Minas; diminishing in Piziquid; absent farther north.

Native Hawthorn (*Crataegus chrysocarpa*). Used for hedges throughout.

European Hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*). Hedge and ornamental tree. Distribution as in oak but occasional in other settlements.

Common Buckthorn (*Rhamnus cathartica*). Used as hedge. Port-Royal and Minas.

Black Buckthorn (*Rhamnus Frangula*). As the preceding species.

Fruits

Pear (*Pyrus communis*). Frequent in Acadian areas.

Apple (*Pyrus Malus*). Conspicuous near sites. Rare north of Piziquid.

Bullace Plum (*Prunus insititia*). Minas and Ingonish.

Sweet Cherry (*Prunus Avium*). Bear River, Town Plot, Avonport.

Sour Cherry (*Prunus cerasus*). Port-Royal and Minas.

Wild Black Cherry (*Prunus serotina*). Common around sites. Fruit edible in October, bark medicinal.

Choke-cherry. (*Prunus virginiana*). Common around sites. Native.

European Raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*). Only at Ingonish.

European White Strawberry (*Fragaria vesca americana Landonii*). Bear River and Karsdale in Port-Royal; Grand Pré and White Rock in Minas; Roseway and Clyde River on South Shore.

Vegetables

Chives (*Allium Schoenoprasum Laurentianum*). A native variety found only in fishing sites: Yarmouth, Brier Island, Isle Madame.

Asparagus (*A. officinalis*). Not present in 1700. Common around later sites in Minas.

Hops (*Humulus lupulus*). Flavours beer. All settlements and Port Joli.

Garden Cress (*Lepidium sativum*). Port-Royal, Beaubassin.

Sorrel (*Rumex Acetosa*). Yarmouth, Port-Royal, Minas, Piziquid, Ingonish.

Horse-radish (*Armoracia rusticana*). Yarmouth, Port-Royal, Minas, Beaubassin.

Watercress (*Nasturtium officinalis*). Port-Royal

Caraway (*Carum Carvi*). Common in all Acadian areas.

Parsnip (*Pastinaca sativa*). Occasional near sites but still escaping.

Angelica (*A. sylvestris*). Flavour for drink. Louisbourg.

Marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*). Flavour for drink. Piziquid.

Wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium*). Flavour for drink. Cobequid, Minas.

Chicory (*Cichorium Intybus*). Vegetable and medicinal. Minas, Piziquid, South Shore.

Cat's-ear (*Hypochoeris radicata*). Common Pubnico; rare eastward to St. Mary's River.

Salad Burnet (*Sanguisorba minor*). Windsor.

Medicinal Plants

These overlap the vegetables and flowers, since any plant pungent or poisonous was obviously designed to cure something.

Celandine (*Chelidonium majus*). Poisonous and ornamental. South Shore.

Poison Hemlock (*Conium maculatum*). Deadly. South Shore, Port-Royal shore, Cobequid; suggests French introduction.

Motherwort (*Leonurus cardiaca*). Port-Royal, Minas, Piziquid. Cured asthma and rabies.

Hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*) Medicinal and ornamental. Minas.

Thyme (*Thymus Serpyllum*). Beaubassin. Cures stomach-ache and caries.

Spearmint (*Mentha spicata*). Throughout. Medicinal and flavouring.

Woody Nightshade (*Solanum Dulcamara*). Common everywhere. Cure-all. Probably not seriously poisonous.

Black Nightshade (*Solanum nigrum*). Abundant on South Shore. It may have been cultivated for its berries as well as its narcotic effects.

Valerian (*Valeriana officinalis*). A weed in Minas, but may not be French. A remedy for nervous states.

Elecanpane (*Inula Helenium*). Medicinal and flavouring. Port-Royal, Minas, Piziquid.

Fever-few (*Chrysanthemum Parthenium*). Rare. Port-Royal fishermen.

Yarrow (*Achilles Millefolium*). A cure-all. Throughout.

Tansy (*Tanacetum vulgare*). In most Acadian areas. Stimulant, laxative and worm-remover.

Mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*). Laxative and worm-remover. Port-Royal, Minas, Piziquid.

Tormentil (*Potentilla anglica*). Also called: *P. sylvestris*, *P. tormentilla*, *P. erecta*, *P. procumbens*. The thick root relieved toothache or internal pains. Louisbourg and South Shore.

Flowers

The chances of error are greater in this group than in any except that of weeds, since both Acadians and their successors valued most self-managing cottage flowers.

Yellow Flag (*Iris Pseudacorus*). Chiefly in Port-Royal fishing areas.

White Campion (*Lychnis alba*). Frequent near Acadian and other sites.

Bouncing Bet (*Saponaria officinalis*). This occurs in four phases: white or pink, single or double. The single are usually found in Acadian areas, the double everywhere.

Monkshood (*Aconitum Napellus*) Seen only in Cape Breton and the Valley.

Barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) Port-Royal, Pubnico, Piziquid.

Daphne (*D. Mezereum*). A favourite shrub. Port-Royal, Minas, Piziquid, and near Tatamagouche.

Purple Loosestrife (*Lythrum Salicaria*). LaHave, Port-Royal, Minas, Cobequid, Pubnico.

Moneywort (*Lysimachia Nummularia*). Port-Royal, Minas, Piziquid, Cobequid, Yarmouth County.

Matrimony Vine (*Lycium halamifolium*). In the Horton-Avonport area but dubiously Acadian.

Moth-mullein (*Verbascum virgatum*). Also dubious, but found only; in French areas - Sydney, Blandford, Wolfville.

Bird's eye (*Veronica Chamaedrys*). On South Shore, rare in Piziquid and Cobequid.

Woodbine (*Lonicera Periclymenum*). Frequent from La Have to Yarmouth. Occasional in Minas but dubiously Acadian there.

Red fly-honeysuckle (*Lonicera tatarica*). By tidal mill, Kentville; by priest's house, New Minas; by railway in Grand Pré. Commonly planted and may have chosen only Acadian sites to establish itself.

European Cranberry bush, Guelder Rose, Water-elder (*Viburnum Opulus*). Often planted in gardens. Found wild chiefly in Minas and Piziquid.

Eglantine (*Rosa Eglanteria & micrantha*). Port-Royal, Minas, Piziquid.

Cinnamon Rose (*Rosa cinnamomea*). Said to be Acadian but found only near two Acadian sites. Much commoner on later house-sites.

***Potentilla recta*.** Common in Windsor and on Curry Brook, but .this may be due to suitable gravel soil.

Queen of the Meadow or Meadowsweet (*Filipendula Ulmaria*). A flower in LaHave, Grand Pré and Hantsport; a weed elsewhere.

Sneezewort (*Achillea Ptarmica*) Port-Royal and Minas.

Forage Plants and Weeds

Quaking-grass (*Briza media*). Abundant in Pubnico and Windsor, reported from Digby.

Moor-grass (*Molinia caerulea*). Only; around Louisbourg.

Velvet Grass (*Holcus lanatus*). Abundant in Port-Royal and South Shore.

Purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*). Common in Port-Royal, Minas and South Shore. Also a pot-herb.

Stinging Nettle (*Urtica dioica*). South Shore and its islands.

Burning Nettle (*Urtica urens*). Rarer but same area as last.

Marsh Cress (*Rorippa islandica*). On excavations in Beaubassin. Occurs near Grand Pré where old road joins Route #1.

Cuckoo Flower (*Cardamine pratensis*). Common in Port-Royal and western Minas. May have been introduced as a flower.

Lady's Mantle (*Alchemilla spp.*). All six species have been found in French areas; one species in Baddeck is ornamental; one in Port-Royal and Pubnico is a pest; others are used as spring greens.

Silverweed (*Potentilla argentia*). Minas, Louisbourg.

Bulbous Buttercup (*Ranunculus bulbosa*). South Shore, Fort Anne, Windsor.

Comfrey (*Symphytum spp.*). Yarmouth, Pictou, Marie-Joseph, Minas. This can be eaten and used medicinally.

Bull Thistle (*Cirsium vulgare*). In conspicuous clumps near Acadian sites.

Canada Thistle (*Cirsium arvense*). Even more conspicuous by sites.

Field Bindweed (*Convolvulus arvensis*). Rare. Port-Royal, Piziquid, Cobequid.

Hawk' s-beard (*Crepis capillaris*). Villagedale and Arcadia.

Probably clovers and our ubiquitous weeds were introduced at this time, but evidence is lacking.

English and Latin names and some distributions were taken from *The Flora of Nova Scotia*, Roland and Smith. French herbal remedies come from *Flore Laurentienne*, Frère Marie-Victorin.

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- Webster, J.C. *The Career of Abbe LeLoutre* is built from the reports of French officers in order to avoid national bias. It includes LeLoutre's glorious autobiography.
- Of the County Histories, the most useful is that of Kings County, by A.W.H. Eaton. That of Pictou by George Patterson is reliable and detailed but covers a district of minor importance in Acadie. The South Shore is poorly served. Edwin Crowell's *History of Barrington Township* is detailed but seems most interested in the New England settlers. I have cited one item from the

Queens County history, but the Acadians have been ill-served in Lunenburg and Yarmouth. *Historic Saga of LaHave*, by Ruth E. Kaulback has been helpful

Sympathy for the uprooted Acadians is inevitable, but the sugary picture told by Longfellow does not correspond to the facts and is quite opposite to the traditions surviving among the Acadians. These have never been published. As a result, most of the histories are one-sided and of little value.

For access to many of these books, I am indebted to the Acadia University Library. For some of the expenses of the survey, to the Nova Scotia Museum. For the tracing of Acadian remains, to a great number of helpful and observant farmers.